

# Eusebius, Praeperatio Evangelica

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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 Ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ, σὺν εὐχαῖς ἐπεφώνησα, εἴ πως ἄρα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τύχοιμι βοηθείας, ταῖς φιλοθέοις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱερουργίαις 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, οὐδὲ 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 | εἴτε 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 want to explain the Christian faith and what it is to those who do not know it through this prepared work, promising to include proof of the Gospel. I call upon you, Theodote, divine overseer, friend of God, and sacred leader, with my prayers, hoping to receive your help as you greatly assist 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 unseen wealth, 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 that follow 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 a truly God-loving and most blessed end.

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

This end comes from above, guided by greater things, and returns again to them.

1.1.4 | τί οὖν ἀν 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 ἀν ἔτι λείποιτο; τίνος δ' ἀν ὑστεροῖτο ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν δημιουργὸν ἔξοικειούμενος; ἢ τίνος ἀν ἐλαττώτο ὁ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ κηδεμόνος τὸν μέγαν προστάτην καὶ παμβασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγραφόμενος;

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 diminished, who is both a father in the world and the caretaker of the great ruler, the all-powerful king of all?

1.1.5 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν είπειν 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 ἀν ἔχοι.

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, along with everything outside of them.

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, Ἐλλγνας δόμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους, ἀνδρας ἂμα γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις, πένητάς τε καὶ πλουσίους, σοφοὺς καὶ ἴδιωτας, οὐδὲ τὸ οἰκετικὸν

1.1.6 | This good and saving friendship between humans and God is sent down from above by the all-good word of God, like a ray of infinite light. It brings 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 generously 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 truths and, when he came, 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 βιῶν “μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ πατριὰὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡ βασικεία, καὶ αὐτὸς δεσπόζει τῶν ἐθνῶν” καὶ πάλιν “ἔπατε 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 ἐθνῶν 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 belongs to the Lord, 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 preserve any part of Christianity, but instead accept those who claim to uphold its glory with an unreasonable faith and unexamined agreement, they say 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. Therefore, it is fitting 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 believe that the word will proceed in an orderly way 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 suits those coming from the nations.

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.

After this, it will give 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 by addressing what has been reasonably asked of us by both Greeks and those of the circumcision, while carefully examining what concerns us through thorough 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 ὄρᾶν οὕτε τὰ βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδεύοντας,

1.2.1 | First, it is reasonable for someone to wonder who we are in relation to the scripture—whether we are Greeks, 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 our way of life and the choices we make. For we do not see the thoughts of Greeks or 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 ἢ θεομαχοῦντας;

1.2.2 | So what would it mean for us to be strangers, and what is this 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 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 νομοθεῶν 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 fair for those who have abandoned their ancestral ways while becoming zealots for 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 the 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 a 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 ἐπηγγελμένας 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 joyful messages, these are also proclaimed to the Jews, and we do not see them acting on these things.

1.2.7 | And it is very strange that they quickly accept the accusations against their nation while remaining silent about the promises of good things made to them. Instead, they seem more likely to be forced to change themselves, taking advantage of others and deceiving only 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 meant for those who keep the laws.

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. We have shown beforehand that we have nothing to present as proof, yet we cling 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 λογικώτεον διὰ πλείστων καὶ ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξεων πιστούμενος.

1.3.4 | ἐσπούδασται μὲν οὖν πλείστοις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλή τις ἄλλῃ πραγματείᾳ, τοτὲ μὲν ἐλέγχους καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμῖν λόγων συνταξαμένοις, τοτὲ δὲ τὰς ἐνθέους καὶ ιερὰς 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 ιερὸς 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. We will consider both how we approach those who seek to learn our teachings and how we respond to those who oppose us with more logical arguments. Through this, we aim to create both written and unwritten responses, for each individual questioner and for public discussions.

1.3.3 | Yes, indeed, through the writings we have that contain the overall discussion of the gospel proof, 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, believing it through many clear proofs.

1.3.4 | Many before us have worked hard on many other discussions. Sometimes, they arranged arguments and counterarguments against those who oppose us. At other times, they explained the sacred scriptures with detailed notes and smaller conversations. They have also defended our beliefs more strongly.

1.3.5 | Indeed, we are putting in careful effort. First of all, the holy apostle Paul, avoiding deceptive and clever arguments, uses clear proofs. He says, “Our message and preaching are not with persuasive

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 αὕτις 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. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν νέων συγγραφέων μυρίας ὄσας, 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

words of human wisdom, but in the proof of the spirit and power.” He also adds, “We speak wisdom among those who are mature, but not the wisdom of this age, nor of the rulers of this age who are being brought to nothing. Instead, 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 fitting that we are all instructed to be ready to give an answer to anyone who asks us for a reason for the hope that is in us. Therefore, there are countless new writers, as it 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 still openly shows 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. Later, by his power, he will gather a church from all the nations,

αύτοῦ δυνάμει συστᾶσαν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν  
έθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν, οὕπω τότε καθ' οὓς  
ἐνηνθρωπήκει χρόνους ὁρμένην οὐδὲ  
συνεστᾶσαν, ἐνθέω προγνώσει ἀήττητον  
καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ  
μηδεπώποτε ὑπὸ θανάτου νικηθήσεσθαι,  
ἔστάναι δὲ καὶ μένειν ἄσειστον, ὡς ἀν 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.

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 solid and unshakable rock of his power. The outcome of this prophecy will rightly silence those who shamelessly prepare to speak against it.

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;

1.3.9 | 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 could bring about these things in this way before they happened, having seen them both prophesied and accomplished through actions.

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 ἀὔξει καὶ  
ἐπιδίδωσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κηρύγματα ταῖς  
αὐτοῦ φωναῖς ἀκολούθως.

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

1.3.11 | ἡ τε ὄνομαστὶ προθεσπισθεῖσα  
ἐκκλησία αὐτοῦ 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' οὐδὲ ταῖς

1.3.11 | The church, which is named after him, stands strong and rooted. It is lifted up by the prayers of holy and god-loving souls to the heavenly heights, receiving praise 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: "I will

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.”

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 match 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 Ἐβραιῶν γραφῶν  
μαρτυρία, ἐν αἷς πρὸς 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 διασποράν, 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 strong, and  
the testimony from the Hebrew scriptures  
is important. In those writings, the  
prophets among the Hebrews proclaimed  
the promise of good things for all of mortal  
life for many thousands of years. They  
specifically mentioned the name of Christ  
and foretold his presence among people.  
They announced how 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 sorrows  
that would come upon them. I refer to the  
final siege of their royal city, 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 τόν 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 situation, showing that it was not created 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>1</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 unbeatable and victorious strength against our enemies through the name and teaching of our Savior.

1.4.2 | καὶ τὸ αὐτόθεν δὲ πρὸς εύζω̄αν  
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 ἐθνῶν 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 strength? For the power that comes with his word is both 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 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 οὐδὲ 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 divisions among the nations were 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· Ὑρκανοὶ 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 considered their own people who died naturally as unworthy, so they would sacrifice them and 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 would bury the

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 εύαγγελικῆς 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 εύαγγελικῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας, "Ἐλληνας ὅμοι καὶ βαρβάρους, τοὺς γνησίως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιπλάστως αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ προσανέχοντας, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἄκρας φιλοσοφίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς μόνον τὸν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν, αὐτὸν ἑκεῖνον 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 ἐμβλέπειν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς παιδαγωγεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀκόλαστον ἐκ τοῦ μετ' ἐπιθυμίας ὅρᾶν ἐννοεῖν, πρόρριζον δ' ἔξ 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

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 true; now, however, it is no longer the same. The savage and inhumane customs of all these people have been healed by the power of the saving law of the Gospel.

1.4.9 | Now, people no longer consider as gods either dead and silent wooden images, or the evil demons that act through them, or parts of the visible world, or the souls of 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 level of philosophy that they honor, 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 lead to a good life for everyone?

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

άψευδεῖν καὶ ἀληθεύειν, ὡς ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ ναί καὶ τῷ οὔ, παντὸς ὄρκου βεβαιοτέραν τὴν προαόρεσιν κατασκευάζοντας; τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἐν ψιλοῖς ῥηματίοις 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;

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

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 τινος 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.

1.4.11 | And also, altogether, countless men, 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 the lessons we have just learned. They are encouraged 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, 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 | Πάντα δὴ ἀθρόως ταῦτά τις

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 εὔζωϊαν 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? This teaching is also better 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 just the Greeks, but also the most uneducated barbarians and those living at the ends of the earth? Should they hold back from wild and 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 consider the teachings about the immortality of the soul and the life after this one, which is promised to those who love the divine. Through these teachings, they should not worry about this temporary life. Thus, we can show that children who have been guided in philosophy see death, often discussed, as just a game, celebrated by all philosophers. Among us, both women and caregivers, as well as poor men, believe that through the power and cooperation of our savior, the teaching about the immortality of the soul is proven by actions rather than 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 should learn from the teachings of our savior about God's care. They should learn to think healthily and strongly while observing the universe. They should understand the teachings on justice and God's judgment, live wisely, and carefully

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

avoid the practices of evil.

1.5.1 | You would understand the main point of the first and greatest gift of the saving message if you recognized the fearful deception of old idolatry, which long ago troubled all of humanity with demons. Just as from the darkest shadows, the divine power has brought 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 show the way of true piety? In this situation, we encourage those who are able to follow the proofs of our words and to take care of their understanding. They should accept 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 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 to follow 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 εὔσεβη 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 | ἡ 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 ἔλπιδος 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, ὁ δὲ 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 εἴλετο τὰ 'Ἐπικούρου, ὁ δὲ τὸν κυνικὸν ζηλοῖ βίον, ἄλλος κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφεῖ, κατ'

those who are just starting out, like women and children, and the crowds of common people, toward a pious life, as if by a healing remedy. We embrace a healthy faith, teaching them correct beliefs about God's care, the immortality of the soul, and how to live a virtuous life.

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 extensive training and education, following medical advice and acting logically. But those who seek healing from them place their faith in these experts and rely on the hope of better outcomes. They may not know much about the science, yet they depend entirely on good hope and faith.

1.5.5 | The best of the doctors, having found a balanced approach, 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 | Students receive education from teachers, believing that their learning will be beneficial for them. Indeed, no one would commit 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 according to Plato, others according to Aristotle, and

Άριστοτέλην ἔτερος, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος πάντων τὰ Στωϊκὰ προετίμησεν, ἐκάστου χρηστοτέρᾳ ἐλπίδι τε καὶ πίστει τὸ δόξαν ὡς συνοῖσον 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 παιδοποιίαν ἐλπίδος ἔξ ἀγαθῆς ἐνήρξαντο πίστεως.

1.5.8 | καὶ πλεῖ τις αὐθις εἰς ἀδηλον, οὐδ' 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 αὐθις ὕσπερ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβιώσεσθαι· πορείαν δέ τις μακρὰν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῆς ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας στελλόμενος πάλιν τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαθὰς ὀδηγοὺς ἔσαυτῷ 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 πρεσβευομένων μανθάνειν;

still others prefer the Stoics above all. Each person 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 different skills. Some have chosen military life, while others have chosen trade, believing that these paths will provide for them. Marriages, too, begin with the first unions and partnerships based on the hope of having children, starting from a foundation of good trust.

1.5.8 | Some people again venture 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 and waits for the change of the season, believing that what is buried in the earth will rise again, just like coming back to life after being covered by heavy rains. Another person sets off on a long journey to a foreign land, taking hope and good faith along as guides.

1.5.9 | What else is the entire life of people based on but 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 take part in the discussions and learn the reasons behind what is believed.

1.5.10 | Άλλὰ γάρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς ἄχρηστον προγεγυμνασμένων ἀνίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην κατηγορίαν, καὶ τίνες ὄντες καὶ πόθεν ὄρμώμενοι τοῖς διερωτῶσιν ἀποκρινούμεθα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ γένος Ἐλληνες ὄντες καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων φρονοῦντες ἐκ παντοίων τε ἔθνῶν ὡς ἀν νεολέκτου στρατιὰς λογάδες συνευλεγμένοι τῆς πατρίου δεισιδαιμονίας ἀποστάται καθεστήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀν αὐτοὶ ποτε ἀρνηθείμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Ἰουδαϊκαῖς βίβλοις προσανέχοντες κάκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφητεῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συνάγοντες οὐκέθ' ὅμοιώς ζῆν τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς προσφιλές ἡγούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀν αὐτόθεν ὅμοιογήσαιμεν.

1.5.11 | ὥρα τοιγαροῦν τούτων τὸν αἴτιολογισμὸν ὑποσχεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἀν ἄλλως δόξαιμεν εὗ πεποιηκέναι τὰ πάτρια καταλεῖψαντες εἰ μὴ πρῶτον εἰς μέσον αὐτὰ παραθέμενοι καὶ ἀγαγόντες ὑπ' ὄψιν τῶν ἐντευξομένων; 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.

1.5.12 | πῶς δ' ἀν τὸ εὔλογον τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν μεταδιώξεως φανείη 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' Ἐλληνισμὸς ὃν οὔτε Ἰουδαϊσμὸς, ἀλλὰ τις καινὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς θεοσοφία, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν

1.5.10 | But indeed, in a small way, we do not prepare ourselves in vain for the first accusation, and we respond to those who ask who we are and where we come from. Since we are Greeks and think like Greeks, we have set ourselves apart from the superstitions of our ancestors, even if we have been gathered from many different nations like a young army. Furthermore, by referring to the Jewish books and gathering most of what is found in their prophecies, we do not believe 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 | It is time, then, to present the reasoning for these matters. How can we believe we have done well by leaving behind our ancestral customs if we do not first lay them out before us and bring them to the attention of those who are gathered? For in this way, the divine power of the gospel would become clear and evident to everyone if it were shown before their eyes what kinds of evils it promises to heal.

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

καινοτομίαν ἐπαγομένη.

very name?

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.

1.5.13 | Therefore, let us first examine the oldest and our ancestral theologies, which have been discussed in every city, even to this day. Let us consider the serious ideas of the noble philosophers about the creation of the world and the nature of the gods, so that we may understand whether we have rightly separated ourselves from them or not.

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

1.5.14 | I will not share my own opinions in explaining those who are being revealed, but rather the views of those who have shown great piety toward the gods they mention, so that the argument may be free from any suspicion regarding our creation.

## 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 αἰτίους, εἴτα δὲ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι βωμένας θεοποιίας τε καὶ θεογονίας εἰσηγήσασθαι τῷ βίῳ.

1.6.1 | Therefore, the Phoenicians and Egyptians are the first among all people to declare the sun, moon, and stars as gods, claiming that they alone are the causes of the creation and destruction of everything. After that, they brought the worship of these gods and their origin stories into everyday life.

1.6.2 | πρὸ δέ γε τούτων μηδένα μηδὲν πλέον τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων είδεναι, ὀλίγων ἐκτὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις μνημονευομένων, οἱ διανοίας καθαρωτάτοις ὅμμασι πᾶν τὸ ὄρώμενον ὑπερκύψαντες τὸν κοσμοποιὸν καὶ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν ἐσεβάσθησαν, ὑπερθαυμάσαντες τῆς τοσαύτης αὐτὸν

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 and the maker of everything, amazed by the great wisdom and power they saw in

σοφίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ἥν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων  
έφαντάσθησαν, καὶ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν  
πεισθέντες μόνον εἰκότως ἔθεολόγησαν,  
τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ πρώτην καὶ μόνην ταύτην  
εύσεβειαν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενοι  
καὶ φυλάξαντες.

the works. They were convinced that there is only one true god, and they taught this true, first, and only piety, passing it down from father to son and keeping it safe.

1.6.3 | οὕ γε μὴν λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
τῆσδε τῆς μόνης καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεσόντες  
εύσεβείας, τὰ φωσφόρα τῶν οὐρανίων  
σαρκὸς ὄφθαλμοῖς, οἷα νήπιοι τὰς ψυχὰς,  
καταπλαγέντες, θεούς τε ἀνεῖπον καὶ  
θυσίαις καὶ καταπλαγέντες, ἐγέραιρον, οὐ  
νεώς δειμάμενοι, οὐδ' ἀφιδύμασι καὶ  
ξιάνοις 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 turned 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 filled with wonder. 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 Οἰάγρου  
μεταστησάμενον τὰ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις  
Ἐλλησι μεταδοῦναι μυστήρια, ὡσπερ οὖν  
καὶ Κάδμον τὰ Φοινικικὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
ἀγαγεῖν μετὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων  
μαθήσεως· οὕπω γάρ είσετι τοὺς Ἐλληνας  
τότε τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν είδέναι.

1.6.4 | But this false belief in many gods did not end with these people and later generations. It led them deeper into a pit of evils, worse than the wickedness of disbelief. The Phoenicians, and then the Egyptians, were the first to spread this deception. 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 Phoenician knowledge, including the art 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  
πρώτης καὶ παλαιτάτης τοῦ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων βίου δεισιδαιμονίας· καὶ τρίτον  
τὰ Φοινίκων, τέταρτον τὰ Αἴγυπτίων, μεθ'

1.6.5 | First, let us examine the earliest account of the creation of the world, as it is presented. Next, we will look at the first and oldest superstitions of human life. Third, we will consider the beliefs of the Phoenicians, and fourth, those of the

ὰ 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· ἔφ' οἶς 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 δἰ τῆς τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ τεθαυμασμένων παραθέσεως ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλεγχος ἀποδειχθῆ, ὅποιων τε ἡμεῖς ἀποστάντες τὴν ὅποιαν εἰλόμεθα φανερὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γένηται.

1.6.8 | ἀλλὰ 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 αὐχοῦντες καὶ οἱ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν ἔθνῶν ἴστορίαν διηρευνηκότες.

1.6.9 | γράφει τοίνυν ἄνωθεν τὴν παλαιὰν Αἴγυπτίων ὑφηγούμενος θεολογίαν ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος, γνωριμώτατος ἀνὴρ

Egyptians. After that, we will discuss the Greeks, starting with their ancient and confused 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 this, 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 came to be known as Jews. Over all these topics, we will add our own conclusions as a final touch to everything.

1.6.7 | We must remember the history of all these things, so that by showing the wonders found everywhere, we can prove the truth. Whatever we choose to present will be clear to those who come across it.

1.6.8 | But let us first return to the beginning. Where will we find trust in the proofs? Not from our own writings, so that we do not appear to be favoring our own words. Instead, we will rely on witnesses from the Greeks themselves, both those who take pride in their philosophy and those who have studied the history of other nations.

1.6.9 | So then, the Sicilian Diodorus writes about the ancient theology of the Egyptians. He is a well-known figure among the most

τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογιωτάτοις, ὡς ἀν ὑπὸ μίαν συναγηγόχως πραγματείαν ἄπασαν τὴν ἱστορικὴν βιβλιοθήκην. ἐξ οὗ πρῶτα παραθήσομαι ἢ 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 ἐννοίας ἔσχον οἱ πρῶτοι καταδείξαντες τιμὰν τὸ Θεῖον καὶ περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ἐκάστου τῶν ἀθανάτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι πειρασόμεθα κατ' ἴδιαν, 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, ὡς 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 γάρ αὐτῶν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὑποστησά μενοι τὸν τὸν κόσμον ἀπεφήναντο καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρχειν, μηδέποτε τῆς αὐτῶν τεκνώσεως ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκυίας, οἱ δὲ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι νομίσαντες ἔφησαν δομοίως ἔκείνοις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τυχεῖν

learned Greeks, as if he has gathered all the historical writings into one work. From this, I will first share what he has said about the creation of the entire world, presenting the views of the ancient historians in this way.

1.7.1 | Regarding the gods, the earliest thinkers had certain ideas that honored the divine. As for the myths about each of the immortals, we will try to gather many of them individually, since this topic requires a lot of discussion. Whatever we believe fits with the histories we have will be presented in summaries, and nothing worthy of attention will be overlooked.

1.7.2 | Regarding the race of all humans and the events that have occurred in the known parts of the world, we will write accurately about these ancient topics, beginning from the earliest times.

1.7.3 | Regarding 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 from the beginning, with no start to their generation. Others, believing that humans are created and mortal, stated that humans came into being at specific times, just like those before them.

τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις.

1.7.4 | κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανόν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμιγμένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἄλλήλων τὸν μὲν κόσμον περιλαβεῖν ἀπασαν τὴν ὁρωμένην ἐν αὐτῷ σύνταξιν, τὸν δ' ἀέρα κινήσεως τυχεῖν συνεχοῦς, καὶ τὸ μὲν πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μετεωροτάτους τόπους συνδραμεῖν, ἀνωφεροῦς οὕστης τῆς τοιαύτης φύσις ἔως διὰ τὴν κουρότητα· ἀφ' ἣς αἴτιας τὸν μὲν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν ἀστρων ἐναποληφθῆναι τῇ πάσῃ δίνῃ, τὸ δὲ ἱλυῶδες 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 συνοιδῆσαι 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 ἄφνω διάπυρος ἀήρ γένηται, μὴ λαβὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὄλιγον.

1.7.6 | ζωογονουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑγρῶν διὰ τῆς θερμασίας τὸν είρημένον μένοντρόπον τὰς μὲν νύκτας λαμβάνειν αὐτίκα τὴν

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 other 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, 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 can still be seen today in marshes and ponds, when suddenly hot air forms above the cold ground, without a gradual change.

1.7.6 | As the liquids were brought to life by the heat, they absorbed food at night from the mist that fell around them, while during

τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς πιπτούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁμίχλης, τὰρ δ' ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος στερεοῦσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον τῶν κυοφορούμενων τὴν τελείαν αὐξῆσιν λαβόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμένων διακαυθέντων τε καὶ περιρραγέντων ἀναφυῆναι παντοδαποὺς τύπους ζώων.

the day they solidified under the warmth. 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 μετειληφότα πρὸς τὸν ὀμογενῆ τόπον συνδραμεῖν ὄνομασθέντα πλωτά.

1.7.7 | Of these, the ones that absorbed the most heat became birds and flew to higher places. Those that stayed on the ground were classified as reptiles and other land animals. The ones most connected to the wet nature gathered together in the same area 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 larger living things. Instead, each of the living beings was formed from the mixing of different kinds.

1.7.9 | ἔσικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως οὐδ' Εύριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητὴς ὁν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μελανίππῃ τίθησιν οὕτως ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχωρίσθησαν ἄλλήλων δίχα, τίκτουσι πάντα, κάνέδωκαν εἰς φάος δένδρη, πετεινὰ, θῆρας, οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει, γένοις τε θητῶν."

1.7.9 | It seems that even Euripides agrees with what has been said about the nature of everything, as he was a student of Anaxagoras the natural philosopher. In his "Melanippe," he explains 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

1.7.10 | And about the first generation of

γενέσεως τοιαῦτα παρειλήφαμεν· τοὺς δὲ  
έξ ἀρχῆς γεννηθέντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
φασὶν ἐν ἀτάκτῳ καὶ θηριώδει βίῳ  
καθεστῶτας σποράδην ἐπὶ τὰς νομὰς  
ἔξιέναι, καὶ προσφέρεσθαι τῆς τε βοτάνης  
τὴν προσηνεστάτην καὶ τοὺς αὐτομάτους  
ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπούς· καὶ  
πολεμουμένους μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων  
ἄλλήλους βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος  
διδασκομένους, ἀθροιζομένους δὲ διὰ τὸν  
φόβον ἐπιγινώσκειν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν  
τοὺς ἄλλήλων τύπους·

everything, we have said this: they say that the first humans lived in a wild and beastly way, scattered as they went out to the pastures. They would gather the most pleasant plants and the fruits that fell from the trees on their own. While being attacked by wild animals, they learned to help each other out of necessity. When they came together out 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'  
όλιγον διαρθροῦν τὰς λέξεις, καὶ πρὸς  
ἄλλήλους 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 created symbols for each of the things around them, helping themselves to understand everything better.

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 spoke the same language. Each group arranged their words in their own way. Because of this, many different kinds of dialects emerged, and the first languages of all nations became unique.

1.7.13 | τοὺς οὖν πρώτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων  
εὺρημένων ἐπιπόνως διάγειν, γυμνοὺς μὲν  
έσθῆτος ὅντας, οἰκήσεως δὲ καὶ πυρὸς  
ἀήθεις, τροφῆς δ' ἡμέρου παντελῶς  
ἀνεννοήτους. καὶ γὰρ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῆς  
ἀγρίας τροφῆς ἀγνοοῦντας μηδεμίαν τῶν  
καρπῶν εἰς τὰς ἐνδείας ποιεῖσθαι  
παράθεσιν· διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν  
ἀπόλλυσθαι κατὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας διά τε τὸ

1.7.13 | The first humans lived without any useful discoveries for their survival. They were naked, unskilled in building homes or making fire, and completely unaware of how to find daily food. They did not know how to gather wild food, so they made no plans for the fruits they could collect. Because of this, many of them died during the winters from the cold and the lack of

ψῦχος καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς.

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 ὀφελῆσαι.

1.7.15 | καθόλου γὰρ πάντων τὴν χρείαν αὐτὴν διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑφηγουμένην οἰκείως τὴν ἐκάστου μάθησιν εύφυεῖ ζῷω καὶ συνεργούς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἄπαντα χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγχίνοιαν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τού παλαιοτάτου βίου τοῖς ḥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας.”

1.7.16 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς, ούδε μέχρις ὄνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ μνημονεύσας ἐν τῇ κοσμογοίᾳ, συντυχικὴν δέ τινα καὶ αὐτόματον εἰσηγησάμενος τὴν τοῦ παντὸς διακόσμησιν. τούτω δ' ἀν 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 ὀρμηθείσας, ἀπὸ τῶν Πλουτάρχου Στρωματέων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκθήσομαι. σὺ δὲ μὴ παρέργως, σχολῆ δὲ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ θέα τῶν δηλουμένων τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους διάστασιν.

food.

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

1.7.15 | For the needs of everyone, experience became a teacher for humans, guiding each person to learn naturally, like a well-suited creature with hands, speech, and a quick mind. As for the first generation of humans and their ancient way of life, we will be content with what has been said, keeping in mind the balance of things.

1.7.16 | The author mentioned all of this without 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 share with you, based on reflections rather than direct understanding, drawing from Plutarch's "Stramata" for this discussion. But do not rush; instead, take your time and think carefully about the differences among the ideas presented.

## Section 8

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

1.8.2 | “Μεθ’ ὁν Ἀναξίμανδρον, Θάλητος ἔταῖρον γενόμενον, τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἴτιαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δή φησι τούς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ καθόλου Τοὺς ἄπαντας ἀπέίρους 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 κυλινδροεδῆ, 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 περιψυῆναι 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 διασωθῆνε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος.

1.8.3 | “Ἀναξιμένην δέ φασι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν ἀέρα είπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τῷ μὲν γένει ἀπειρον, ταῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ποιότησιν ὠρισμένον· γεννασθαί τε πάντα κατά τινα πύκνωσιν τούτου καὶ πάλιν

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

1.8.2 | After him, Anaximander, a companion of Thales, said that the infinite has the entire cause of the generation and destruction of everything. From this, he claims, the heavens were separated, and all worlds are infinite. He stated that destruction happens first, much earlier than generation, from the endless 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 they were. This is what Anaximander said.

1.8.3 | Anaximenes is said to have stated that the beginning of everything is air, which is infinite in nature but defined by its qualities. Everything is generated by a certain thickening of this air and then

άραίωσιν. τήν γε μὴν κίνησιν ἔξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρειν· πιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν, πλατεῖαν μάλα· διὸ καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτὴν 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.”

becomes thinner again. He claims that movement has existed from eternity; he says that the earth was first formed from condensed air and 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 because of its rapid movement, it becomes very hot.

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, οὔδ' 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' ὀλίγον 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 ὅσιον 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 ἄπειρον εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν μέρος μὴ περιέχεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀέρος· γίνεσθαι δὲ ἄπαντα ἐκ γῆς· τὸν δὲ ἥλιον φησι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνεσθαι.”

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 many small 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 ἐταῖρος Ξενοφάνους, ἄμα μὲν καὶ τῶν τούτου δοξῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὴν

1.8.5 | Parmenides of Elea, a companion of Xenophanes, both opposed his views and argued for the opposite position. He claims

έναντίαν ἐνεχείρησε στάσιν. ἀττιδιον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἀποφαίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸ μοῦνον, μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμές, ἡδ' ἀγένητον· γένεσιν δὲ τῶν καθ'  
ὑπόληψιν ψευδῆ δοκούντων εἶναι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ ὄν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὅν· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐκ ἔστιν. οὕτως οὖν τὸ ὄν ἀγένητον ἀπολείπει λέγει δὲ τὴν γῆν τοῦ πυκνοῦ καταρρυέντος ἀέρος γεγονέναι.

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

1.8.7 | “Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης 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 ἥλιον κύκλου ἐναποληφθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πῦρ.”

1.8.8 | “Επίκουρος Νεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος τὸν περὶ θεῶν τῦφον πειρᾶται

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 in more detail.

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 yet have any warm nature, 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 | Epicurus, the Athenian son of Neocles, tries to calm the confusion about

καταστέλλειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐδὲν, φησὶ, γίγνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν, καὶ ἔσται τοιοῦτον· ὅτι οὐδὲν ξένον ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀποτελεῖται παρὰ τὸν ἥδη γεγενημένον χρόνον ἄπειρον· ὅτι πάντας ἔστι σῶμα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀμετάβλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπειρον· ὅτι τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ηδονὴ.

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

1.8.10 | “Ἔμπεδοκλῆς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος 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 ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ ὀλίγου πυρὸς, ὃπερ 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 γάρ παγῆναι, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν χάλαζαν· τὸ δὲ φῶς αὐτὴν σχεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου. τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν οὕτε ἐν κεφαλῇ οὕτε ἐν θώρακι, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷματι· οὐθεν καθ' ὅ τι ἀν μέρος τοῦ σώματος πλέον

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 homes, both good and bad.

1.8.10 | Empedocles of Akragas says there are four elements: fire, water, air, and earth. The causes of these elements are 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 when things 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 the blood. Therefore, wherever a part of the body is larger, the ruling part is spread out, and he thinks that people are

ἢ παρεσπαρμένον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, οἵεται  
κατ' ἔκεῖνο προτερεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.'

1.8.11 | "Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος ἀίδιον εἶναί φησι τὸ πᾶν, ὅτι εἰ ἦν γενητὸν, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀνὴν ἄπειρον δὲ, ὅτι ἀΐδιον, οὐ γάρ ἔχειν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἥρξατο, οὐδὲ πέρας, οὐδὲ τελευτὴν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κινήσεως μετέχειν τὸ πάν. κινεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀδύνατον, μὴ μεθιστάμενον· μεθίστασθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἃτοι εἰς πλῆρες ἢ εἰς κενόν. πυκνούμενον δὲ τὸν αἱθέρα ποιεῖν νεφέλας, εἴτα ὕδωρ, ὃ καὶ κατιὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον σβεννύναι αὐτὸν· καὶ πάλιν ἀραιούμενον ἔξαπτεσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ πήγνυσθαι τῷ ξηρῷ τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροῦ ὕδατος ἀστέρας, νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς σβέσεως καὶ ἔξαψεως, καὶ καθόλου τὰς ἐκλείψεις ἀποτελεῖν."

1.8.12 | "Διογενής ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης ἀέρα ὑφίσταται στοιχεῖον· κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἀπείρους 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 ἥλιον 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 ἢ ποιητήν τινα τῶν ὅλων ὑποστησαμένων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅλως θεοῦ μνήμην ποιησαμένων, μόνη δὲ τῇ ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτομάτῳ κινήσει τὴν

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 extinguish it; 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 extinguishing and igniting, and in general, causing eclipses.

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

1.8.13 | This is how the wise Greeks, the natural philosophers, talked about 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, nor did they mention a god at all. Instead, they believed that everything happened by

αίτιαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνατεθειμένων.

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

1.8.15 | “Ούδεις δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους ούδεν ἀσεβὲς βές ούδε ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἴδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἥκουσεν. ούδε γάρ 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 ἐξῆς

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 ἄλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὅμοιώς διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλλήλους. τῶν τε γάρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν ούδε τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι, τῶν τε περὶ τῆς πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὃν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄπαντα γίνεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὕτ’ ἀν

blind chance and automatic movement.

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

1.8.15 | “No one ever saw Socrates doing or saying anything disrespectful or wrong. For he did not talk about the nature of everything or other matters, as most people think. Instead, he focused on how the world, which is 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. 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 believe that only one thing exists, while others believe in countless things. Some think that everything is always moving, while others believe that nothing ever moves. Some believe that everything comes into being

γενέσθαι ποτὲ ούδὲν οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι.”

and perishes, while others think 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 “Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ὡς Κέβης, νέος ὧν θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἐπεθύμησα ταύτης τῆς σοφίας, ἦν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως ἴστορίαν ὑπερήφανον γάρ μοι εἶναι ἐδόκει εἰδέναι τὰς αἴτιας 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 ζῷα ἔχντες φρονοῦμεν, ἢ ὁ ἀήρ, ἢ τὸ πῦρ· ἢ τούτων μὲν ούδὲν, ὃ δ’ ἐγκέφαλός ἐστιν ὃ τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχων ’τον ὄρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι, ἐκ τούτων δὲ γίγνοιτο μνήμη καὶ δόξα, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης καὶ δόξης λαβούσς τὸ ήρεμεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἐπιστήμην.

1.8.18 | καὶ αὖ τούτων τὰς φθορὰς σκοπῶν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν πάθη, τελευτῶν οὔτ’ ὡς ἐμαυτῷ ἔδοξα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν ἀφυῆς εἶναι ὡς ούδὲν χρῆμα. τεκμήριον δέ σοι ἔρῶ ίκανόν· ἔγὼ γάρ ἂ καὶ πρότερον σαφῶς ἡπιστάμην, ὡς γε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔδοκουν, τότε ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς σκέψεως οὕτω σφόδρα ἐτυφλώθην ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦθ’ ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ὕμην ειδέναι.”

1.8.19 | Ταῦτα Σωκράτης αὐτὸς ἔκεινος ὁ πᾶσιν ἀοίδιμος “Ελλησιν ὅτε τοίνυν καὶ τῷ

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. I thought it would be impressive to know the causes of each thing: why each thing comes into being, why it perishes, and why it exists. Many times I turned my thoughts upside down, first considering such things: Is it when heat and cold take hold of something, as some say, that living things come together? Is it the blood that we think with, or is it air, or is it fire? Or is it none of these, but the brain, which gives us 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 | And again, while thinking about the destruction of these things and the changes in the heavens and the earth, I came to believe that I was completely foolish for thinking there was any value in this kind of thinking. But I will give you a strong example: I, who had once clearly understood what I thought I knew, was so blinded by this very thought that I forgot even those things I believed I understood before.

1.8.19 | This is what Socrates himself, who is well-known among all Greeks, thought

τηλικούτω φιλοσόφω τοιάδε εῖναι ἐδόκει τὰ τῆς τῶν δηλωθέντων φυσιολογίας, είκότως μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων ἀθεότητα παρητῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης αὐτῶν οὐκ εοικεν εῖναι ἀλλότρια τῶν είρημένων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐλεγχθήσεται, καθ' ὃν ἀποδείξομεν ὅτι πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων Ἀναξαγόρας νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίᾳ μνημονεύεται νῦν δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὸν Διόδωρον μετάβα, καὶ σκόπει οἶα περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεολογίας ἴστορεῖ

about the nature of the things mentioned. It seems right to me that we should also avoid disbelief in all these things, since even the mistakes 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.

## 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, τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὃν τὸν μὲν Ὁσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν ὄνομάσαι, ἀπό τινος ἔτύμου τεθείσης ἐκατέρας τῆς προσηγοοίας.

1.9.1 | The people in Egypt, looking up at the world and being amazed by the nature of everything, believed that there were two eternal and primary 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 | υεθερμηνευομένων γὰρ τούτων εἰς τὸν Ελληνικὸν τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον εἶναι μὲν τὸν Ὁσιριν πολυνόφθαλμον, είκότως πάντη γὰρ ἐπιβαλλοντα τὰς ἀκτῖνας ὡσπερ πολλοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς βλέπειν ἀπασαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν· καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ λέγειν σύμφωνα τούτοις, Ἡέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.

1.9.2 | When these names are translated into Greek, 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. The poet also agrees with this when he says, “Helios, who sees everything and hears everything.”

1.9.3 | τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησι παλαιῶν μυθολόγων τινὲς τὸν Ὁσιριν Διόνυσον προσονομάζουσι καὶ Σείριον παρωνύμως. ὃν Εὔμολπος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσί

1.9.3 | Some of the ancient storytellers among the Greeks call Osiris Dionysus and playfully refer to him as Seirios. Eumolpos says in his Bacchic poems, “the starry

φησιν ἀστροφαῇ 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.

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 ἀδίου καὶ παλαιᾶς γενέσεως· κέρατα δ' αὐτῇ περιτιθέασιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὄψεως, ἥν ἔχουσα φαίνεται καθ' ὃν ἂν 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 for the moon, coming 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 thought 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 these were the oldest beings to whom they dedicated the plants of the earth, believing them to be gods, and they worshipped them. From these, they believed all beings came into existence, 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' ἦσαν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅμοιαι τῇ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ψυχῆς ἔτι ἀτολμίᾳ. ταῦτα καὶ ἡ Φοινίκων γραφὴ, ὡς ἔξης ἀποδειχθήσεται.

1.9.6 | These were indeed the inventions of worship, similar to their weakness and the timid nature of their souls. This will be shown in the writings of the Phoenicians,

άλλὰ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς αύτὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν λαμπρυνόμενος δυσφημίαις, ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς,” καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀρχαιότητος τὴν μνήμην ὅδε πως αύτολεξεὶ, Θεοφράστῳ μάρτυρι χρώμενος, παρατίθεται

as will be explained later. But also, that same person, who is 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 | “Ἀνάριθμος μέν τις ἔοικεν εἶναι χρόνος, ἀφ' οὗ τό γε πάντων λογιώτατον γένος, ὃς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ τὴν Ἱερωτάτην ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου κτισθεῖσαν χώραν κατοικοῦν, ἥρξαντο οἱ πρῶτοι ἐφ' ἐστίας τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς θύειν, οὐ σμύρνης ούδε κασίας καὶ λιβανωτοῦ κρόκω μιχθέντων ἀπαρχάς· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς ὑστερα 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 πόσαν· ἣς δρεπόμενοι φύλλα καὶ ρίζας καὶ τοὺς ὅλους τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν βλαστοῦς κατέκαιον, ταύτη τοὺς φαινομένους οὐρανίους θεοὺς τῇ θυσίᾳ δεξιούμενοι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθανατίζοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμάς.

1.9.8 | Therefore, they did not offer these things first, but instead, they took some kind of green growth from the fertile earth 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 nature, and they burned them, offering the visible heavenly gods their sacrifices, and they made the honors of fire eternal for them.

1.9.9 | τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀθάνατον ἐφύλαττον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς ὃν μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὅμοιότατον. ἐκ δὲ τῆς θυμιάσεως τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς θυμιατήριά τε ἐκάλουν καὶ τὸ θύειν καὶ θυσίας, ἢ δὴ ἡμεῖς ὡς τὴν

1.9.9 | For they kept the fire immortal in the temples, as it was most similar to them. From the offerings of the earth, they called the incense burners, the act of sacrificing, and the offerings. We mistakenly hear

ύστεραν πλημμέλειαν σημαίνοντα ούκ  
όρθως ἔξακούμεν, τὴν διὰ τῶν ζώων  
δοκοῦσαν θεραπείαν καλοῦντες θυσίαν.

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

1.9.11 | Ταῦτα είπων ἐπιλέγει μεθ' ἔτερα  
“Πόρρω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπαρχῶν  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προιουσῶν παρανομίας ἡ  
τῶν δεινοτάτων θυμάτων παράληψις  
ἐπεισήχθη ὡμότητος πλήρης, ώς δοκεῖν  
τὰς πρόσθεν λεχθείσας καθ' ἡμῶν ἀράς νῦν  
τέλος εἴληφέναι, σφαξάντων τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αἰμαξάντων.”

1.9.12 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος οὐ  
μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ Θεόφραστος. ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ  
τοῦ λόγου γένοιτ' ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν  
Κρατύλῳ, πρόσθεν τῶν είφημένων αὐτῷ  
περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅδέ πῃ φάσκων πρὸς  
ῥῆμα 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 ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν· ἄτε οὖν αὐτὰ  
δρῶντες πάντα ἀεὶ ίόντα δρόμῳ καὶ  
θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ  
θεῖν θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι.”

1.9.13 | Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ  
παλαιίτατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ναῶν  
οἰκοδομίαις προσεῖχον οὔτε ξοάνων  
ἀφιδρύμασιν, οὕπω τότε γραφικῆς ούδε

these as the later flood, referring to the  
care through animals as a sacrifice.

1.9.10 | The ancients cared so much about  
not breaking the custom, as it went against  
the old ways that were fading away. When  
they introduced something new, they  
would call the incense offerings by the  
names of the scents they had gathered.

1.9.11 | Having said this, he adds in other  
words, “Far from the offerings of first fruits,  
as people move toward wrongdoing, the  
most terrible neglect of sacrifices has  
arisen, full of cruelty. It seems that the  
curses mentioned before have now reached  
their end, with people being slaughtered  
and the altars soaked in blood.”

1.9.12 | Porphyrius said just as much as  
Theophrastus. A confirmation of this idea  
can be found in Plato's Cratylus, where he  
talks about the Greeks, saying, “It seems to  
me that the first 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 based on  
this nature of divine beings.”

1.9.13 | But it is clear to anyone who thinks  
about it that the earliest and oldest people  
neither built temples nor had statues made.  
At that time, there was no art of painting,

πλαστικῆς ἢ γλυπτικῆς ἢ  
άνδριαντοποιητικῆς τέχνης ἐφευρημένης,  
ούδὲ μὴν οἰκοδομικῆς ούδὲ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς  
πω συνεστώσης, παντί τω ὥμαι  
συλλογιζομένω δῆλον εἶναι.

sculpting, or making statues invented, nor  
was there any building or architecture  
established.

1.9.14 | ὅτι δὲ ούδὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα  
κατωνομασμένων θεῶν τε καὶ ἥρωων  
μνήμη τις τοῖς τότε παρῆν, οὕτ' οὖν τις ἦν  
αὐτοῖς Ζεὺς, οὐ Κρόνος, οὐ Ποσειδῶν, οὐκ  
Ἀπόλλων, οὐχ Ἡρα, οὐκ Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ  
Διόνυσος, ούδέ τις ἔτερος θήλειά τε καὶ  
ἄρρην θεὸς, οἵοι μετὰ ταῦτα μυρίοι παρά τε  
βαρβάροις καὶ Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλ' ούδὲ δαίμων  
τις ἀγαθὸς ἢ φαῦλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις  
έθαυμάζετο, μόνα δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν  
ούρανίων ἄστρων, παρὰ τὸ θέειν, δπερ  
ἔστι τρέχειν, θεῶν τε προσηγορίας, ὡς  
αὐτοί φασιν, ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ούδὲ ταῦτα ταῖς  
διὰ ζώων θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα  
περινοηθείσαις τιμαῖς ἐθρησκεύετο, οὐχ  
ἡμέτερος ὁ λόγος, οἴκοθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν  
Ἑλλήνων ἡ μαρτυρία, διὰ τῶν  
προτεθειμενων φωνῶν καὶ τῶν αὐθις ἐξῆς  
παρατεθησομένων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν  
παρασχομένη.

1.9.14 | It is clear that there was no  
memory of the gods and heroes named  
after this time. 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 does not come from us, but the  
testimony from the Greeks themselves will  
provide proof through the words presented  
and those that will be shared 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 ἀπονενεμῆσθαι περιέχοντες, μόνω δὲ  
τῷ Ἐβραϊων γένει τὴν ἐποπτείαν  
ἀνατεθείσθαι [τῆς θεωρίας] τοῦ τῶν ὄλων  
ποιητοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς  
αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εὔσεβείας.

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, along with the true piety toward  
him.

1.9.16 | οὐκ ἄρα τις ἦν θεογονίας  
Ἑλληνικῆς ἢ βαρβαρικῆς τοῖς παλαιτάτοις  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος, ούδὲ ξοάνων

1.9.16 | So, there was no account of Greek  
or barbarian creation myths among the  
earliest people, nor any establishment of

άψυχων ἔδρυσις ούδ' ἡ νῦν πολλὴ φλυαρία τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν κατονομασίας.

1.9.17 | εἰ γοῦν προσηγορίαι καὶ τὰ όνόματα ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον ἐφευρημένα οὕπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγνωρίζετο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δαιμόνων καὶ πνευμάτων ἀφανῶν ἀνακλήσεις, οὐκ ἔκτοποι περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων μυθολογίαι, οὐκ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν μυστήρια, οὐδὲ ὅλως τι τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀδολέσχου τῶν μετέπειτα ἀνδρῶν δεισιδαιμονίας.

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.”

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

1.9.20 | Ἰστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα Σαγχουνιάθων, ἀνὴρ παλαιάταος καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων, ὡς φασι, πρεσβύτερος, δὸν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς Φοινικικῆς ιστορίας ἀποδεχθῆναι μαρτυροῦσι. Philo δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν τὴν συγγραφὴν ὁ Βύβλιος, οὐχ ὁ Ἐβραῖος, μεταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων γλώττης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα

lifeless statues, nor the many empty tales about the names of male and female gods that we have today.

1.9.17 | If indeed the names and titles created 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 people.

1.9.18 | These were inventions of humans and imitations of mortal nature, more like tricks of shameful and immoral behavior, according to our sacred teaching that says, “the beginning of prostitution is the idea of an idol.”

1.9.19 | Indeed, the widespread belief in many gods among all nations appeared long after, starting with 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 | These things are recorded by Sanchuniathon, a very ancient man from the time of the Trojan War, as they say, who is noted for the accuracy and truth of Phoenician history. Philo, not the Hebrew, translated his entire work from the Phoenician language into Greek. Our own scholar mentions these things in the fourth

φωνὴν ἔξεδωκε. μέμνηται τούτων ὁ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένος συσκευὴν  
ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως, ὃδε  
τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυρῶν πρὸς λέξιν

1.9.21 | “ἰστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ιουδαίων  
ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς  
ónóμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συμφωνότατα,  
Σαγχουνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἱληφὼς τὰ  
ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ιερομβάλου τοῦ ιερέως  
Θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰευώ· ὃς Ἀβιβάλω τῷ βασιλεῖ  
Βηρυτίων τὴν ίστορίαν 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 διαδοχαί. Σαγχουνιάθων δὲ κατὰ  
τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον φιλαληθῶς πᾶσαν  
τὴν παλαιὰν ίστορίαν 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'  
αὐτούς γε τοὺς χρόνους γενέσθαι  
ἀναγέγραπται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος  
εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἡρμήνευσε Φίλων ὁ  
Βύβλιος.”

1.9.22 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς, ἀλήθειαν  
δόμοῦ καὶ παλαιότητα τῷ δὴ θεολόγῳ  
μαρτυρήσας. ὁ δὲ προιών, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πάντων θεὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν θεοὺς τοὺς κατ'  
ούρανὸν, θνητοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας,  
οὐδὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀστείους, οἶους δὲ' ἀρετὴν  
ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποδέξασθαι ἥ ζηλῶσαι τῆς  
φιλοσοφίας, φαυλότητος δὲ καὶ μοχθηρίας  
ἀπάσης κακίαν περιβεβλημένους Θεολογεῖ.  
καὶ μαρτυρεῖ γε τούτους αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους  
εἶναι, τοὺς είσέτι καὶ νῦν θεοὺς παρὰ τοῖς

part of his work, providing evidence for  
this man's words.

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.  
He wrote about Semiramis, the queen of  
the Assyrians, who is said to have existed  
before the Trojan times or around that  
period. Philo of Byblos translated  
Sanchuniathon's work into Greek.

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.  
Instead, he talks about mortal men and  
women and the foolish way they are seen  
as worthy of praise or imitation for their  
virtue, even while being wrapped in all  
kinds of baseness and wickedness. He  
indeed testifies that these are the same  
ones who are still regarded as gods by

πᾶσι νενομισμένους κατά τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας. δέχου δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἔγγράφων τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

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

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

1.9.25 | Ταῦτα είπὼν ἐπιμέμφεται τοῖς νεωτέροις τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἀν βεβιασμένως καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς τοὺς περὶ θεῶν μύθους ἐπ' ἀλληγορίας καὶ φυσικὰς διηγήσεις τε καὶ θεωρίας ἀνάγουσι· λέγει δὲ οὗν προίων

1.9.26 | “Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν νεώτατοι τῶν ἱερολόγων τὰ μὲν γεγονότα πράγματα ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἀπεπέμψαντο, ἀλληγορίας δὲ καὶ μύθους ἐπινοήσαντες καὶ τοῖς κοσμικοῖς παθήμασι συγγένειαν πλασάμενοι μυστήρια κατέστησαν, πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπῆγον τῦφον, ὡς μὴ ḥαδίως τινὰ συνορᾶν

everyone in the cities and regions. Also, consider the proofs from their writings.

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

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. He knew 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. From this point, as if laying a foundation for his speech, the Egyptians called him Thoth, the Alexandrians also called him Thoth, and the Greeks translated his name as Hermes.

1.9.25 | Having said this, he criticizes those who came after him for interpreting the myths about the gods in a forced and untrue way, using allegories and natural explanations. He then continues by saying...

1.9.26 | But the very latest priests dismissed the actual events from the beginning. They invented allegories and myths, creating mysteries by linking them to worldly experiences. They became very proud, making it difficult for anyone to see the true events. However, he connected

τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν γενόμενα· ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὐρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμουνέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἢ δὴ οὐκ ἣν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἥσκησε· καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς μῆθον καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας ἑκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, ἔξηνύσατο τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἵως πάλιν οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι Ἱερεῖς χρόνοις ὑστερον ἡθέλησαν αὐτὴν ἀποκρύψαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες ἀποκαταστῆσαι· ἐξ οὗ τὸ μυστικὸν ἀνέκυπτεν οὐδέπω φθάσαν εἰς “Ἐλληνας.”

with the hidden writings of the Ammonians, which were not known to everyone, and he taught the knowledge of all things himself. Finally, he added to the work, clarifying the original myth and the allegories, revealing the true intention. Later, however, the priests wanted to hide this again and restore it to the mythical. From this, the secret emerged, which had not yet reached the Greeks.

1.9.27 | Τούτοις ἐξῆς φησιν “Ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν εὕρηται ἐπιμελῶς εἰδέναι τὰ Φοινίκων ποθοῦσι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔξερευνησαμένοις ὕλην, οὐχὶ τὴν παρ’ Ἐλλησι· διάφωνος γὰρ αὕτη καὶ φιλονεικότεον ὑπ’ ἐνίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν συντεθεῖσα.

1.9.27 | Next, he says, “We have carefully discovered what the Phoenicians desire, having explored much material, not the kind from the Greeks; for this is different and more disputed by some than it is arranged according to the truth.”

1.9.28 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερα Οὔτως τε ἔχειν πεπεῖσθαι ἡμῖν παρέστη ως ἐκεῖνος γέγραφε, τὴν διαφωνίαν δὸρῶσι τὴν παρ’ Ἐλλησι. περὶ ἣς μοι τρία πεφιλοτίμηται βιβλία τὴν δ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα Παραδόξου ἴστοριας.”

1.9.28 | And in addition to other matters, it has been shown to us that it is as he wrote; they see the disagreement among the Greeks. Regarding this, three books have been highly valued by me, titled “Of Strange History.”

1.9.29 | Καὶ αὖθις μεθ’ ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Προδιαρθρῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν αὖθις σαφήνειαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος διάγνωσιν ὅτι οἱ παλαίτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἴγυπτοι, παρ’ ὃν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρείαν εὐρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατά τι εὗ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· εὐεργέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενοι ως θεοὺς προσεκύνουν,

1.9.29 | And again, he adds, “It is necessary to clarify for better understanding and to recognize that the oldest of the barbarians, especially the Phoenicians and Egyptians, from whom other people also gained knowledge, believed that the greatest gods were those who provided for daily needs or did good things for the nations. They considered these beings as benefactors and the sources of many good things, worshipping them as gods. They built

καὶ εἰς τὸ χρεών μεταστάντας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι, στήλας τε καὶ βάθδους 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 τισι 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, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν θνητοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀθανάτους θεοὺς εἶναι.”

temples in their honor, offering pillars and staffs in their names, showing great respect for them, and the Phoenicians held the greatest festivals for them. Particularly 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 elements, along with the gods associated with 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 Σαγχουνιάθωνος ἐρμηνείας, ὡδέ πως τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἐκτιθέμενος θεολογίαν

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

## Section 10

1.10.1 | “Τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζο c φώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερὸν, ἐρεβῶδες. ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰώνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. ὅτε δὲ, φησὶν, ἡράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ιδίων ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἢ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πόθος, αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων. αὕτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μώτ.

1.10.1 | He suggests that the origin of everything is a dark and misty air, or a breath of dark air, along with 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 | τοῦτο τινές φασιν ἵλυν, οἷ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὅλων. ἦν δέ τινα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα

1.10.2 | Some say this is mud, while others say it is the decay of a watery mixture. From this came all the seeds of creation and the generation of everything. There

αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῷα νοερὰ, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασμὸν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὅμοιώς φοῦ σχῆματι, καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μῶτ, ἥλιος τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.”

were some creatures without sensation, from which intelligent beings came into being, and they were called Zoëphasmín, meaning “watchers of the sky.” They were shaped like an egg, and Môt shone forth, along with the sun, the moon, and the great stars.

1.10.3 | Τοιαύτη μὲν αὐτῶν ἡ κοσμογονία, ἄντικρυς ἀθεότητα εἰσάγουσα· ἵδωμεν δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς καὶ τὴν ζωογονίαν ὑποστῆναι λέγει. φησὶν οὖν

1.10.3 | Such is their creation of the world, which introduces outright godlessness. But let us now see how it also discusses the generation of life.

1.10.4 | “Καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος, διὰ πύρωσιν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐγένετο πνεύματα καὶ νέφη καὶ οὐρανίων 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.”

1.10.4 | And when the air became clear, through the heating of the sea and the earth, spirits and clouds came into being, along with the greatest downpours and floods of heavenly waters. When everything was separated, and its own place was divided because of the sun's heat, everything came together again in the air, and they joined as one. Thunder roared, and lightning flashed. 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 | Τοιαύτη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ζωογονία. τούτοις ἐξῆς δὲ 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 καὶ ηὕρε καὶ ήμιν ἐφώτισεν.”

1.10.5 | Such is their generation of life. The same author continues, saying, “These things were found written in the creation of the world, in the notes of that one, from thoughts and evidence that his mind has seen and discovered, and he has enlightened us.”

1.10.6 | Ἐξῆς τούτοις ὄνόματα τῶν ἀνέμων εἰπὼν νότου καὶ βορέου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν

1.10.6 | Next, after mentioning the names of the winds, the south wind and the north

έπιλέγει “Αλλ’ οὗτοί γε πρῶτοι ἀφιέρωσαν τὰ τῆς γῆς βλαστήματα καὶ θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ προσεκύνουν ταῦτα, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τε διεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες, καὶ χοὰς καὶ ἐπιθύσεις ἐποίουν.”

wind, he adds, “But these were the first to dedicate the plants of the earth and believed in gods. They worshiped these gods, from whom they themselves were born, along with those who followed them and all those before them. They made offerings and sacrifices.”

1.10.7 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Αὗται δ’ ἡσαν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅμοιαι τῇ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀτολμίᾳ. εἴτα φησι γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμου καὶ γυναικὸς Βάαυτ, τοῦτο δὲ νύκτα ἐρμηνεύει, Αἰῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον, Θνητοὺς ἄνδρας, οὕτω καλουμένους· εὐρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ δένδρων τροφήν. ἐκ τούτων τοὺς γενομένους κληθῆναι Γένος καὶ Γενεὰν, καὶ οἰκῆσαι τὴν Φοινίκην· αύχμῶν 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. 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 | Ἐξῆς φησιν “Απὸ Γένους Αἰῶνος καὶ Πρωτογόνου γεννηθῆναι αὐθις παῖδας Θνητοὺς, οἵς εἶναι ὄνόματα Φῶς καὶ Πύρ καὶ Φλόξ. οὗτοι (φησὶν) ἐκ παρατριβῆς ξύλων εῦρον πῦρ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἐδίδαξαν. υἱοὺς δὲ ἐγέννησαν οὗτοι μεγέθει τε καὶ ὑπεροχῇ κρείσσονας, ὃν τὰ ὄνόματα τοῖς

1.10.9 | Next, he says, “From the Race of Aion and Protagonos, mortal children were born again, whose names are Light, Fire, and Flame. These, he says, found fire by rubbing wood together and taught others how to use it. These sons were larger and stronger, and their names were given to the

ὅρεσιν ἐπετέθη ὃν ἔκρατησαν, 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)  
ἐχρημάτιζον, τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἀνέδην  
μισγομένων οἵς ἀν' ἐντύχοιεν.

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

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

mountains they conquered, so they were called Cassius, Lebanon, Antilebanon, and Brathy. From these, he says, Samimromus was born, who is also called Hypsuranios and Ousoo. He says that they were enriched by their mothers, from the women of that time who mingled freely with whoever they met.”

1.10.10 | Then he says, “Hypsuranios settled in Tyre and invented huts made from reeds, rushes, and papyrus. He stood by his brother Ousoo, who was strong in body. Ousoo was the first to use animal skins to capture wild beasts. 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. He set up two pillars with fire and spirit and worshipped, pouring out blood from the beasts he had captured.”

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 discovered hunting and fishing, from whom came the names hunters and fishermen. From them were born two brothers, the discoverers of iron and its uses. One of them was Chrysoor, who practiced words, songs, and prophecies; he was called Hephaestus. 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 αὐτὸν καὶ Δία μειλίχιον· οἵ δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοίχους φασὶν ἐπινοῆσαι ἐκ πλίνθων. μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτων γενέσθαι νεανίας δύο, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν Τεχνίτην, τὸν δὲ Γήινον αὐτόχθονα οὗτοι ἐπενόησαν τῷ πηλῷ τῆς πλίνθου συμμιγνύειν φορυτὸν καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ αὐτὰς τερσαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέγας ἔξευρον. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγένοντο ἔτεροι, ὃν δὲ μὲν Ἀλρὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, δὲ δὲ Ἀγρούηρος ἢ Ἀγρότης, οὗ καὶ ξόανον εἶναι μάλα σεβάσμιον καὶ ναὸν ζυγοφορούμενον ἐν Φοινίκῃ· παρὰ δὲ Βυβλίοις ἔξαιρέτως θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὄνομάζεται.

1.10.13 | ἐπενόησαν δὲ οὗτοι αὐλὰς 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.

1.10.14 | ἀπὸ Μισώρ Τάαυτος, ὃς εὗρε τὴν τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων γραφήν· δν Αίγυπτιοι μὲν Θωὸθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θὼθ, "Ἐλληνες δὲ Ἐρμῆν ἐκάλεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Συδύκ Διόσκουροι, ἢ Κάβειροι, ἢ Κορύβαντες, ἢ Σαμοθρᾶκες. οὗτοι φησὶ) πρῶτοι πλοῖον εὗρον. ἐκ τούτων γεγόνασιν ἔτεροι, οἵ καὶ βοτάνας εὗρον καὶ τὴν τῶν δακετῶν ἴασιν καὶ ἐπωδάς. κατὰ τούτους γίνεται τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος "Ψιστος, καὶ Θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ· οἱ καὶ

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

1.10.14 | From Misor came Taautos, who discovered the writing of the first elements. The Egyptians called him Thoth, the Alexandrians also called him Thoth, and the Greeks called him Hermes. From Sudyk came the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothracians. These are said to be the first to discover ships. From them, others were born who also found herbs, healing for wounds, and spells. Among them is one called the Most High, Helion, and a woman

κατώκουν περὶ Βύβλον.

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 ὑπέρ 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 διμώνυμον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ ὁ Ὑψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερώθη, ὡς χοὰς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν.

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

1.10.16 | παραλαβὼν 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 Ἀτλαντα. καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων δὲ γαμετῶν ὁ Οὐρανὸς πολλὴν ἔσχε γενεάν. διὸ χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ζηλοτυποῦσα ἐκάκιζεν, ὡς καὶ διαστῆναι ἀλλήλω.

1.10.16 | Then Uranus took the rule from his father and went to marry his sister Earth. With her, he had four children: Helios, who is also called Cronus, Baitylus, Dagon, who is Siton, and Atlas. From other wives, Uranus had many descendants. Because of her jealousy, Earth mistreated Uranus, hoping they would be separated from each other.

1.10.17 | ὁ 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 χρώμενος, οὕτος γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ γραμματεὺς, τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν ἀμύνεται, τιμωρῶν τῇ μητρί.

1.10.17 | But Uranus, having separated from her, would often come close to her again, only to pull away once more. 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, his greatest helper and advisor, for he was his secretary, to defend against his father Uranus, seeking to avenge his mother.

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 ἔγκυμων οὔσα, ἦν ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ Κρόνος Δαγῶνι πρὸς γάμον.

1.10.19 | τίκτει δὲ τούτῳ ὁ κατὰ γαστρὸς ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ ἔφερεν, ὃ καὶ ἐκάεσε 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 "Ατλαντα ὑπονοήσας ὁ Κρόνος μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ εἰς βάθος γῆς ἐμβαλὼν κατέχωσε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἐπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὅρος ναὸν αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν. οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι "Ηλου τοῦ Κρόνου Ἐλωεὶμ ἐπεκλήθησαν, ὡς ἀν Κρόνιοι οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐπὶ Κρόνου,

1.10.21 | Κρόνος δὲ υἱὸν ἔχων Σάδιδον ἴδιῳ αὐτὸν σιδήρῳ διεχρήσατο, δι' ὑπονοίας αὐτὸν ἐσχηκώς, καὶ τῆς c ψυχῆς, αὐτόχειρ τοῦ παιδὸς γενόμενος, ἐστέρησεν· ὡσαύτως καὶ θυγατρὸς ἴδιας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν, ὡς πάντας ἐκπεπλῆθαι θεοὺς

1.10.18 | Cronus had children named Persephone and Athena. The first was a maiden. 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 magical words to stir their desire for battle against Uranus on behalf of Earth. So, Cronus engaged Uranus in war, drove him from power, and took the kingdom. During 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 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, threw him deep into the earth. During this time, the Dioscuri built ships and sailed. 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 him.

1.10.21 | Cronus had a son named Sadidon, and he used iron to harm him, suspecting him. He took away the child's soul, becoming the killer himself. In the same way, he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods would be

τὴν Κρόνου γνώμην.

1.10.22 | χρόνου δὲ προίόντος Ούρανὸς ἐν φυγῇ τυγχάνων θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ παρθένον Ἀστάρτην μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς δύο, Ρέας καὶ Διώνης, δόλῳ τὸν Κρόνον ἀνελεῖν ὑπομέμπει· ἃς καὶ ἐλῶν ὁ Κρόνος κουριδίας γαμετὰς ἀδελφὰς οὕσας ἐποίησατο.

1.10.23 | γνοὺς δὲ Ούρανὸς ἐπιστρατεύει κατὰ τοῦ Κρόνου Εἰμαρμένην καὶ Ὁραν μεθ' ἑτέρων συμμάχων, καὶ ταύτας ἔξοικειωσάμενος ὁ Κρόνος παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέσχεν. ἔτι δὲ φησὶν) ἐπενόησε θεός Ούρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος. Κρόνω δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ Ἀστάρης θυγατέρες ἐπτὰ Τιτανίδες ἥ Αρτέμιδες.

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

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.

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

affected by Cronus's will.

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

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

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

being.

1.10.27 | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου γίνεται Σιδῶν,  
ἢ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐφωνίας πρώτη ὅμνον  
ῷδῆς εὗρε, κα; Ποσειδῶν. τῷ δὲ  
Δημαροῦντι γίνεται Μέλκαθρος, ὁ καὶ  
Ἡρακλῆς.

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

1.10.29 | 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 ἔκτείμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα,  
σύνεγγυς πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν. ἐνθα  
ἀφιερώθη Ούρανὸς, καὶ ἀπηρτίσθη αὐτοῦ  
τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀπέσταξεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα  
τῶν αἰδοίων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς καὶ τῶν  
ποταμῶν τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ μέχρι τούτου  
δείκνυται τὸ χωρίον."

1.10.30 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου,  
καὶ τοιαῦτά γε τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ παρ' Ἑλλησι  
βοωμένου βίου τῶν ἐπὶ Κρόνου, οὓς καί  
φασι γεγονέναι πρῶτον χρύσεον τε γένος  
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, τῆς μακαριζομένης  
ἔκείνης τῶν παλαιῶν εὐδαιμονίας. πάλιν δὲ  
ὁ συγγραφεὺς τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφέρει  
λέγων

1.10.27 | From Pontus comes Sidon, who,  
because of her beautiful voice, was the first  
to create a hymn of songs, along with  
Poseidon. To Demarounte, Melkathros is  
born, who is also known as Heracles.

1.10.28 | Then again, Uranus fights against  
Pontus, and after separating from  
Demarounte, he adds to him. Demarounte  
persuades Pontus, but Pontus turns him  
away. In response, Demarounte prays for a  
sacrifice to help him escape.

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

1.10.30 | So much for Cronus, and such are  
the sacred stories of the life of those who  
lived during his time. They say these people  
were the first golden race of mortal men,  
from that blessed old happiness. Again, the  
writer adds to these stories, saying:

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

1.10.31 | Astarte, the greatest, along with 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 symbol of kingship on her own head. As she traveled around the world, she found a star that soared through the sky, which she took and dedicated on the holy island of Tyre.

1.10.32 | τὴν δὲ Αστάρτην Φοίνικες τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγουσι. καὶ ὁ Κρόνος δὲ περιιών τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ δίδωσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὴν βασιλείαν.

1.10.32 | The Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite. And as Cronus traveled around the world, he gave the kingdom of Attica to his daughter Athena.

1.10.33 | λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ φθορᾶς τὸν ἐαυτοῦ 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 struck, Cronus completely sacrificed his only son to Uranus, his father. He also cut off his own genitals, forcing his allies to do the same.

1.10.34 | καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἔτερον αύτοῦ παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μούθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιεροῖ. Θάνατον δὲ καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσι.

1.10.34 | Not long after, he dedicated another son of his, named Muth, who died from Rhea. The Phoenicians call death Pluto.

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

1.10.35 | 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, as well as to the farmers and fishermen, who 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 ιεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων

1.10.36 | Before this, the god Thoth, imitating the appearances of the gods present, created the sacred symbols of the elements in the likeness of Cronus, Dagon,

χαρακτήρας. ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας ὅμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθίων καὶ ὄπισθίων μερῶν, \* \* \* δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν ὡς ἵπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα.

1.10.37 | τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόνος κοιμώμενος ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἔγρηγορὼς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμενος ἔπτατο καὶ ἵπτάμενος ἀνεπαύετο. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς δύο ἐκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων, 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 ἐπτά παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐνετείλατο θεὸς Ταυθός.

1.10.39 | ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίων, ὃς πάμπρωτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος γεγονότων Φοινίκων Ἱεροφάντης ἀλληγορή σας, 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· ὃν εἰς ἦν καὶ Είσιριος τῶν τριῶν γραμέπεισάκτοις· εὐρετής, ἀδελφὸς Χνᾶ τοῦ πρώτου] μετονομασθέντος Φοίνικος."

and the others. He also invented royal signs for Cronus: four eyes on the front and back, two that were closed, and on his shoulders, four wings—two that looked like they were flying and two that looked like they were folded down.

1.10.37 | The symbol represented that while Cronus was sleeping, he could still see, and when he was awake, he would fall asleep. Similarly, with the wings, when he was resting, he would fly, and when he was flying, he would rest. For the other gods, each had two wings on their shoulders, as they were linked to Cronus. For him, there were also two wings on his head—one on the most commanding part of his mind and one for his senses.

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

1.10.39 | All these things were passed 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. They, wanting to increase the confusion, handed them down to their successors and followers. One of these was Isirios, one of the three followers. He was the discoverer and the brother of Khnum, who was the

first to be renamed Phoenician.

1.10.40 | Εἰσ' ἐξῆς αὐθις ἐπιλέγει "Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες εύφυια πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἔξιδιώσαντο, εἴτα καὶ τοῖς προκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἔξετραγώδησαν, ταῖς τε τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς θέλγειν ἐπινοοῦντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλον. ἐνθεν Ἡσίοδος οἱ τε κυκλικοὶ περιηχμένοι θεογονίας καὶ γιγαντομαχίας καὶ Τιτανομαχίας ἔπλασαν ίδίας καὶ ἔκτομὰς, οἵ συμπεριφερόμενοι ἔξενίκησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

1.10.40 | Next, he chooses to say again, "The Greeks, being naturally gifted, first created many things from their own ideas, and then they decorated them in various ways with embellishments, hoping 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 ἔκείνων πλάσμασιν αἱ ἀκοαὶ ἡμῶν γενόμεναι, καὶ προληφθεῖσαι πολλοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς παρακαταθήκην φυλάσσουσιν ἣν παρεδέξαντο μυθοποιίαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, ἥτις συνεργηθεῖσα χρόνῳ δυσεξίτητον αὐτῆς τὴν κατοχὴν εἴργασται, ὡστε 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 after being passed down through many ages, they keep safe the tradition of the myths that they accepted, just as I mentioned at the beginning. This tradition, having developed over time, has made its hold hard 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. δ' αὐτὸς 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 confirmed as true by the testimony of Porphyry the philosopher. He also writes about these matters concerning Cronus in his work about the Jews.

1.10.43 | "Ταυθὸς, ὃν Αἴγυπτοι Θωὺθ προσαγορεύουσι, σοφίᾳ διενεγκῶν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας

1.10.43 | Thoth, whom the Egyptians call Thoth, brought wisdom to the Phoenicians and was the first to organize the matters of piety from the confusion of the common

είς έπιστημονικήν έμπειρίαν διέταξεν. ώ μετά γενεάς πλείους θεός Σουρμουβηλός Θουρώ τε ἡ μετονομασθεῖσα Εύσαρθις ἀκολουθήσαντες κεκρυμμένην τοῦ Ταυοῦ καὶ ἀλληγορίαις ἐπεσκιασμένην τὴν θεολογίαν ἐφώτισαν.”

people into a scientific understanding. After many generations, the god Surmubelos and the renamed Thuro, now called Eusarthis, followed him and shed light on the hidden theology of Thoth, which was overshadowed by allegories.

1.10.44 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν “Ἐθος ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς τὸ ἡγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιόναι, 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 Ἄνωβρέτ λεγομένης υἱὸν ἔχων μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰεδοὺς ἐκάλουν, τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνικι) 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, during 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. Those who were given were secretly slaughtered. Therefore, Cronus, whom the Phoenicians call El, ruled over the land, and after the end of his life, he was established as a star of Cronus. He had 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 ὀποῖᾳ φησι περὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν καὶ ιοβόλων θηρίων, ἂ 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 ὧδε πως λέγων

1.10.45 | He himself again, shifting the topic to the Phoenician elements from Sanchuniathon, talks about the crawling creatures and those that bring poison. These creatures do not provide any good use for humans; instead, they cause destruction and harm to those whom they sting with their painful and harsh venom. He also writes about these things in this way.

1.10.46 | “Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ δράκοντος

1.10.46 | Therefore, Thoth himself

φύσιν καὶ τῶν ὅφενω αὐτὸς ἔξεθείασεν ὁ Ταυθὸς, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αῦθις Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι· πνευματικώτατον γὰρ τὸ ζῷον πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ πυρῶδες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεδόθη· παρ' ὃ καὶ τάχος ἀνυπέρβλητον διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παρίστησι, χωρὶς ποδῶν τε καὶ χειρῶν ἡ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἔκτοσθεν, δι' ὧν τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα τὰς κινήσεις ποιεῖται· καὶ ποικίλων σχημάτων τύπους ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐλικοειδεῖς ἔχει τὰς δόρμας ἐφ' ὃ βούλεται τάχος.

described the nature of the dragon and the serpents, and after him, both the Phoenicians and Egyptians followed suit. This creature is the most spiritual of all reptiles and was handed down as fiery by him. It also shows unmatched speed through its spirit, without feet, hands, or any other external parts that other animals use for movement. It can take on various shapes and moves in a twisting manner according to the speed it desires.

1.10.47 | καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον δέ ἔστιν, οὐ μόνον τε ἐκδυόμενον τὸ γήρας νεάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὔξησιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι μείζονα πέφυκε· καὶ ἐπειδὰν τὸ ὠρισμένον 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.

1.10.47 | 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. When it has filled its set measure, it consumes itself, just as Thoth arranged in the sacred writings. For this reason, this creature is included in sacred places and in mysteries.

1.10.48 | εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Ἐθωθιῶν ὑπομνήμασιν ἐπὶ πλέον· ἐν οἷς κατασκευάξεται ὅτι ἀθάνατον εἶη, καὶ ὡς εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλύεται, ὥσπερ πρόκειται· οὐ γὰρ θνήσκει ίδιῳ θανάτῳ, εἴ μὴ βίᾳ τινὶ πληγὲν, τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον. Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καλοῦσιν ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι κνῆφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ιέρακος κεφαλὴν, διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ιέρακος.

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 stated. This creature does not die a natural death unless it is struck by some violent blow. The Phoenicians call it a good spirit, and 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 | καί φησιν ὁ Ἐπήεις ἀλληγορῶν, (ὁ ὄνομασθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῖς μέγιστος ιεροφάντης καὶ ιερογραμματεὺς, ὃν μετέφρασεν Ἀρειος Ἡρακλεοπολίτης) κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· τὸ πρῶτον ὃν θειότατον ὅφις

1.10.49 | And the Epēios speaks in allegories (he who is called the greatest hierophant and scribe among them, translated by Areios of Heracleopolis) as follows: "The first being is the most divine

έστιν ιέρακος ἔχων μορφὴν, ἄγαν ἐπίχαρις·  
ὅς εἰ ἀναβλέψειε, φωτὸς τὸ πᾶν ἐπλήρου ἐν  
τῇ πρωτογόνῳ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ  
καμμύσειε, σκότος ἐγίνετο·'

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 | ἔμφασιν διδοὺς ὁ Ἐπήεις ὅτι καὶ διάπυρόν ἔστι διὰ τοῦ φάναι 'διηγασε'. φωτὸς γὰρ ἕδιόν ἔστι τὸ διαυγάσαι. παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε περὶ τοῦ πιρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὄφιονος θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὄφιονιδῶν, περὶ ᾧ αὗθις λέξομεν.

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, which we will discuss again later.

1.10.51 | ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἴγυπτιοι 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.

1.10.51 | Moreover, the Egyptians, from the same ideas, depict the universe as a round shape that is airy and fiery, with a serpent in the middle that has the form of a hawk. The whole shape resembles the letter theta; the circle represents the universe, while the serpent in the center symbolizes the good spirit that connects it.

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

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 "Octateuch."

1.10.53 | Πάντες δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρὰ

1.10.53 | All took their starting points from

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.

Thoth and explained things as follows. First, they built temples in hidden places using serpents 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 follows this path: it seeks to escape unchangeably and to pursue the cure for 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 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, ὡς μηκέτι χρῆναι τούτων βιαίους ἀνιχνεύειν φυσιολογίας, σαφῆ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλεγχον ἐπιφερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Φοινίκων θεολογίᾳ· ὡρα δὲ μεταβάντας καὶ τὰ Αίγυπτιῶν ἐπιθεωρῆσαι.

1.10.55 | That these are not myths or mere inventions of poets, but instead hold a deeper meaning from wise and ancient theologians, as they themselves claim, is clear. They provide true testimonies that are older than all poets and writers, revealing 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 its own mysteries. It is evident 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.

## Book Two (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ)

### Introduction

2.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς

2.praef.1 | Introduction. The theology of the

Φοινίκων θεολογίας τὸν προειρημένον περιέχει τρόπον· ἥν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν καὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν φρενοβλαβείας τὴν ἴασιν μεταδιώκειν ὁ σωτήριος εύαγγελίζεται λόγος.

Phoenicians follows the path mentioned earlier; it seeks to escape unchangeably and to pursue the cure for the madness of the ancients, as the saving message proclaims.

2.praef.2 | 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 ἰστορίας, τῶν τε παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπιτελουμένων μυστηρίων, δῆλον ἀν εἴη ἀπό τε τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν συγγραφέων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν νομιφοιμένων θεολόγων δόμοιογίας, δι' ἣς ἐμαρτύρησαν τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ πρώτους τὰ περὶ θεῶν συστησαμένους μηδὲν εἰς φυσικάς ἀναφέρειν τροπολογίας, μηδ' ἀλληγορεῖν τοὺς περὶ θεῶν μύθους, ἐπὶ μόνης δὲ τῆς λέξεως φυλάττειν τὰς ἰστορίας.

2.praef.2 | It is clear that these are not myths or mere inventions of poets, but instead hold a deeper meaning from wise and ancient theologians, as they themselves claim. They provide true testimonies that are older than all poets and writers, revealing 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 its own mysteries. There is no need to forcefully search for the nature of these things, as the evidence is clear. This is the theology of the Phoenicians; now it is time to turn and examine that of the Egyptians.

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.3 | For these things, as mentioned earlier, the voices made it clear that there is no longer a need to forcefully search for the nature of these matters, since the evidence from them clearly reveals the truth of the facts.

2.praef.4 | Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Φοινίκων θεολογία. ὡρα δὲ μεταβάντας καὶ τὰ Αίγυπτιων ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, εἰς τὸ κατανοῆσαι ἀκριβῶς καὶ συνιδεῖν ἔξητασμένως εἰ μὴ κεκριμένη καὶ εὔλογος συνέστηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ

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

έξ αύτῶν ἀναχώρησις, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ μόνης τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, πρώτιστα πάντων αύτοῖς Αἴγυπτοις, εἴτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἵσα φρονοῦσιν αύτοῖς κατορθουμένη.

they are reasonable. This can only be done through clear evidence, first from the Egyptians themselves, and then from those who share similar views.

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

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

2.praef.6 | πλὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν μνημονευθεὶς, ἐκ πλειόνων τὰς ἱστορίας 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 συναγαγών ἱστορίαν, συνάψας τε τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς ἔχησι πράγμασι, τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς ὅλης ἐποιήσατο πραγματείας ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτοις θεολογίας· ἀφ' ἣς ἡγοῦμαι κρείττον εἶναι ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν προκειμένων παράθεσιν, ὡς ἂν μᾶλλον οὕσης γνωριμωτέρας τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς τούτου γραφῆς. Ἰστορεῖ δ' οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν

2.praef.6 | But also Diodorus, mentioned before us, gathered histories from many sources and accurately reported what is most important about each nation. He is a well-known man who has gained great respect for his knowledge among all scholars. He collected the entire ancient history and 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 ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν πρώτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διά τε τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον ὥδιως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ

2.1.1 | The Egyptians say that the first humans came to be in Egypt because of the good conditions of the land and the nature of the Nile. This river, being very fertile and providing food naturally, easily nourishes the living things that grow.

ζωογονηθέντα. —

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

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 εὑρετὴν γενόμενον.

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.

2.1.5 | ἐκ δὲ τούτων γενέσθαι πέντε θεοὺς, "Οσιριν καὶ Ἰσιν καὶ Τυφῶνα, Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτην. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὁσιριν εἶναι τὸν Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν τὴν Δήμητρα. ταύτην δὲ γῆμαντα τὸν Ὁσιριν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενον πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς εὔεργεσίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ .

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

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

2.1.4 | After this, they say that Cronus began to rule and 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 entire universe because of their goodness.

2.1.5 | From these, five gods came to be: Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. They say that Osiris is the same as Dionysus, and that Isis is the same as Demeter. After marrying her, Osiris took over the kingdom and did many good deeds for the benefit of all.

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

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. He appointed priests to take care of these temples.

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

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

2.1.8 | τιμᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ἐρμῆν διαφόρῳ φύσει κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν τῶν δυναμένων ὡφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον. — εὐρετὴν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ θυσίας θεῶν διατάξασθαι, λύραν τε εὑρεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας διδάξαι τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐρμηνείαν· ἀφ' οὗπερ αὐτὸν Ἐρμῆν ὄνομασθῆναι.

2.1.8 | He was especially honored by Hermes, who had a unique nature that helped improve common life. For Hermes was the first to discover writing, arrange sacrifices for the gods, invent the lyre, and teach the Greeks about these things. Because of this, he was named Hermes.

2.1.9 | τοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἔλαίας τὸ φυτὸν εὐρεῖν. 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 εὐρετὴν τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς δάφνης γενέσθαι.

2.1.9 | He also discovered the olive tree plant. When Osiris arrived, 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 laurel plant.

2.1.10 | συστρατεῦσαι δὲ τῷ Ὀσίριδι τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς, Ἄνουβίν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, παραλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα διαφερόντως ὑπ' Αἴγυπτίων τιμώμενον, οὓς καὶ ἐπώνυμον εἶναι τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν. ὅντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ταφόσιριν ἀχθῆναι τὸ τῶν

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

Σατύρων γένος.

by the race of Satyrs around Taphosiris.

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

2.1.11 | Being fond of music, he surrounded himself with a crowd of musicians, including nine maidens who could sing and were skilled in other arts. The Greeks called them the Muses, with Apollo as their leader.

2.1.12 | παντὸς δὲ ἔθνους ὡς θεὸν ἀποδέχομένον τὸν "Οσιριν διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας πανταχοῦ μνημεῖα ἐκατοῦν καταλιπεῖν,

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

2.1.13 | κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὄλιγας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

2.1.13 | They also 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 | They also approached the other nations in Phrygia and crossed over to Europe across the Hellespont. They left the son of the king of Macedonia behind but entrusted the farming in Attica to Triptolemus.

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

2.1.15 | After this, those who changed from humans to gods were honored by Isis and Hermes, along with the other most famous gods. They also revealed 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 ἐκάστω

2.1.16 | He was killed by Typhon, his brother, who was wicked and impious. After tearing the body of the slain into sixteen pieces, he wanted to give each of those who attacked him a share, hoping

μερίδα, βουλόμενον ἄπαντας μετασχεῖν τοῦ μύσους.

2.1.17 | τὴν δὲ "Ισιν ἀδελφὴν οὗσαν Ὀσίριδος καὶ γυναικα μετελθεῖν τὸν φόνον, συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς" Ὡρου. ἀνελοῦσαν δὲ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας παρὰ τὴν νῦν Ἄνταιον κώμην καλουμένην βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἴγυπτου.

2.1.18 | εὺροῦσαν δὲ πάντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος πλὴν τῶν αἰδίων τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἐκάστῳ μέρει περιπλάσαι λέγουσιν αὐτὴν τύπον ἀνθρωποειδῆ, παραπλήσιον Ὀσίριδι τὸ μέγεμέγεθός ^ ἔξ ἀρωμάτων καὶ κηροῦ, καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι καθ' ὅλης τῆς Αἴγυπτου τιμᾶν. καθιερῶσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γινομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ζώων ἐν ὁποῖον ἀν βουληθῶσιν.

2.1.19 | τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς Ἱεροὺς τόν τε ὄνομαζόμενον Ἀπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν Ὀσίριδι καθιερωθῆναι, καὶ τούτους σέβεσθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς κοινῇ καταδειχθῆναι πᾶσιν Αἴγυπτίοις. ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς εὔροῦσι τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὰς κοινὰς γεωργίας.

2.1.20 | ὄμόσαι δὲ τὴν "Ισιν μηδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔτι συνουσίαν προσδέξαπροσδέξασθαι μεταστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν καὶ ταφῆναι κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν.

2.1.21 | τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνευρεθέντα τού

that all would take part in the secret.

2.1.17 | Isis, who was both 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 | 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, using perfumes and wax, and gave them to the priests throughout all of Egypt as an honor. She also established that any animals born among them could be whatever they wanted.

2.1.19 | The sacred bulls, 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 thought to help with planting and farming in general.

2.1.20 | They swore that Isis would accept no more union with any man. After she changed, she was honored among mortals with divine honors and was buried in Memphis.

2.1.21 | They say that the parts of Osiris

Οσίριδος μέρη ταφῆς ἀξιωθῆναι φασι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον· τὸ δὲ αἴδοῖον ὑπὸ μὲν Τυφῶνος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιφῆναι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιωθῆναι τιμῶν ἴσοθέων.

that were found were honored in the way mentioned. They claim that the private part was thrown into the river by Typhon, but that it was still honored by Isis with the same honors as the other parts.

2.1.22 | ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἴδωλον αύτοῦ κατασκευάσασαν τιμᾶς καταδεῖξαι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γινομένας ἐντιμοτάτας ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔξ Αἴγυπτου παρειληφότας τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὄργιασμοὺς καὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς ἑορτὰς τιμᾶν τοῦτο τὸ μόριον ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις, ὄνομάζοντας αύτὸν φαλλόν.

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

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

2.1.23 | They say that the god was born in Thebes of Boeotia from Semele and Zeus. When Orpheus traveled to Egypt and participated in the rituals and the Dionysian mysteries, he was loved and honored by the Cadmeans, and he shared with them the story of the god's birth as a gift. The crowds, some out of ignorance and others wanting to name the god as a Greek, welcomed the rituals and the mysteries with kindness.

2.1.24 | ἀφορμὰς δὲ ἔχειν τὸν Ὁρφέα πρὸς τὴν μετάθεσιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τελετῆς τοιαύτας· Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἴγυπτίων γεννῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑφ’ ὅτου δήποτε φθαρεῖσαν ἔγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπτὰ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος οἶόν περ οἱ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον τὸν "Οσιριν

2.1.24 | Orpheus had reasons for changing the story of the god's birth and rituals in this way: Cadmus, being from Thebes, was said to have been born of the Egyptians along with other children and Semele. This woman, however, was believed to have become pregnant by someone, and after seven months, she gave birth to a child, similar to those who are thought to have

γεγονέναι νομίζουσι·

2.1.25 | τὸν δὲ Κάδμον τελευτῆσαν τὸ βρέφος χρυσῶσαι, 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.

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

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

2.1.28 | φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Περσέα γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τῆς "Ισιδος τὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Ἄργος μεταφέρεσθαι. μυθολογούντων αὐτὴν εἶναι Ἰώ, τὴν εἰς βιόδις τύπον μεταμορφωθεῖσαν. τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τοὺς μὲν "Ισιν, τοὺς δὲ Δήμητρα, τοὺς δὲ Θεσμοφόρον, ἄλλους δὲ Σελήνην, καὶ ἄλλους "Ηραν νομίζειν.

been born in Egypt as Osiris.

2.1.25 | When Cadmus died, he turned the child into gold 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 by Zeus.

2.1.26 | Then, as the storytellers arrived, they filled the theater and created a strong and lasting belief among those who listened. In general, it is said that the Greeks selected the most famous heroes and gods from Egypt.

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 who was the son of Alcmene.

2.1.28 | They also say that Perseus was born in Egypt, and that the story of Isis was brought to Argos by the Greeks. While telling stories, they claimed she was Io, who was transformed into the shape of a cow. Some called her Isis, others Demeter, some the Bringer of Law, and still others Selene and Hera.

2.1.29 | τὸν Ὀσιριν 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 Ἰσίν φασι φαρμάκων πολλῶν καὶ ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης εὑρεῖν 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 Αἴγυπτου. μεθερμηνευόμενον δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, τήν τε ἰατρικὴν καὶ μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἰσιδος διδαχθέντα διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ θεραπειᾶν εὔεργετεῖν.

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

2.1.33 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἴστοροῦσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων κατ' Αἴγυπτον τοιοῦτός τις παρ' αὐτοῖς κατέχει λόγος "Τινὲς μὲν φασι τοὺς ἔξ αρχῆς γενομένους θεοὺς, ὀλίγους ὄντας καὶ

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

2.1.30 | They say that Isis discovered many medicines and the science of healing. She also found the potion of immortality, which helped her son Horus, who was attacked by the Titans and found dead in the water. Not only did she bring his soul back to life, but she also allowed him to 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 he could help others through oracles and healing.

2.1.32 | Most people agree that during the time of Isis, some large giants started 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 | And this is what they say about these things. As for the sacred animals in Egypt, they have a story: Some say that the first gods were few in number and were overpowered by the many and the

κατισχυομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς  
ἀσεβίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
δόμοιωθηναί τισιν ἀλόγοις ζῷοις, καὶ οὕτως  
διαφυγεῖν· ἐπειτα χάριν ἀποδιδόντας τῆς  
σωτηρίας ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις σεῖς  
αὐτῶν τῶν ζῷων, οἵς ἀφωμοιώθησαν.

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 they resembled.

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  
φῶνα γενόμενα, ὃν τὰς εἰκόνας ἔφερον,  
ἀποθεῶσαι.

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

2.1.35 | ἔτεροι δὲ τρίτην αἴτιαν 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 Ἀνούσιν κυνὸς ἔχειν  
κεφαλήν· ἐμφαίνοντες δὴ σωματοφύλαξ  
ἥν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν.

2.1.35 | Others offer a third reason, saying that the animals are honored because of their usefulness. The female cow gives birth and helps with plowing, while the sheep provides wool and 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 | ἔνιοι δέ φασι Ἰσιδος  
προηγουμένους τοὺς κύνας καθ' ὃν καιρὸν  
έζήτει τὸν Ὀσιριν τά τε θηρία καὶ τοὺς  
ἀπαντῶντας ἀπείργειν.

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

2.1.37 | καὶ τὸν μὲν αἴλουρον πρὸς τὰς  
ἀσπίδας εὔθετον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
δακετὰ τῶν ἐρπετῶν, τὸν δὲ ἰχνεύμονα τὰ  
τῶν κροκοδείλων ὡὰ συντρίβειν, ἀναιρεῖν  
τε τοὺς κροκοδείλους πηλῷ κυλιόμενον καὶ

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

έπιπηδῶντα κεχηνόσι τοῖς στόμασι,  
διαφαγόντα τε αὐτῶν τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς κοιλίας  
νεκροὺς ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

also tearing apart the dead inside their bellies.

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.

2.1.38 | Of the birds, the ibis is helpful against snakes, locusts, and caterpillars, while the hawk is useful against scorpions and horned creatures, as well as small biting animals. They are also involved in divination. The eagle is valued for its royal nature.

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 ὀλίγους καθιερωκέναι κατὰ τὰς  
τελετὰς, ὡς αἴτιον τῆς τῶν ζῷων γενέσεως·

2.1.39 | They say that the goat is special, just like Priapus among the Greeks, because of its reproductive organ. This animal is considered the least desirable for mating, but the organ that causes generation is honored as if it were the source of all 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 | 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  
συνουσίας ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργότατον.

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

2.1.41 | τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς Ἱεροὺς τὸν  
Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦν τιμᾶσθαι  
παραπλησίως τοῖς θεοῖς, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν

2.1.41 | The sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis, are honored like the gods, both for their role in agriculture and for being linked to

γεωργίαν, ἔμα 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 "Ισιδος μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς" Ὁρου μελλούσης διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς Τυφῶνα, παραγενέσθαι βοηθὸν ἐξ Ἀιδου τὸν "Οσιριν τῷ τέκνῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, λύκῳ τὴν ὄψιν ὁμοιωθέντα.

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

2.1.44 | φασὶ δὲ τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλέων διωκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἴδιων κυνῶν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἐπειτα 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 βασιλεύεσθαι, ἐπινοῆσαί τινα διάφορα σεβάσματα αὐτοῖς τῶν ζώων παρασχεῖν, ὅπως ἐκάστων τὸ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώμενον σεβομένων, τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιερωμένου καταφρονούντων, μηδέποτε δύμονον ἵσαι δύνωνται πάντες οἵ

the discovery of the harvests.

2.1.42 | Wolves are honored because they are similar to dogs in nature. 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 honored 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, chased by his own dogs, fled to the lake. Then, strangely, he was taken by a crocodile and carried across to the other side.

2.1.45 | Some say there are other reasons for the honor given to irrational animals. When the many kings of old stopped ruling and agreed not to rule anymore, they thought of providing different kinds of worship for these animals. This way, each animal would be honored by some people but looked down upon by others, so that they could never all agree together in Egypt.

κατ' Αἴγυπτον. —

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

2.1.47 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ καθ' ᾧν ἀν οἰκίαν εὐρεθῇ κύων τετελευτηκώς, ξυρῶνται πάντες ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ποιοῦνται πένθος· κἀν οἶνος, ἢ σῖτος, ἢ τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων τύχῃ κείμενον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οὐκ ἀν ἔτι χρήσασθαι αὐτοῖς 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 πέμματα παντοδαπὰ μέλιτι φύροντες καὶ κρέα χήνεια τὰ μὲν ἔψοντες, τὰ δὲ ὄπτῶντες.

2.1.49 | τοῖς δε ὡμοφάγοις πολλὰ τῶν ὄρνέων παραβάλλουσι, καὶ θηλείας ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζώων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας συντρέφουσιν, ἀς παλλακίδας προσαγορεύουσιν.

2.1.46 | When one of these animals dies, they cover it with a linen cloth and, crying out in sorrow, bury it in sacred tombs. Anyone who willingly kills one of these animals faces death, unless it is a cat or an ibis. However, if someone kills a cat or an ibis, 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 entire 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, the Mnevis in the city of Heliopolis, 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, along with 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 the most beautiful females of each animal, which they call their concubines.

2.1.50 | ὅταν δὲ ὁ Ἀπις τελευτήσας ταφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ζητοῦσιν ἔτερον ὄμοιον· 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 ἴσταμεναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀνασυράμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον χρόνον ἅπαντα κεκωλυμένον ἐστὶν εἰς ὅψιν αὐτὰς ἔρχεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. φασὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ὀσίριδος 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 εἰκότως καταπύσαντες ἀνεχωρήσαμεν, λύτρωσιν καὶ ἔλευθερίαν τῶν τοσούτων κακῶν οὐδέτερως εὐράμενοι ἡ διὰ μόνης τῆς σωτηρίου καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας, τῆς τὰς διανοίας τυφλοῖς τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν εὐαγγελισαμένης.

2.1.52 | τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς σεμνοτέρας δὴ θεωρίας τε καὶ φυσιολογίας μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐπισκεψόμεθα, ἐπὰν καὶ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διαλάβωμεν. οὕτω δῆτα ἀναμὶξ Αἴγυπτιακῆς ὄμοῦ καὶ Φοινικικῆς συνδραμούσης μυθολογίας κεκράτηκεν εἰκότως παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἔθνῶν ἡ τῆς παλαιᾶς πλάνης δεισιδαιμονία.

2.1.53 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ λεκτέον καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων. τὰ μὲν δὴ σεμνὰ τῆς Αἴγυπτίων μυθολογίας τὸν προτεθέντα περιείληφε τρόπον, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικὰ ὅτι τούτων αὐτῶν ἀποσπάσματα καὶ παρακούσματα τυγχάνει προείρηται μὲν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν προτεθέντων

2.1.50 | When the Apis dies, they bury it with great ceremony and 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 calf after its death.

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

2.1.52 | We will soon look at their more serious theories and natural philosophy, after we discuss the Greek ones. Thus, the ancient 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 talk about the Greeks. The serious parts of Egyptian mythology have been included as mentioned before, while the Greek ones are often fragments and misunderstandings of these. This has been said many times

συγγραφέων διαγνώσεως,

through the insights of 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, since 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 αὐτοῖς ἀποδείκνυνται συγχρώμενοι, ὡς ἔνεστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τούτων ἴστορίας, ἥν ὁ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἐπὶ ταύτον ὅμοιος συναγαγὼν οὖ 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 we can learn from the history of these things. This history, which I mentioned earlier when bringing together the libraries, is discussed 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 clear that Moses is earlier than the Greek gods, since he lived before Cadmus, while those gods appear to be younger than Cadmus. So, pay attention to the words of the author.

## Section 2

2.2.1 | "Κάδμον τὸν Ἀγήνορός φασιν ἐκ Φοινίκης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἥν ὑπὸ Δῖός ἀρπαγῆναι· μὴ εὐρόντα δὲ εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐλθεῖν κτίσαι τε τὰς αὐτόθι Θήβας, γήμαντα δὲ Ἀρμονίαν τὴν Ἀφροδίτης γεννῆσαι ἔξ αὐτῆς Σεμέλην καὶ τὰς ταύτης

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

άδελφάς.

2.2.2 | τῇ δὲ Σεμέλῃ Δία μιγέντα παρακληθῆναι τάς ἐπιπλοκὰς ὅμοίας αὐτῇ ποιήσασθαι ταῖς πρὸς Ἡραν. ἐπελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ θεοπρεπῶς μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαν τὴν Σεμέλην ἔγκυμονα οὖσαν ἐκτρῶσαι τὸ βρέφος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὴν τελευτῆσαι.

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

2.2.3 | τὸν δὲ Δία λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἐρμῇ, 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, which is located between Phoenicia and the Nile. There, Dionysus was raised by the nymphs and became the discoverer of wine, teaching people how to grow the vine.

2.2.4 | εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔκ 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 Ἰνδικὴν τριετεῖ χρόνῳ.

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, ὡσπερ καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ σίτου τροφῆς εὔρεσιν."

2.2.5 | From there, the Greeks offered three-year sacrifices to Dionysus and believed that the god made appearances to people during this time. Everyone 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,

2.2.6 | They say there was another Dionysus, much earlier than this one, called

τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάξιον ὄνομαζόμενον, ἐκ Δῖος καὶ Περσεφόνης γεμόμενον· οὗ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς τιμᾶς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους εἰσάγουσιν, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν.

2.2.7 | ὃν καὶ πρῶτον βοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι ζευγνύειν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ 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 οἶνον 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 καταδεῖξαι.

2.2.10 | καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχιον ἀπὸ

Sabazius, who was born from Zeus and Persephone. His birth, sacrifices, and honors were celebrated at night and in secret because of the shame that came from the gatherings.

2.2.7 | They say 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 was said to be attractive in appearance and easily drawn to pleasures of love. During his travels, he was said to lead a crowd of armed women who accompanied him.

2.2.8 | They say 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 become virtuous. 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 one from his mother. They also connect him with the thyrsus because when the ancients drank unmixed wine, they would become wild and strike each other with staffs, as if to kill some. This is why they show that the thyrsus is used instead of wooden sticks.

2.2.10 | He is called Bacchus from the

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

Bacchae, Leneus from stomping the grapes in the wine presses, and Bromius from the scent that arose during his birth.

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 Διονύσουν.

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

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.

2.2.12 | They say that Priapus is the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite because those who are drunk are thought to be drawn to the pleasures of love. Some say that the ancients called the genitals of men Priapus.

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

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

2.2.14 | ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησιν οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις οὗτος ὁ θεός τυγχάνει τινὸς τιμῆς, μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς παρεισαγόμενος ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις· ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἐρμαφρόδιτον, ὃν ἐξ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννηθέντα τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας.

2.2.14 | But among the Greeks, this god receives some honor not only in the Dionysian festivals but also in all other celebrations, being welcomed with laughter and play during the sacrifices. This is similar to Hermaphroditus, who was born from Hermes and Aphrodite and received

this name.

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

2.2.15 | They say that this god appears among humans for certain periods and is born with a nature that is a mix of both man and woman. Some claim that such beings exist, being born rarely and sometimes representing bad things, while at other times, they represent good things.

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

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

2.2.17 | “Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἐλληνες τοιαῦτα φασι· Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καὶ Δῖός γενέσθαι Περσέα, Πέρσεως δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας 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 Δῖός τὴν ὄμιλίαν οὐκ ἔρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔνεκα γενέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς παιδοποιίας χάριν.

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 being 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 mainly for the purpose of having children.

2.2.18 | τὴν δὲ Ἡραν ξηλοτυποῦσαν ὑποῦσαν παρακατασχεῖν μὲν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης τὰς ὡδῖνας, τὸν δὲ Εύρυσθέα πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀγαγεῖν, τοῦ Δῖός προαγορεύσαντος τὸν τεχθησόμενον κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους.

2.2.18 | Hera, while she was walking, tried to delay Alcmene's labor pains and to bring Eurystheus into the world before the right time, since Zeus had foretold that the one born on that day would rule over the lineage of Perseus.

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 θηλὴν ἡ μὲν Ἡρα διαλγήσασα τὸ βρέφος ἔρριψεν, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ κομίσασα αὐτὸ τὴν μητέρα τρέφειν παρεκελεύσατο.”

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 let him nurse from her. But when the child pulled harder than expected and caused Hera pain, she threw the baby away. Athena then took him and told his mother to care for him.

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

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

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

2.2.21 | When he fell into great confusion, Hera sent him madness, and he, feeling troubled in his heart, 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 by Megara, the daughter of King Creon, as if they were enemies.

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 ἰατρικῇ βοώμενον.”

2.2.22 | And after this, he quietly helped Eurystheus with the twelve tasks. He also killed the Centaurs, including Chiron, who was known for his healing skills.

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 μητρί. ταύτην δὲ ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἐκκαιδεκάτην γενεαλογοῦσιν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰς Θνητὰς ὄμιλαν κατέλυσεν."

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 lastly with Alcmene, the mother of Heracles. They trace her lineage back to Niobe through sixteen generations. In her, he ended his relationships with mortal women.

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

2.2.24 | But after completing the labors, Heracles married his wife Megara to Iolaus, his cousin, because of the misfortune concerning their children. He himself asked for Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, to marry, but when her father refused, 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 | πλεύσας οὖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν ὑπό τινος τῶν φίλων πιπράσκεται, καὶ δοῦλος γίνεται Ὄμφαλης βασιλευούσης τῶν τότε Μαιόνων, νυνὶ δὲ Λυδῶν ὀνομαζομένων. γίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς δουλείας καιρὸν ἐκ δούλης υἱὸς Κλεόλαος, γῆμας δὲ τὴν Ὄμφαλην ποιεῖται καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς παῖδα.

2.2.25 | Then, after sailing 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 known as the Lydians. During his time as a slave, a son named Cleolaus was born to him. After marrying Omphale, he had a child with her.

2.2.26 | "Ἐπανιών δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, καὶ καταλύσας παρ' Ἀλεω τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῇ θυγατρὶ τούτου λάθρᾳ μιγεὶς, καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἔγκυον, ἐπανῆλθε."

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

2.2.27 | "Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔγημε Δηιάνειραν τὴν Οίνέως, τετελευτηκότος ἥδη τοῦ Μελεάγρου. "Λαβὼν δὲ αἴχμαλωτον τὴν Φυλέως θυγατέρα ἐπεμίγη αὐνῇ καὶ ἐτέκνωσε Τληπόλεμον. δειπνῶν δὲ παρ' Οίνεῖ τὸν διακονοῦντα περὶ τι

2.2.27 | And after that, he married Deianira, the daughter of Oeneus, after Meleager had already died. He captured the daughter of Phyleus, mingled with her, and had a son named Telephus. While dining with Oeneus, he killed a servant who

διαμαρτήσαντα κονδύλω πατάξας  
ἀπέκτεινεν.

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 ἑτόξευσε τὸν Κένταυρον, ὁ δὲ Νέσσος μεταξὺ μισγόμενος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς πληγῆς εύθυνς ἀποθνήσκων, ἔφησε τῇ Δηιάνειρᾳ δώσειν φίλτρον, ὅπως μηδεμιᾶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν Ἡρακλῆς θελήσῃ πλησιάσαι.

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.”

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

2.2.31 | “Θέσπιος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθέως παῖς ἐκ διαφόρων γυναικῶν θυγατέρας ἀριθμῷ πεντήκοντα πεποιηκώς, φιλοτιμησάμενός τε αὐτὰς ἐξ Ἡρακλέους παῖδας κτήσασθαι, καλέσας ἐπί τινα θυσίαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν

accidentally hit him with a club.

2.2.28 | When he was traveling and came to the river Euenus, he found Nessus the Centaur ferrying people across. 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 | 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 | Again, Heracles took the daughter of Phyleus as a captive and had a son named Antiochus with her. Then, he took Astyaneira, the daughter of King Armenius, as a captive and had a son named Ctesippus with her.

2.2.31 | Thespios, the son of Erechtheus from Athens, had fifty daughters from different women. Wanting to have children with Heracles, he invited him to a sacrifice and hosted him splendidly. That night, he slept with all of his daughters and became

έστιάσας, κατὰ μίαν αύτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων ἀπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν μᾶς νυκτὶ διέφθειρεν τὰς πάσας, καὶ γίνεται πατὴρ τῶν καλουμένων Θεσπιάδων."

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

2.2.33 | ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν χιτῶνα περιθέμενος περιέπεσε συμφορᾷ τῇ μεγίστῃ. τῆς γάρ ἀκίδος τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἐχίσνης ἰὸν 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."

2.2.34 | "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 αύτὸν διαφθεῖραι, τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς παροξυνθέντα φονεῦσαι τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν τῷ Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας Κύκλωπας· ἢ ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτων τελευτῇ παροξυνθέντα τὸν Δία προστάξαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρ' Ἀδμήτῳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔγκλη

the father of those known as the Thespian women.

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

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

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 could 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 accept punishment for these actions.

μάτων."

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 Ἕλληνας, γράφων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ιστορίας τάδε

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

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

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

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

2.2.37 | Daughters were born to Uranus, named Basileia and Rhea, who is also called Pandora. Basileia, while raising her brothers, was called their mother for showing them kindness.

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

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

2.2.39 | τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς· τῆς Ρέας φοβηθέντας τὸν μὲν Ὑπερίονα κατασφάξαι, τὸν δὲ Ἡλιον εἰς τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν ἀποπνῖξαι· τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ταῦτα μαθοῦσαν ἀπὸ τέγους ρῆψαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα ἐμμανῇ γενομένην πλανᾶσθαι κατ τὴν χώραν, λελυμένην μὲν

2.2.39 | Rhea's brothers, fearing her, killed Hyperion and drowned Helios in the river Eridanus. When Selene learned of this, she threw herself from a rooftop. Her mother, driven mad, wandered through the land with her hair unkempt, inspired by the sounds of drums and cymbals, and she

τὰς τρίχας, διὰ τυμπάνον δὲ καὶ κυμβάλων  
ἐνθεάζουσαν, καὶ ὅλως ἀφανῆ κὶ αὐτὴν  
γενέσθαι.

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

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

2.2.42 | τὴν δὲ Κυβέλην συνελθοῦσαν εἰς  
δομιλίαν Ἀττιδὶ γενέσθαι ἐγκύμονα. οὗ  
γνωσθέντος ὁ ταύτης πατὴρ τὸν Ἀττιν  
ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὰς τροφούς· τὴν δὲ Κυβέλην  
έμμανῃ γενομένην ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν  
έκπηδῆσαι, ἐκεῖσέ τε ὀλολύζουσαν καὶ  
τυμπανίζουσαν διατελεῖν.

2.2.43 | συνεῖναι δὲ αὐτῇ Μαρσύαν, ὃν εἰς  
ἄμιλλαν περὶ μουσικῆς ἐλθόντα τῷ  
Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἡτηθέντα ζῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρῆναι.

2.2.44 | τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρασθέντα τῆς  
Κυβέλης συμπλακῆναι αὐτῇ μέχρι τῶν

herself became completely invisible.

2.2.40 | The crowds, amazed by what had  
happened, decided to place Helios and  
Selene among the stars in the sky. They  
also thought of their mother as a goddess  
and built altars for her, honoring her with  
rituals involving drums and cymbals.

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, had a friendship  
with her and was the first to make flutes.  
He played them until the end, filled with  
endless joy.

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

2.2.43 | Marsyas came to her. He had  
entered a music contest against Apollo and,  
after being defeated, was flayed alive by  
Apollo.

2.2.44 | Apollo, who had fallen in love with  
Cybele, fought with her all the way to the

‘Υπερβορέων, κελεῦσαί τε θάψαι τὸ Ἀττιδός 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 | Ὁστερον δὲ ἐν Πισινοῦντι τῆς Φρυγίας κατασκευάσαι νεών πολυτελῆ, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καταδεῖξαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτις.”

2.2.46 | “Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὑπερίονος τελευτὴν τοὺς Οὐρανοῦ παῖδας διελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἀτλαντα καὶ Κρόνον. τούτων δὲτὸν Ἀτλαντα λαβεῖν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Ὄκεανὸν 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 Διὶ 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)ὺ λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου.

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

land of 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: they mourn the death of the young man and 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 displayed 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 chose Atlas, who became the best astrologer in the lands by the Ocean. He had seven daughters, known as the Atlantids. By mingling with the greatest gods, they became leaders of the largest race, giving birth to gods and heroes. Among them, the eldest, Maia, bore Hermes with Zeus.

2.2.47 | Now Cronus, driven by greed and lust, married his sister Rhea, and together they had Zeus. There was also another Zeus, the brother of Uranus, who ruled over Crete, according to the fame left behind by the later one.

2.2.48 | This one ruled over the entire world, while the other ruled over Crete, and he fathered ten children, known as the Curetes. They say that even now his tomb

είσέτι 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 ἥρωμη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, σπουδὴν τε ποιεῖσθαι πᾶσαν εἰς κόλασιν μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἔεργεσίας δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνθ' ὅν μετὰ τὴν ἔξ ἀνθώπων μετάστασιν ὄνομασθηναι 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 Εὔημέρου του Μεσσηνίου γραφής ἐπικυροῖ τὴν αὐτὴν θεολογίας ὥδε κατὰ λέξιν φάσκων

2.2.53 | "Περὶ θεῶν τοίνυν διττὰς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις παραδεδώκασιν ἐννοίας.

can still be seen in Crete.

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

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

2.2.51 | These are the main ideas about the gods according to the Atlanteans. They also say that the Greeks are included among them.

2.2.52 | Diodorus writes these things in the third book of his histories. He also confirms the same ideas in the sixth book, quoting from the writings of Eumenius of Messene.

2.2.53 | About the gods, the ancients passed down two ideas to later generations. They say that some are eternal and unchanging,

τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀιδίους καὶ ἀφθάρτους εἶναι φασιν, οἷον ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα 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 εὐεργεσίας 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 ἱστορικοῖς τε καὶ μυθογράφοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱστορικῶν Εὐήμερος, ὁ τὴν Ἱερὰν ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενος, ἴδιως 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 | “Εὐήμερος μὲν οὗν φίλος γεγονὼς Κασάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἡναγκασμένος τε λεῖν βασιλικάς τινας χρείας καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδημία φησὶν ἔκτοπισθῆναι κατὰ τὴν μεσημβριάν εἰς τὸ ὡκεανόν· ἐκπλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς εύδαιμονι Ἄραβίας ποιήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν δι’ ὡκεανοῦ πλείον ἡμέρας. καὶ προσενεχθῆναι νήσοις πελαγίαις· μίαν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Παγχαίαν, ἐν ἣ τ’ θεᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Παγχαίους εύσεβείᾳ δφέροντας, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶντας μεγαλοπρεπεσ ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις, ἀργυροῖς τε καὶ

like the sun, the moon, and the other stars in the sky, as well as the winds and others of a similar 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 like them.

2.2.54 | About the earthly gods, many different stories are passed down by both historians and mythographers. Among the historians, Eumenius, who created a sacred record, wrote down his ideas in detail. Among the mythographers, Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and others like them created more fantastical myths about the gods. We will try to briefly cover what is written by both groups, looking at 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 blessed land of Arabia, he spent many days crossing the ocean. He came to some islands in the sea; one of them is called Pangaea, where the inhabitants, the Pangaeans, live with great piety, honoring the gods with splendid sacrifices and valuable offerings of silver and gold.

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 ὧν τὰ κατὰ 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'  
ὸν καιρὸν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς οἰκουμένης  
ἀπάσης ἔτι κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὥν. ἐν τούτῳ  
τῷ Ἱερῷ στήλην 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  
εὐεργετικόν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων κινήσεως  
ἐπιστήμονα· ὃν καὶ πρῶτον θυσίαις  
τιμῆσαι τοὺς οὐρανίους θεούς, διὸ καὶ  
Οὐρανὸν προσαγορευθῆναι.

2.2.59 | υἱοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ  
γυναικὸς Ἐστίας Τιτᾶνα καὶ Κρόνου,  
θυγατέρας δὲ Ρέαν καὶ Δήμητρα. Κρόνον δὲ  
βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ Οὐρανὸν, καὶ γῆμαντα  
Ρέαν γεννῆσαι Δία καὶ Ἡραν καὶ  
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,

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 earlier books.

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

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

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

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

Περσεφόνη δὲ ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης.

Persephone from the second, and Athena from the third.

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

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, after whom the mountain Cassius is named. After reaching Cilicia, he defeated the Cilician governor in battle. Many other nations also honored him, and he was declared a god.

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

2.2.62 | These things and similar ones, as he talks about mortals, he also mentions 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 briefly explore what Hesiod, Homer, and Orpheus have written. Then, he will add the myths of the poets."

2.2.63 | Ἄλλὰ 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 ὡς ἀληθῶς θεολογίας ἔχούσης τι θεοπρεπὲς δεῖγμα φέρουσιν, ἢ κάτωθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς καὶ δαιμονικῆς πλάνης ὀρμῶνται, γέλωτος ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσχύνης, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι τυφλώττουσιν οἴκτου ὄντα ἄξια.

2.2.63 | But let us take so much from the theology of the Greeks, so that we can connect the rituals and secret mysteries of the same gods in the temples. We should think about whether they truly provide some divine evidence of genuine theology, or if they 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 Ἑλληνας Προτρεπτικῷ διαρρήδην ἔκκαλύπτει, πάντων μὲν διὰ πείρας ἐλθῶν ἀνὴρ, θᾶττόν γε μὴν τῆς πλάνης ἀνανεύσας, ὡς ἂν 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 gained understanding through experience, points out the deception, so that he may be freed from evils through the saving message and the teachings of the Gospel. Therefore, listen briefly to these things.

### Section 3

2.3.1 | "Ἄδυτα τοίνυν ἄθεα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, διὰ μηδὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατείας ἔμπλεα, ἢ λέβητα Θεσπρώτειον,, ἢ τρίποδα Κιρραῖον, ἢ Δωδωναῖον χαλικεῖον, γεράνδρυον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αύτόθι 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 cauldrons of the Thesprotians, or the tripod of Delphi, or the bronze of Dodona, or the shrine honored by sandy deserts and the oracle at the oak tree. Leave behind the myths that have grown old.

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

2.3.2 | Indeed, the spring of Castalia is silent, and the other spring of Colophon has also dried up, just like the other prophetic waters. And truly, the empty places of the fog have been examined, yet they are still tangled in 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 Ἀμφίλοχον·

2.3.3 | Tell us about the other prophecies. Focus more on the useless oracles, like Clarian, Pythian, Didymeans, Amphiaraus, Apollo, and Amphilius.

2.3.4 | εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ τερατοσκόπους καὶ οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὄνειρων κριτὰς ἀνιέρου σὺν αὐτοῖς στῆσον δὲ ὅμοι παρὰ τὸν Πύθιον ἄγων τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις καὶ κριθομάντεις καὶ τοὺς είσέτι παρὰ τοῖς

2.3.4 | If you want, you can also include the monster-seers and the bird-seers, along with the dream interpreters. Gather them by the Pythian, leading the flour-diviners and barley-diviners, as well as those still

πολλοῖς τετιμημένους ἔγγαστριμύθους· ναὶ μὴν ἄδυτα Αἴγυπτίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομαντεῖαι σκότῳ παραδεδόσθων· μανικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων σοφιστήρια καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβευτήρια.

honored by many as ventriloquists. Yes, indeed, the hidden practices of the Egyptians and Tyrrhenians have been passed 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 and taught by humans.

2.3.6 | Τί δ’ εἴ τοι καταλέγοιμι τὰ μυστήρια; οὐκ ἔξορχόσομαι μὲν ὥσπερ 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 ἀληθείᾳς ἐγκυκλήσω θεαταῖς.

2.3.6 | What if I were to reveal the mysteries to you? I won't 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 present like a performance on the stage of truth.

2.3.7 | Διόνυσον μαινόλην ὄργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὡμοφαγίᾳ τὴν ιερομηνίαν ἄγοντες, καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεανομίας τῶν φρόνων, ἀνεστεμένοι τοῖς ὅφεσιν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὔαν Εὔαν ἐκείνην, δὲ ἦν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησε καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐπηκολούθησε]· καὶ σημεῖον ὄργιών Βακχικῶν ὅφις ἔστι τετελεσμένος.

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

2.3.8 | αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἐβραίων φωνὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Εὔα δασυνόμενον ἐρμηνεύεται ὅφις ἡ θήλεια. Δημόσιον δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἥδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικὸν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δαδουχεῖ.”

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

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· εἴ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Μυοῦντός τινος Ἀττικοῦ, ὃν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ διαφθαρῆναι Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει, οὐ φθόνος ὑμῶν δεδοξάσθαι τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίω [φωνῇ καὶ] τιμῇ.

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 μῦθοι οἱ τοιοίδε Θρακῶν τοὺς βαρβαρικωτάτους, Φρυγῶν τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους, Ἑλλήνων τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας.

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

2.3.12 | οὐ γάρ με ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτ’ ἀν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὄργια ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρᾳ παραδοῦναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θειάσαι πόρνην πολίτιδα.

2.3.13 | Μελάμποδα δὲ τὸν Ἀμυθάονος

2.3.9 | It seems to me that the rites and the mysteries should be explained. Some come from the anger of Demeter towards Zeus, while others arise from the secret events surrounding Dionysus. If it also comes from some Attic Myoun, whom Apollodorus says was killed during a hunt, there is no jealousy among you for the mysteries to be honored with a solemn voice and respect.

2.3.10 | There are also other stories for you to think about, which relate to the letters of the mysteries. They pursue these stories, 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 | Therefore, let the one who started this deception among people be destroyed, whether it was Dardanus who revealed the mysteries of the gods, or Aetion who upheld the rites and ceremonies of Samothrace, or that Phrygian Midas, who learned from the Odrysians and then passed on a clever trick to those beneath him.

2.3.12 | For the Cyprian, the islander Kinyras, would never convince me to dare to reveal the nighttime rites concerning Aphrodite, as he was eager to honor a city-dwelling prostitute.

2.3.13 | Others say that Melampus, the son

ἄλλοι φασὶν ἔξ Αἰγύπτου μετακομίσαι τῇ  
Ἐλλάδι τὰς Δηοῦς ἐορτὰς, πένθος  
ύμνούμενον. τούτους ἔγωγ' ἀν ἀρχεκάκους  
φήσαιμι μύθων ἀθέων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας  
όλεθρίου πατέρας, σπέρμα κακίας καὶ  
φθορᾶς ἔγκαταφυτεύσαντας τῷ βίῳ τὰ  
μυστήρια."

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 meaningless myths and harmful superstitions, planting the seeds of wickedness and decay into life through the mysteries.

2.3.14 | "Ἡδη δὲ, καὶ γὰρ καιρὸς, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν  
τὰ ὄργια ἔξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας  
ἔμπλεα. καὶ εἴ μεμύησθε, μᾶλλον  
ἐπιγελάσεσθε τοῖς μύθοις ὑμῶν τούτοις  
τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύσω δὲ ἀναφανδὸν  
τὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ἃ  
προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε.

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

2.3.15 | ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀφρογενῆς καὶ  
κυπρογενῆς καὶ Κινύρα φίλη, τὴν  
Ἀφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν φιλομήδεα, ὅτι  
μηδέων ἔξεφαάνθη, μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν  
ἀποκεκομένων Ούρανοῦ, τῶν λάγνων,  
τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κῦμα βεβιασμένων,  
ώς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μο— ρίων ἄξιος  
Ἀφροδίτη γίνεται καρπός, ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς  
ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς, τεκμήριον τῆς  
γονῆς, ὀλῶν χόνδρος, καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς  
μυουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν  
ἐπιδέδοται· νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ  
οἱ μυούμενοι ώς ἐταίρᾳ ἔρασται.

2.3.15 | Therefore, I speak of Aphrodite, born of foam and Cyprus, beloved by Kinyras. She has not come from any of those things cut off from Heaven, those lustful things, or 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 a symbol 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 ἦ  
γυναικὸς, τῆς Δηοῦς ἢς δὴ χάριν Βριμῶ  
προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται· ἵκετηρίαι Δῖός  
καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίαι καὶ

2.3.16 | The mysteries of Dionysus and the connections to his mother Demeter are filled with 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 in her honor. There are prayers to Dionysus, drinks made from

άρρητουργίαι·

2.3.17 | ταῦτα οἶ Φρύγες τελίσκουσιν  
"Αττιδι καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορύβασι.  
τεθρυλήκασι δὲ ώς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς  
τού κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις  
ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν  
ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτιννύων,  
ώς ἐαυτὸν δῆθεν ἔκτεμών.

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

2.3.19 | "Τί δ' εί καὶ τὰ ἐπύλοιπα προσθείνη;  
κύει μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ  
κόρη, μίγνυται δ' αὐθίς ὃ γεννήσας οὔτοσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Ζεὺς τῇ Φερρεφάτῃ τῇ ίδιᾳ θυγατρὶ μετὰ  
τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δηῶ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ  
προτέρου μύσους, καὶ μίγνυται δράκων  
γενόμενος, ὃς ἦν ἐλεγχθείς.

2.3.20 | Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων  
σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις ὃ διὰ κόλπου  
θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος διολκούμενος  
τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος  
ἀκρασίας Δῖός. κύει καὶ ἡ Φερρέφαττα  
παῖδα ταυρόμορφον.

2.3.21 | ἀμέλει φησί τις ποιητὴς είδωλικὸς,

bile, heart-pulling rituals, and secret rites.

2.3.17 | These are the rituals 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 union, as if he were cutting himself off.

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

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 their mother Demeter, forgetting the earlier mysteries, and he becomes a dragon, who was revealed.

2.3.20 | Indeed, the symbol of the mysteries of Sabazios is the god through the womb for those being initiated. This dragon comes from the womb of the completed rites, a test of Zeus's lack of self-control. And Persephone is pregnant with a child in the form of a bull.

2.3.21 | A certain poet carelessly says, "The

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου  
δράκων, ἐν ὅρει τὸ κρύφιον βουκόλος τὸ  
κέντρον· βουκολικὸν, οἶμαι, κέντρον τὸν  
νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν, ὃν δὴ κάλων  
ἀναστρέφουσιν οἱ Βάκχοι.

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

2.3.23 | ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν ποικίλως  
κατὰ πόλεις ἐορτάζουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες,  
Θεσμοφόρια, Σκυροφόρια, Ἀρρητοφόρια,  
πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερρεφάττης  
ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἀρπαγήν. τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου  
μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα, ὃν εἰσέτι  
παῖδα ὅντα ἐνόπλω κινήσει  
περιχορεύοντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ  
ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες  
παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν οὗτοι δὴ οἵ  
Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν ἔτι νηπίαχον ὅντα, ὡς ὁ  
τῆς τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὁρφεύς φησιν ὁ  
Θράκιος, κῶνος καὶ ρόμβος καὶ πάγινα  
καμπεσίγυια, μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ'  
Ἐσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

2.3.24 | "Καὶ τῆσδε ἡμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ  
άχρεϊα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς  
κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος,  
σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ρόμβος,  
ἔσοπτρον, πόκος.

2.3.25 | Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ  
Διονύσου ὑφελομένη Πάλλας ἐκ τοῦ

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 | "I will tell you about the flowers of  
Persephone, the basket, the abduction by  
Hades, 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 | Women celebrate this mythology in  
various cities: the Thesmophoria, the  
Skirrophoria, and the Arretophoria, telling  
the story of the abduction of Persephone in  
many ways. The mysteries of Dionysus are  
completely inhuman, as he was still a child,  
dancing with armed Curetes. 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, a wheel, and games with  
curved shapes, and beautiful golden apples  
from the sweet-voiced Hesperides."

2.3.24 | And for us, it is not pointless to  
present the symbols of this rite for  
understanding: an astragalus, a ball, a top,  
apples, a wheel, a mirror, and a tuft.

2.3.25 | Therefore, Pallas Athena, having  
taken away the heart of Dionysus, was

πάλλειν τὴν καρδίαν προσηγορεύθη· οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἵ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτὸν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες, καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον, ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοι.

called “the one who strikes the heart.” The Titans, who also tore him apart, placed some cauldrons on tripods. After putting the limbs of Dionysus in them, they first boiled them, then skewered them and offered them to Hephaestus.

2.3.26 | Ζεὺς δ' ὕστερον ἐπιφανεὶς — εἴ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὄπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβὼν, ἥς δὴ τὸ γέρας λαχεῖν ὁμοιογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ — κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτάνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲ γάρ 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, which the gods say you have the honor to receive — and he struck the Titans with a thunderbolt. 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 ἐθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπὸ τάς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὄλυμπου.

2.3.27 | If you want to see the rites of the Corybantes, these people, after killing their third brother, covered the head of the dead man with a red cloth. After preparing it, they buried it, carrying it on a bronze shield beneath the slopes of Olympus.

2.3.28 | καὶ c ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ μυστήρια, συνελόντι φάναι, φόνοι καὶ τάφοι· οἵ δὲ ιερεῖς οἵ τῶνδε, οὓς ἀνακτοτελέστας οἵς μέλον καλοῦσι, προσεπιτερατεύονται τῇ συμφορᾷ, ὀλόριξον ἀπαγορεύοντες σέλινον ἐπὶ τραπέζης τιθέναι· οἴονται γάρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ αἴματος τοῦ ἀπορρυέντος τοῦ Κορυβαντικοῦ τὸ σέλινον ἐκπεφυκέναι· ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ αἱ θεσμοφοριάζουσαι τοὺς τῆς ῥοιᾶς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσιν ἐσθίειν· τοὺς γάρ ἀποπεπτωκότας χαμαὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου αἴματος σταγόνων βεβλαστηκέναι νομίζουσι τάς ῥοιάς.

2.3.28 | And this is what they call the mystery of murders and graves. The priests of these rites, whom they refer to as the “royal finishers,” take part in the disaster and strictly forbid placing celery on the table. They believe that celery has grown from the blood that flowed from the Corybantic sacrifice. Just as those who celebrate the Thesmophoria keep watch over the seeds of the pomegranate to eat them, 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. αὐτὸν γὰρ δὴ τούτω τῷ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ τὴν κίστην ἀνελομένω, ἐν ἡ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου αἰδοῖον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς Τυρρηνίαν κατήγαγον, εύκλεοῦς ἔμποροι φορτίου· κάνταῦθα διετριβέτην φυγάδες ὅντε, τὴν πολυτίμητον εύσεβείας διδασκαλίαν, αἴδοια καὶ κίστην θρησκεύειν παραθεμένω Τυρρηνοῖς· δι' ἣν αἵτιαν οὐκ ἀπεικότως τὸν Διόνυσον προσαγορεύεσθαι τινες "Ἄττιν θέλουσιν, αἰδοίων ἐστερημένον."

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

2.3.31 | ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηῶ κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Κόρης περὶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα — τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον — ἀποκάμνει, καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπουμένη. τοῦτο τοῖς μυουμένοις ἀπαγορεύεται εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν, ἐνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τετελεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ὁδυρομένην.

2.3.32 | ὥκουν δὲ τηνικάδε τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα οἱ γηγενεῖς· ὄνόματα αὐτοῖς Βαυβώ καὶ Δυσαύλης καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, ἔτι δὲ Εὔμολπός τε καὶ Εύβουλεύς· βουκόλος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἦν, ποιμὴν δὲ ὁ Εὔμολπος, συβώτης δὲ ὁ Εύβουλεύς· ἀφ' ὧν τὸ

2.3.29 | They call the Corybantes "Kabeiroi" and speak of the Kabeiric rites. They took the chest that held the sacred things of Dionysus and brought it down to Tyrrhenia, being merchants of good reputation. There, as 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," claiming he is without sacred things.

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

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

2.3.32 | The native people lived near Eleusis. Their names were Baubo, Dysaules, Triptolemus, Eumolpos, and Eubouleus. Triptolemus was a herdsman, Eumolpos was a shepherd, and Eubouleus was a swineherd. From these, the families of the

Εύμολπιδῶν καὶ τὸ κηρύκων τὸ  
ἰεροφαντικὸν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀθήνησι γένος  
ῆνθησε.

2.3.33 | καὶ δὴ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσω μὴ οὔχι  
είπεῖν — ξενίσασα ἡ Βαυβὼ τὴν Δῃῶ  
όρέγει κυκεῶνα αὐτῇ. τῆς δὲ ἀναινομένης  
λαβεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ούκ ἔθελούσης —  
πενθήρης γὰρ ἦν — περιαλγής ἡ Βαυβὼ  
γενομένη, ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν,  
ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ  
Θεῷ, ἡ δὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὄψει ἡ Δῃῶ, 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  
Ὀρφέως τὰ ἔπη, ἵν εἶχης μάρτυρα τῆς  
ἀναισχυντίας τὸν μυσταγωγόν· ὡς είποῦσα  
πέπλους ἀνεσύρατο, δεῖξε δὲ  
πάντασώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς  
δ' ἦν "Ιακχος, χειρί τέ μιν ḥίπτασκε γελῶν  
Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μείδησε  
Θεὰ, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, δέξατο δ' αἴόλον  
ἄγγος, ἐν ὧ κυκεῶν ἐνέκειτο.

2.3.35 | κάστι τὸ σύνθημα Ἐλευσινίων  
μυστηρίων 'ενήστευσα. 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

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 upset as  
if she were ignored, lifts her dress and  
shows her private parts to the goddess.  
Demeter is pleased by the sight, and she  
barely accepts the drink, feeling happy with  
the display.

2.3.34 | “These are the hidden things of the  
Athenian mysteries, and Orpheus also  
writes about them. I will share with you the  
verses of Orpheus, so that you have a  
witness to the boldness of the initiator. As  
she said this, she lifted her robes and  
showed everything of her body, not even  
caring about modesty. There was a child,  
Iacchus, whom Baubo tossed into her lap  
while laughing. When the goddess smiled,  
she felt joy 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  
Eleusinian mysteries: I fasted. I drank the  
kykeon, taking it from the basket. After  
working, I placed it back in the basket, and  
then from the basket into the chest.” The  
sights are beautiful and fitting for the  
goddess.

2.3.36 | Indeed, the outcomes of the night

καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος, μᾶλλον δὲ ματαιόφρονος Ἐρεχθειδῶν δῆμου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οὕστινας μένει τελευτήσαντας ἀσσα οὐδὲ ἔλπονται.

are worthy, both of fire and of the great ones. However, they are even more fitting for the foolish people of Erechtheus, as well as for the other Greeks, who remain at the end of things they do not even hope for.

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 νομίζομενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μυεῦνται.

2.3.37 | What does Heraclitus of Ephesus prophesy for these people? For night-walkers, magicians, Bacchae, those at the Lenaean, and initiates; he warns them about what comes after death and speaks of fire for them. The things that are believed to be mysteries among humans are taught without being sacred.

2.3.38 | νόμος οὖν καὶ ὑπόληψις κενὴ καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τὰ μυστήρια ἀπάτη τίς ἐστι θρησκευομένη τὰς ἀμυήτους ὅντως μυήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνοργιάστους τελετὰς εύσεβείᾳ νόθῳ προτρεπομένων.

2.3.38 | Therefore, the law and the empty belief about the dragon's mysteries are a deception for those who are truly initiated, and the unholy rituals are pushed by a false sense of piety.

2.3.39 | οἵαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαί; — 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 ὄργιον Διονύσου Βασσάρου; οὐχὶ δὲ ῥοιαὶ, πρὸς τοῖσδε καὶ καρδίαι, νάρθηκές τε καὶ κιττοὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθόις καὶ μήκωνες; ταῦτ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄγια.

2.3.39 | What kind of mysteries are these?  
— For it is necessary to uncover their sacred things and reveal the unspeakable — are these not sesame seeds, pyramids, tolupai, many-voiced popana, grains of salt, and the dragon's rites of Dionysus Bassaros? Are not pomegranates, along with these, and hearts, and the narthex and kittos, as well as phthisis and poppies?  
These are their sacred things.

2.3.40 | καὶ προσέτι τῆς Θέμιδος τὰ ἄρρητα σύμβολα, ὄριγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτείς γυναικεῖος, ὃς ἔστιν εὐφήμως καὶ μυστικῶς μόριον γυναικεῖον. ὡς τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀναισχυντίας· πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώποις σωφρονοῦσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἡδονῆς νὺξ ἦν

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 femininity. Oh, the open shamelessness! Once, for those who were wise, the night was a cover for

σιωπωμένη, νυνὶ δὲ τοῖς μυουμένοις ἡ Ἱερὰ  
τῆς ἀκρασίας νύξ ἔστι λαλουμένη, καὶ τὸ  
πῦρ ἐλέγχει τὰ πάθη δαδουχούμενον.

pleasure, silent; but now, for the initiated,  
the sacred night of self-indulgence speaks,  
and the fire reveals the passions being  
ignited.

2.3.41 | ἀπόσβεσον, ὅτιοφάντα, τὸ πῦρ·  
αἰδέσθητι, δαδοῦχε, τὰς λαμπάδας· ἐλέγχει  
σου τὸν Ἰακχὸν τὸ φῶς· ἐπίτρεψον  
ἀποκρύψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὰ μυστήρια· σκότει  
τετιμήσθω τὰ ὅργια. τὸ πῦρ οὐχ  
ὑποκρίνεται· ἐλέγχειν καὶ κολάζειν  
κελεύεται.'

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 commanded to reveal and to  
punish.

2.3.42 | "Ταῦτα τῶν ἀθέων τὰ μυστήρια.  
ἀθέους δὲ είκότως ἀποκαλῶ τούτους, οἱ  
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 θεὸν,  
τὸν ὄντως ὄντα μὴ γνωρίζοντες θεὸν, ἐτέρᾳ  
δὲ καὶ δευτέρᾳ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πλάνῃ τοὺς οὐκ  
ὄντας ὡς ὄντας νομίζοντες, καὶ θεοὺς  
τούτους ὄνομάζοντες τοὺς οὐκ ὄντως  
ὄντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ὄντας, μόνου δὲ τοῦ  
ὄνόματος τετυχηκότας." Τοσαῦτα καὶ  
οὗτος.

2.3.42 | "These are the mysteries of the  
atheists. I rightly call them atheists because  
they have ignored the true God while  
worshiping a child torn apart by Titans, a  
grieving woman, and secret parts that they  
shamelessly honor out of shame. They are  
doubly trapped by their disbelief: first,  
because they do not know the true God, not  
recognizing him as God; and second,  
because they believe that those who do not  
exist are real, calling these non-existent  
beings gods, which are not truly beings but  
exist only by name." So much for this.

## Section 4

2.4.1 | Εἴκότως δῆτα ἡμεῖς τούτων  
ἀπάντων ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι  
διμολογοῦμεν, τῆς μακρᾶς καὶ  
πεπαλαιωμένης πλάνης ὡσπερ τινὸς δεινῆς  
καὶ χαλεπωτάτης νόσου λελυτρωμένοι· καὶ  
πρῶτα μὲν τῇ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ  
χάριτι καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ, δεύτερον δὲ  
ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν

2.4.1 | Indeed, we rightly acknowledge that  
we have become free from all these things,  
as if we have been 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

εύαγγελικῆς 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 ἄνδρῶν μνήμην ἀπολελοιπότας, ἐσχάτης δὲ ἀκρασίας καὶ ἀκολασίας ώμότητός τε καὶ φρενοβλαβείας δείγματα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν παραδεδωκό

disrespectful to honor mortal men who have long been dead and to forget the memory of wise men. This is the ultimate sign of a 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 ἑραστὰς τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀκολάστοις τὸν πρωτείων παραχωρεῖν, καὶ τοὺς συνετούς καὶ ἔμφρονας τοῖς τὰς φρένας ἀπολωλεκόσι τὴν σεβασμίαν παρέχειν τιμὴν, τούς τε δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἀσκητὰς τοῖς δι' ὑπερβολὴν ώμότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας τεκνοκτονίας καὶ πατροκτονίας μιάσμασιν ἐνισχημένοις ;

2.4.2 | For how could it not be 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, like child murder and patricide?

2.4.3 | ποίαν δὲ οὐχ ὑπερηκόντισεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας τὸ καταβάλλειν εἰς ἄρρητα ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μόρια καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλογον καὶ θηριώδη φύσιν τὴν σεμνὴν καὶ παναγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν, τοιαῦτά τε αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα θεολογεῖν, οἴα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακουργῶν, εἰ κατελεγχθείη, ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀπαραιτήτοις ὑποπέσοιεν ἀν τιμωρίαις ;

2.4.3 | But what extreme impiety has not gone too far in throwing the sacred and most holy name of God into the secret parts of men and women, and into the irrational and beastly nature? 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 face the unavoidable punishments of the laws?

2.4.4 | καὶ τί χρὴ μηκύνειν εύαγγελιζομένους πάντα βάρβαρον ὄμοι καὶ Ἕλληνα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν είρημένων κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδωνύμων θεῶν ἀποστασίας, τὸ εὔλογον εἰς φῶς ἀγαγόντας, ὅπότε καὶ αὐτῶν ἥδη τῶν σφόδρα δεισιδαιμόνων οἴ πλείους, ὥσπερ

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 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

έκ βαθέος κάρου διανήψαντες, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀχλύος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅμμα διοίζαντες, τὸν βαθὺν λῆρον συνεῖδον τῆς πατρικῆς πλάνης, καὶ στάντες ἐπὶ λογισμοῦ τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν εἴλοντο, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀναχωρήσαντες ;

2.4.5 | ὃν οἱ μὲν ὄμόσε χωρήσαντες τῆς ὅλης κατέπτυσαν μυθολογίας τῶν σφετέρων προγόνων πλατὺ καταγελάσαντες, οἵ δ' ἀθεότητος δόξαν ἐκκλίναντες οὕτε ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἔστησαν οὕτε ἔξ ἀπαντος αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν, κολακεῦσαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεῦσαι τὴν οἰκείαν προθέμενοι δόξαν τὰς περὶ τῶν τεθρυλημένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν ἴστορίας ἀληθεῖς μύθους εἶνα πεπλασμένους ὑπὸ ποιητῶν ἐπεφήμισαν, φυσικὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρύπτοντες θεωρίας.

2.4.6 | ὃν, εἴ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν φέρουσιν ἀληθείας δεῖγμα, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀναγκαίᾳ γένοιτ' ἀν ἡμῖν ἡ ἔκθεσις εἰς θεωρίαν τῶν καὶ παρὰ τούτοις σεμνῶν, ὡς ἀν καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως οὐκ ἄλλως ἡμῖν προξενηθείσης ἡ εἰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τὸ εὔλογον παρασταίη. φέρε οὖν καὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον ἀνωθεν ἀναλαβόντες ἐπισκεψώμεθα.

## Section 5

2.5.1 | Τῆς μὲν οὗν 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

eye of the soul and see the deep deception of their ancestral error. They then choose a different path, having turned away from their old ways.

2.4.5 | Some of them, having moved away together, completely rejected the myths of their ancestors, laughing at them. But others, turning away from belief in the gods, neither upheld the earlier ideas nor fully abandoned them. They sought to flatter and support their own beliefs, claiming that the stories about the gods they had heard were true myths created by poets, while hiding the natural theories within them.

2.4.6 | Although they provide 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 only through the reasonable teaching of our savior. Therefore, let us take up their arguments and examine them.

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 Greek writers. This has been rightly placed at the

τρόπος ἀποδέδεικται, οὗτος διὰ τῶν προεκτεθεισῶν φωνῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων προδεδήλωται· δὸν καὶ εἰκότως ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς προκειμένης Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς εἰς διάγνωσίν τε καὶ ἐπίκρισιν τοῖς ἑντευξομένοις προτεθείκαμεν, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ μάθοιμεν ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ τῶνδε εἰσέτι νῦν ἄπειροι τίνες ὄντες πάλαι πρότερον, καὶ οῶν ἐκ πατέρων φύντες, πηλίκοις τε τὸ πρὶν κακοῖς πεπεδημένοι, δυσσεβείας τε δόποσῃ καὶ ἀγνωσίας 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 | δὸς οὐ μέρει γῆς, οὐδὲ' ἐν γωνίᾳ χώρας ἔθνους ἐνὸς, καθ' ὅλης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐν ἥ τὰ τῆς μάλιστα δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ὑπερίσχυσεν, οἵα τις νοερῶν καὶ λογικῶν ψυχῶν ἥλιος, τὰς τοῦ οἰκείου φωτὸς ἐφαπλώσας ἀκτῖνας, ὁμοῦ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἕλλήνων, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀχλύος δεινῆς καὶ ζοφερωτάτης τε καὶ ἀειδοῦς νυκτὸς τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ἐπὶ λαμπρὰν καὶ διαυγεστάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὔδεβείας τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ πάντας ἡμάς μετεστήσταο.

2.5.3 | διαρρήδην γοῦν αἱ 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 δι' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ τότε βίου

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 unaware 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, it 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.

2.5.3 | Indeed, the voices that have been clearly presented teach about the dead idols and the images of men who have long been settled. They show how, all around the many gods' deception, people in cities and villages were frightened and learned to worship and honor these false gods. The

θηριωδίαν θεοῦ μὲν τοῦ πάντων  
δημιουργοῦ μηδένα λόγον ποιουμένων,  
μηδὲ τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
πλημμελουμένοις τιμωροῦ δίκης  
έμπαζομένων, εἰς πάσας δὲ ἀνοσιουργίας  
καταβαλλόντων.

ancient people, through the extreme savagery of life at that time, paid no attention to the God, the creator of all, nor did they consider divine justice that punishes those who do wrong. Instead, they fell into all kinds of wickedness.

2.5.4 | οὕπω γὰρ είσέτι τότε νόμων καθ'  
οὓς χρὴ βιοῦν συνεστώτων, ούδε 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 ούδεν ἔμελεν, οἵς καὶ πρῶτος  
ἀθεότητος ὑποικουρεῖ τρόπος· οὶ δ' εἰς  
βραχὺ τι φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ἀνακινούμενοι  
θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν σωτήριόν τι καὶ  
ἀγαθὸν εἴναι χρῆμα διενοήθησαν, εὐρεῖν δὲ  
τοῦτον ἔθελήσαντες 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.

2.5.4 | 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 consequences of their actions and were the first to follow a path 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 | τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς  
ρίψαντες τοὺς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς  
προφέρειν νενομισμένους, ἥ καὶ ῥώμῃ  
σώματος καὶ δυναστείας ἴσχύι τῶν  
πλειόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας,  
ἥ τυράννους, ἥ καὶ γόγτας καὶ φαρμακέας  
ἄνδρας, ἔκ τινος τῶν θειοτέρων  
ἀποπτώσεως τὰς κακοτέχνους γοητείας  
συνεσκευασμένους, ἥ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
κοινῆς τινὸς καὶ βιωφελοῦς εὔεργεσίας  
προάρξαντας, ζῶντάς τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ  
τελευτὴν θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν.

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 were giants, tyrants, or even sorcerers and magicians. They believed these figures were made up of some divine essence and were skilled in harmful magic. These people, along with others who had provided some common and beneficial service, were declared to be gods, both while they were still alive and after their death.

2.5.6 | ἔνθεν αύτοῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν οἴκοι 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

## Section 6

2.6.1 | "Είκότως ἄρα ἀρχήν ποθεν ἡ δεισιδαιμονία λαβοῦσα κακίας ἀνοήτου γέγονε πηγή· ἔπειτα μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ἥψεῖσα δημιουργὸς πολλῶν καθίσταται δαιμόνων, ἐκατόμβας ποιοῦσα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνιστᾶσα καὶ νεώς ἀνοικοδομοῦσα· οὓς δὴ — οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο σιωπήσομαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐλέγξω — νεώς μὲν εύφήμιως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους, τουτέστι τοὺς τάφους νεώς ἐπικεκλημένους. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ κᾶν νῦν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκλάθεσθε, λάθεσθε, τοὺς τάφους τιμᾶν αἰσχυνόμενοι."

2.6.2 | "Ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἔστιν Ἀκρισίου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὃς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν ἰστοριῶν.

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

2.5.6 | From this, it is said that the tombs of the gods are the graves of the dead, as Clement mentions in his Exhortation to the Greeks, using the Greeks as witnesses to this story. If you wish, listen again to this writing in this way.

2.6.1 | Therefore, it makes sense that superstition, starting from some evil and foolishness, became a source of many problems. Then, without stopping, it began to offer many gifts, 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 about superstition, you should be ashamed to honor the graves.

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 one for Cecrops, as Antiochus mentions in the ninth of his histories.

2.6.3 | What about Erichthonius? Is he not buried in the temple of Polias? And what about Immarus, the son of Eumolpus, and Daedalus? Are they not buried in the enclosure of Eleusis, beneath the acropolis? And what about the daughters of Celeus?

έν Ἐλευσῖνι τετάφαται;

Are they buried in Eleusis?

2.6.4 | τί σοι καταλέγω τὰς ἐξ Υπερβορέων γυναῖκας; Υπερόχη καὶ Λαοδίκη κέκλησθον, ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐν Δήλῳ κεκήδευσθον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἔστιν ἱερῷ.

2.6.4 | What should I tell you about the women from Hyperborea? Hyperoche and Laodice are mentioned, and they are buried in the temple of Artemis in Delos, while the one in the temple of Apollo in 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 ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κεκήδευται· ούδε μὴν τὸν ἐν τῷ Τελμησσῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βωμόν· μνῆμα εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον Τελμησσέως τοῦ μάντεως ἴστοροῦσι.

2.6.5 | Leander is said to be buried in Miletus at the Didymaion. Here, the tomb of Leucophryne is worth noting, as mentioned by Zenon of Myndus, who is buried in the temple of Artemis in Magnesia. Also, don't forget the altar of Apollo in Telmessus; it is said to be a tomb of Telmessus the seer as well.

2.6.6 | Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι.

2.6.6 | Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, mentions in his first work about Philopator in Paphos that Kinyras and the descendants of Kinyras are buried in the temple of Aphrodite.

2.6.7 | ἀλλὰ γάρ ἐπιόντι μοι τοὺς προσκυνουμένους ὑμῖν τάφους ἐμοὶ μὲν ούδε ὁ πᾶς ἀν ἀρκέσαι χρόνος· ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰ μὴ ὑπεισέρχεται τις αἰσχύνη τῶν τολμωμένων, νεκροὶ ἄρα τέλεον νεκροῖς πεπιστευκότες περιέρχεσθε· ἀ δειλοὶ, τί κακοὶ τόδε πάσχετε;

2.6.7 | But as I approach, the tombs you worship are not enough for me, not even if I had all the time in the world. However, if no one feels shame for their bold actions, then you are walking around as if you completely trust the dead.

2.6.8 | Καὶ μετ' ὅλιγα φησί "Καινὸν δὲ ἄλλον ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, ὅλιγου δεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησι, σεβασμίως τεθείακε θεὸν ὡ

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

βασιλεὺς ὁ Ρωμαίων, τὸν ἔρώμενον  
ἀραιότατον σφόδρα γενόμενον Ἀντίνοον  
ἀνιέρωσεν οὗτος, ὡς Γανυμήδην ὁ Ζεύς·

king of the Romans has respectfully honored the god, Antinous, who has become very beautiful, just as Zeus honored Ganymede."

2.6.9 | οὐ γὰρ κωλύεται ḥαδίως ἐπιθυμίᾳ φόβον οὐκ ἔχουσα· καὶ νύκτας Ἱερὰς τὰς Ἀντινόου προσ κυνοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νῦν, ἃς αἰσχρὰς ἡπίστατο ὁ συναγρυπνήσας ἐραστής. "Καὶ ἐπάγει "Ἡδη δὲ ὁ τάφος τοῦ ἔρωμένου νεώς ἐστιν Ἀντινόου καὶ πόλις· καθάπερ γὰρ, οἴμαι, οἱ ναοὶ, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τάφοι θαυμάζονται, πυραμίδες καὶ μαυσώλια καὶ λαβύρινθοι]· ἄλλοι ναοὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὡς ἔκεῖνοι τάφοι τῶν θεῶν."

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. 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, mausoleums, and labyrinths. Other temples of the dead are like those tombs of the gods."

2.6.10 | Καὶ πάλιν μετ' ὀλίγα · "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. Πυθοῖ μὲν οὖν ὁ δράκων ὁ Πύθιος θρησκεύεται καὶ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ πανήγυρις καταγγέλλεται Πύθια, Ισθμοῖ δὲ σκύβαλον προσέπτυσεν ἐλεεινὸν ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ Μελικέρτην ὁδύρεται τὰ "Ισθμια, Νεμέασι δὲ ἄλλο παιδίον Ἀρχέμορος κεκήδευται, καὶ τοῦ παιδίου ὁ ἐπιτάφιος προσαγορεύεται Νέμεα. Πῆσα δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν τάφος, ὡς Πανέλληνες, 5 ἡνιόχου Φρυγὸς, καὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος τὰς χοὰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ὁ Φειδίου σφετερίζεται Ζεύς."

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 offerings of Pelops at the Olympic games.

2.6.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος· σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπτωσιν. φύσει μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόν τι καὶ ὡφέλιμον

2.6.11 | These things are true. But you, starting the discussion from the beginning, should examine the nature of superstitious delusion. For by nature, and even more through divine teaching, it is good and

τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τε καὶ ούσίαν· πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφεσαν, τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ὑποσπείραντος.

2.6.12 | οὐ μὴν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηντο· εἴς μὲν γάρ που τάχα τις καὶ δεύτερος, ἢ καὶ τινες ἄλλοι κομιδῆ βραχεῖς, ὃν τὴν μνήμην τὰ Ἐβραίων περιέχει λόγια, εἴς οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐφαρμόσαντες τὴν περὶ θεοῦ ἐννοιαν, 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 γόντας καὶ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, τὴν φύσιν θνητοὺς καὶ ἄνθρωπινας κεχρημένους συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγοὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβάσμιον ἐννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἐφ’ οὓς ἐνόμιζον εὔεργέτας μετατεθεικότες.

helpful to understand the meaning of the name and essence of the god. All people have accepted common ideas, as the creator of all things subtly influences this in every rational and intelligent soul with natural thoughts.

2.6.12 | Indeed, they also chose according to their reasoning. There may be one person, or perhaps a second, or even some others with brief thoughts, whose memory holds words of the Hebrews. They did not apply the idea of god to anything visible, but with focused 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 darkesses of the soul and were drawn down into the depths of impiety, establishing what is beautiful, beneficial, and good in the way of wild beasts, focused only on the pleasures of bodies and flesh.

2.6.13 | In this way, as mentioned before, they call the discoverers of beautiful and useful things for the body, or even certain rulers and tyrants, or also sorcerers and skilled magicians, as if they were benefactors, saviors, and gods, even though they are mortal and subject to human misfortunes. They attribute to them a respectful idea that naturally exists within them, believing they have transferred the role of benefactors to those they thought were helpful.

2.6.14 | τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αὐτοὺς 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 ὥφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν.

2.6.15 | νόμων γοῦν, ὡσπερ ἔφην ᾧδη 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, ὡσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὄψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες.

2.6.16 | Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας, ἦν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐπιφυέντες, λογικώτερόν τε φιλοσοφεῖν αὐχοῦντες, τὴν δὴ φυσικωτέραν τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρας εὐρεσιλογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσεπινοήσαντες, καὶ μήτε πάντη τῶν προπατόρων τὸ πλημμελές τῆς δυσσεβείας ἐκφυγόντες μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν αὐτόθεν προφανινομένην τῶν θεολογουμένων μοχθηρίαν ὑπομείναντες.

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 feel ashamed of the disgraceful things said about them. Instead, 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 | Indeed, as I have already mentioned, at that time there were no laws among people, nor were there punishments for those who sinned, such as adultery, the harm of others, illegal and unnatural marriages, murders, and parricides, or the slaughter of children and brothers. Yes, even wars and uprisings that truly happened against their own people were seen this way. They regarded and called these individuals 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 | Such were the ideas of the old theology, which some young people, inspired both recently and in the past, claimed to think more rationally. They introduced a more natural view of the history of the gods, considering the myths to be more serious and reasonable. They neither completely escaped the faults of their ancestors' impiety nor did they endure the clear wickedness of those called gods.

2.6.17 | θεραπεῦσαι δ' οὖν ὅμως οὕδε τὸ πατρικὸν ἀμάρτημα προθυμηθέντες ἐπὶ 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.

2.6.18 | ἐνθεν ἀνιόντες καὶ οἴδε τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν, οὐκ αὔτὸ 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 ἔμφερη προσειπόντες τεθειάκασι, βεβιασμένον καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ τῶν μύθων τὸν καλλωπισμὸν εἰσηγησάμενοι.

2.6.19 | ἀλλ' 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 ούδενὸς, περὶ πολλοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἐκ παίδων ἀγωγὴν τιμώμενοι.

2.6.20 | οἵ γε μὴν τούτων πρεσβύτεροι ἐν ἵσῳ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποιίᾳ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῷων ἐκθεώσεις διετάξαντο διὰ τὸ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν χρήσιμον κατὰ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀποδοθείσας αἴτιας, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις θηρίοις τὰς ἵσας ἀφιέρωσαν θρησκείας, σπονδαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ μυστικαῖς

2.6.17 | These people, eager to correct 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 truly revealed, as if they were uncovering something more mysterious.

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, even the beautiful fruits of the earth and other plants for food, both dry and wet. They claimed these were the causes of life for bodies, naming Demeter, Persephone, Dionysus, and others like them, while presenting the embellishments of the myths as forced and untrue.

2.6.19 | But these people, later on, feeling ashamed of their ancestors' theologies, came up with 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 common upbringing they received in childhood.

2.6.20 | Indeed, those older than them organized the worship of gods among people 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,

τελεταῖς, ὕμνοις τε καὶ ώδαῖς, ὅμοίως τοῖς τεθεοποιημένοις ἀνδράσι καὶ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς ἐπάραντες· εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα κακῶν ἥλαυνον ὡς δ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡδυπαθείας ἀκρατοῦς τὰ ὄλκὰ πρὸς αἰσχρουργίαν μέρη τοῦ σώματος τά τε ἀκόλαστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις πάθη ταῖς ἴσοθέοις ἐκθειάσαι τιμαῖς, μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν τούτοις χρῆναι σεμνολογεῖν τῶν δὴ θεολόγων αὐτῶν ἀποφηναμένων.

2.6.21 | Τηρητέον γοῦν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα οὕτι παλαιίτατοι οὐδέν τι πλέον τῆς ἱστορίας είδότες, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς μύθοις προσανέχοντες ἔμαρτυρήθησαν. 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.

2.6.22 | πρὸν δὲ τὴν ἐκθεσιν ποιήσασθαι τούτων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ προεπισημήνασθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν θαυμαστῆν φιλοσόφων κάν τούτοις πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς ἐναντιολογίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τηνάλλως διηγοῦνται καὶ κατὰ τὸ παραστάν ἐκάστοις ἴδιως ἀποφαίνονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλήλοις σύμφωνα φυσιολογοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ εὔγνωμονέστερον τὸ σύμπαν ἀναιροῦσιν, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας οὐ μόνον τὰς ἀπρεπεῖς περὶ θεῶν διηγήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τούτων ἐρμηνείας ἀπελαύνουσιν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε φόβῳ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας τοὺς μύθους ὑποκορίζονται.

2.6.23 | ἄκουε δ' οὗν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τοτὲ μὲν

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 connected the shameful parts of the body with the same honors given to the gods, showing no concern for keeping the teachings of their theologians sacred.

2.6.21 | We should remember that the ancients knew nothing beyond history, and they only testified to the myths. However, since we have been inspired to explore the serious and secret teachings of noble philosophers, let us also examine these ideas, so that we do not appear ignorant of their amazing natural explanations.

2.6.22 | Before explaining these things, I think it is important to point out the contradictions among the great philosophers regarding their own views. Some tell their stories differently, and each one explains things according to their own perspective; they do not agree with each other in their natural explanations. Others more wisely reject the whole idea, dismissing not only the inappropriate stories about the gods from their own beliefs but also their interpretations. Sometimes, out of fear of punishment from the laws, they soften the myths.

2.6.23 | Listen to the Greeks, who at times reject the myths and at other times bring

έξωθοῦντος, τοτὲ δ' αὖ πάλιν  
εἰσποιουμένου 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  
λεληθὸς ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλούμενον, εἴτε  
ἐκτὸς πάσης ὑπονοίας λέγοιτο· ὅτε δὲ τοὺς  
νόμους ὑποκορίζεται, καὶ δεῖν φησι τοῖς  
περὶ θεῶν μύθοις πιστεύειν, ὡς μηδὲν  
ἔχουσιν ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἔξ αὐτῶν δηλούμενον.

them back through one of the greatest of all. The remarkable Plato, when he reveals his own preferences, boldly forbids thinking and speaking about the gods in ways that the ancients have described, whether something hidden is suggested in their hints or whether it is stated completely without any hint. However, when he softens the laws, he insists that one must believe the myths about the gods, claiming that they reveal nothing hidden in their hints.

2.6.24 | ἥδη δέ ποτε τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων  
τὴν οἰκείαν θεολογίαν ἀφορίσας, περὶ τε  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡλίου 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 ὄδε πως αὐτοῖς  
ρήμασιν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ διέξεισιν

2.6.24 | At one time, having defined the theology of the ancient myths, he discusses the sky, the sun, the moon, and the stars, as well as the entire universe, explaining its parts separately. Then he 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' ἡμὰς·  
πιστευτέον δὲ τοῖς είρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν,  
ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν ούσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν,  
σαφῶς δέ πως τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους  
είδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παιισὸν  
ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ  
ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν,, ἀλλ' ὡς  
οἰκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους  
τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον.

2.7.1 | When it comes to the other spirits, it is more important to speak about and understand their origin than it is to focus on 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 impossible to disbelieve the children of the gods, even though they speak without clear and necessary evidence. However, they say that one should believe what they declare as their own, in accordance with the law.

2.7.2 | οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἔκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ

2.7.2 | So, let our account of the origin of

γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὦκεα νὸς καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην· τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων· ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου τε καὶ Ἄρεας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφούς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἑκάπονους ἄλλους.”

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, along with other descendants from them.

2.7.3 | Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' ἔπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέα εἶναι, καίπερ ἀνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων είρησθαι αὐτὰ δύμολογήσας· 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 presented without clear and necessary evidence. It should be noted that there is nothing secret about the names and genealogies of the gods, as they are clearly shown in natural explanations.

2.7.4 | αὗθις δ' ἐν ἐτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπογυμνῶν προαίρεσιν πάλιν τούτοις κέχρηται τοῖς ρήμασι “Πρῶτον μὲν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος ὁ εἰπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Οὐρανός τε είργάσατο ἡ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, δὲ τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν. τί δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος, οὐδέ τοι, εἴ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ὥμην δεῖν ἥραδίως οὕτω λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἄφρονάς τε καὶ νέους, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν σιγᾶσθαι, εἴ δ' ἀνάγκη τις ἦν λέγειν, δι' ἀπορρήτων ἀκούειν ὡς ὀλιγίστους, θυσαμένους οὐ χοῖρον, ἀλλά τι μέγα καὶ ἀπορον θῦμα, ὅπως ἀνέλαχίστοις συνέβῃ ἀκοῦσαι.

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, since 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 shared easily with foolish and young people, but instead, 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 give, so that only a very few might hear.”

2.7.5 | καὶ γάρ, ή δ' ὅς, οὗτοί γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί· καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε, ὃ Άδειμαντε, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει· οὐδὲ δοτέον νέω ἀκούοντι, ὡς ἀδικῶν τὰ ἔσχατα οὐδὲν ἀνθεμαστὸν ποιοῖ, οὐδέ τοι ἀδικοῦντα

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 shared with a young listener, as committing the worst wrong would not

πατέρα κολάζων παντί τρόπω, ἀλλὰ δρώη· ἀν ὅπερ θεῶν οἵ πρωτοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι. οὐδὲ αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι λέγειν.

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 right to me to speak of it.

2.7.6 | οὐδέ γε, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ παράπαν, ὡς θεοὶ θεοῖς πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μάχονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀληθῆ· εἴ γε δεῖ ἡμῖν τρύνειν μέλλοντας τὴν πόλιν φυλάξειν αἰσχιστον νομίζειν τὸ ἥραδίως ἀλλήλοις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ποικιλτέον καὶ ἄλλας ἔχθρας καὶ παντοδαπάς θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οίκείους αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' εἴ πως μέλλοιμεν πείσειν ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε πολίτης ἔτερος ἐτέρῳ ἀπήχθετο, οὐδ' ἔστι τοῦτο ὄσιον, 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 true that the gods wage war against one another, 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 stories about the battle of the giants, as well as about other conflicts and various enmities among the gods and heroes against their relatives and kin. But if we are to convince others 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 grown old, and poets should be encouraged to create stories that reflect these ideas.”

2.7.7 | Ἡρας δὲ δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ υἱέος καὶ Ἡφαίστου βίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς, μέλλοντος τῇ μητρὶ τυπτομένῃ ἀμύνειν, καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας “Ομηρος πεποίηκεν, οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὕτ’ ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὕτ’ ἀνευ 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 from being struck, along with all the battles of the gods that Homer has created, should not be accepted in the city, neither as suggestions nor without any hints.

2.7.8 | Σαφῶς δὴ διὰ τούτων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν μύθους τοὺς περὶ θεῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν μύθων ἐν ὑπονοίαις εἰρῆσθαι νομίζομένας φυσιολογίας παραινητέας ἔας εἶναι διδάσκει, ὡς μηκέτ' ἀλόγως ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναχώνη 'ν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι

2.7.8 | Clearly, through these ideas, the philosopher teaches that the old myths about the gods and their meanings should be understood as natural explanations. He says that we should no longer speak foolishly about them and that the lessons from these myths should not be dismissed

διδασκαλίαν, ὅπότε καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων  
ἀποβέβληται.

2.7.9 | ὅθεν ἔπεισί μοι καὶ τοὺς παλαιοὺς  
τῶν Ῥωμαίων θαυμάζειν, τίνα τρόπον  
ἀπάσας τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς περὶ θεῶν  
φυσιολογίας ἀτόπους οὕσας καὶ  
ἀνωφελεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ βεβιασμένας  
ἀσυστάτους κατανοήσαντες, αύτοῖς 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  
‘Ρώμης ἱστορῶν τά τε ἄλλα διέξεισιν αὐτοῦ  
κατορθώματα, ἀτὰρ καὶ περὶ τῶνδε τοῦτον  
γράφων τὸν τρόπον

when it comes to the message of our savior,  
especially regarding our own people.

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. They  
saw these ideas as forced and chaotic.  
Instead, they created their own myths  
about theology. You can learn this from  
Dionysius of Halicarnassus's work on  
Roman antiquities. In the second book, he  
talks about Romulus, the first founder of  
Rome, and discusses his achievements as  
well as how he writes about these topics.

## Section 8

2.8.1 | “Αλλ’ ἔγνω ὅτι νόμοι σπουδαῖοι καὶ  
καλῶν ζῆλος ἐπιτηδευμάτων εύσεβῃ καὶ  
σώφρονα καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦσαν καὶ τὰ  
πολέμια ἀγαθὴν ἔξεργάζονται πόλιν· ὡν  
πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν, τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ  
δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν.

2.8.1 | But he understood that important  
laws and the pursuit of good things create a  
city that is pious, wise, and just, and that  
they lead to good outcomes against  
enemies. He had great foresight in this,  
beginning with respect for the divine and  
the spirits.

2.8.2 | ἰερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς  
καὶ ξοάνων ἴδρυσεις, μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ  
σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις Καὶ δωρεὰς, αἷς τὸ  
γένος ήμῶν εύηργέτησαν, ἐορτάς τε ὅποιας  
τινὰς ἐκάστω θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων ἀγεσθαι  
προσήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἵς χαίρουσι  
γεραιρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκεχειρίας  
τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας  
καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο  
τῶν κρατίστων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομίμων.

2.8.2 | Therefore, he established sacred  
places, temples, altars, and statues, along  
with their shapes, symbols, powers, and  
gifts, through 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  
people. He set up peace treaties, gatherings,  
and rest from work, along with 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 ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Θεῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἄξιους, ἀπαντας ἔξέβαλε, 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 passed down about them, which contain some blasphemies or accusations, seeing them as wicked, useless, and shameful, and not worthy of the gods or even of good people. He encouraged people to speak and think the best things about the gods, not allowing any unworthy practices that go against the nature of the blessed.

2.8.4 | Οὔτε γάρ Ούρανὸς ἐκτεμνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ Παιδῶν παρὶ Ῥωμαίοις λέγεται οὕτε Κρόνος ἀφανίζων τὰς ἐαυτοῦ γονὰς φόβῳ τῆς ἔξ 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 | It is not said among the Romans that Uranus was castrated by his own children, nor that Cronus hid out of fear of their attack, nor that Zeus overthrew Cronus's rule and imprisoned his father in Tartarus. There are no wars, wounds, chains, or servitude of the gods among people.

2.8.5 | ἐορτή τε οὐδεμία παρ’ αὐτοῖς μελανείμων ἡ πένθιμος ἄγεται, κοπετούς ἔχουσα καὶ θρήνους γυναικῶν ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἀφανιζομένοις, ἢ παρ’ Ἑλλησιν 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 vanished, like those celebrated by the Greeks for the abduction of Persephone and the sufferings of Dionysus, along with other similar events.

2.8.6 | οὐδ’ ἂν ἴδοι τις παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καίτοι διεφθαρμένων τῶν ἔθῶν ἥδη, οὐ θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κόρυ βάντ’ ίαζμοὺς, οὐ βακχείας καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ διαπαννυχισμοὺς ἐν ιεροῖς θεῶν ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξὶν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ εύλαβῶς ἀπαντα πραττόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα

2.8.6 | Nor would anyone see among them, even though their customs are already corrupted, any divine processions, no crown-wearing rituals, no Bacchic celebrations or 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

τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς οὕτε παρ' Ἑλλησιν  
οὕτε παρὰ βαρβάροις.

and said about the gods is done with respect, just as it is neither among the Greeks nor among the non-Greeks.

2.8.7 | καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε  
τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὅσων εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν ἐπεληλυθότων ἔθνῶν, οἵ πολλὴ  
ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς  
οἴκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον  
έλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἢ  
πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὁ πολλοῖς ἥδη συνέβη  
παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς  
ἐπεισῆκται ἵερα, τοῖς αὐτόθι αύτὰ νομίμοις  
μεθήριμοσεν, ἄπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρείαν  
μυθικὴν, ὡσπερ τὰ τῆς ιερᾶς θεᾶς ιερά.

2.8.7 | 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 others. 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' αὐτῆς  
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 | 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 songs of the mother 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  
ἢ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἢ πόλις  
ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔθη περὶ θεῶν  
καὶ πάντα ὀττεύεται τῦφον, ὃ μηδέν ἔστι  
τὸ εὔπρεπές.

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 Phrygian rituals according to law or council decree. In this way, the city treats non-local customs about the gods with great respect, and everything else is seen as foolishness, lacking any beauty.

2.8.10 | καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι

2.8.10 | And let no one think that I am

τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων είσι τινες  
ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι  
τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα διὰ λύπην, οἱ δὲ  
παραμυθίας ἔνεκα συγκείμενοι τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ταραχάς  
ἔξαιρούμενοι ψυχῆς καὶ δείματα καὶ δόξας  
καθαιροῦντες οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλης τινὸς  
ἔνεκα συμπλασθέντες ὡφελείας.

unaware that some of the Greek myths are useful to people. Some show the works of nature to bring sorrow, while others are created to comfort people in their misfortunes. Some help calm the soul's disturbances and remove fears and false beliefs, while others are made for some other benefit.

2.8.11 | ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα  
οὐδενὸς χεῖρον, δύμως εὐλαβῶς διάκειμαι  
πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν Ἐρωμαίων 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 prefer the theology of the Romans. I believe that the good things from the Greek myths are minor and can help only a few people, specifically those who seek them out for their own reasons.

2.8.12 | σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετειληφότες  
ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ὁ δὲ πολὺς καὶ  
ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω  
λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους,  
καὶ πάσχει θάτερον, ἢ καταφρονεῖ τῶν  
Θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαμονίᾳ  
κυλινδουμένων ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ  
παρανομωτάτων οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται, θεοῖς  
ὅρῶν αὐτὰ προσκείμενα.

2.8.12 | Few are those who have embraced this philosophy; instead, the large and unphilosophical crowd tends to accept worse ideas about it. They either scorn the gods, as if they are trapped in great misfortune, or they do not shy away from the most shameful and unlawful things, seeing them as linked to the gods.

2.8.13 | ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων τοῖς αὐτὸ  
μόνον τὸ θεωρητικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας  
μέρος ἀσκοῦσιν ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν, τῆς δὲ  
ὑπὸ Ἐρωμύλου κατασταθείσης πολιτείας  
καὶ τάδε ἡγησάμην ἴστορίας ἄξια." Τὰ μὲν  
δὴ παραστάντα τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν  
φιλοσόφων καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ πρώτοις  
τῆς Ἐρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας περὶ τῆς  
Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας τοιαῦτα ἦν, οὐδαμῶς  
φυσιολογίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις  
παραδεχόμενα, οὐδέ γε τὰς σεμνοφανεῖς

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 believe it is worthy of study. The ideas presented to the greatest philosophers, as well as the ancient ones and the early Roman leaders regarding Greek theology, were such that they accepted nothing about the gods from natural philosophy, nor did they accept the showy and clever tricks. Since we have

καὶ σοφιστικὰς τερθρείας. ἡμεῖς γε μὴν ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὡρμήθημεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τούτων ἔλεγχον, φέρε τὰς ἐρμηνείας αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρίας, τί ποτε ἄρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς ἐπικομίζονται, κατίδωμεν, μηδὲν μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν, πάντα δὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν φωναῖς συγχρώμενοι, ὡς ἀν παρ' αὐτῶν αὗθις τὰ αὐτῶν οίκεῖα καταμάθωμεν.

been motivated to examine these matters, let us explore their interpretations and theories, and see what they claim to be serious and divine. We will use none of our own ideas, but will focus entirely on their words, so that we may learn their teachings once again.

## Book Three (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

3.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὰ μὲν παραστάντα τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ πρώτοις τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας τοιαῦτα ἦν, οὐδαμῶς φυσιολογίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις παραδεχόμενα, οὐδέ γε τὰς σεμνοφανεῖς καὶ σοφιστικὰς τερθρείας.

3.praef.1 | Introduction. The ideas presented to the greatest philosophers, as well as the ancient ones and the early Roman leaders regarding Greek theology, were such that they accepted nothing about the gods from natural philosophy, nor did they accept the showy and clever tricks.

3.praef.2 | ἡμεῖς γε μὴν ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὡρμήθημεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τούτων ἔλεγχον, φέρε τὰς ἐρμηνείας αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρίας, τί ποτε ἄρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς ἐπικομίζονται, συνίδωμεν, μηδὲν μὲν ἐξ 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 inspired to examine these matters, let us look at their interpretations and theories, and see what they claim to be serious and divine. We will use none of our own ideas, but will focus entirely on their words, so that we may learn their teachings once 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 ἐκάστω τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπισχυριζομένοις· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξαρκεῖ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα διαφανῶν

3.praef.3 | Many others who claim to be philosophers have put in a lot of effort on these matters, coming up with different ideas and arguing that each of them holds the truth. However, for me, it is enough to provide evidence from the clearest and most well-known sources, and to

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις γνωρίμων κλέος  
τε οὐ μικρὸν φιλοσοφίας παρ' Ἑλλησιν  
ἀπενηγμένων παρασχεῖν.

contribute to the strong reputation of philosophy among the Greeks.

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  
ἐκκαλύπτων τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον τὴν μέθην  
εἶναι φησιν, ούκέτι τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ιστορίας ἐν  
τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι δεδηλωμένον  
Θνητὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν δὲ Ἡραν τὴν γαμήλιον  
ἄνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συμβίωσιν· εἴθι,  
ὡσπερ ἐπιλελησμένος τῆς ἀποδόσεως,  
ἐτέραν ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάφας ιστοίαν, τὴν Ἡραν  
ούκέτε ὡς 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 εἰσάνεται αὐτῷ ὁ  
Ζεὺς εἰς τὴν αἰθέριον δύναμιν  
ἀλληγορούμενος.

3.praef.4 | First, read the words of Plutarch about the matters at hand, where he seriously discusses the myths that he claims are mysterious theology. He reveals that Dionysus represents drunkenness, no longer the mortal man described in the earlier history. He portrays 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 states that Hera is the same as Leto in magic. After this, Zeus is allegorically associated with him in the heavenly realm.

3.praef.5 | Καὶ τί με δεῖ ταῦτα  
προλαμβάνειν, αὐτοῦ παρὸν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς ὃδέ πως ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῶν  
ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων τὰ λανθάνοντα  
τοὸς πλλοὺς τῆς ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν  
φυσιολογίας ἐκφαίνοντος

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 concerning the gods?

## Section 1

3.1.1 | Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ παλαιὰ φυσιολογία  
καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις λόγος ἦν  
φυσικὸς ἐγκεκρυμένος μύθοις, τὰ πολλὰ  
δι' αἰνιγμάτων καὶ ὑπονοιῶν ἐπίκρυψις  
καὶ μυστηριώδης θεολογία, τά τε  
λαλούμενα τῶν σιγωμένων σαφέστερα  
τοῖς πλλοῖς ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ σιγώμενα τῶν

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 that are spoken are clearer to most than the things that are kept silent, and the silent things are more

λαλουμένων ὑποπτότερα, δῆλον ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐπεσι καὶ τοῖς Αίγυπτιακοῖς καὶ Φρυγίοις λογοις· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ὄρυασμοὶ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα συμβολικῶς ἐν ταῖς ἵεραις τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμφαίνει διάνοιαν.

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, which reveal the thoughts of the ancients.

3.1.2 | Οἶον, ἵνα μὴ μακρὰν τῶν ἐνστηκότων λόγων βαδίζωμεν, οὐ νομίζουσιν ουδεὶς ἀξιοῦσι κοινωνίαν εἶναι πρὸς Διόνυσον "Ἡρᾶς φυλάσσονται δὲ συμμιγνύναι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἱερείας ἀπαντώσας φασὶν ἀλλή λαὶς μὴ προσαγορεύειν, μηδὲ ὅλως κιττὸν εἰς τὸ τῆς "Ἡρᾶς εἰσκομίζεσθαι τέμενος, οὐ διὰ τὰς μυθικὰς καὶ φρυαρώδεις ζηλοτυπίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι γαμήλιος μὲν ἡ θεὸς καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς, ἀπρεπὲς δὲ νυμφίοις τὸ μεθύειν, καὶ γάμοις ἀναρμοστότατον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων" ἀκρατοποσίᾳ γάρ, φησὶ, ταραχὴν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν, ὑφ' ἣς ἀπλαστα καὶ πεπλανημένα ῥίζουται κακῶς τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ κυϊσκόμενα. πάλιν οὶ θύοντες "Ἡρᾶ τὴν χολὴν οὐ καθαγίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ κατορύττουσι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν, ὡς δέον ἄθυμον καὶ ἄχολον καὶ καθαρεύουσαν ὄργῆς καὶ πικρίας ἀπάστης τὴν γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι συμβίωσιν."

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 grooms to be drunk, and it is most unsuitable for weddings, as Plato says. For he claims that drinking without restraint causes disturbance to both souls and bodies, leading 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 | Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συμβολικὸν εἴδος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς μύθοις μᾶλλον ἔστιν. οἶον, ἴστοροῦσι τὴν "Ἡραν ἐν τῇ Εὔβοιᾳ τρεφομένην ἔτι παρθένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός κλαπῆναι, καὶ διακομισθεῖσαν ἐνταῦθα κρύπτεσθαι, Κιθαιρῶνος αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκιον τινα μυχὸν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφυῆ παρασχόντος. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς Μακρίδος κατὰ ζήτησιν — ἦν δὲ "Ἡρᾶς τιθήνη — καὶ βουλομένης ἔρευνᾶν οὐκ ἔαν τὸν

3.1.3 | This symbolic form is more present in the stories and myths. For example, they 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,

Κιθαιρῶνα πολυπραγμονεῖν, ούδὲ 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, ὡστε καὶ Λητοῖ μυχίᾳ προθύεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ νυχίαν λέγουσι. σημαίνεται δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων τὸ κρύφιον 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 προσαγορευθῆναι.

3.1.4 | “οἱ δὲ φυσικῶς μᾶλλον καὶ πρεπόντως ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν μῦθον οὕτως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ Λητοῖ συνάγουσιν τὴν Ἡραν. γῆ μέν ἐστιν ἡ Ἡρα, καθάπερ εἴρηται, νὺξ δὲ ἡ Λητώ, λήθω τις οὕσα τῶν εἰς ὑπνον τρεπομένων, νὺξ δὲ ούδεν ἐστιν ἄλλο πλὴν σκιά γῆς· ὅταν γὰρ πλησιάσασα ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἀποκρύψῃ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀναπλατυνομένη μελαίνει τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἐκλειπτικὸν ὄλισθημα τῶν πανσελήνων, ὅταν τῆς σελήνης περιφερομένης ἡ σκιά τῆς γῆς ἐπιψαύσῃ καὶ διαθολώσῃ τὸ φέγγος.

3.1.5 | “Οτι οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστι τῆς Ἡρας ἡ Λητώ μάθοιτ’ ἀν ἐνθένδε. τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἥδη που θυγατέρα Λητοῦς καλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εἰλήθυιαν τὴν αὐτὴν ὄνομάζομεν· ούκοῦν ἡ τε Ἡρα καὶ ἡ Λητώ δύο είσὶ μιᾶς θεοῦ προσηγορίαι. πάλιν, ἐκ μὲν Λητοῦς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἐκ Ἡρας ὁ Ἄρης γέγονε, μία δέ

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 offer sacrifices in the hidden place; some say it was at night. Each of the names suggests 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 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. 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 | That Leto is not different from Hera can be learned from this. We already call Artemis the daughter of Leto, but we also refer to Eileithyia by the same name. Therefore, both Hera and Leto are names for one goddess. Again, Apollo came from Leto, while Ares came from Hera; yet their

έστιν 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 ὁ μὲν ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων κέκληται, ὁ δὲ πυροειδὴς Ἀρης ἐπωνόμασται. καὶ οὐκ ἀπότροπόν ἔστι τὴν αὐτὴν θεὸν γαμήλιον λέγεσθαι καὶ μητέρα Εἰληθυίας καὶ ἥλιου νομίζεσθαι. γάμου μὲν γὰρ τέλος γένεσίς ἔστι, γένεσις δὲ ἡ εἰς ἥλιον καὶ φῶς ἐκ σκότους πορεία. καὶ καλῶς ἔφη ὁ ποιητής Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τόν γε μογοστόκος Εἴληθυιαέξάγαγε πρὸ φώσδε καὶ ἡελίου ἵδεν αὐγάς. εῦ ὁ ποιητής τῇ μὲν προθέσει τὴν σύνθεσιν ἔθλιψεν, ἐμφαίνων τὸ βεβιασμένον τῆς ὡδῖνος, τέλος δὲ τῆς γενέσεως ἐποίησεν ἥλιον ἰδεῖν. οὐκοῦν ἡ αὐτὴ θεὸς ἐποίησε καὶ γάμον συνελθεῖν, ἵνα γένεσιν παρασκευάσῃ.”

power is one. Ares is called a helper in violent battles and fights, while Apollo is known for freeing 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 helps in childbirth, was brought forth before the light and saw the rays of the sun.” The poet skillfully showed the pain of childbirth at 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 | “Δεῖ δὲ ἶσως καὶ τὸν εύηθέστερον μῆθον εἰπεῖν. λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς, τῆς Ἡρας αὐτῷ διαφερομένης καὶ μηκέτι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ διουλομένης, ἀλλὰ κρυπτούσης ἐαυτὴν, ἀμηχανῶν καὶ πλανώμενος Ἀλαλκομένει τῷ αὐτόχθονι συντυχεῖν, καὶ διδαχθῆναι ὑπὸ τούτου ὡς ἔξαπατητέον τὴν Ἡραν, σκηψάμενον γαμεῖν ἐτέραν. συνεργοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλαλκομένους κρύφα τεμόντας αὐτοὺς εὔκτέανον καὶ παγκάλην δρῦν μορφῶσαί τε αὐτὴν καὶ καταστεῖλαι νυμφικῶς, Δαιδάλην προσαγορεύσαντας· εἴτα οὕτως ἀναμέλπεσθαι μὲν τὸν ὑμέναιον, λουτρὰ δὲ κομίζειν τὰς Τριτωνίδας νύμφας, αύλοὺς δὲ καὶ κώμους τὴν Βοιωτίαν παρασχεῖν· περαινομένων δὲ τούτων οὐκέτι τὴν Ἡραν καρτερεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβᾶσαν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, τῶν Πλαταιίδων αὐτῇ γυναικῶν ἐπομένων, ὑπ’ ὄργης καὶ ζηλοτυπίας θέουσαν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς

3.1.6 | It may be necessary to tell the simpler myth. It is said that Zeus, when Hera was avoiding him and no longer wanted to be in the same place, was wandering around and, unable to find her, happened upon Alalcomeneus, a local man. He learned from him how to deceive Hera and decided to marry another. With Alalcomeneus's help, they secretly cut down a beautiful and generous oak tree, shaping it and decorating it like a 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 and 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

τὸν Δία, καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος φανεροῦ γενομένου διαλλαγεῖσαν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ γέλωτος αὐτὴν νυμφαγωγεῖν· τιμὴν δὲ τῷ ξοάνῳ προσθεῖναι καὶ Δαίδαλα τὴν ἐορτὴν προσαγορεῦσαι, κατακαῦσαι δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν, καίπερ ἄψυχον ὄν, ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας.”

3.1.7 | “Ο μὲν οὖν μῆθος τοιοῦτος, ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ τοιόσδε. Ἡρας καὶ Δῖος διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις ούδεν ἄλλο πλὴν στοιχείων δυσκρασία καὶ τάραχός ἔστιν, ὅταν ἀλλήλοις μηκέτι συμμετρῆται κατὰ κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύτητος ἔγγενομένης δυσμαχήσαντα λύσῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν ὅλων ἀπεργάσηται. ἂν μὲν οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς, τουτέστιν ἡ θερμὴ καὶ πυρώδης δύναμις, αἰτίαν παράσχῃ τῆς διαφθορᾶς, αύχμὸς τὴν γῆν καταλαμβάνει, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἡραν, τουτέστι τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ πνευματικὴν φύσιν, ὕβρις τις ἡ πλεονασμὸς γένηται, ῥεῦμα ἥλθε πολὺ καὶ συνώμβρισε καὶ κατέκλυσε τὰ πάντα. τοιούτου δέ τινος γενομένου καὶ περὶ τοὺς τότε χρόνους, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Βοιωτίας βυθισθείσης, ὡς πρῶτον ἀνέδυ τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἡ πλήμυρα ἐλώφησεν, ὁ μὲν ἔξ εύδιας κόσμος τοῦ περιέχοντος ὄμόνοια καὶ διαλλαγὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐλέχθη, πρῶτον δὲ ἀνέσχεν ἐκ τῶν φυτῶν τῆς γῆς ἡ δρῦς, καὶ ταύτην ἡγάπησαν οἱ ἀνθρωποι, τροφῆς βίου καὶ σωτηρίας διαμονὴν παρασχοῦσαν, οὐ γάρ μόνον τοῖς εύσεβέσιν, ὡς Ἡσίοδός φησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑπολειφθεῖσι τῆς φθορᾶς “Ἀκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσην δὲ μελίσσας.”

## Section 2

3.2.1 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλούταρχος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρατεθεισῶν αὐτῷ φωνῶν ὡς ἄρα

laughter, and she was led to the wedding. They honored 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 more 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, representing the hot and fiery force, is the cause of this destruction, then drought overtakes the land. But if it concerns Hera, representing 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 food and safety in life. For it was not only for the pious, as Hesiod says, but also for those who survived the destruction; the 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

καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἀπόρρητος φυσιολογία  
τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας θεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν,  
οὐδέ τι μέγα καὶ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ τῆς  
ἀνατάσεως ἄξιον ἐπήγετο.

wonderful and secret nature of Greek  
theology does not suggest anything divine,  
nor anything great and worthy of respect  
or revival.

3.2.2 | ἀκήκοας γὰρ τὴν Ἡραν, τοτὲ μὲν  
γαμήλιον ἀναγορευομένην καὶ τὴν ἀνδρὸς  
καὶ γυναικὸς συμβίωσιν δηλοῦσαν, τοτὲ δὲ  
τὴν γῆν πάλιν Ἡραν ὄνομαζομένην, 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 Θερμὴν καὶ  
πυρώδη δύναμιν.

3.2.2 | For you have heard of Hera,  
sometimes called the goddess of marriage,  
representing the union of man and woman,  
and at other times referred to as the earth.  
Sometimes, she is known as the moist  
essence. Dionysus is linked to drunkenness,  
while Leto is associated with the night, and  
the sun is connected to Apollo. Zeus himself  
is seen as the hot and fiery force.

3.2.3 | ούκοῦν 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 ὕλης  
στοιχεῖα κατέστρεψε τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου,  
καὶ πλέον θεοποιοῦσα οὐδέν.

3.2.3 | Therefore, considering the  
awkwardness of the myths, the seemingly  
more serious stories and nature do not  
point to any heavenly, intelligent, or divine  
powers, nor to logical and incorporeal  
essences. Instead, they return to themes of  
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 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' οἶδεν.  
ὅμολογεῖ γοῦν διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ  
μηδὲν πλέον τῶν ὄρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου  
μερῶν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
ἀνθρώπων ἔγνωκέναι, μόνους δὲ θεοὺς  
εἶναι τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστῆρας καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ τῶν φαινομένων νομίσαι.

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  
recognized by the earliest people of Greece,  
and that only the heavenly lights are  
considered gods, along with the other  
visible things.

3.2.5 | λέγει δ' οὗν ὅδε πρὸς λέξιν  
“Φαίνονταί μοι οὖτις πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς  
ἡγεῖσθαι οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν

3.2.5 | He expresses it this way: “It seems to  
me that the earliest people around Greece  
considered only these as gods, just as many  
of the barbarians do now: the sun, the

βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.

3.2.6 | Άλλὰ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ τοιαῦτα· ἵδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων παλαιίτατα· ἦν δὲ τὰ Αἴγυπτια. 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, ὡκεανόν τε τὸ ὑγρὸν νομίζεσθαι παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον, ὃ καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀναθεῖναι γενέσεις· τὸν δὲ ἀέρα φασὶν αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύειν Ἀθηνᾶν.

3.2.7 | τούτους δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς, τὸν Ἄέρα λέγω καὶ τὸ Ὅδωρ τὸ τε Πύρ' καὶ τὴν Γῆν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως εἰς μορφὰς καὶ ίδεας ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ παντοίων ζώων σχηματίζομένους, καὶ τούτων ὅμωνύμους παρ' αὐτοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις γεγονέναι Θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους, Ἦλιον 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 ὕδε πως ἴστορῶν κατὰ λέξιν

### Section 3

3.3.1 | "Τούτους δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς, τὸν Ἦλιον, φασὶ, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, Ὀσιριν ὄντας κατ' Αἴγυπτίους καὶ Ἰσιν, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διοικεῖν τρέφοντάς τε καὶ αὔξοντάς πάντα τριμερέσιν ὥραις, ἀοράτω κινήσει τὴν περίοδον ἀπαρτιζούσαις, τῇ τε ἑαρινῇ καὶ θερινῇ καὶ χειμερινῇ· ταύτας δὲ

moon, the earth, the stars, and the sky."

3.2.6 | But the Greek beliefs are like this. Let's also look at the oldest ones, which are 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 called Demeter. The Egyptians think of the ocean as the water and the river they have, the Nile, where they also place the origins of the gods. They say that they call the air Athena.

3.2.7 | These five gods—air, water, fire, earth, and spirit—are said to move through the whole world, sometimes taking on 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 extensively about these, while Diodorus writes more briefly in his earlier works, telling the history like this.

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 helping everything grow in three parts of the year, with an unseen movement marking the seasons: spring, summer, and winter. These

έναντιωτάτην ἀλλήλαις τὴν φύσιν ἔχούσας ἀπαρτίζειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρίστη συμφωνία.

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' ξήλιου καὶ σελήνης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τούτων μέρη πέντε τὰ προειρημένα, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ξηρόν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ὑγρόν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸ ἀερῶδες, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη καταριθμοῦμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου συγκεῖσθαι πᾶν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων.

3.3.3 | τούτων δ' ἔκαστον θεὸν νομίσαι, καὶ προσηγορίαν ἴδιαν ἐκάστῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὸ οἴκειον, τοὺς πρώτους διαλέκτῳ χρησαμένους διηρθρωμένη τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεῦσαι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως· ὃν αἴτιον ὅντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῷοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἰονεί τινα πατέρα.

3.3.4 | συμφωνεῖν δὲ τούτοις φασὶ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο λέγοντα, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· τὸ δὲ πῦρ μεθερμηνεύμενον "Ηφαιστον ὄνομάσαι, νομίσαντας μέγαν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ πολλὰ συμβάλλεσθαι πᾶσιν εἰς γένεσίν τε καὶ τελείαν αὔξησιν. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεῦσαι·

seasons have opposite qualities, arranging the year in the best harmony.

3.3.2 | They say that the nature of these gods greatly contributes to the life of all living things: the fiery and the spiritual, the wet and the dry, and together they 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 elements.

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 Egyptian language. Therefore, they call the spirit Zeus, which means the cause of life for all living things, and they see him as a kind of father to all.

3.3.4 | They also agree that the most famous of the Greek poets referred to this god as "father of men and gods." They translate fire as Hephaestus, believing him to be a great god who plays a significant role in the creation and full growth of everything. They see the earth as a kind of vessel for growing things and call it mother. The Greeks similarly refer to this goddess

καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως Δῆμητρα 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 ὡκεανὸν, ὃ μεθερμηνεύμενον μὲν εἶναι τροφῆς μητέρα, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὡκεανὸν ὑπάρχειν ὑπειλῆφθαι, περὶ οὐ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγειν Ὡκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

3.3.6 | οὗτοι γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν ὡκεανὸν 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: οἴνος Δῖος, Ήλίου, Ἐρμοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος, Πανὸς, Εἴληθυίας, ἄλλων πλειόνων.

3.3.7 | τὸν δὲ ἀέρα προσαγορεῦσαί φασιν Αθηνᾶν, μεθερμηνεομένης τῆς λέξεως, καὶ Δῖος θυγατέρα γε νομίσαι ταύτην, καὶ παρθένον ὑποστήσασθαι διά τε τὸ ἄφθορον εἶναι φύσει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸν ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου· διόπερ ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Δῖος μυθολογηθῆναι γενέσθαι ταύτην. ὡνομάσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ τριτογένειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρὶς μεταβάλλειν τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἔαρος καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

3.3.8 | λέγεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ γλαυκῶπιν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὑπέλαβον

as Demeter, with a slight change in the name over time.

3.3.5 | In ancient times, they called the earth mother, just as Orpheus 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 | The Egyptians believe that the river Nile is their Ocean, near which the births of the gods took place. 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, meaning she is thought to be the daughter of Zeus. She is also considered a virgin because the air is pure by nature and occupies 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 | She is also called "glaukopis," not because some of the Greeks thought she

ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς γλαυκοὺς ἔχειν· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ εὕηθες ὑπάρχειν· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἀέρα τὴν πρόσωψιν ἔχειν ἔγγλαυκον. φασὶ δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς τοὺς προειρημένους τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην ἐπιτορεύεσθαι φανταζομένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἱερῶν ζῷων μορφαῖς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἴδεας ἡ τινων ἄλλων μεταβάλλοντας.

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, Καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἄλλοδαποῖσιπαντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας, ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εύνομίην ἐσορῶντες. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν καὶ γένεσιν ἀίδιον ἐσχηκότων τοσαῦτα λέγουσιν Αἴγυπτοι.”

3.3.10 | Ἀλλοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὔεργεσίαν τετευχότας τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὃν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ὄμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δὲ ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προστηγορίαν, Ἡλιον τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ρέαν, ἔτι δὲ Δία τὸν ὑπό τινων Ἀμμιωαν 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.

had gray eyes. That 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 | And this is not a myth; 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 | They say that others came from these beings and became earthly, living as mortals. However, through their understanding and good deeds, they achieved immortality, and some of them 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 | 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 Ἐλληνες Κρόνον ἄλληγοροῦσι 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 είπὼν πάλιν εἰς δαίμονας ἀναφέρει τοὺς περὶ τῶν δηλουμένων θεῶν μύθους, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλως ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ αὖθις ἔτέρως ἀλληγορῶν.

3.3.13 | ἦν δ' ἂν κατὰ λόγον πυθέσθαι ὃποτέρων θεῶν τὰ ξόανα τὰς ἐντετυπωμένας μορφὰς σώζειν φήσουσιν. πότερα δαιμόνων; ἀλλὰ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ἢ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν εἰκόνας, καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων καὶ θηρίων σχήματα;

3.3.14 | ἐπεὶ γάρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν συγκεχώρηται ὄμωνύμως ἡλίω καὶ τοῖς καθόλου στοιχείοις θνητούς τινας ἄνδρας γεγονέναι, καὶ τούτους θεούς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι, τίνων εἰκός ἀν εἴη μορφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας λέγειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀψύχοις ξοάνοις γλυφάς; πότερον τῶν καθόλου

3.3.11 | So, this is what the writer has explained. 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 talks about the demons in the myths concerning the revealed gods. He explains them in a different way and interprets them once more.

3.3.13 | It would be worth asking which gods' statues preserve the carved forms. Are they statues of demons? Or are they images of fire, air, earth, and water? Or are they representations of men and women, and shapes of wild animals and beasts?

3.3.14 | Since it has also been said that some mortal men share names with the sun and the basic elements, and that these men are called gods, what could be the reason for claiming that the carved forms and images in the lifeless statues represent them? Are they representations of the basic

στοιχείων, ἡ, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς τῆς  
ὅψεως 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 ἀφιεὶς, 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 Αἴγυπτίων θεῶν ὕδε πως  
λέγων

3.3.16 | "Ιστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἴγυπτοι τὸν μὲν  
'Ερμῆν τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι γαλιάγκωνα,  
τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα τῇ χροιᾳ 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;

3.3.18 | ποτέροις δὲ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τίνων  
ἀρξάμενοι τὰς τοιάσδε προσηγορίας  
ἐπεφήμισαν; οἷον, λέγω τὸν "Ηφαιστον καὶ  
τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, Δία τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ  
"Ηραν. ἄρα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν καθόλου  
στοιχείων πρότερον ὄντα ὄνόματα  
δεύτερον αὐτὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς ὄμωνύμως τοῖς  
οὐρανίοις ἐπιτεθείκασιν, ἡ τοῦμπαλιν ἐκ  
τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἐπικλήσεως τὴν

elements, or, as is clearly shown by what  
we can see, of the mortals lying among the  
dead?

3.3.15 | But even if they do not say it  
themselves, the truth cries out loudly,  
leaving aside only the sound, that those  
being shown are mortal men. Plutarch also  
notes the character of the shape of these  
bodies based on 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  
beings.

3.3.17 | These things are also noted by  
Plutarch. Therefore, their entire idea of  
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, the  
moon, and the other elements of the world?

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 get given to  
mortals as the same names for the heavenly  
beings, or was it the other way around,  
with the names used by humans being later

μεταφορὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ούσιας πεποίηνται;

transferred to the divine beings?

3.3.19 | καὶ τί χρὴ θνηταῖς προσηγορίαις τὰς καθόλου φύσεις ἐπιφημίζειν; τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκαστον θεὸν μυστήρια, οἵ τε ὅμνοι καὶ αἱ ὥδαι καὶ τῶν τελετῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, πότερον τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων, ἢ τῶν πάλαι θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμωνύμων 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 mortals who shared the same names as the gods?

3.3.20 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ πλάνας καὶ μέθας καὶ ἔρωτας φθοράς τε γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ μυρία ἄττα, θνητὰ ως ἀληθῶς καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσεμνα, πῶς ἂν τις ἀναθείῃ 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 flawed?

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 Ἀνεβώ τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἴστορεῖ

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 reveal anything divine. Instead, it is forced and hidden, presenting an outward appearance of seriousness. Listen then to what Porphyry says in his letter to Anubis about the same matters.

## Section 4

3.4.1 | "Χαιρήμων μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῶν ὄρωμένων κόσμων ἡγοῦνται, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τιθέμενοι τοὺς Αἴγυπτίων, οὐδ' ἄλλους θεοὺς πλὴν τῶν πλανητῶν λεγομένων, καὶ τῶν συμπληρούντων τὸν ζωδιακὸν, καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις παρανατέλλουσι· τάς τε εἰς τοὺς

3.4.1 | For Chairemon and others do not think anything different about the visible worlds, starting with 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

δεκανοὺς τομὰς, καὶ τοὺς ὥροσκόπους, καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους κραταιοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὃν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα ἐν τοῖς ἀλμενιχιακοῖς φέρεται, καὶ θεραπεῖαι παθῶν, καὶ ἀνατολὰ, καὶ δύσεις, καὶ μελλόντων σημειώσεις.

discuss the divisions into the decans, the horoscopes, and the so-called powerful rulers, whose names are found in the Almenichian texts, along with remedies for ailments, the rising and setting of stars, and signs of the future.

3.4.2 | ἐώρα γὰρ τοὺς τὸν ἥλιον δημιουργὸν φαμένους καὶ τὰ περὶ Ὀσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἱερατικούς μύθους, ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰς τούτων φάνσεις καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἐπιτολὰς ἐλιττομένους, ἢ εἰς τὰς τῆς σελήνης αὐξήσεις καὶ μειώσεις, ἢ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἥλιου πορείαν, ἢ τό γε νυκτερινὸν ἡμισφαίριον, ἢ τὸ ἡμερινὸν, ἢ τόν γε ποταμόν· καὶ ὅλως πάντα εἰς τὰ φυσικὰ, καὶ οὐδὲν εἴς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζῶσας ούσιας ἐρμηνεύοντας. ὃν οἶ 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 ἐν τε ἱεροῖς καὶ ξοάνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεραπεύουσι.”

3.4.2 | For they see those who claim that the sun is a creator, along with those about Osiris and Isis, and all the priestly myths. These myths either relate to the stars and their appearances, 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. In general, everything is explained in terms of nature, and nothing is interpreted as incorporeal and living beings. Many of them believe 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 Αἴγυπτίων ἀπόρρητος θεολογία οὐδὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων τῶν τε ἀπλανῶν καλουμένων καὶ τῶν ὄνομαζομένων πλανητῶν ἔθεολόγει, δημιουργὸν τε τῶν ὅλων εἰσῆγεν οὐτιναοῦν ἀσώματον, οὐδὲ λόγον δημιουργικὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν θεόν, οὐδὲ θεοὺς, οὐδέ τινας νοερὰς καὶ ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, μόνον δὲ τὸν ὄρώμενον ἥλιον· διὸ καὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἄστροις τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀνετίθεσαν αἰτίαν, τὰ πάντα εἰμαρμένης

3.4.3 | Let these things then be taken from the stated letter, clearly declaring that the secret theology of the Egyptians speaks 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 or unseen powers, but only the visible sun. Therefore, they attribute the cause of everything solely to the stars, linking everything to fate and the movements and changes of the stars, just as this belief still holds strong among them

έξαπτοντες καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων κινήσεως τε καὶ φορᾶς, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει είσέτι 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 Αἴγυπτοις, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄρατὰ σώματα τῷ ίδιῳ λόγῳ ἄψυχα καὶ ἄλογα ἔρευστά 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 'Ἐλληνας παρ' Αἴγυπτίων τὰ τῆς θεολογίας μετακεκομίσθαι, ὡρα τούτοις στοιχεῖν καὶ 'Ἐλληνας, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Αἴγυπτοις φυσιολογεῖν, ἀπελέγχεσθαι τε αὐτοὺς ούδεν πλέον τῆς ἄψυχου ὕλης θεοποιοῦντας. ταῦτα γάρ ἦν τὰ σεμνὰ Αἴγυπτίων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως γραφὴν, ὅστις πάλιν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διέξεισιν

3.4.6 | "Ἄπο δὲ ταύτης ὄρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως ἔγνωσαν ὡς οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, οὕτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζώων. διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποιίαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον, καὶ ὄμοιώς που ἀνέμιξαν θηρία καὶ

today.

3.4.4 | If 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 seen as 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 passed their theology to the Greeks, it is time for them to align with the Greeks and explain the same things as the Egyptians. They should no longer be challenged for treating lifeless material as divine. For these were the serious beliefs of the Egyptians according to the writing of the mentioned author, who will again discuss similar ideas in what he wrote about the separation of living beings.

3.4.6 | Starting from this practice and their connection to the divine, they understood that the divine did not come through just one human, nor did a soul settle in only one person on earth. Instead, the same divine presence passed through all living creatures. Therefore, they accepted every animal into their divinization, mixing

άνθρωπους, καὶ πάλιν ὄρνέων σώματα καὶ  
άνθρωπων.

3.4.7 | εἴκασται γάρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μέχρι  
τραχήλου ἀνθρωπειδής, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον  
ὄρνέου ἡ λέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζώου  
κεκτημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὖτε κεφαλὴ  
ἀνθρώπειος, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζώων 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, ὃ  
καλοῦσι νομόν, ἐπώνυμον ἔχει  
Λεοντοπολίτην, ἄλλο δὲ Βουσιρίτην, ἄλλο  
δὲ Κυνοπολίτην. τὴν γάρ ἐπὶ πάντα  
δύναμιν διὰ τῶν συννόμων ζώων ὃν  
ἔκαστος τῶν θεῶν παρέσχεν ἐθρήσκευσαν.

3.4.9 | ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ σέβονται, τὰ  
κάλλιστα τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ταῦτα  
αίτιώτατα 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,  
λείβοντος τοῦ ὑμνωδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ  
πῦρ φαίνοντος, ὅπηνίκα ἐστῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
ούδοῦ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων φωνῇ  
έγείρει 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 Ἀναβίν κώμην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τούτῳ θύεται

together beasts and humans, as well as the  
bodies of birds and humans.

3.4.7 | For among them, there are figures  
that are human-like up to the neck, but they  
have the face of a bird, a lion, or some other  
animal. There are also those with a human  
head and parts of other animals, some  
below and some above. Through these, they  
show that according to the will of the gods,  
these beings are connected to each other,  
and that the wild beasts have a 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, is named Leontopolis. Another  
is called Busiris, and another is called  
Cynopolis. They worship 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, because these are  
the most important for our salvation. They  
show this in their temples, and even now,  
during the opening of the holy Sarapis,  
healing happens through fire and water.  
The hymn 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,  
especially those that are more closely  
connected to the sacred. All such animals  
are respected, since they also worship  
humans in the village of Anabis, where

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ ιερὰ ἔκκαεται·

sacrifices are made to them and offerings are burned on the altars.

3.4.11 | ὁ δὲ μετ' ὄλιγον σφάγοι ἀν τὰ ἴδια αὐτῷ ως ἀνθρώπῳ παρεσκευασμένα. ως οὖν ἀνθρώπου ἀφεκτέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

3.4.11 | After a little while, he would eat the food prepared for him as a person. Just as one should be free from a human, so too should one be free from the others.

3.4.12 | ἔτι δὲ ἐκ περιττῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον συντροφίας κατέλαβόν τισι τῶν θεῶν προσφιλῇ τῶν ζώων τινὰ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων, ως ἡλίῳ ἱέρακα, σύμπασαν μὲν τὴν φύσιν ἐξ αἴματος ἔχοντα καὶ πνεύματος, οίκτείροντα δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπον, καὶ κωκύοντα ἐπὶ νεκρῷ κειμένῳ, γῆν τε ἐπαμώμενον. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέᾳ φησίν

3.4.12 | Moreover, due to an abundance of wisdom and their connection to the divine, some of the gods have a special fondness for certain animals more than for humans, like the sun's hawk. All of these beings have a nature made of blood and spirit, feeling pity for humans, and they cry out over a dead body while touching the ground. After a short time, he says,

3.4.13 | "Κάνθαρον δὲ ἀμαθής μὲν βδελυχθείη ἀν ἀγνώμων ὑπάρχων τῶν θείων, Αἴγυπτοι δὲ ἐσέφθησαν ως εἰκόνα ἡλίου ἔμψυχον. κάνθαρος γάρ πᾶς ἄρρην, καὶ ἀφιεὶς τὸν θορὸν ἐν τέλματι καὶ ποιήσας σφαιροειδῆ, τοῖς ὅπισθίοις ἀνταναφέρει ποσὶν, ως ἥλιος οὐρανὸν καὶ περίοδον ἡμερῶν ἐκδέχεται σεληνιακήν.

3.4.13 | But a beetle, being ignorant, would be disgusted if it existed among the divine. The Egyptians see it as a living image of the sun. Every beetle is male, and after leaving the noise in the mud and forming 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 γυπὸς καὶ ἵβεως, καὶ ὄλως καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν ζώων· ως ἐκ φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἄγαν θεοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὸ σέβας ἐλθεῖν καὶ τῶν ζώων."

3.4.14 | Thus, they also think deeply about the ram, and something about the crocodile, as well as the vulture and the ibis, and generally about each of the animals. They aim to achieve reverence through understanding and great wisdom about the divine.

## Section 5

3.5.1 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενναίας τῶν σοφῶν Αἴγυπτίων φυσιολογίας τέθειται ὡς δεδηλωμένος, Αἴγυπτίων διασαφήσας ἡμῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ὅτι τε ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ σέβουσι, καὶ μία λογικῶν καὶ ἀλόγων οὐ μόνον σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς ούσια κέκριται εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς εὐλόγως αὐτῷ δοκεῖν θεοὺς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι τὰ θηρία.

3.5.2 | καίτοι πῶς οὐ παραλογώτατον είς θεοποίαν παραλαμβάνειν τὴν ἄλογον καὶ θηριώδη φύσιν, διὰ τὸ τῆς ἶσης, ὡς φασιν, ἀνθρώποις μετέχειν ψυχῆς; ἔχοντας γάρ, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθρώπους καὶ αὐτὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας αὐτοῖς δόξης τε καὶ τιμῆς μεταδιδόναι.

3.5.3 | οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ πράξαντες, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἄλογα θηρία γενόμενα, καὶ ταύτην εἰληχότα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ ούδε τῆς ἀνθρώπων προσρήσεως ἡξιωμένα, οὐδὲ ὄμοιώς ἀνθρώποις ἡξιώσαν ἀποδέξασθαι· τὴν ἀνωτάτω δὲ τοῦ παμβασιλέως προσηγορίαν καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ φέροντες είς τὴν θηρίων φύσιν καταβεβλήκασι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν ἢ μηδὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηξίωται προσηγορίας.

3.5.4 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀκήκοας καὶ τῆς θεοσοφίας τῆς μυστικῆς, δι' ἣν οἱ θαυμάσιοι τῶν Αἴγυπτίων λύκους καὶ κύνας καὶ λέοντας ἐσεβάσθησαν· ἔγνως καὶ τοῦ κανθάρου τὸ θαῦμα καὶ ἱέρακος τὴν ἀρετήν· μὴ δὴ γέλα τοῦ λοιποῦ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐλέει δὲ τῆς πολλῆς εὐηθείας καὶ ἀβλεψίας

3.5.1 | Such things are also said about the noble nature of the wise Egyptians, as the one who has revealed them has explained the hidden truths to us. They honor both water and fire, and they believe there is one essence that connects both rational and irrational bodies, as well as the soul. It seems reasonable to them that the gods are referred to as the beasts.

3.5.2 | And yet, how can it not be completely unreasonable to include the irrational and beastly nature in divinity, just because of the supposed equality in sharing a soul with humans? For, if that is true, then humans should also be seen as leaders, and they should share in the honor and respect that comes with being human.

3.5.3 | But those who did not do this viewed the irrational beasts as part of that nature and gave them this name, believing they did not even deserve to be called humans. They did not see them as worthy of being accepted as human. Instead, they lowered the highest title of the universal king and creator of all to the level of beasts, calling them gods, a title that is not even fitting for humans in relation to that god.

3.5.4 | Regarding this, you have heard about the mystical wisdom, through which the remarkable Egyptians honored wolves, dogs, and lions. You have also learned about the wonder of the beetle and the virtue of the hawk. Do not mock the gods any longer, for it reveals the great

τὸ τρισάθλιον ἀνθρώπων γένος.

foolishness and carelessness of the wretched 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, consider all the good things that Christ, the giver from God, offers us. He has freed the souls of the Egyptians from such a long-lasting sickness through his gospel teaching, so that most of those in Egypt have already been released from this affliction.

## Section 6

3.6.1 | Ἄλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, ἂ καὶ παλαίτερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπάντων μνημονεύεται. ἔχεις τοιγαροῦν πρὸς τῇ μυθικῇ καὶ τὴν φυσικωτέραν θεολογίαν Ἐλλήνων ὅμοιον καὶ Αἴγυπτίων, τῶν πάλαι τὴν πολύθεον δεισιδαιμονίαν συστησαμένων, παρ' οἷς ὅτι μηδέν τι τῶν ἀληθῶς θείων ἀσωμάτων τε καὶ νοερῶν ούσιῶν ἐγνωρίζετο μεμάθηκας.

3.6.1 | But indeed, such things, along with 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 beliefs. Among them, you have learned that nothing truly divine, whether incorporeal or spiritual, was recognized.

3.6.2 | πλὴν ἀλλὰ δεδόσθω καὶ συγκεχωρήσθω τουτοισὶ τοῖς μετεωρολέσχαις λέγειν ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀλληγορουμένων φυσιολογίᾳ γινέσθω τε αὐτοῖς ὁ ἥλιος ποτὲ μὲν Ἀπόλλων, c καὶ πάλιν Ὕρος, καὶ Ὁσιρις πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ μυρία ἄλλα ὄσα καὶ θέλοιεν ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ἡ Ἰσις ἡ Ἀρτεμις, καὶ ὄσα ἄν τις ἔξαριθμεν βούλοιτο .

3.6.2 | However, let it be permitted for those who speak of the heavens to tell the truth, and let them find in the natural philosophy of the allegorized that the sun is sometimes Apollo, and at other times Horus, while Osiris is the same, along with countless others as they wish. Just as the moon is either Isis or Artemis, and however many others one might want to name.

3.6.3 | μὴ γὰρ ἔστω ταῦτα θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπουρανίων φωστήρων σημαντικαὶ προσηγορίαι· τὸν ἥλιον ἄρα καὶ

3.6.3 | Let these not be names of mortal men, but important titles of the heavenly lights themselves. Therefore, the sun, the

τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνητέον.

moon, the stars, and the other parts of the world should be worshipped as gods.

3.6.4 | καὶ ταύτη τοιγαροῦν ἡ γενναίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίᾳ ὥσπερ 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 so, the noble philosophy of the Greeks has revealed, as if by a machine, raising the promise of the word to great heights, while turning below to the sensible and visible creation of the divine, the thoughts of the wise. It speaks of nothing more than fire and the warm essence, and the parts of the world, through the heavenly lights. Let there also be the moist, the dry, and the combination of 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 ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης θεὸν 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? It teaches every kind of person 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 appropriate thoughts of devotion.

3.6.6 | καὶ οὐ τὰ τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα, ἄλλὰ τὸν ζωῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τροφὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταμίαν ὑμνεῖν, μέρη τε τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ πᾶν τὸ καταληπτὸν σαρκὸς αἰσθήσει, ὡς ἀν τῆς φθαρτῆς ὄντα φύσεως, οὐδαμῶς καταπλήττεσθαι, τὸν δέ ἐν τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀόρατον, καὶ τὸν καθόλου τε καὶ κατὰ μέρος δημιουργικὸν νοῦν μόνον ἀποθαυμάζειν, καὶ θεολογεῖν μίαν μόνην ἔκείνην τὴν διήκουσαν καὶ διακοσμοῦσαν τὰ πάντα θείαν δύναμιν, ἀσώματον οὖσαν καὶ νοερὰν τὴν φύσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρρητον εἴπειν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, διὰ πάντων, δι' ὧν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ. παραφαινομένην, διήκουσάν

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 sensed by the flesh, though they are perishable, should not be feared. Instead, we should admire the invisible one in all these, the creative mind of the whole universe and each part. We should speak of that one divine power that governs and arranges everything, which is incorporeal and intellectual in nature, and even more so, ineffable and beyond understanding. This power moves through all things, both in the heavens and on earth, showing the

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 διαρκῆ μεγαλουργίαν  
ἐπιδεικνυμένην, πᾶσί τε ἀφανῶς καὶ ἡμῖν  
ἀνεπαισθήτως ἐπιστατοῦσαν, καὶ λόγοις  
ἀνεκφράστου σοφίας τὸν σύμπαντα  
κόσμον διακυβερνῶσαν.

3.6.7 | Τοσούτων ἡμῖν ἀποδεδειγμένων εἰς  
ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀσυστάτου σοφίας ἡ  
θεολογίας, τῆς τε λεγομένης μυθικωτέρας  
καὶ τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας δὴ καὶ φυσικωτέρας,  
ἢν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἐλληνές τε καὶ Αἴγυπτοι  
σεμνύνοντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, ὥρα καὶ τῶν  
νέων τῶν δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν  
ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐπαθρῆσαι τὰ  
καλλωπίσματα· οἴδε 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 ἐπινενομένα συμπλέξαι  
τῇ τῶν παλαιῶν θεολογίᾳ πεπειραμένοι  
μείζονι τύφῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν μύθων  
ἐπαγγελίαν ἔξηραν. ἄκουε δ' οὖν καὶ τῆς  
τούτων φυσιολογίας, μεθ' οἵας ἔξενήνεκται  
τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἀλαζονείας·

## Section 7

3.7.1 | “Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ'  
ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, σοφίας θεολόγου  
νοήματα δεικύς, οἷς 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

lasting greatness of divinity. It is present to all invisibly and to us imperceptibly, governing the entire universe with words of unspeakable wisdom.

3.6.7 | Since so many things have been shown to us as 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 honored and demonstrated—it is now time for the new thinkers, who promise to philosophize among us, to examine these embellishments. They have taken ideas about the creator of all things and the incorporeal ideas and intellectual powers, which were developed later by those around Plato with careful 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, which is linked to Porphyry's arrogance.

3.7.1 | “I will speak of what is just, but you, the unholy, close 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 the divine. They have created representations as if from the books of statues, learning about the gods, and they see nothing wonderful in wood and stone,

λίθους ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ξόανα τοὺς  
άμαθεστάτους, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν  
γραμμάτων οἱ ἀνόητοι λίθους μὲν ὄρῶσι  
τὰς στήλας, ξύλα δὲ τὰς δέλτους,  
έξυφασμένην δὲ πάπυρον τὰς βιβλους.”

considering the statues to be the most ignorant. Just as the foolish see the stones as pillars and the wood as tablets, they weave the papyrus into books.”

3.7.2 | Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐν προοιμίῳ  
κατακοσμήσας ἄκουε οĩα προιών ἔχῆς  
γράφει πρὸς λέξιν “Φωτοειδοῦς δὲ ὅντος  
τοῦ θείου καὶ ἐν πυρὸς αἰθερίου περιχύσει  
διάγοντος, ἀφανοῦς τε τυγχάνοντος  
αἴσθησει περὶ θνητὸν βίον ἀσχόλω, διὰ μὲν  
τῆς διαυγοῦς ὕλης, οὗν 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  
ἀμιάντον 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 exists in the flow of fiery ether, being invisible to the senses in relation to mortal life, it brings forth the idea of its own light through clear materials, such as crystal, Parian stone, or even ivory. And through gold, it leads to the understanding of fire and its purity, showing that gold does not stain.’”

3.7.3 | πολλοὶ δὲ αὖ καὶ μέλανι λίθῳ τὸ  
ἀφανὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς ούσιας ἐδήλωσαν, καὶ  
ἀνθρωποειδῆς μὲν ἀπετύπουν τοὺς θεοὺς  
ὅτι λογικὸν τὸ θεῖον, καλοὺς δὲ, ὅτι κάλλος  
ἐν ἑκείνοις 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 πεῖραν εἴληφότας,  
εἰς παράστασιν αὐτῶν τῆς διαφορᾶς.

3.7.3 | “Many have also revealed the invisible nature of the divine using black stone, and they shaped the gods in human form, claiming that the divine is rational and beautiful, as beauty in them is pure. They used various shapes and ages, with thrones, postures, and garments, creating some as male, some as female, some as 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  
ἔλπιδι· κύκλον δὲ καὶ τὰ κυκλικὰ αἰῶνι καὶ  
τῇ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν κινήσει ταῖς τε ἐν  
αὐτῷ ζώναις καὶ τοῖς κύκλοις· κύκλων δὲ  
τμήματα τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς τῆς σελήνης·  
πυραμίδας δὲ καὶ ὄβελίσκους τῇ πυρὸς  
ούσιᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς Ὄλυμπίοις θεοῖς·

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 linked circles and circular things with eternity and the movement in the sky, along with the living beings and the circles within it. They divided the segments of circles based on the shapes of the moon.

ώσπερ αὗ κῶνον μὲν ἡλίῳ, γῇ δὲ κύλινδρον, σπορᾶ δὲ καὶ γενέσει φάλητα, καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον σχῆμα διὰ τὸ μόριον τῆς θηλείας.”

They connected pyramids and obelisks to the essence of fire, and for this reason, to the Olympian gods. Just as they created a cone for the sun, a cylinder for the earth, and for seeds and generation, a phallus, and the triangular shape for the female form.”

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 αἴθερίου φύσεως δηλώματα φάσκειν; δτὶ δὲ τῶν νέων ἔστι ταῦτα σοφίσματα, μηδ' ὅναρ τῶν παλαιῶν εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἐλθόν, γνοίης ἀν μαθῶν δτὶ καὶ ἀπόβλητα ἦν παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις τὰ διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆς νομιζομένης πολυτελεστέρας ὕλης ξόανα. λέγει δ' οὖν Πλούταρχος ὥδε πῃ κατὰ λέξιν

3.7.5 | “The wonderful philosopher says that whatever might be more shameful, they treat shameful things with seriousness, and what could be more violent than lifeless materials, like gold, stone, and similar things, to carry images of the light of the gods and the heavenly and ethereal nature? He argues that these ideas belong to the new thinkers. If you understood this, you would realize that the statues made of gold and the supposedly more luxurious materials were also rejected by the ancients. Thus, Plutarch expresses this in these words.”

## Section 8

3.8.1 | “Ἡ δὲ τῶν ξοάνων ποίησις ἀρχαῖον ἔσικεν 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 τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἰδρυθὲν, διὰ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διαφυλάττουσιν. Ἡρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι ξύλινον εῖχον ἔδος, ὡς φησι Καλλίμαχος Οὕπω Σκέλμιον ἔργον ἔύζοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμὸν δηναιὸν γυλφάνων ἄξοος ἡσθα σανίς. ὅδε γάρ ιδρύοντο θεοὺς τότε· καὶ γάρ Ἀθήνησέν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λᾶαν ἔθηκεν ἔδος. λέγεται δὲ Πείρας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀργολίδος Ἡρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλίθυιαν ιέρειαν καταστήσας, ἐκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων ὅγχην τεμών εύκτεανον Ἡρας ἄγαλμα

3.8.1 | “The making of statues seems to be something ancient, especially if the first statue was wooden, created for Apollo in Delos by Erysichthon as a gift for the festivals. The wooden statue of Polias was set up by the locals, 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.’ This is how they established the gods back then; 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.

μορφῶσαι. πέτραν μὲν γὰρ εἰς θεοῦ κόπτειν εἰκόνα σικληρὰν καὶ δύσεργον καὶ ἄψυχον οὐκ ἔβούλοντο, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον ἡγοῦντο γῆς ἀκάρπου καὶ διεφθαρμένης χρώματα νοσώδη καὶ κηλῖδας ἔχανθεῖν ὥσπερ μώλωπας ὑπὸ 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>1</sup> οὐδὲν εἶναι σεμνὸν οὐδὲ προσεοικός θείᾳ φύσει ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις καὶ ἐλέφαντι τοῖς τε ἐξ ὕλης ἀψύχου κατασκευάσμασιν εὗ μάλα εἰδὼς, ἐπάκουουσον ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὅποια διατάττεται “Γῇ μὲν οὖν ἐστία τε οἰκήσεως Ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν· μηδεὶς οὖν δευτέρως Ἱερὰ καθιερούτω θεοῖς. χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἴδια τε καὶ ἐν Ἱεροῖς ἐπίφθονόν ἐστι κτῆμα, ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπολελοιπότος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εύαγές 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

They did not want to carve a hard, 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 enjoyed its beauty wherever they applied it.”

3.8.2 | “Plutarch says these things, and even earlier, Plato understood well that there is nothing serious or resembling divine nature in gold, stones, and ivory, which come from lifeless materials. Listen to what is stated 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 coveted possessions in other cities, both privately and in temples, but ivory, once the soul has left the body, is not a fitting offering. Iron and bronze are tools of war.’ I believe these words clearly show 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 ἐδημιούργησεν ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν μὲν ταῖς θεολογίαις ταύτη περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδώκασιν οἱ τὰ Ὀρφέως εἰπόντες·

3.9.1 | “Look at the wisdom of the Greeks as you think about this. They understood Zeus to be the mind of the universe, who created everything within it while possessing the universe itself. In their theology, those who spoke of Orpheus passed down these ideas about him.”

3.9.2 | Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος  
άργικέραυνος, Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα,  
Δῖός δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται. Ζεὺς ἄρσην  
γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος ἔπλετο νύμφῃ. Ζεὺς  
πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ  
ἀστερόεντος. Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, Ζεὺς αὔτὸς  
ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος, ἐν κράτος, εἰς  
δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων, ἐν  
δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν τῷ 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 δὴ  
τοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ  
πρόσωπα οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι  
ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι αἱστρῶν μαρμαρέων  
περικαλλέες ἡερέθονται, ὡς ταύρεα δ'  
ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα, ἀντολίη  
τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ Οὐρανιώνων, ὅμματα  
δ' ἡέλιός τε καὶ ἀντιόωσα σελήνη. νοῦς δέ  
οἱ ἀψευδῆς, βασιλῆιος, ἄφθιτος αἴθηρ, ὁ  
δὴ πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις  
ἔστιν αὐδὴ, οὔτ' ἐνοπή, οὔτε κτύοπος, οὐδὲ  
μὲν ὄσσα, ἡ λήθει Διὸς οὖας ὑπερμενέος  
Κρονίωνος. ὅδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει  
ἡδὲ νόημα· Σῶμα δέ οἱ περιφεγγὲς,  
ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον, ὅβριμον,  
ὅβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενὲς ὅδε τέτυκται. Ωμοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μὲν καὶ στγέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο ἡρ  
εύρυθής, πτέρυγες δέ οἱ ἔξεφύοντο, τῆς ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
πάντα ποτᾶθ', ιερὴ δέ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς, γαῖα  
τε παμμήτειρ' ὄρέων τ' αἴπεινὰ  
κάρηνα· μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρυχέος οἶδμα  
θαλάσσης καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις,  
χθονὸς ἔνδοθι βίζαι, Τάρταρά τ' εύρωντα  
καὶ ἔσχατα πέιρατα γαίης. Πάντα δ'  
ἀποκρύψας αὐθῖς φάος ἐς  
πολυγηθὲς μέλλειν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν  
πάλι, θέσκελα βέζων.

3.9.2 | “Zeus came first, and Zeus is the last with bright thunder. Zeus is the head, Zeus is the middle, and from Zeus everything is made. Zeus became male, and Zeus is immortal like a nymph. Zeus is the depth of the earth and the starry sky. Zeus is king; he himself is the source of all beginnings. ‘In strength, he became one spirit, the great leader of all. In his body, he is royal, surrounded by all these things: fire, water, earth, air, night, day, Metis, the first creator, and sweet Eros; for everything lies within the great body of Zeus. Indeed, to see his head and beautiful face is to see the shining sky, which is surrounded by golden stars that sparkle. Oh, and on both sides are two golden horns, the rising and setting, the paths of the heavenly gods, and his eyes are the sun and the moon that meet. His mind is true, royal, and immortal air, which surrounds everything and knows all. 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, and strong, with powerful limbs. His shoulders, chest, and broad back are like wide air, and wings have grown for him, with which he flies everywhere. A sacred belly surrounds him, and the earth is the all-nurturing mother, along with 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, marking the farthest limits of the earth. Everything hidden will again bring light to the rich and will come forth from the heart, like a divine flow.’”

3.9.3 | Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ  
ζῶων καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· Ζεὺς δὲ, καθὸ νοῦς,

3.9.3 | “Therefore, Zeus is the whole universe, a living being made from living

άφ' οὖ προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι.

beings and a god made from gods. Zeus, as the mind, is the source from which everything comes forth and creates through his thoughts."

3.9.4 | Τῶν δὴ θεολόγων τὰ δὴ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτον ἔξηγησαμένων τὸν τρόπον, εἰκόνα μὲν τοιαύτην δημιουργεῖν, οἵαν ὁ λόγος ἐμήνυσεν, οὕθ' οἶόν τε ἦν οὕτ', εἴ τις ἐπενόησε, τὸ ζωτικὸν καὶ νοερὸν καὶ προνοητικὸν διὰ τῆς σφαιρᾶς ἐδείκνυεν.

3.9.4 | "After the theologians explained this about the god, it was not possible to create such an image as the word suggested. Nor could anyone, if they thought of it, 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 σπλάγχνον, ἡ καρδίᾳ· βασιλεὺς γάρ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς· προτείνει δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ἡ ἀετὸν, ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἀεροπόρων θεῶν, ὡς τῶν μεταρσίων ὄρνεων ὡς ἀετὸς, ἡ νίκην, ὅτι νενίκηκεν αὐτὸς πάντα.

3.9.5 | "They have created a human-like image of Zeus, for he is the mind through which he made and completed everything with seed-like words. He sits as the foundation of power, hinting at his strength. He is bare above, as he is clear in the thinking and heavenly parts of the universe; he looks ahead, as 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, as he rules over the sky gods, like the eagle among flying birds, or he holds victory, for he has conquered everything."

3.9.6 | Ταῦτά σοι ὁ Πορφύριος, ὃν τὸν είρημένον τρόπον ἀποδεδομένων ἡρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐπιθεωρῆσαι καλὸν τίνα ποτὲ ἄρα τὸν Δία φασὶν εἶναι τὰ ἔπη. ἔγὼ μὲν γάρ ούδε ἄλλον ἡγοῦμαι ἢ τὸν δρῶμενον κόσμον ἐκ παντοίων συνεστῶτα μερῶν, τῶν τε κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ αἰθέρα καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φαινομένων ἀστρων, ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλου σώματος κεφαλῇ

3.9.6 | "Porphyry tells you these things, and he says it is good to quietly and thoughtfully consider what they say about Zeus in the way mentioned. For I think of nothing 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

προτεταγμένων, τῶν τε ἐν ἀέρι καὶ γῇ καὶ  
θαλάττῃ καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις.

3.9.7 | μέρη γοῦν κόσμου καὶ γῆ καὶ ὥρη 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' ἄντικρυς τὸν  
ὅρώμενον ὑποφαίνειν ἡγοῦμαι κόσμον, εἴ  
μή τι καὶ σφάλλομαι, καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ μερῶν  
συνεστῶς 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, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι αἱστρῶν  
μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἡρέθονται,

3.9.9 | καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα· ἐν οἷς  
ἐπιφέρει τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Δίός 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 τετερον τῆς τοῦ  
πυρὸς δυνάμεως. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ οἴμαι  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν εἰρῆσθαι Νοῦς δέ οἱ  
ἀψευδῆς βασιλήιος, ἄφθιτος αἴθηρ, δὴ  
πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται.

3.9.10 | δι' ὧν ἀνεπικαλύπτως ζῶν μέγα  
τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία  
προσειπὼν, νοῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἴθέρα,  
σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη  
ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι.

land, in the sea, and in similar places."

3.9.7 | "Parts of the universe include land,  
mountains, and hills, with the sea  
surrounding them like a zone in the middle.  
Fire and water, night and day, would also  
be parts of the nature of the universe. I  
believe these things clearly show the  
visible universe, 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 features 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? It is said that the mind of Zeus is the  
air and nothing else. According to the  
Stoics, they claim that the fiery and warm  
essence is the ruling part of the universe,  
that the god is a body, and that the creator  
is nothing other than the power of fire. For  
I believe 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 clearly  
suggests that the great living being is the  
universe. By calling this being Zeus, he  
declared that the mind of this being is the  
air, while the body consists of the other

parts of the universe.”

3.9.11 | τοιοῦτος μέν τις ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὑπογραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεύς. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ἔξηγητής ἀρξάμενος μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολούθως λέγει, Ζεὺς οὗν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶν ἐκ ζώων, θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν θεολογούμενον Δία ούδε ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ὀρώμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνεύσας.

3.9.11 | “Such is the Zeus that is described in 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 referred to as Zeus is nothing other than the visible and tangible universe, as explained in the verses.”

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 ἐπῶν ἥγματα διεσάφησεν.

3.9.12 | “The teaching of the Egyptians, from whom Orpheus also drew 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 referred to as gods.) And nothing more has been clearly explained in the verses that have been presented.”

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.

3.9.13 | “After the first explanation, he adds a second one, saying that the creator god, the mind of everything, is the one being discussed in theology.”

3.9.14 | πῶς δ' ἀν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἐθεολόγει, ὃν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιητὴς, εἴτε ὁ Θρᾷξ εἴη Ὀρφεὺς εἴτε τις ἄλλος; εἴ δὴ παρ' Αἴγυπτίων ἢ καὶ τῶν πρώτων Ἑλλήνων ἤκοντα ἦν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς θεολογίας, οἵ δέ γε ἀπεδείχθησαν ούδεν νοητὸν ἐπιστάμενοι, ούδ' ἐν ἀφανεῖ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ ούσιᾳ περιεχόμενον, εἴ τῷ ίκανῷ 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

3.9.14 | “How could he speak of this one, 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 that exists in an unseen and incorporeal essence. If Plato could 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

ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.

3.9.15 | καὶ ὁ Χαιρήμων δὲ μικρῷ  
ἔμπροσθεν ἔμαρτύρει οὐδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τοῦ  
ὅρωμένου κόσμου τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους  
ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδ' ἄλλους θεοὺς πλὴν τῶν  
πλανητῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων, πάντα  
τε εἰς τὰ ὄρώμενα τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καὶ  
οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας οὐσίας  
ἐρμηνεύοντας.

moon, the earth, the stars, and the sky."

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. He explains that everything is understood in terms of the visible parts of the world and nothing in terms of incorporeal and living essences."

## Section 10

3.10.1 | Ὁ δὴ οὗν ἐκ τούτων ὄρμώμενος  
ποιητὴς πόθεν, ἢ πῶς, ἢ παρὰ τίνος λαβὼν  
ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ κόσμου  
Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ  
ἄστρων 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? How did he come to know 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 where does he gain 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  
ὅμματα αὐτοῦ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη. πῶς δ' ἀν  
εἶν ὅμοι καὶ στέρνα καὶ νῶτα καὶ νηδὺς  
τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ Θεοῦ ἀήρ  
εύρυβίης καὶ γῆ καὶ ὄρέων αἴπεινὰ κάρηνα;  
ἢ πῶς ὁ αἴθηρ νοῦς ποτ' ἀν ἐπινοηθείη τοῦ  
τῶν ὅλων ποιητοῦ, ἢ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ  
δημιουργικοῦ;

3.10.2 | "But he knows nothing of these things. The creative mind of all things is not made up of many parts, nor could it have a head that is the sky, nor a body of fire, water, and earth. The sun and moon cannot be its eyes. How could there be shoulders, a chest, a back, and a belly for the god who creates all things, along with the vast air, the 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

3.10.3 | "Therefore, there is no need to say anything about how these things are explained by the interpreter of the verses. I

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.

truly believe 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. On top of that, it is wrong to consider the mind of the creator of all things to be the mind of the world."

3.10.4 | ποιητὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου ἔτερον ὄντα τοῦ πεποιημένου εύσεβες ἀποφαίνειν, νοῦν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου, ὥσπερ 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. However, 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' ὧν φησιν "οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος." καὶ πάλιν "ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω." καὶ πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν·" ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδὲ 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 in a worthy and fitting manner. 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 exist.' But this does not mean that he is a part of the world or that he exists within its soul and mind."

3.10.6 | ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ παραδείγματι χρήσασθαι, θεοπρεπέστερον καὶ ἀληθείας οἰκείως ὁ Ἱερός που λόγος ἔξεφώνησεν "ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος (εἴπων), ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου."

3.10.6 | "But if it is necessary to use an example, the sacred word has spoken more fittingly and truthfully: 'Heaven is my throne,' he said, 'and the earth is the footstool for my feet.'"

3.10.7 | εἰ γὰρ χρῆν ὅλως προσωποποιεῖν ἀνθρωπινωτέρῳ λόγῳ, θέα τὸ διάφορον τῆς θεολογίας. ὃ μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἴπων θρόνον ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ τῶν ὅλων τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἀφωρίσατο, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν τῆς προνοίας

3.10.7 | "For if it is necessary to use a more human-like expression, it highlights the difference in theology. When he called heaven a throne, he distinguished the all-sovereign God as being above the throne and higher than all things, without

αύτοῦ χωρίσας· συγκατιέναι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε τῆς θεότητος τὰς προνοητικὰς αύτοῦ δυνάμεις διδάσκει· διό φησιν “ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου.”

separating the earth from his care. This teaches that his caring powers are also present in these things, which is why he says, ‘And the earth is the footstool for my feet.’”

3.10.8 | ἀλλ’ οὕτε τὸ ὑποπόδιον οὕτε μὴν ὁ θρόνος σῶμα τοῦ καθιδρυμένου, οὐδέ γε μέρη ποτ’ ἀν αὐτοῦ λεχθείη. ὁ δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτῳ φήσας καὶ νοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἴθέρα, μέλη τε αύτοῦ καὶ σῶμα τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, οὕτε δημιουργὸν οὕτε θεὸν ἀλίσκεται εἰδώς.

3.10.8 | “But neither the footstool nor the throne is 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, while the other parts of the world are his members and body. No one knows him as either a creator or a god.”

3.10.9 | οὐ γὰρ ἀν αύτὸς ἔσαυτὸν δημιουργοίη, ούδ’ ἀν ἔτι νοῦς λέγεσθαι δύναιτο οὖ νοῦς ἦν ὁ αἴθήρ. ποῖος δὲ καὶ εἴη ἀν θεὸς οὖ μέρη γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὅρη, ὅγκοι σωμάτων ἄλογοι; πῶς δὲ καὶ εὔλογον θεὸν ἀναγορεύειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενῆ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος, ἀλόγου καὶ φθαρτῆς ὕλης ἐκγόνων;

3.10.9 | “For he could not create himself, nor could the mind be called a mind if the air was its mind. 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 come from lifeless and perishable matter?”

3.10.10 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ Διῶς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τοῦ δηλωθέντος αἱθέρος ἦν, αἱθήρ δὲ ἀήρ ἔστιν ὁ ὑψηλότατος καὶ πυρώδης ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴθεσθαι, ὅπερ ἔστι καίεσθαι, ταύτην, ὡς φασιν, εἴληχώς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, σώματα δὲ ἄμφω ὅ τε ἀήρ, ὅ τε αἱθήρ, ὅρα ποῦ σοι τοῦ Διῶς ὁ νοῦς ἀποπέπτωκε.

3.10.10 | “But if the mind of Zeus was nothing more than the air that was mentioned, and if the air is the highest and 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 gone.”

3.10.11 | καὶ τίς ἀν ἔτι προσείποι θεὸν τῶν εὐ φρονούντων τοῦτον ὡ νοῦς ὑπῆρχεν ἀνούς καὶ ἄλογος, εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη παντὸς σώματος φύσις; διόπερ ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς

3.10.11 | “And who would still call a god one whose mind was thoughtless and without reason, if such a nature belongs to all bodies? Therefore, in our discussions

θεολογίαις πάντα τοῖς είρημένοις τὰ  
έναντια παραληπτέον, ὅτι τε μὴ οὐρανὸς  
ῶν τυγχάνει, μήτε αἰθήρ 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' ἂν τῶν ὄρωμένων ἀπάντων βελτίω.

about the gods, we must consider everything that is the opposite of what has been said: neither heaven, nor ether, nor the sun, nor the moon, nor the entire group of stars, nor the whole 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 visible things. But the things beyond are rational and immortal, sharing in the blessed life of the all-ruling god, and they are much better than all the visible things.”

3.10.12 | εἰκότως οὖν τὰ θεῖα λόγια περὶ τῶν ὄρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ὕδε πως παιδεύει ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων σου, σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, ἢ σὺ ἐθεμελίωσας.” καὶ πάλιν σὺ κύριε κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου είσὸν οἱ οὐρανοί.” καὶ αὐθίς “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 established.’ And again, ‘You, Lord, laid the foundation of 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 είς τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνείαν είρήσθω· φέρε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς διασκοπήσωμεν. ἐπεὶ μὴ οἶόν τ’ ἦν, φησὶν, εἰκόνα τοιαύτην δημιουργεῖν οἷαν ὃ λόγος ἐμήνυσε, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπόμορφον τοῦ Διός τὸ δείκηλον πεποιήκασιν, ὅτι νοῦς ἦν καθ’ ὃν ἐδημιούργει, καὶ λόγοις σπερματικοῖς ἀπετέλει τὰ πάντα.

3.10.13 | “Let these things be said in the first interpretation of the verses; but let us also 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 through which he created, and with seed-like words, he brought everything to completion.”

3.10.14 | καὶ πῶς εἴ μὴ οἶόν τε ἦν εἰκόνα τοιαύτην ποιεῖν οἷαν ὃ λόγος ἐμήνυσεν,

3.10.14 | “And how could it be possible to create such an image as the word

έμήνυσε δὲ ἄρα τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ δόρωμένου κόσμου τὰ μέρη, οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀέρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις· εἰ δὴ οὖν τῶν δόρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν εἰκόνα συστήσασθαι, καθό νοῦς ἦν ὁ θεός, πῶς ἂν τις τὴν εἰκόνα αύτοῦ δημιουργήσειεν;

suggested? The word pointed to the parts of the visible world: the heavens and what is in the heavens, the air and the earth, and what is in them. 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 γὰρ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἡγοῦμαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ 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 καταγέγραπται.

3.10.15 | "What could 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 a body, unformed, and without parts, while the body is the work of mortal men and imitates the nature of a human body. It is an image made 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 δομοίωσιν ἀποσώζειν θεοῦ, καθ' ὃσον ἄνυλος 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, because it is immaterial and without a 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, δύναιτ' ἀν οὗτος καί τι τῶν κρειττόνων· εἰ δὲ ἄμορφος καὶ ἀειδής καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, οὕτε ὀράσει θεωρητὸς οὔτε λόγω καὶ ἀκοῇ τὴν οὐσίαν καταληπτὸς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, τίς ἀν μανείη τοσοῦτον ὡς τὸ ἀνδρείκελον ξόανον θεοῦ τοῦ ἀνωτάτω μορφὴν καὶ εἰκόνα φέρειν ἀποφήνασθαι;

3.10.17 | "If someone could create a statue and form of the soul in an image, they could also create something even greater. But if it is formless, unchanging, and without shape, then the human mind cannot grasp its essence through sight, reason, or hearing. Who would dare to claim that a statue of God could represent the highest form and likeness?"

3.10.18 | Θεοῦ μὲν οὖν φύσις ἔξω πάσης θνητῆς ὅλης φαντάζεται, νῷ διαυγεῖ καὶ

3.10.18 | "The nature of God is seen as beyond all mortal matter, understood by a

σιγῇ ψυχαῖς κεκαθαρμέναις ἐπινοούμενη· τὸ δέ γε τοῦ ὄρωμένου Δῖός ἐν τῷ δεικήλῳ σχῆμα εἴη ἀν θνητοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν, οὐδὲ τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, μέρος δέ τι τὸ χεῖρον αὐτοῦ μεμιμημένον, ὅτι μηδὲν ἔχνος ζωῆς γαῖ ψυχῆς ἐπάγεται.

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 πῶς ποτε αὐτὸς ἦν ἄρα ἑκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς 5 ὁ τοῦ ἔξ Άλκμήνης Ἡρακλέους πατήρ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκ Δῖός μυθευομένων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τὸν θνητὸν βίον κοινῶς ἀπασιν ἄνθρωποις καταστρέψαντες τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἀνεξάλειπτα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς μνημεῖα καταλελοίπασι;

3.10.20 | Φοινίκων μὲν οὖν οὗ πρῶτοι θεόλογοι, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συγγράμματι παρεστήσαμεν, τὸν Δία παῖδα Κρόνου θνητὸν ἀπὸ θνητοῦ γενόμενον, ἄνδρα Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀπεμηνόνευον, Αἴγυπτιοι δὲ ἔξοικειούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα θνητὸν πάλιν αὐτὸν ὠμοιλόγουν, κατὰ τοῦτο γε Φοινίξιν ὁμοφωνοῦντες.

3.10.21 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρῆτες τάφον τοῦ Δῖός παρ' ἐαυτοῖς δεικνύντες τρίτοι ἀν εἴεν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες· καὶ Ἀτλάντειοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ τούτου δεδηλωμένοι κατ' οἰκείαν ιστορίαν ἔξοικειούμενοι τὸν Δία πάντες ὅμοι θνητὸν ἀπεφήναντο, πράξεις αὐτοῦ θνητὰς καὶ ἄνθρωπείους, ἀλλ' οὐ σεμνάς τινας οὐδὲ φιλοσόφους, αἰσχρουργίας δὲ ἀπάσης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἔμπλεως ἀναγράψαντες.

clear mind and in silence by purified souls. However, the form of the visible Zeus would be a likeness of a mortal man, not the whole person, but rather a part that imitates the lesser, since it brings no trace of life from the soul."

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? The creative mind of all things must be different from that Zeus, the father of Heracles from Alcmene and of other men said to come from Zeus. These men have brought an end to mortal life for all humans, leaving behind lasting monuments of their own nature."

3.10.20 | "The Phoenicians, as we showed 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 as well, agreeing with the Phoenicians on this matter."

3.10.21 | "But the Cretans, by showing the tomb of Zeus among themselves, would also be the third witnesses to this. The Atlanteans and all those mentioned before, following their own history, all agreed that Zeus was mortal, declaring his actions to be human and ordinary, but not any noble or wise deeds. Instead, they wrote 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 ὃ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς νοῦς ἀναπέφανται.

3.10.22 | “To those who promised to transform the myths into something more serious, at times Zeus was seen as a warm and fiery power, and at other times as a spirit. But now, I do not know how the creative mind of all things has been shown 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 ὀμολογεῖται, καὶ τά γε προκείμενα τού 'Ορφέως ἔπῃ ‘ὑπερμένεος Κρονίωνος’ ἐμνημόνευσε, Κρόνος δὲ Ούρανοῦ.

3.10.23 | “Therefore, one should ask who they would say is the father of this one and the ancestor of that father. Since all the theologians agree that Zeus is the son of Cronus, and the verses of Orpheus mention ‘the mightiest son of Cronus,’ while Cronus is the son of Uranus.”

3.10.24 | δεδόσθω τοίνυν αὐτοῖς εῖναι ὁ Ζεὺς ὃ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς καὶ νοῦς ὃ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας. τίς οὖν ὃ τούτου πατήρ; Κρόνος. τίς δ' ὃ προπάτωρ; Ούρανός. 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 his ancestor? Uranus. If Zeus is truly the first creator of all, then it is necessary to name the second ones and those who were created by him after that.”

3.10.25 | εἴτε γάρ χρόνος τις εἴη ὁ Κρόνος Ούρανοῦ πεφυκώς γέννημα, εἴτε δὴ ἄμα οὐρανῷ συνυπέστη χρόνος, εἴη τε αὐτὸς ὁ Κρόνου πατήρ Ούρανὸς καὶ χρόνος μετὰ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρό γε τούτων ὃ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιος καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ χρόνου δημιουργὸς θεός. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο ὁ Ζεὺς τρίτος ἐξ Ούρανοῦ.

3.10.25 | “For if time is indeed Cronus, born from Uranus, or if time existed alongside the sky, then Uranus would be 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 true, then Zeus could not be the third from Uranus.”

3.10.26 | πῶς οὖν παρὰ πᾶσιν Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι 'Ἐλλησι τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις

3.10.26 | “How then is the creator mind of all things counted as the third from Uranus

τρίτος ἐξ Ούρανοῦ γενεαλογεῖται ὁ τῶν  
ὅλων δημιουργὸς νοῦς; πεφώραται δὴ τοῦ  
φιλοσόφου τὸ πλάσμα, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
φωραθήσεται ἐξ ὧν ἐπιφέρει λέγων ὡδε

by all the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks,  
and philosophers? Indeed, the  
philosopher's creation is made known, 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<sup>1</sup>  
πεποιήκασιν, τὴν αἰθέριον καὶ ἀέριον  
δύναμιν Ἡραν προσειπόντες. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ  
αἰθήρ 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  
most refined form of air."

3.11.2 | Ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἐδήλου τὰ ἔπη τὸν  
νοῦν τοῦ Δῖός εἶναι τὸν αἰθέρα, νυνὶ δὲ ὁ  
λόγος τί ποτέ ἔστιν ὁ αἰθήρ διορίζεται,  
ἀέρα λέγων εἶναι αὐτὸν λεπτομερέστατον·  
σῶμα δὲ ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ὁ αἰθήρ.

3.11.2 | "Earlier, it was shown that the  
upper air is the mind of Zeus. Now, the  
discussion is about how the upper air is  
defined, stating that it is the most refined  
form of air. However, air is a body, and the  
upper air is much older."

3.11.3 | ὁ δὴ νοῦς ἄρα τοῦ Δῖός ἐλήλεγκται  
σῶμα τυγχάνων, εἴ καὶ τὸ πάντων  
λεπτομερέστατον. καὶ πῶς ἂν 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. But how could body and mind be  
considered the same when they are  
different in nature?"

3.11.4 | εἴτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν ἐπῶν  
ἐπιλελημένος διαρρήδην φησάντων Νοῦς  
δέ οἱ ἀψευδὴς, βασιλήιος ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ, ὁ  
δὴ πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις  
ἔστιναύδη, οὕτ' ἐνοπὴ, οὔτε κτύπος, οὐδὲ  
μὲν ὅσσα, ἢ λήθει Δῖός οὖας ὑπερμενέος  
Κρονίωνος. δι' ὧν σαφῶς ὁ αἰθήρ νοῦς  
ἀνείρηται ὧν τοῦ Δῖός.

3.11.4 | "Then, I do not know how, having  
forgotten the words of those who spoke  
clearly, it is said: 'The mind is indeed a true,  
royal, and imperishable upper air, which  
surrounds and contains everything. There  
is no sound, no noise, and no thing that  
escapes the notice of Zeus, the mighty son  
of Cronus.' Through these words, it is  
clearly stated that the upper air is 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 λήθη ξυνομαρτεῖ τοῦ θείου· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μήτηρ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τῶν αἰτίων φωτισμοῦ τῇ νυκτὶ.”

3.11.6 | Καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης μητέρα φησὶν εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀέρα· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν Λητώ. καὶ πῶς ἀν ὁ ἀήρ γένοιτο μήτηρ τῶν αἰτίων φωτισμοῦ, μᾶλλον αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἡ ποιῶν; ἡλιος γὰρ καὶ σελήνη ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὸν ἀέρα μεταβάλλουσιν.

3.11.7 | πάλιν δὲ προιών ἔξῆς λέγει “Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς χθονίας δυνάμεως Εστία κέκληται, ἡς ἄγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ’ ἐστίας πυρὸς ἰδρυμένον· καθὸ δὲ γόνιμος ἡ δύναμις, σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἴδει προμάστου. τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν προσεῖπον τὴν τῆς πετρώδους καὶ ὄρείου γῆς δύναμιν, τὴν δὲ Δήμητρα τὴν τῆς πεδινῆς καὶ γονίμου. ἡ Δημήτηρ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει τῇ Ῥέᾳ, διενήνοχε δὲ, ὅτι αὐτὴ κυεῖ τὴν Κόρην ἐκ Δῖος, τουτέστι τὸν κόρον ἐκ τῶν φρυγανωδῶν σπερμάτων. διὸ καὶ κατέστεπται τὸ βρέτας αὐτῆς τοῖς στάχυσι, μήκωνές τε περὶ αὐτὴν τῆς πολυγονίας σύμβολον.”

3.11.8 | Κάνταῦθα πάλιν σκόπει τίνα τρόπον τὴν Ῥέαν μητέρα θεῶν λεγομένην

3.11.5 | “But he says that Hera is the upper and airy power. Then, breaking it down, he adds: ‘The power of all air is named after Hera, coming from the air. The air that is lit and darkened by the moon is represented by Leto. I forget her because of the unconsciousness during sleep, and 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 sources of light during the night.’”

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. But how could the air be the mother of the sources of light, rather than being created itself or creating? For the sun and the moon change the air in different ways at different times.”

3.11.7 | “Then, continuing, he says: ‘The ruling power of the earth is called Hestia, whose statue is placed on the hearth of fire. Since this power is fertile, they represent her in the form of a woman as a leader. Rhea is named as the power of the rocky and mountainous land, while Demeter is the power of the flat and fertile land. Demeter shares everything else with Rhea, but it is noted that she bears Persephone from Zeus, meaning 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 | “And here again, think about how Rhea is called the mother of the gods and

καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δῖός κάτω που περὶ πέτρας καὶ γῆν καταβέβληκε, καὶ πάντα φύρων τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φησι τῇ Δήμητρι, πλὴν ὅτι διενήνοχε, καθὸ, φησὸν, ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐκ Δῖός κυεῖ τὴν Κόρην, ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ πεδιάς γῆ τὸν κόρον ἐκ τῶν φρυγανῶδων σπερμάτων. ίδού σοι πάλιν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὰ φρυγανώδη σπέρματα μεταβέβληται.

how she has somehow fallen around the rock and the earth. He says that she is the same as Demeter in every way, except that it is noted that Demeter bears Persephone from Zeus, just as the flat land produces the girl from the fruitful seeds. Look, Zeus has once more transformed into the fruitful seeds."

3.11.9 | τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει λέγων  
“Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰς γῆν βαλλομένων σπερμάτων ἦν τις δύναμις, ἣν 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, ἣν 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 solstice, 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 solstice. 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, ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος κοινὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κόρην ἔχει τὰ κέρατα, ἔστι δὲ ἡ θηλύμορφος, μηνύων τὴν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀρρενόθηλυν δύναμιν.

3.11.10 | "And the power of the fruits and all the plants is called Dionysus. Also, take a look at their images. 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, showing the mixed power of the fruits."

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· ὁ δὲ κύων αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ τὴν κύησιν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τρία διηρημένην, εἰς τὴν καταβολὴν, εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν, εἰς τὴν ἀνάδοσιν. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ τὰς κῆρας ἔχειν βορὰν, ὃ δηλοῖ τὰς ψυχὰς, κέκληται κύων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ κυεῖν,

3.11.11 | "Pluto, the kidnapper of the Maiden, has a dog as a symbol of the hidden realm, and the short scepter represents the kingdom below. His dog symbolizes the growth of the fruits, which is divided into three parts: the planting, the receiving, and the raising. It is not that he has a dog to show the souls, but because of the act of giving birth, where Pluto is the guide when

ἢ χορηγὸς ὁ Πλούτων, ὅταν ἀρπάσῃ τὴν  
Κόρην.

3.11.12 | "Ἄττις δὲ καὶ Ἀδωνις τῇ τῶν  
καρπῶν είσὶν ἀναλογίᾳ προσήκοντες. ἀλλ'  
ὅ μὲν Ἄττις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ  
προφανινομένων ἀνθέων καὶ πρὶν  
τελεσιγονῆσαι διαφρεόντων, — ἐνθεν καὶ  
τὴν τῶν αἰδίοιων ἀποκοπὴν αὐτῷ  
προσανέθεσαν, μὴ φθασάντων ἐλθεῖν τῶν  
καρπῶν εἰς τὴν σπερματικὴν τελείωσιν —  
ὅ δὲ Ἀδωνις τῆς τόν τελείων καρπῶν  
έκτομῆς σύμβολον.

3.11.13 | ὁ 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 ἄέρα  
παχύτητος.

3.11.14 | ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς  
δυνάμεως τις μέτοχος ἦν δύναμις, Θέμις  
μὲν κέκληται ἡ δύναμις, τῷ τὰ τεθειμένα  
καὶ ἐκάστω 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  
'Ρέα ἡ πετροποιός καὶ ὅρειος, ὡς δὲ  
Δημήτηρ ἡ χλοιοφόρος, ὡς δὲ Θέμις ἡ  
χρησμῳδὸς, τοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν κατιόντος  
σπερματικοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸν Πρίαπον  
έκτετυπωμένου· οὗ τὸ μὲν περὶ τοὺς

he seizes the Maiden."

3.11.12 | "Attis and Adonis are connected to the fruits. Attis represents the flowers that bloom in spring and those that fall before they fully open. This is why they say he was castrated, as the fruits did not reach their full growth. Adonis, on the other hand, symbolizes 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 sphere, while the hair around his lower body shows the density of the air close to the earth."

3.11.14 | "Since there is a power that takes part in prophecy, this power is called Themis, as she speaks about what is established and what is meant for each thing."

3.11.15 | "Because of all these things, the earthly power that leads to understanding is worshiped. She is seen 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 refers to the seed-like word that comes to her, which

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 "Ἄττιν ἔχούσης, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν  
τελεσιουργίαν ἐκτομῆς τὸν" Ἀδωνιν,

is shaped in Priapus. The one related to dry fruits is called Kore, while the one related to wet fruits and 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 | 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."

3.11.16 | "And the spiritual power is transformed 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 unveiled."

3.11.17 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τάδε, ἀ 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 Ἄττις, τῶν δὲ  
τελείων καρπῶν ὁ Ἀδωνις σύμβολον.

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, Attis is the symbol of the spring flowers, and Adonis is the symbol of the perfect fruits."

3.11.18 | τί δὴ οὖν ταῦτα χρὴ θεοποιεῖν εἰς  
τροφὰς σωμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζώων πρὸς  
τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ πεποιημένα; τί δὲ  
θρησκεύειν τὴν περίγειον δύναμιν  
προσῆκόν ἔστιν ἡμῖν, οἵς φύσις ἔστι ψυχῆς  
οὐρανία λογική τε καὶ ἀθάνατος παρὰ τού  
παμβασιλέως τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, διανοίας

3.11.18 | "Why then should we make gods out of the food for the bodies of the animals on the earth, which were created 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

ὅμμασι κεκαθαρμένοις θεωρητική;

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 ὄρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἡξιωμένον σεβασμίας τιμῆς, ὃν ἔχρην πρὸ τῶν πάντων θεοποιεῖν, "Ἄδωνιν δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον, τοὺς καρποὺς δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα, θεοποιουμένους;

3.11.20 | τίς δ' ἄν ὑπομείνειε σεμνολογουμένους ἀκούων Σατύρους καὶ Βάκχας, τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀκόλαστα πάθη, εἰ δὴ οἴ μὲν ἐδήλουν τὰς εἰς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐρεθιζούσας ὄρμάς οἱ Σάτυροι, αἱ δὲ Βάκχαι τὰς εἰς ἔκτασιν τῶν περὶ ταῦτα συμβαινούσας παραγωγάς ;

3.11.21 | καὶ τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος ἔκαστον ἀπελέγχειν, ἐπιδραμεῖν δέον ὡς ἄν μηδὲν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀπορρήτων λανθάνη, καὶ τὴν τόν ἐξῆς ἐπιτεμέσθαι φυσιολογίαν, ἦν ἐκτέθειται ὁ δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς, τόνδε ἐπεξιών 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 οὕστης, καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν γλυκέων ὑδάτων μερικαὶ δυνάμεις

mind?"

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 revealing the heaviness in the air through the thick hair of his beard, how could anyone think that he deserves no respect or honor? 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 | "Who could stay quiet while listening to the serious talk about Satyrs and Bacchae, who reveal the shameful and uncontrolled passions in humans? The Satyrs show the urges that lead to sexual desires, while the Bacchae display the excesses that happen around these things."

3.11.21 | "And why should we examine each part separately? We need to dive in so that nothing hidden escapes our notice, and to explore the following explanation of nature that the mentioned author presents, using this method."

3.11.22 | "I referred to the entire power of the water-maker as Ocean, naming its symbol Tethys. Of this power, the one made of fresh waters is called Achelous, while the one of the sea is Poseidon, who is also known as the sea-maker, since Amphitrite is the one who gives birth to it. Some of the sweet waters are called Nymphs, while

Νύμφαι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων Νηρηίδες κέιληνται.

those of the sea are called Nereids."

3.11.23 | τοῦ δ' αὖ πυρὸς τὴν δύναμιν προσειπόντες Ἡφαιστον ἀνθρωποειδὲς μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποιήκασι, πέλον δὲ περιέθεσαν κυάνεον τῆς οὐρανίου 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' ὅλης· διὸ χωλεύει, ὅλης δεόμενον εἰς ὑπέρεισμα.

3.11.23 | "Again, referring to the power of fire as Hephaestus, they created a statue of him that looks human. They placed a dark blue symbol of the heavenly circle around it, where the fire is both the original and the purest. However, the fire that was brought down to earth from the sky is weaker and needs support and a base on the ground; therefore, it is limited and requires the earth to rise above."

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 δαίμοσι, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι λάλον καιόμενον, εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ προφητεύειν τὸν θεόν.

3.11.24 | "Considering the power of the sun, they named it Apollo, inspired by the brightness of his rays. 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 is therefore disliked by spirits, and partly because it burns when set on fire, symbolizing the god's ability to prophesy."

3.11.25 | καθὸ δὲ ἀπαλεξίκακός ἔστι τῶν ἐπιγείων ὁ ἥλιος, Ἡρακλέα προσεῖπον αὐτὸν, ἐκ τοῦ κλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς εἰς δύσιν ἰόντα. δώδεκα δ' ἀθλους ἐκμοχθεῖν ἐμυθολόγησαν, τῆς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν διαιρέσεως τῶν ζωδίων τὸ σύμβολον ἐπιφημίσαντες· ὥπαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ λεοντῆν περιέθεσαν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μήνυμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῷδιον ἐμφανιστικὸν ἴσχύος.

3.11.25 | "Since the sun protects against earthly troubles, they named him Heracles, because he calls out to the air as he moves from east to west. They spoke 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, with the club representing his strength and the lion's skin symbolizing his power among the zodiac."

3.11.26 | τῆς δὲ σωστικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως

3.11.26 | "The symbol of his saving power

Ἄσκληπιός τὸ σύμβολον· ὡς 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 ἴλυσπώμενα τῶν ζώων τῆς παχυτάτης καὶ γεώδους ἥτιάσαντο ούσίας·) πνευματικώτατον γάρ τὸ ζῷόν ἐστι καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος ἀποδύεται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ιατρικώτατον εἶναι· τῆς γὰρ ὀξυδορκίας εὗρε τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μυθεύεται τῆς ἀναβιώσεως εἰδέναι τινὰ βοτάνην.

3.11.27 | τῆς δ' αὖ χορευτικῆς τε καὶ ἔγκυκλίου κινήσεως, καθ' ἣν τοὺς καρποὺς πεπαίνει ἡ πυρὸς δύναμις, Διόνυσος κέκληται ἐτέρως, ἡ τῶν ὑγροποιῶν καρπῶν δύναμις, ἢ παρὰ τὸ περιδινεῖν, ἢ διανύειν τὸν ἥλιον τὴν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιφοράν. ἢ δὲ περὶ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ κόσμου περιπολεῖ καὶ χρόνων ἐστὶ ποιητικὸς καὶ καιρῶν ὁ ἥλιος, Ὄρος κατὰ τοῦτο κέκληται.

3.11.28 | τῆς δ' αὖ γεωργικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, καθ' ἣν αἱ δόσεις τοῦ πλούτου, σύμβολον ὁ Πλούτων. ὅμοιώς μέντοι καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, διὸ τῷ Πλούτῳ συνοικίζουσι τὸν Σάραπιν, τοῦ 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 ἥλιον, ἀνατολὴ,

is Asclepius. They gave him a staff, which represents relief and rest for the sick, while the snake wraps around it, symbolizing the healing of both body and soul. (Indeed, the natural philosophers, explaining the world, attributed the thick and earthy substances of animals to the earth.) For living beings are very spiritual and shed the weakness of the body. He also seems to be very healing; for he discovered the medicine for the sourness of vinegar and is said to know of a plant that brings revival."

3.11.27 | "And 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. As the sun moves through the hours of the world and creates times and seasons, he is called Hora."

3.11.28 | "And for his agricultural power, which brings the gifts of wealth, the symbol is Pluto. Similarly, he also has a destructive power, which is why they connect Serapis with Pluto. They create a symbol of the purple robe of the one who has sunk beneath the earth and the broken scepter of the lower power, as well as the shape of the hand that reaches into the unseen."

3.11.29 | "But Cerberus is three-headed because there are three regions of the upper world: the east, the noon, and the

μεσημβρία, δύσις.

west."

3.11.30 | τὴν δὲ σελήνην, παρὰ τὸ σέλας ὑπολαβόντες, Ἀρτεμιν προσηγόρευσαν, οἵον ἀερότεμιν λοχία τε ἡ Ἀρτεμις, καίπερ οὖσα παρθένος, ὅτι ἡ τῆς νουμηνίας δύναμις προσθετική είς τὸ τίκτειν.

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 helps in the act of giving birth.”

3.11.31 | ὅπερ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ἐν ἡλίῳ, τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν σελήνῃ· ἔστι γάρ τῆς φρονήσεως σύμβολον, Ἀθρηνά τις οὖσα.

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 | 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 ἡμμένας· ὅ δὲ κάλαθος, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις φέρει, τῆς τῶν καρπῶν κατεργασίας, οὓς ἀνατρέψει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παραύζησιν· τῆς δ' αὖ πανσελήνου ἡ χαλκοσάνδαλος σύμβολον.

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 nurtures according to the growth of light. The full moon is symbolized by the bronze sandals.”

3.11.33 | ἡ καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κλάδου τῆς δάφνης λάβοι ἄν τις αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμπυρον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μήκωνος τὸ γόνιμον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσοικιζομένων είς αὐτὴν ψυχῶν ὥσπερ εἰς πόλιν, ὅτι πόλεως ὁ μήκων σύμβολον. τόξα δὲ φέρει καθάπορ ἡ Ἀρτεμις διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀδίνων ὄξυτητα.

3.11.33 | “One could take fire from the branch of the laurel and seeds from the poppy, along with the many souls that gather to her like a city, since the poppy symbolizes a city. Artemis carries bows because of the sharpness of childbirth pains.”

3.11.34 | πάλιν δ' αὖ αἱ Μοῖραι ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῆς ἀναφέρονται· ἡ μὲν Κλωθὼ ἐπὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν, Λάχεσις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν

3.11.34 | “Again, the Fates relate to their powers: Clotho is for birth, Lachesis is for nourishment, and Atropos is for the

θρεπτικήν, "Ἄτροπος δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὸ  
ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ θεοῦ.

3.11.35 | συνοικίζουσι δὲ αύτῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν  
καρπῶν γεννητικήν δύναμιν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Δημήτηρ, δύναμιν ἐμποιοῦσαν αύτῇ. καὶ  
ἐστι συνεκτική τῆς Κόρης ἡ σελήνη.  
προσοικίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον διά τε  
τὴν τῶν κεράτων ἔκφυσιν καὶ διὰ τὸν τῶν  
νεφῶν τόπον τὸν ὑποκείμενον τοῖς κάτω  
μέρεσι.

3.11.36 | τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου δύναμιν  
νωχελῆ καὶ βραδεῖαν καὶ ψυχρὰν κατεῖδον,  
διὸ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου δύναμιν αύτῷ  
προσανέθεσαν· ἀποτυπούσί τε αὐτὸν  
ἐστῶτα πολιὸν, πρὸς ἔμφασιν τοῦ  
γηράσκειν τὸν χρόνον.

3.11.37 | τῶν δὲ καιρῶν σύμβολα οἱ  
Κουρῆτες, τὸν χρόνον βουκολοῦντες, ὅτι  
διὰ τῶν καιρῶν ὁ χρόνος παροδεύει.

3.11.38 | τῶν δὲ Ὁρῶν αἱ μὲν Ολυμπιάδες  
είσὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, αἱ καὶ ἀνοίγουσι τὰς κατὰ  
τὸν ἀέρα πύλας, αἱ δὲ ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς  
Δήμητρος· καὶ κάλαθον ἔχουσι τὸν μὲν τῶν  
ἀνθέων σύμβολον τοῦ ἔαρος, τὸν δὲ τῶν  
σταχύων τοῦ θέρους.

3.11.39 | τοῦ δὲ δὲ Ἀρεος τὴν δύναμιν  
καταλαβόντες διάπυρον, πολέμῳ  
ποιητικήν καὶ αἰματουργὸν, βλάπτειν τε  
καὶ ὠφελεῖν δυννμένην ἐποίησαν.

unavoidable fate of the gods."

3.11.35 | "They also connect her with the  
generative power of fruits, which is  
Demeter, a power that brings her wealth.  
The moon is also linked to Persephone.  
They also associate Dionysus with her  
because of the growth of the horns and the  
place of the clouds that lies beneath the  
lower regions."

3.11.36 | "I saw the power of Cronus as  
slow, sluggish, and cold, so they assigned  
him the power of time. They also portray  
him as an old man to show that time brings  
aging."

3.11.37 | "The Curetes symbolize the  
seasons, guiding time, because time flows  
through the seasons."

3.11.38 | "The Hours are the Olympian ones  
of the sun, who open the gates in the sky,  
while the chthonic ones belong to Demeter.  
One group carries a basket with flowers,  
which symbolizes spring, and the other  
carries ears of grain, which symbolize  
summer."

3.11.39 | "Grasping the power of Ares,  
which is fierce and brings about wars and  
bloodshed, they made it capable of both  
harming and helping."

3.11.40 | τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστέρα θεωρήσαντες γενεσιουργὸν, ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ γονῆς αἴτιον, γυναικα μὲν ἀνέπλασαν διὰ τὴν γένεσιν, ὥραίαν δὲ, ὅτι καὶ "Ἐσπερος, δὸς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ.

3.11.41 | καὶ "Ἐρωτα 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 παντί· κατὰ πάντων γάρ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ ποιητικός. σύνθετος δὲ καὶ οἶον μιξέλλην καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις ὁ Ἐρμάνουβις. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐρώσης ἦν δυνάμεως ὁ λόγος, ταύτης ὁ "Ἐρως παραστατικός. διὸ παῖς μὲν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ὁ "Ἐρως, νήπιος δὲ διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμπτώσεις αύτοῦ.

3.11.44 | τοῦ δὲ παντὸς τὸν Πάνα σύμβολον ἔθεντο, τὰ μὲν κέρατα σύμβολα

3.11.40 | "Seeing the star of Aphrodite as the source of life and the cause of desire and reproduction, they created a woman for the purpose of creation, beautiful like Hesperus, who is 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 reproductive parts, since this power is the cause of reproduction and nurturing. He comes from the sea, an element that is both wet and warm, moving constantly and bubbling up because of the stirring, hinting at the seed."

3.11.42 | "In this speech, which is both poetic and interpretive, Hermes serves as the representative. The extended Hermes shows harmony and also points out the seed-like message that runs through everything."

3.11.43 | "Next, there is a combined speech: Hermes in the sun, Hecate in the moon, and Hermopan in everything. For the seed-like and poetic is present in all things. Hermanuvis is also a blend, like a mix of Greek and Egyptian. Since this speech is about the power of desire, Eros represents it. Therefore, Eros is the child of Hermes, but he is childlike because of his sudden slips into desires."

3.11.44 | "They made Pan a symbol of everything, giving him horns to represent

δόντες ήλίου καὶ σελήνης, τὴν δὲ νεβρίδα  
τῶν κατ' ούρανὸν ἀστέρων, ἢ τῆς τοῦ  
παντὸς ποικιλίας.”

the sun and moon, and the fawn skin to symbolize the stars in the sky, or the variety of all things.”

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 λόγιος δυσεύρετος καὶ ἐγκεκρυμμένος καὶ οὐ φανὸς, καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιὸς, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὅτι νοερῶς κινεῖται· διὸ ἡ τοῦ πτεροῦ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται.

3.11.45 | “The Greek symbols are like this: the Egyptians say their creator has similar symbols. They call him Khnum, who looks like a human, with dark blue skin, holding a belt and a scepter, and wearing a royal wing on his head. This is because he represents a hard-to-find and hidden truth, which is not visible, and because he gives life and moves with thought. Therefore, the nature of the wing is placed on his head.”

3.11.46 | τὸν δὲ θεὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος προΐεσθαί φασιν ὧδον, ἐξ οὗ γεννᾶσθαι θεὸν, ὃν αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι Φθὰ, οἷ δὲ Ἕλληνες “Ηφαιστον” ἐρμηνεύειν δὲ τὸ ὧδον τὸν κόσμον. ἀφιέρωται δὲ τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ πρόβατον διὰ τὸ τοὺς παλαιοὺς γαλακτοποτεῖν.

3.11.46 | “They say that this god sends forth an egg from his mouth, and from this egg, a god is born, whom they call Phtha, while the Greeks call him Hephaestus. The egg represents the world. A sheep is offered to this god because the ancients used to make milk from it.”

3.11.47 | αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ δείκηλον τοιόνδε ἀνέπλασαν· ἀνθρωποειδές ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, τοὺς μὲν πόδας συμβεβηκότας ἔχον, ἀνωθεν δὲ μέχρι ποδῶν ποικίλον ἴμάτιον περιβεβλημένον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς σφαιραν ἔχει χρυσῆν διὰ τὸ μὴ μεταβαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀστρων ποικίλην φύσιν, καὶ ὅτι σφαιροειδῆς ὁ κόσμος.

3.11.47 | “They made a statue of the world like this: it looks human, with its feet 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, as well as because the world is round.”

3.11.48 | ἥλιον δὲ σημαίνουσι ποτὲ μὲν δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἐπιβεβηκότος πλοίου, τοῦ πλοίου ἐπὶ κροκοδείλου κειμένου. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον τὴν ἐν ὑγρῷ κίνησιν, ὁ δὲ

3.11.48 | “They sometimes represent the sun as a man standing on a ship, with the ship resting on a crocodile. The ship symbolizes movement in water, while the

κροκόδειλος πότιμον ύδωρ, ἐν τῷ φέρεται ὁ  
ἡλιος, ἐσήμαινε τοίνυν ὁ ἡλιος δι' ἀέρος  
ύγρου καὶ γλυκέος τὴν περιπόλησιν  
ποιεῖσθαι.

crocodile represents the drinkable water in which the sun travels. Therefore, the sun signifies making a journey through moist and sweet air."

3.11.49 | τῆς δὲ οὐρανίας γῆς καὶ τῆς  
χθονίας τὴν δύναμιν Ἰσιν προσεῖπον διὰ  
τὴν ἴσότητα, ἀφ' ἣς τὸ δίκαιον οὐρανίαν δὲ  
τὴν σελήνην, χθονίαν δὲ τὴν καρποφόρον,  
ἐν τῇ κατοικοῦμεν, λέγουσι.

3.11.49 | "They call the power of the heavenly earth and the earthly land Isis because of their equality, which brings about justice. They say that the moon is heavenly, while the fruitful land, where we live, is earthly."

3.11.50 | τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ δύναται Δημήτηρ παρ'  
Ἐλλησι καὶ Ἰσις παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, καὶ πάλιν  
Κόρη παρ' Ἐλλησι καὶ Διόνυσος, καὶ Ἰσις  
καὶ Ὀσιρις παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις. αὕτη δὲ  
τρέφουσα καὶ αἰροῦσα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ δὲ  
Ὀσιρις παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις τὴν κάρπιμον  
παρίστησι δύναμιν, ἦν θρήνοις  
ἀπομειλίσσεσθαι εἰς γῆν ἀφανιζομένην ἐν  
τῷ σπόρῳ, καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
καταναλισκομένην εἰς τροφάς

3.11.50 | "Demeter is the same as Isis among the Greeks and Egyptians, and Kore is the same as Dionysus among the Greeks, while Isis and Osiris are the same among the Egyptians. Demeter nourishes and cares for 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 planting and is consumed by us as food."

3.11.51 | λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς  
ποταμίας τοῦ Νείλου δυνάμεως· ἀλλ' ὅταν  
μὲν τὴν χθονίαν γῆν σημαίνωσιν, Ὀσιρις ἡ  
κάρπιμος λαμβάνεται δύναμις, ὅταν δὲ τὴν  
οὐρανίαν, Ὀσιρίς ἔστιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἔξ  
οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται· πενθοῦσι  
δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ἀπομειλισθόμενοι τὴν  
δύναμιν λήγουσαν καὶ ἀναλισκομένην. ἡ δὲ  
ἐν τοῖς μύθοις μισγομένη τῷ Ὁσίριδι Ἰσις ἡ  
Αἴγυπτία ἔστι γῆ διόπερ ίσοῦται καὶ κυεῖ  
καὶ ποιεῖ τοὺς καρπούς· διὸ ἀνὴρ τῆς  
Ἰσιδος Ὀσιρις καὶ ἀδελφός καὶ υἱὸς  
παραδέδοται."

3.11.51 | "The power of the Nile River is also seen as a substitute. When they refer to the earthly land, Osiris represents the power of fertility, but when they refer to the heavenly, Osiris is identified with 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 goddess, is associated with Osiris as the earth. This is why she is considered equal, able to 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 χροιάν, κεφαλὴν δὲ κριοῦ κεκτημένον, καὶ βασίλειον, κέρατα τράγεια ἔχον, οὓς ἐπεστὶ κύκλος δισκοειδῆς. κάθηται δὲ, παρακειμένου κεραμέου ἄγγειου, ἐφ’ οὐ ἄνθρωπον ἀναπλάσσειν. δηλοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ πρόσωπον ἔχειν καὶ αἴγος κέρατα τὴν ἐν κριῷ σύνοδον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· τὸ δὲ ἐκ κυανοῦ χρῶμα, ὅτι ὑδραγωγὸς ἐν συνόδῳ ἡ σελήνη.

3.12.2 | τὸ δὲ δεύτερον φῶς τῆς σελήνης ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει καθιέρωται· ἔστι δὲ τούτου σύμβολον ἱερακοπρόσωπος ἀνθρωπος ζιβύνη χειρούμενος Τυφῶνα ἵπποποτάμῳ εἰκασμένον. 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 ἱερακα καὶ λίω ἀφιεροῦσι· φωτὸς δὲ καὶ πνεύματος ἱέραξ αὐτοῖς σύμβολον διά τε τὴν ὄξυκινησίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὑψος ἀνατρέχειν, ἔνθα τὸ φῶς· ὁ δὲ ἵπποπόταμος τὸν δυτικὸν δηλοῖ πόλον, παρὰ τὸ καταπίνειν εἰς ἐαυτὸν τοὺς περιπολοῦντας.

3.12.3 | θεὸς δὲ τιμᾶται ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὁ Ὕρος. ἡ δὲ τῆς Εἰληθύιας 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 γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος οἴονται συλλαμβάνειν τὸν γῦπα, θηλείας

3.12.1 | “In the city of Elephantine, there is a revered statue. It is shaped like a man but seated, and it has a blue color. The statue has the head of a ram and royal horns like a goat, which have a circular disk on them. It sits next to a clay vessel, on which a figure can be formed. This statue 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 connected to water.”

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 resembles Typhon. The statue is white, representing the brightness of the moon, while the hawk's face symbolizes being illuminated 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 swift movements and ability to soar high, where the light is. The hippopotamus represents the western region, as it swallows those who swim near it.”

3.12.3 | “In this city, the god Horus is honored. The city of Eileithyia worships the third light; the statue is shaped like a vulture in flight, with feathers made from valuable stones. The vulture represents the creative spirit of the moon; for they believe that from this spirit, the vulture conceives,

πάσας ἀποφαινόμενοι.

3.12.4 | ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' Ἐλευσῖνα μυστηρίοις ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, δαδοῦχος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡλίου· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βωμῷ εἰς τὴν σελήνην, ὁ δὲ ἱεροκῆρυξ Ἐρμοῦ.

3.12.5 | καὶ ἄνθρωπος δὲ παρ' Αἴγυπτοις ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρείληπται. Ἀναβις γάρ ἔστι κώμη Αἴγυπτου, ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύεται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θύεται τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ ἱερεῖα καίεται· ὁ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον φάγοι ἀν τὰ ὥς ἀν ἄνθρωπῳ αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμένα.

3.12.6 | ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ ζῷα θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται, εἰκόνας δὲ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σύμβολα ταῦτα θεῶν, δηλοῦ τὸ πολλαχοῦ βοῦς ἀναχθέντας θεοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεοὺς θρησκείαις βουθυτεῖν. ἡλίῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σελήνῃ βοῦς ἀνιέρωσαν.

representing all female forms."

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 represents Hermes."

3.12.5 | "In Egypt, a man is welcomed in the sacred places. Anabis is a village in Egypt, where a man is honored, and sacrifices are made to him, with offerings burned on the altars. After a little while, he would eat what has been prepared for him as a human."

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 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, σφόδρα μέλας, μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἡλιος ὁ πολὺς μελαίνει τὰ ἄνθρωπεια σώματα. ἔχει δὲ τὴν οὐρὰν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους βοῦς καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ἀνάτριχον, καθάπερ ὁ ἡλιος τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πόλῳ ποιεῖται δρόμον· τούς τε ὅρχεις μεγίστους, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἴμερος γίνεται ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὃ τε ἡλιος σπερμαίνειν λέγεται τὴν φύσιν.

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 hairless, just as the sun makes the opposite pole shine. His testicles are very large, since desire for pleasure comes from heat, and the sun is said to make nature reproduce."

3.13.2 | σελήνη δὲ ταῦρον ἀνέθεσαν, ὃν Ἀπιν ἐπονομάζουσι, μέλανα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους, φέροντα δὲ σημεῖα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ὅτι καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς ἔξ ἡλίου· ἡλίου 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. He is dark like the others, but he carries 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 found under the tongue. The symbols of the moon are both the forked shape and the curved shape.”

3.13.3 | Ταῦτά μοι ἔκ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς γραφῆς ἐπιτετμήσθω, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ Αἴγυπτιακῆς θεολογίας, ἣς ἀποστάτας ἔαυτοὺς καὶ φυγάδας ὅμολογοῦμεν, κρίσει καὶ λογισμῷ σώφρονι καὶ τάδε παραιτησάμενοι.

3.13.3 | “Let these things be taken from the writing of the man mentioned above, so that nothing escapes us about the hidden aspects of Greek and Egyptian theology, of which we admit we are followers and exiles, having chosen these ideas with careful thought and reasoning.”

3.13.4 | οὐ γάρ με ἡ ἀλαζῶν ἐκπλήξει φωνὴ, φθέγξομαι οἵς θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, φήσασα. βέβηλοι γοῦν οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ γε τὰς τοιάσδε αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς μυθολογίας κανθάρων πέρι καὶ θηρίων ἀλόγων σοφίας θεολόγου νοήματα εἶναι ἀποφηνάμενοι, οἱ, κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον ἀπόστολον, φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν· ὅτι δὴ ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν.”

3.13.4 | “For the voice of the boastful will not scare me, saying, ‘You who are unholy, do not approach the doors.’ Indeed, we are not unholy, but those who claim that such shameful and improper myths about beetles and irrational beasts are the ideas of a wise theologian. They, as the remarkable 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 ἀπόρρητον δὴ καὶ μυστικώτερον λόγον εἰς ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις μεταφορικῶς ἀνῆγον, ὥστε δοκεῖν μηκέτ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρώμενα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου τὴν θεοποιίαν αὐτῶν

3.13.5 | “But since they have indeed lifted all the secret and more mysterious discussions about these things to incorporeal powers, it seems they no longer focus their divinity on the visible

συντείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινας ἀοράτους καὶ ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις, σκεψώμεθα εἰ μὴ καὶ οὕτως μίαν χρὴ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡγεῖσθαι.

parts of the world, but rather on certain unseen and incorporeal powers. Let us think about whether we should not be amazed by this one divine power, but instead consider many."

3.13.6 | ούδὲ γὰρ 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 ζῶν τεκτήνασθαι.

3.13.6 | "For since many shapes, parts, and members have been created within one body, we should not think that we have so many souls, nor should we believe there are so many poets and creators of the body. Instead, we should understand that one soul moves the whole body, and one creative power shapes the entire living being."

3.13.7 | οὕτω δῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, ἐνὸς μὲν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς σωματικῆς ὅλης συνεστῶτος, εἰς μέρη δὲ πλεῖστα διῃρημένου, καὶ μίαν τῶν ὅλων φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν ὑποφαίνοντος, κρᾶσίν τε καὶ μῖξιν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχείων, ἀλλοιώσεις 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, in the whole universe, which is one and made from a single physical substance, while divided into many parts, there is one natural connection among all. The mixing and blending of the elements within it, along with their changes and transformations, show that the whole and everything together form one world and one harmony. Therefore, we should not assume there are 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 γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὅπως τὸν Χαιρήμονα καὶ πλείους ἄλλους ὡμολόγει μηδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῶν δρωμένων κόσμων ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐν ἀρχῆς τε λόγῳ τίθεσθαι τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους· τούτους γὰρ πάντα είς τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ οὐδὲν είς

3.13.8 | "But he also shifts the Egyptian myths to incorporeal powers, hiding himself, the wisest one. He has heard how Chairemon and many others claimed that nothing else should be considered before the visible worlds, placing the Egyptians at the start of the discussion. They interpret everything in terms of the physical and nothing in terms of incorporeal and living

άσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας ἐρμηνεύειν.

essences.”

3.13.9 | εἴ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δομολογίαν Αἴγυπτίων ἦν τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάγειν εἰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας, πάντα δὲ τὰ περὶ θεῶν αὐτοῖς μυθολογούμενα ἐπὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη μεταφέρειν, τί δὴ ἔξ ὑπαρχῆς εὐρεσιλογοῦντες Αἴγυπτοις τὰ μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν οἰκεῖα προσγράφετε, ἐπὶ δυνάμεις ἀσωμάτους φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι; καθόλου μὲν οὖν ταῦτα αἴτιατέον.

3.13.9 | “If, then, according to their own agreement, the Egyptians did not connect anything to incorporeal and living essences, but instead transferred everything about the gods to the physical parts of the universe, why do you attribute something that is not theirs to the Egyptians, claiming that they relate their theology to incorporeal powers? Therefore, all these points should 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 οὐκ ἀν τῶν εὗ φρονούντων αὐτόθεν καταμέμψαιτο τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεξηγεῖσθαι πειρωμένοις;

3.13.10 | “And about the specific points, I believe that examining their forced explanations will not take long to refute. For if someone were to overlook the Egyptian nonsense and their many empty and foolish claims in order to study the natural philosophy of the wise Greeks, who wouldn’t blame those trying to misunderstand such things?”

3.13.11 | ἔστω γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς μηκέθ’ ἡ πυρώδης καὶ αἱθέριος ούσια, ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐνομίζετο κατὰ τὸν Πλούταρχον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνωτάτω νοῦς, ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς, ὁ τὰ πάντα ζωογονῶν· πῶς οὖν ἔσται τούτου πατὴρ μὲν ὁ Κρόνος, ὃν φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον, ‘Ρέα δὲ μήτηρ, ἷν ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς ἔφησεν εἶναι τὴν πετρώδη καὶ ὅρειον δύναμιν; τὴν γὰρ ‘Ηραν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως τὸν ἀέρα τὸν καὶ αἱθέρα προσειπῶν ἀδελφὴν ὄμοῦ καὶ γυναικά φησιν εἶναι τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πάντων νοῦ.

3.13.11 | “Let Zeus no longer be seen as the fiery and etheric essence, as the ancients believed according to Plutarch. Instead, let him be the highest mind, the creator of all, who gives life to everything. How, then, can Cronus, whom they say represents time, be the father of this being, and Rhea the mother, whom the interpreter claims 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 both the sister and wife of the creator and life-giver of all.”

3.13.12 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λητώ πάλιν λήθω τις καλείσθω, διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὑπνον, ὡς φασιν, ἀναισθησίαν, καὶ ὅτι λήθη ἔχονται ταῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην γενομέναις ψυχαῖς. πῶς ἀν οὖν ἡ λήθη γένοιτο ἀν ήλιου καὶ σελήνης μήτηρ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος τῶν Λητοῦς παίδων εἰς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην μετενηγμένων;

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 associated with the sun and the moon?”

3.13.13 | τί δὲ χρὴ σέβειν ὡς θεὸν τὴν Ἄρεαν ἢ τὴν Δήμητρα, εἴ ἡ μὲν τῆς πετρώδους καὶ ὄρείου γῆς, ἡ δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος τὰ σύμβολα φέρειν ἐλέγετο; τὴν δὲ Κόρην τὸν κόρον ἀλληγοροῦντες τίνι λόγῳ καὶ ταύτην οἴονται δεῖν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ 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 interpret 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 ἔκτομῆς τὰ σύμβολα, Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀττίν καὶ Ἀδωνινκ ἐπονομάζοντας, ὡς θεοὺς χρῆναι σέβειν, οὐχὶ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος προτιμᾶν, ὡς ταῦτα πρὸς χρῆσιν καὶ τροφὴν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς θεὸς ὑπεστήσατο;

3.13.14 | “What need is there to worship the power that brings forth seeds, the generation of fruits, or the flowers that appear in spring and bloom before they fully develop? Why call them gods like Dionysus, Attis, and Adonis? Shouldn’t we rather honor the human race, to which the creator god of all has given these things for use and nourishment?”

3.13.15 | Μεταβάτε δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ τὸν ὄμοιον τρόπον τῆς γενναίας ἀπελέγχεις φυσιολογίας, εὐλόγως τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς, φέρε, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ αὐθίς τὸν

3.13.15 | “Then, moving away from these ideas, you should also reject the others in the same way when it comes to noble nature. It is reasonable to criticize those who claim that the sun itself is Apollo, that Heracles is the same, and that Dionysus and

Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ὁμοίως  
ἀποφαινομένοις.

3.13.16 | πῶς γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἀν  
γένοιτο καὶ υἱὸς, Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ  
Ἀπόλλων; πῶς δ' ἀν πάλιν εἰς Ἡρακλέα  
μετενεχθείη, εἰ δὴ ἐκ θνητῆς γυναικὸς τῆς  
Ἀλκμήνης ὁ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγηται;  
πῶς δ' ἀν ἐμμανῆς γένοιτο καὶ σφάξειε  
τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ παῖδας ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ  
ταῦτα προσαναγέγραπται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ;

3.13.17 | ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπιτελοῦντα  
τοὺς δώδεκα τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῆς κατ'  
οὐρανὸν διαιρέσεως τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου,  
ὅν φασι τὸν ἥλιον περιπολεῖν, τὸ σύμβολον  
φέρειν. τίς οὖν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἀν Εύρυσθεὺς ὁ  
τῷ ἥλιῳ, ὡσπερ οὖν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τοὺς  
ἄθλους ἑκτελεῖν ἐπιτάττων., πῶς δ' ἀν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὸν ἥλιον ἀναχθεῖν αἱ πεντήκοντα  
Θεστίου θυγατέρες καὶ τὸ τῶν λοιπῶν  
αἰχμαλωτίδων πλῆθος, αἵς τὸν Ἡρακλέα  
λόγος ἔχει μιγῆναι, ἔξ ὧν καὶ θνητοὶ παῖδες  
αὐτῷ γενόμενοι ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν τῶν  
γενῶν παρέτειναν διαδοχήν; τίς δ' ἀν εἴη ὁ  
Κένταυρος, οὗ τῷ αἷματι τὸν χιτῶνα  
μολύνασσα ἡ Δηιάνειρα τὸν ἥλιον, ὡσπερ  
οὖν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ  
περιβάλοι ἀν συμφορᾶ;

3.13.18 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηκέτ' ἔστω ὁ ἥλιος  
αὐτοῖς Ἡρακλῆς, ἔστω δ' ὁ Διόνυσος· καὶ τί<sup>2</sup>  
ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; φαίη τις ἀν  
εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ ἡ τοῦτον γεννήσασα, εἴτε  
Σεμέλη τις λέγοιτο εἴτε Περσεφόνη; πῶς δ'  
ἀν εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ  
κατὰ τοὺς ὑγροὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ  
ἀκρόδρυα βλαστῶσα δύναμις; τί δ' ἀν  
γένοιτο τῶν συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ

Asclepius are the same as well."

3.13.16 | "How could the same father be  
both Asclepius and Apollo as his 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 go mad and kill his  
own children, when these things are also  
attributed to Heracles?"

3.13.17 | "But regarding 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 believed to circle and  
carry as a symbol. So who would  
Eurystheus be, who, like the sun, orders  
Heracles to complete these labors? How  
could the fifty daughters of Thestios and  
the other captured women rise up against  
the sun, if it is said that Heracles mingled  
with them, from whom mortal children  
were born, 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 also  
be caught up in the same misfortune?"

3.13.18 | "But let the sun not be Heracles  
for them; let him instead be Dionysus. What  
do these things have to do with Dionysus?  
Someone might say this makes sense. Who  
is his mother, whether it is said to be  
Semele or Persephone? How could  
Dionysus be the same as the sun and the  
power that brings forth wet fruits and  
nuts? And what would happen to the many

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;

women who accompanied him? Who is the sun's companion, just as Ariadne is for Dionysus? And why would Dionysus be more of a giver of wine, rather than of grain, legumes, and all the fruits from the earth, if he were to be associated with the sun?"

3.13.19 | εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς αύτοῖς πάλιν  
εἴη ὁ ἥλιος 5 πῶς οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δῖος  
κεραυνοῦται ῥυπαρὰς ἔνεκεν  
αίσχροκερδείας, κατὰ τὸν Βοιώτιον  
μελοποιὸν Πίνδαρον ὡδέ πως λέγοντα  
"Ἐτραπεν κάκενον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ χρυσὸς  
ἐν χερσὶν φανεὶς,... χερσὶ δ' ἄρα Κρονίων  
ρίψαις δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρνων  
κάθελενώκεως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς  
ένέσκηψεν μόρον.

3.13.19 | "If the sun is also Asclepius for them, how can he be struck by Zeus's lightning because of filthy greed? According to the Boeotian poet Pindar, he says 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, sealing 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  
ἀποφεύγουσιν, 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 are close to all human generations? Yet, just like by a trick, they avoid the shameful and mythical stories about the gods. Instead, the story would rush off to the sun, the 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 ούσία, Ἡρα δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ, καὶ γῆ  
πάλιν, ἡ μὲν ὅρειος καὶ πετρώδης Ἄρεα, 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  
δὲ ποτὲ μὲν Ἀρτεμις, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ

3.13.21 | "If fire was Hephaestus for them, representing warmth, and Poseidon was the wet substance, and Hera was the air, then the earth was both the mountainous and rocky Rhea and the flat and fertile Demeter. Persephone was the bearer of seeds, and Dionysus was the power that brings forth fruits. The sun was Apollo, along with those mentioned, and the moon

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 ἴδιας αὐτῶν κεφαλῆς.

was sometimes Artemis, sometimes Athena, and also Hecate and Eileithyia. Therefore, they deny the creator of all creation, but do not speak of the creator himself. This is very uncertain, dangerous, and harmful to their own well-being."

3.13.22 | εἴ δὲ μὴ τὰ ὄρώμενα σώματα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων μηδέ γε τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φήσουσι θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰτὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀօράτους δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ 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 ὡς ἀν ἀθέσμους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς παραιτησάμενοι, καὶ αὐτάς γε τὰς περὶ τούτων βίβλους, ὡς δυσσεβῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστα περιεχούσας, ἀφανεῖς ποιήσαντες, τὸν ἔνα καὶ μόνον καὶ ἀόρατον θεὸν γυμνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς αἰσχρᾶς περιπλοκῆς ἀνυμνοῦσι;

3.13.22 | "If they do not claim that the visible bodies of the sun, moon, and stars, or the sensible parts of the world are divine, but instead recognize the unseen powers within them, the one who is above all, (for one god fills everything with various powers, exists through all things, oversees all, being without body and unseen in all, and moves through all, and they say 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? Why do they not make the books about these things invisible, since they contain irreverent and immoral content? Instead, they sing praises to the one and only invisible god plainly, purely, and without any shameful entanglement?"

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 μηδ' ἐν οἰκίσκοις καὶ σκότου μυχοῖς ἀνδρῶν τε οἰκοδομαῖς σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐναποκλείειν, ὡς ἔνδον εὐρήσοντας τὸν θεόν, μηδ' ἐν ξοάνοις ἐξ ἀψύχου πεποιημένοις ὕλης τὰς θείας τιμᾶν οἵεσθαι δυνάμεις, μηδὲ μὴν γεώδεσιν ἀτμοῖς αἰμάτων καὶ λύθρου καὶ νεκρόν ζώων αἱμασι κεχαρισμένα τῷ θεῷ πράττειν

3.13.23 | "For those who know the truth, it was necessary to act this way, not to bring down and throw the reverent call of god into shameful and passionate speech. They should not shut themselves away in small houses and dark corners of men's buildings, thinking they would find god inside. They should not believe that they honor divine powers in lifeless statues made from material, nor think that they are pleasing god by performing rituals with the blood of animals and the remains of dead

νομίζειν.

creatures."

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 δ' 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. They should not merely proclaim the visible things to everyone, but instead marvel at the unseen creator of the visible things. They should worship 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 they honor the divine with crowns, statues, and temple buildings. Instead, they should act with purified thoughts and correct, true beliefs, in a state of detachment of the soul, striving to become as virtuous as possible in relation to him."

3.13.25 | ἀλλ' οὐδείς γε πώποτε, οὐ βάρβαρος, οὐχ Ἑλλην, 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 ἡ 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 proclaimed to all nations the escape from the old error and offered everyone a way back to the true and only god of all. However, 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 instead of 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.

3.14.1 | “After a long and extensive study of philosophy, as well as serious studies in meteorology and physiology, they fell from above, as if from the highest heights, and were dragged down with the masses, becoming entangled in the old error of many gods. They acted like most people, 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 | 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.

3.14.2 | “How then could they not be clearly seen by all, while speaking seriously about physiology and dressing up shameful things with words that twist the truth, yet by their actions promoting the mythical error and widespread superstition? And is it not surprising that they even write down their own gods according to the myths that suit them?”

3.14.3 | ἄκουε γοῦν ὅπως ὁ Ἀπόλλων αύτὸς 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.

3.14.3 | “Listen to how Apollo himself teaches a hymn that he composed for 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 | 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

3.14.4 | “Porphyry also writes this in his work on philosophy based on reason, where he mentions the oracles in this way: ‘O great joy for all mortals, from the holy mother of 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 shook as the twin births were happening in the groves. The earth stood still, and the air stood still; the island was frozen, and the waves were still. Then, the seer Lycoreus, the skilled archer Phoebus, and the king of the oracle-giving tripods rose up.’”

3.14.6 | καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς πάλιν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ  
Τρίκκης ἔξ ιερῆς ἥκω θεὸς, ὃν ποτε  
μήτηρ Φοίβω ὑπευνηθεῖσα 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 my mother once bore after being made pregnant by Phoebus, as the king of wisdom, Asclepius the healer. But what do you want to know?’”

3.14.7 | ὁ δ' Ἐρμῆς φησιν ὥδ' ἔγὼ, δὸν  
καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς, Ἐρμείης  
προβέβηκα, λιπὼν ἀστραῖον ἄνακτα.

3.14.7 | “And Hermes says: ‘I am the one 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, ὥσπερ ὁ Πάν  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν χρησμοῖς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τάδε  
λέγει διδάσκων Εὔχομαι βροτὸς γεγώνταν  
συμφύτῳ θεῷ, δισσοκέρατι,  
δισσόποδι, τραγοσκελεῖ, τρυφῶντι.”

3.14.8 | “And they describe their own appearance in the shape, just as Pan himself says in oracles about himself, teaching: ‘I pray, as 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 Πάν σύμβολον ἦν τοῦ παντὸς,  
δαίμων δ' ἀν εἴη τις τοιοῦτος οὗτος καὶ  
ὑπογέγραπται ὁ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐκδούς·  
οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος

3.14.9 | “These things are presented by the man revealed in the secret teachings of philosophy. So, Pan was no longer a symbol of everything, but a spirit like the one who gave the oracle. For indeed, not everything and the whole universe spoke about the

έχρησε τὰ προκείμενα. τούτου τοι γαροῦν  
τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ παντὸς τὴν  
εἰκόνα ἐκτυπώσαντες ἄνδρες τὸ  
προγεγραμμένον ἐμιμήσαντο σχῆμα.

3.14.10 | καὶ ὁ Ἐρμῆς δὲ πῶς ἂν νοοῖτο ὁ  
τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητικός τε καὶ  
ἐρμηνευτικός λόγος, μητέρα Μαῖαν τὴν  
"Ατλαντς ὅμολογῶν ἐσχηκέναι, τήν γε περὶ  
αὐτοῦ λεγομένην μυθολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ  
φυσιολογίαν ἔγκρινας;

3.14.11 | οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς πῶς ἂν  
μετάγοιτο εἰς ἥλιον, πατρίδα τὴν Τρίκκην  
ἐπιγραθόμενος μένος καὶ ἀπὸ θνητῆς  
ὅμολογῶν γεγονέναι μητρός; πῶς δ' ἂν  
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 εἰκὸς ἐν Δήλῳ γεγεννῆσθαι τῇ νήσῳ  
ὑπὸ θνητῆς πάλιν μητρὸς τῆς Λητοῦς;

3.14.13 | ἑνταῦθά μοι τήρει ὀπόσους  
"Ἐλληνες θεοὺς γεννητοὺς γυναικῶν  
έθεολόγησαν, εἰς παράθεσιν, εἴ ποτε  
πειρῶντο σκώπτειν τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου  
σωτῆρος γένεσιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ ποιητῶν εἰσιν  
αἱ φωναὶ, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αἱ  
προκείμεναι σημειώσεις.

matters 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, while  
considering the mythology told about him,  
but not accepting the natural philosophy?"

3.14.11 | "So how could Asclepius be said to  
go to the sun, claiming that 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? After all, 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 remember, these  
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 makes sense to look down on the poets and admire the philosophers as wise. It is better to accept the arguments of those who are 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 mistaken. 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 related, as they both argue against each other. If they write about mortal mothers and acknowledge earthly fathers, how could

γῆς ὁμολογοῦσι, πῶς ἀν εἶεν οὕους  
φυσιολογοῦσιν;

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.

they be correct about nature?"

3.15.5 | "Let Apollo be the sun—again, the argument will return to the same points. How then could Delos, the island that still appears in the sea, be the homeland of the sun, and Leto be his mother? For the oracles of Apollo have just recently declared this as true. And how could the sun be the father of Asclepius, a mortal man, if he was born from a mortal woman? But let's set these things 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 shown in another way. 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 καὶ 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. If they say that Hecate is the same and is somehow drawn down by human needs, and that she is used through the vessel, it would make sense 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 comes from 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. As a result, they are trapped 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 is said to be both political and lawful. This is especially believed to be enough to shock many people because of the well-known prophecies and the treatments and cures for those who are suffering, as well as certain investigations.”

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 ὑπαντησομεν.

3.17.3 | “They claim that through experience they have been convinced that they are pious and act justly toward the gods, while we are the ones who commit the greatest impiety, not honoring the clear and helpful powers with the proper treatments. Therefore, let us begin a new 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 εὔεργεσίᾳ 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, through which we have been freed by the power and kindness of our redeemer and savior, is to be examined in this fourth book of the Evangelical Preparation.

4.1.2 | ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν εἶδος εἰς τρία γενικώτερον διαιροῦσιν, εἴς τε τὸ μυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν τετραγωδημένον, καὶ εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν τὸ δὴ πρὸς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐφευρημένον, εἴς τε τὸ πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικούμενον ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ πεφυλαγμένον, ταύτων δὲ μέρη δύο ἥδη πρότερον διὰ τῶν πρὸ τούτου συγγραμμάτων ἡμῖν ἔξηπλωται, τό τε ιστορικὸν, 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 ἐστι τὸ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας συνεστώς, πολιτικὸν αὐτοῖς προσαγορευόμενον· δὲ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικεῖται, ὡς

4.1.2 | Since they divide all 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 related to the laws, as it shows both the ancient and native qualities and reveals the virtue of the powers being discussed.

άν παλαιὸν ὄμοῦ καὶ πάτριον καὶ τῆς τῶν  
θεολογουμένων δυνάμεως αὐτόθεν τὴν  
ἀρετὴν ὑποφαῖνον.

4.1.3 | διατεθρύληται γοῦν αὐτοῖς μαντεῖα  
καὶ χρησμοὶ, θεραπεῖαί τε καὶ ἀκέσεις  
παντοίων παθῶν, ἐπισκήψεις τε κατὰ  
ἀσεβῶν· ὃν δὴ καὶ διὰ πείρας ἐλθεῖν  
ράσκοντες εὗ μάλα πεπείκασιν ἐαυτοὺς τὰ  
θεῖα τιμῶντας δίκαια πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ τὰ  
μέγιστα ἀσεβεῖν, τὰς οὕτως ἐμφανεῖς καὶ  
εὔεργετικὰς δυνάμεις ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ  
τιθεμένους, ἀντικρυς δὲ παρανομοῦντας,  
δέον σέβειν ἔκαστον τὰ πάτρια, μηδὲ κινεῖν  
τὰ ἀκίνητα, στοιχεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐφέπεσθαι τῇ  
τῶν προπατόρων εὐσεβείᾳ, μηδὲ  
πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔρωτι καινοτομίας. ταύτῃ  
γοῦν φασιν ἐπαξίως καὶ θάνατον ὑπὸ τῶν  
νόμων ὡρίσθαι τοῖς πλημμελοῦσι τὴν  
ζημίαν.

4.1.4 | τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἴστορικόν τε ὃν  
καὶ μυθικὸν τῆς θεολογίας εἴδος 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 ὄμοῦ 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 οὓν ταῦτα καιρὸς  
ἀποδοῦναι τὸν παρ’ ἡμῖν λόγον,  
ἀπολογισμόν τε ὑποσχεῖν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς πραγματείας

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 by disregarding such clear  
and beneficial powers. They argue that  
each person should honor their ancestral  
traditions, not disturb what is unmovable,  
and follow the piety of their forefathers,  
avoiding meddling out of a desire for  
something new. 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  
present as they wish, just like the second  
type from philosophers, which is explained  
through a more natural allegory of the  
myths. The third type, which should be  
honored and protected as both 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 follow the ancient  
laws and stay in the fields and cities,  
obeying the ancestral traditions.

4.1.5 | Therefore, it is time to present our  
account, offering a summary of the good  
news of our savior, which speaks against  
what has been mentioned and challenges

άντικηρυττούσης τοῖς είρημένοις, καὶ τοῖς  
τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων νόμοις  
άντινομοθετούσης.

the laws of all the nations.

4.1.6 | "Οτι μὲν οὖν οὐ θεοὶ τὰ ἄψυχα ξόανα προφανές καὶ αύτοῖς, ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς μυθικῆς αὐτῶν θεολογίας φέρει τινὰ σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ λόγον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δέδεικται συγγράμματι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ ὅτι μηδὲ τὰ τῆς φυσικωτέρας καὶ φιλοσόφου τῶν μύθων ἐρμηνείας ἀβίαστον αύτοῖς περιέχει τὴν ἔξήγησιν.

4.1.6 | Indeed, it has been shown in the first writing that lifeless statues are not gods and that there is nothing serious or divine in their mythical theology. Similarly, in the second and third writings, it is shown that even the interpretations of the more natural and philosophical myths do not provide 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 think about the third point: what should we believe 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 οὖν 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, εὗ 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 matters is just a deception, created by the tricks of sorcerers and the cleverness of men. They might argue that belief in these things is not about a god, nor even about an evil spirit. The poems and collections of oracles do not come from wise men; instead, they are clever tricks designed to deceive, mixed together in a confusing way. They do not truly match the expectations of their outcomes. Rather, the many deceptions that amaze people can be explained by natural causes.

4.1.9 | πολλὰ γὰρ εἶναι εἴδη ριζῶν καὶ

4.1.9 | There are many kinds of roots,

βοτανῶν καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν καὶ καὶ λίθων, ξηρῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὑγρῶν παντοίας ὑλῆς δυνάμεων ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποκρουστικὰ καί τινων ἀπελαστικά, τὰ δὲ συνάγειν πεθυκότα καὶ ἐφέλκεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διακρίνειν καὶ σκεδαννύναι πυκνοῦν τε καὶ στέλλειν δυνάμενα, ἔτερα δὲ χαλᾶν καὶ ὑγραίνειν καὶ ἀραιοῦν, σώζειν τε αὐτὸν ἄλλα καὶ ἔτερα κτείνειν, τρέπειν τε διόλου, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐναλλάττειν, καὶ τοτὲ 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 ὑγιείας εἶναι 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 εἶναι καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ῥίζῶν ἀντιπαθείας μυρίας, καὶ πολλὰ θυμιαμάτων καρωτικῶν τε καὶ ὑπνωτικῶν, ἐτέρων δὲ φαντασίας ποιητικῶν' συναίρεσθαι δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς τελίσκεται τὰ γιγνόμενα· ὅργανά τε εἶναι καὶ σκεύη πόρρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείως τῇ τέχνῃ προηντρεπισμένα· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ συνεργοὺς τῆς μαγγανείας παραλαμβάνεσθαι ἔξωθεν, πολυπραγμονοῦντας τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου χρείας καὶ ὅν ἥκε 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 αὐτοῖς δεισιδαιμονίαν, τήν τε ἐκ προγόνων προκατασχοῦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς δόξαν.

plants, fruits, and 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 shift from one state to another. Sometimes they work for a long time, and sometimes only for a short time. Some are effective in large quantities, while others work only in small amounts. Some lead to certain results, while others take different paths. They can work together, combine, or destroy one another. Yes, there are also some that promote health, which are closely related to the knowledge of medicine, while others cause sickness and are poisonous. There are 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, as well as many kinds of incense that can be stimulating or soothing, along with others that create illusions. These substances can also be gathered from different places 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 sacred places that most people cannot access. The darkness plays a significant role in their plans. Additionally, prior beliefs and superstitions about how they approach the gods, along with traditions passed down from ancestors, shape their views.

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 προύπισχνου μένων καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἑλπίσι 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 ἔκφεύγειν.

4.1.11 | πολλὰ δὲ συμβαίνειν καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἀπάταις καὶ τερατείαις, συμπαραλαμβανομένων τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπωδῶν δή τινων μετά τινος ἀσήμου καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐπιρρήσεως, 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.

## Section 2

4.2.1 | “Οσα γοῦν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν ἐκπέφευγε τῶν χρησμῶν, οὐ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῦ μέλλοντος, κατὰ δέ τινα

4.1.10 | Let us also think about 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, making it hard for anyone to truly grasp what is being said. This ambiguity allows them to escape criticism.

4.1.11 | Many other deceptions and wonders also occur, often involving certain chants that have a strange and foreign influence. This makes it seem as if 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 manage to deceive everyone.

4.2.1 | As for those oracles that seem to escape doubt, they do not predict the future based on knowledge, but rather are created

στοχασμὸν ἔξενηνεγμένα, τούτων μυρία, μᾶλλον δὲτὰ πάντα σχεδὸν, ἥλω πολλάκις τῆς προρρήσεως ἀποπεπτωκότα, ἐναντίως ἡ κατὰ τὸ χρησθὲν τοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων τέλους τὴν ἔκβασιν ἀπειληφότος, εἴ μήποτ' ἄρα σπανίως ἐν ποτε ἐκ μυρίων συμβάν κατά τινα φορὰν συντυχικὴν, ἡ κατὰ τὴν στοχασθεῖσαν τοῦ μέλλοντος προσδοκίαν, τὸν χρησμὸν ἐπαληθεύειν ἐνομίσθη ποιεῖν.

through guesswork. Many times, or rather almost all the time, they fail to match the actual outcome of events, either contradicting 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, people believe that the oracle has been fulfilled.

4.2.2 | ὁ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θρυλοῦντας ἀν ἕδοις 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, εἴ ἄρα ποτὲ εἰς ἄπαξ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν συμπεσεῖν ἔτυχε, θαυμάζοι ὡς κατὰ μαντείαν χαῖ πρόγνωσιν ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις συνέβῃ περιελθεῖν ἀριθμόν.

4.2.2 | This is why you might see people talking a lot, carving inscriptions on stones, and shouting everywhere on earth. They would say that if they happen to guess the right number, no one would want to remember it. But when something from the many predictions actually comes true, they boast about it. It's like if someone wins a lottery from many tickets; if they happen to win just once, they would be amazed that both the prediction and their guess led to the same number.

4.2.3 | οὕτω γὰρ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ μυρίων ἐπὶ μυρίοις χρησθέντων ἄπαξ ποτὲ συμβάν κατὰ τύχην· ὁ 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, ὅπηνίκα ἤνθει μὲν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ, συνειστήκει δὲ τὰ πρὶν βοώμενα, νῦν δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντα χρηστήρια, πάσης προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἡξιωμένα πρὸς τῶν

4.2.3 | For it is true that from many predictions, only one might happen by chance. This makes those who lack depth in their souls extremely amazed by the oracle. It would have been much better for them not to be foolish and to consider 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 reveal any divine work when the Greeks were thriving, while the earlier predictions were being proclaimed. Now, these oracles no longer exist, yet they are still valued with great care and effort by the local people, who respect and honor their

έπιχωρίων, τῶν δὴ πατρώοις νόμοις τε καὶ μυστηρίοις σεβόντων τε αύτὰ καὶ θεραπευόντων.

4.2.4 | καὶ τότε γοῦν μάλιστα τὸ μῆδὲν δύνασθαι ἀπηλέγχθησαν ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολέμων συμφοραῖς, ἐν αἷς βοηθεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες οἱ γενναῖοι θεοπιωδοὶ δι’ ἀμφιβολίας τῶν χρησμῶν ἥλωσαν σοφισάμενοι τοὺς πρόσφυγας, ὡσπερ οὖν κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν ἐπιδείξομεν, παριστῶντες ὅπως καὶ εἰς τὸν κατ’ ἄλλήλων πόλεμον τοὺς χρωμένοις παρώντας, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὡς ἐπλάνων διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν παίζοντες τοὺς ἑρωτῶντας, καὶ ὡς τῷ τῆς ἀσφείας σκότῳ τὴν σφῶν ἄγνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο.

4.2.5 | σκέψαι δὲ καὶ αύτὸς πυθόμενος, ὡς καὶ ἄρρωστοις πολλάκις ὢσιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑποσχόμενοι, κάπειτα πιστευθέντες ὡς δὴ θεοὶ, καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου ταύτης ἐμπορίας μεγάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰσπραξάμενοι, οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐφωράθησαν, γόητες ἄνδρες, ἀλλ’ οὐ θεοὶ διελεγχθέντες, οὐκ αἰσίας καταστροφῆς τοὺς ἡπατημένους διαλαβούσης.

4.2.6 | τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔαυτῶν συνοίκοις, τοῖς δὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν διατρίβουσιν, οἱ θαυμάσιοι μάντεις τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέσχον ἐπικουρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦντας ἀνίδοις αὐτόσε καὶ ἀναπήρους καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα λελωβημένους μυρίους; τί δὴ ποτε οὖν τοῖς μὲν ἔξω καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφικνουμένοις τὰς χρηστὰς ὑπέγραφον ἐλπίδας, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς

ancestral laws and mysteries.

4.2.4 | And then, especially during the disasters of war, it became clear 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 give 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. Once believed to be like 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 those who were misled.

4.2.6 | What can we say? 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 do they offer good hopes 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

κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ συνοίκοις, οἵς 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  
ῥᾶσον ἀν καὶ ἀπατήσαιεν, οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς  
συνήθεις, ὡς ἀν τῆς τέχνης οὐκ ἀπείρους,  
συνίστορας δὲ ὄντας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
τελουμένοις παιδιᾶς;

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, οὐδὲ  
ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιούιας κρείττον ἦν· ὥστε  
κάν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς, ταῖς δὴ  
ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ κατὰ  
τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπαιωρουμέναις, αὐτοῖς  
ἀφιερώμασι καὶ ξοάνοις φθορὰν ἔσχάτην  
καὶ πτώσεις ἀθρόας τοὺς νεώς αὐτῶν  
ὑπομεῖναι.

4.2.7 | So, in everything, it was neither divine nor better than human thought. Even in the greatest disasters, which came from the all-powerful god against the wicked, their offerings and statues suffered the worst destruction, and their temples faced complete ruin.

4.2.8 | ποῦ γάρ σοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν  
παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἔλλησιν ἔξ αἰῶνος  
βεβοημένον; ποῦ ὁ Πύθιος; ὁ Κλάριος; ποῦ  
καὶ ὁ Δωδωναῖος; τὸ μέν γε Δελφικὸν  
χρηστήριον τρίτον ὑπὸ Θρακῶν  
ἐμπρησθῆναι κατέχει λόγος, οὐδὲν τοῦ  
μαντείου εἰς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος γνῶσιν,  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ Πυθίου τὰ οἰκεῖα  
προφυλάξασθαι δεδυνημένου. ταυτὸν δὲ  
παθεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀράμη Καπιτώλιον  
ιστορεῖται κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Πτολεμαίων  
χρόνους, καθ' οὓς λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς  
Ἐστίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Ἀράμης ἐμπρησμὸν  
ὑπομεῖναι· ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα τὸ  
μέγα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ὁλυμπικὸν ἄγαλμα,  
τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς Ὁλυμπιάσι, κεραυνῷ πρὸς τοῦ  
θεοῦ βληθὲν ἀναγράφουσι· καὶ ἄλλοτέ  
φασι τὸν νεών τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Δῖος  
ἐμπρησθῆναι· καὶ τό γε Πάνθεον ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
κεραυνοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, τό τε Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
δομοίως καταφλεγθῆναι.

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 Dodonaean? 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 is said to have happened to the Capitol in Rome during the time of the Ptolemies, when it is reported that the temple of Hestia also suffered a fire. Around the time of Julius Caesar, it is said 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 was destroyed by lightning, and that the one in Alexandria was similarly set on fire.

4.2.9 | καὶ τούτων παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἐλλησιν 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 σχολῆ γ' ἀν ποτε κάν ἄλλοις ἐπαρκέσειαν.

4.2.10 | ἐν δέ τι προσθεὶς τοῖς είρημέμνοις μέγιστον ἀν εἴη καθεωρακώς κεφάλαιον, ώς ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἄγαν θεοφόρων, αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν μάλιστα ἱεροφαντῶν θεολόγων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ προφητῶν, πλείους οὐ μόνον πάλαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναγχος καθ' ἡμάς αὐτοὺς, ἐπὶ τῇ θεοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ βοηθέντες, διὰ βασάνων αἰκίας ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δικαστηρίων τὴν τὴνπᾶσαν ἔξεφηναν πλάνην ἀνδρῶν ἀπάταις γίγνεσθαι, γοητείαν τετεχνασμένην τὸ πάντα ὁμολογήσαντες· οὕτω γε καὶ τὸν πάντα τρόπον τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τὰς μεθόδους τῆς κακοτεχνίας ταῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀφεθείσαις φωναῖς ἐνεγράψαντο.

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 ἡσαν οὗτοι; μὴ δὴ νόμιζε τῶν ἀπερριψμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν τινάς· οἱ μέν γε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης καὶ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ὠρμῶντο, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν τρίβωνα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὄφρυν ἀνεσπακότων, οἵ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἡλίσκοντο πόλεως, οἱ δὴ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ὕβρεσιν ἐν

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 tried 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 only be able to help others if they had the time.

4.2.10 | And adding one more thing to what has been said, it would be very important to see that even among those who are deeply religious, especially the most sacred priests and theologians, there are many not only from long ago but also from our own time. These individuals, helping with this divine wisdom, revealed through torture and injustice 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 process of the construction and the methods of the bad craftsmanship used against them.

4.2.11 | Therefore, they also revealed the value of the destructive deception by uncovering everything, trusting in their own actions as proof of what was shown. Who were these people? Do not think they were some rejected and hidden ones; rather, they were inspired by this wonderful and noble philosophy, those around the marketplace, and others from the city of Antioch, especially those who stood out during the persecutions against us. We also know that the philosopher and

τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμῷ λαμπρυνόμενοι ἴσμεν  
δὲ καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον ὅμοῦ καὶ προφήτην  
τὰ ὄμοια 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 αἴτιους, πλάνην δὲ καὶ ἀπάτην  
ἀνδρῶν γοήτων.

4.2.13 | καὶ ἵσάν γε παρ' αὐτοῖς "Ελλησιν  
ὅλαι διὰ φιλοσοφίας διαπρεπεῖς αἰρέσεις  
ταύτης προιστάμεναι τῆς δόξης, ως οἱ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ πάντες οἱ καθεξῆς  
τοῦ Περιπάτου,, κυνικοὶ τε καὶ  
Ἐπικούρειοι, οὓς καὶ μάλιστα ἔγωγε  
έθαύμασα, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων 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 ἀπήλεγξαν, 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 ᾖ μίαν ἐνὸς τούτων παράθεσιν  
ἀπαντῶσαν πρὸς τὰ Χρυσίππω περὶ  
εἰμαρμένης ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν μαντείων  
προρρήσεως κατασκευασθέντα. γράφει δ'  
οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃ συγγραφεὺς, ἀπελέγχων  
ὅτι κακῶς ἐκ τῶν μαντείων σημειοῦται τὴν

prophet remained the same as those mentioned earlier in Miletus.

4.2.12 | Someone gathering these things and even more could say that they are neither gods nor even demons, those responsible for the oracles in the cities. Instead, they are a deception and trickery of men who practice magic.

4.2.13 | Indeed, among them, all the Greek schools of thought were guided by this philosophy, including 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 change their beliefs; instead, they showed that the oracles and 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 clearly shown the downfall of the oracles—I believe that the testimony of those mentioned is enough for now. I will present one of these examples related to Chrysippus about fate, which was based on 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

είμαρμένην, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μαντεῖα διαιψεύδονται, καὶ ὅτι σπανίως αὐτοῖς ἐκ συντυχίας ποτέ τινα συμβαίνει, ὅτι τε ἄχρηστος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβῆς ἡ πρόρρησις. ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἡ 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 εἰναί φησιν, εἰ μὴ πάντα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης περιείχοντο· δικαὶος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῆς εὐηθείας μεστόν ἔστιν. ὡς γὰρ ἐναργοῦς ὅντος τοῦ πάσας ἀποβαίνειν τὰς τῶν καλουμένων μάντεων προρρήσεις, ή ὡς μᾶλλον ἀν ὑπὸ τινος τούτου συγχωρηθέντος, τοῦ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην, καὶ οὐχὶ ὅμοιώς 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 ἐκ τοῦ μαντικὴν εἶναι δεικνύναι βούλεται, τὸ δὲ εἶναι μαντικὴν οὐκ ἀν ἄλλως ἀποδεῖξαι δύναιτο, εἰ μὴ προλάβοι τὸ πάντα συμβαίνειν καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

4.3.3 | ποῖος δ' ἀν μοχθηρότερος τρόπος ἀποδείξεως τούτου γένοιτο; τὸ γὰρ ἀποβαίνειν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν ὡν προλέγουσιν οἱ μάντεις, οὐ τοῦ μαντικὴν ἐπιστήμην εἶναι σημεῖον ἀν εἴη, ἀλλὰ τοῦ

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 | He also provides another proof in the previously mentioned book. He does not claim that the predictions of the oracles are true unless everything is included within fate. This idea is filled with 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—that not everything comes true from what was predicted—most of them actually show their clarity.

4.3.2 | Thus, Chrysippus has presented his proof to us, building each part through mutual support. He wants to show that everything happens according to fate to prove that prophecy exists. However, he could not prove that prophecy exists in any other way unless he first assumes that everything happens according to fate.

4.3.3 | But what could be a more miserable way to prove this? The fact that something happens according to the clarity of what the oracles say would not be a sign of prophetic knowledge. Instead, it would just

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 ίατρὸν τὸν ἀναιροῦντα τοὺς πλείους τῶν θεραπευομένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἔνα δέ ποτε διασῶσαι δυνηθέντα· οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐπιστήμην λέγομεν τὴν μὴ πάντα ἡ τὰ γε πλεῖστα τῶν οἰκείων 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 ἐστοῖς βοηθοῦντες ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον χρείαις, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ τε ἴδιᾳ ποτὲ χρώμενοι καὶ συμβουλῇ καὶ συνεργείᾳ τῶν 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 είρημένοις 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 προκειμένου τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ πάντοτε, μηδ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης, ὅταν τις καί ποτε τυγχάνῃ, τύχης ἔργον καλεῖν προειλήφαμεν οἶ

mean that the outcomes happen to match 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 consider something to be 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 lives of all people. These same individuals who claim to have the art of prophecy do not rely on it to help themselves with their everyday needs. Instead, 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 idea that what we have called prophecy does not exist, we will provide a fuller explanation later, referring to Epicurus and related topics. For now, we will add this to what has been said: when those called seers sometimes speak the truth in their predictions, it is not because of knowledge but rather due to chance. It is not that they never happen to be right, but rather that they are not always right, nor mostly so, and not 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

διειληφότες τὰς ὑφ' ἔκαστον ὄνομα  
τεταγμένας ἐναργεῖς ἔννοίας ἔαυτῶν —  
ἔπειτα εἰ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ἦν ἀληθὲς τὸ  
δὴ τὴν μαντικὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀπάντων  
εἶναι θεωρητικήν τε καὶ προαγορευτικήν,  
τὸ μὲν πάντα καθ' εἴμαρμένην εἶναι  
συνήγετο ἀν οὕτως, τὸ μέντοι χρειῶδες  
αὐτῆς καὶ βιωφελές οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἐδείκνυτο·  
διὸ καὶ μάλιστα δοκεῖ Χρύσιππος ὑμνεῖν  
τὴν μαντικήν.

4.3.7 | τί γὰρ ὅφελος ἡμῖν ἦν προμανθάνειν  
τὰ πάντως ἐσόμενα δυσχερῆ, ἢ οὐδὲ  
προφυλάξασθαι δυνατὸν ἀν εἴη; τὰ γὰρ  
καθ' εἴμαρμένην γινόμενα πῶς ἀν τις  
φυλάξασθαι δύναιτο; ὥστ' οὐδὲν ὅφελος  
ἡμῖν τῆς μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸς  
κακοῦ τινος ἐγίνετο ἀν αὐτῇ, 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 πέφυκεν ἀνθρωπος χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
προσδοκωμένοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
κακοῖς ἀνιᾶσθαι. ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῦτα μὲν  
οὐ πάνυ τι περὶ ἔαυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι πρὶν  
ἀκοῦσαι κατελπίζομεν· τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ μᾶλλον  
ἄπαντες, ὡς εἴπειν, προσδοκῶμεν, διὰ τὴν  
φυσικὴν οἰκείωσιν πρὸς αὐτά· οἵ μὲν γὰρ  
πολλοὶ καὶ μείζω τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι  
κατηλπίκασιν.

4.3.9 | ἔξ οὖ συμβαίνει τὸ τὴν μὲν τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν προαγόρευσιν μὴ ἐπιτείνειν πάνυ  
τι τὴν χαρὰν, διὰ τὸ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς  
προαγορεύσεως ἔκαστον ἔξ ἔαυτοῦ τὰ

situation. Furthermore, even if it were true in theory that prophecy concerns all future events, everything would be determined by fate, and its usefulness and benefit would never be demonstrated. This is why Chrysippus seems to praise prophecy the most.

4.3.7 | For what good would it do us to know all the difficult things that will happen, which we would not even be able to avoid? How could anyone protect themselves from things that happen by fate? Therefore, there is no benefit to us from prophecy; instead, it would bring harm, causing people unnecessary sorrow about the difficulties that will inevitably come.

4.3.8 | For no one would say that predicting future good things brings the same joy, since a person is not naturally inclined to rejoice over expected good things as much as to feel sadness over bad ones. Besides, we do not expect much for ourselves until we hear it; however, 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 | From this, it follows that predicting good things does not greatly increase joy, because each person tends to hope for better things on their own, even without

κρείττω προσδοκᾶν, ἥ ἐπ' ὄλιγον ἐπιτείνειν τῇ δοκούσῃ βεβαιότητι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μειοῦν τὴν χαρὰν, ὅταν ἔλάττω τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἀκουσθῇ· τὴν δὲ τῶν κακῶν προαγόρευσιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπόστρεπτον αὐτῶν φύσει, καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐνίοτε προλέγεσθαι, μεγάλως συνταράττειν.

predictions. 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, predicting bad things, because they are naturally repulsive and sometimes exceed 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 εἴ 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 predictions are 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 reveal 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 ὅντα διατείνειν τὴν εἰμαρμένην, πάλιν τὸ τῆς μαντικῆς χρήσιμον ἀναιρεῖται· φυλαξόμεθα γάρ εἰ καθείμαρται, καὶ οὐ φυλαξόμεθα δῆλον ὡς εἴ μὴ καθείμαρται φυλάξασθαι, κάν πάντες οἱ μάντεις τὸ ἐσόμενον προαγορεύωσιν ἡμῖν.

4.3.11 | For if someone were to say that fate controls everything, then the usefulness of prophecy would be taken away again. 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 φυλάξωνται, μὴ δυνηθῆναι.

4.3.12 | Indeed, both Oedipus and Alexander, the son of Priam, as well as Chryseippus himself, say that their parents planned many things so that they would be killed, in order to protect themselves from the evil that was foretold to them.

4.3.13 | οὕτως οὐδὲν ὄφελος ούδε αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν κακῶν προαγορεύσεως φησιν εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αἴτιαν.

4.3.13 | Thus, he says that there is no benefit for them from the prediction of evils because of the cause of fate. This

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ περιουσίας εἰρήσθω, πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχρεῖον τῆς μαντικῆς.”

4.3.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ φιλόσοφος. σύ γε μὴν παρὰ σαυτῷ σκέψαι πῶς “Ἐλληνες ὄντες, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων 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.

4.3.15 | καὶ μὴν, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθῆ τὰ θρυλούμενα περὶ τῆς τῶν χρηστηρίων παραδοξοποιίας, εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τούσδε καταπλαγῆναι Ἐλληνας ὄντας, καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἀκριβῶς ἔξεπισταμένους, μηδέν τε τῶν γνωσθῆναι ἀξίων ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθεμένους.

4.3.16 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα συνάγειν είς ἀνασκευὴν τῆς περὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων ὑποθέσεως πλείστη τις ἦν περιουσίᾳ· ἀλλ’ οὐ ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν παρόντα μεθιδεῦσαι λόγον, ἀλλ’ ἥπερ ὠρμήθημεν ἀρξάμενοι, ἀληθῆ λέγειν δόντες τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προϊσταμένους, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς δόμολογουμένων, μαντεῖά τε εἶναι ἀληθῆ καὶ πυθόχρηστα θεοπρόπια τὰ δηλουμένα φασκόντων, τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν δηλουμένων ἔκφράνσιν καταμάθωμεν.

## Section 4

4.4.1 | Οἶμαι δὲ παντί των εἶναι σαφὲς ὡς ὁ

should be mentioned as an extra point, not only as being without foundation, but also as being useless for prophecy.

4.3.14 | These things, indeed, the philosopher says. But you should think for yourself about how the Greeks, having received their education from a young age, understood the traditions about all the gods more clearly. All were Aristotelian, Cynics, and Epicureans, and those who thought like them laughed at the prophecies that were proclaimed among the Greeks.

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, since they were Greeks themselves and knew their traditions well, not putting any of the important things to be known in a lesser position.

4.3.16 | Therefore, bringing together these things and others like them to challenge the idea about oracles would take a lot of effort. But it doesn’t seem to me that the current argument should go in that direction. Instead, as we were encouraged to start, we should speak the truth about those who guide them, so that from what is agreed upon among them, we can learn that the prophecies are true and the messages from the gods are trustworthy.

4.4.1 | I think it is clear to everyone that

τῶν προκειμένων ἔλεγχος οὐ μικρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγιστον ὅμοιον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον περιέχει μέρος τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ὑποθέσεως. εἴ γάρ οἱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πανταχῇ πάντες, Ἐλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, δειχθεῖν μὴ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπεγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἥτοι τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα δοξάζοντες, ἢ ὑπό τινων μοχθηρῶν καὶ θεομάχων πνεμάτων δαιμόνων τε πονηρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τυφλῶν δίκην ὥδε κάκεῖσε περιηγμένοι, καὶ βυθῷ κακίας πρὸς αὐτῶν καθειλικυσμένοι· καὶ τί γάρ ἄλλ' ἢ δαιμονῶντες;) πῶς οὐ μειζόνως ἀν ὄφθείη τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, πάντας πανταχόθεν ἐκ τῆς πατροπαραδότου πλάνης τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων καταδυναστείας διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φωνῆς ἀνακελημένους, καὶ τοὺς μέχρις ἐσχατιῶν γῆς οἰκοῦντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς ἐξ αἰῶνος κατασχούσης τὸν πάντα βίον ἀπάτης λελυτρωμένους, ὥστε ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο λελύσθαι μὲν καὶ καθηρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ναοῖς καὶ ξοάνοις τὰ πεπολαιωμένα τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων πλάνης ἰδρύματα, ἵερὰ δὲ ὄντως σεμνὰ καὶ εὔσεβείας διδασκαλεῖα τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ δημιουργῷ τῶν δλων ἐν μέσαις πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνὰ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἀνεγηγέρθαι, θυσίας τε τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς εὐχαῖς δσίων διαθέσει κεκαθαρμένη κακίας ἀπάστης, ἐν τε ἀπαθείᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀναλήψει, κατὰ τὰ θεῖα καὶ σωτηριώδη παιδεύματα, ἐξ ἀπάντων δσημέραι διηνεκῶς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τὰς δὴ καὶ μόνας ἀρεστὰς οὕσας καὶ προσηγεῖς θυσίας τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ.

4.4.2 | τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἶημεν ἐν ταύτῳ δεδειχότες καὶ ὅτι μετὰ

examining the matters at hand is not a small task, but rather a very important 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 instead praised what does not exist as if it does, or were led by wicked spirits and evil demons, being blind and dragged down into deep wickedness, what else could this be but being possessed by demons? How much greater would the mystery of the good news seem, calling everyone from the inherited deception of the demons' power through the voice of our Savior, and freeing people living at 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 goodness 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.

4.4.2 | With these things in mind, how could we not show that we are thinking

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.  
ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἄλις, ἀπέτον δὲ λοιπὸν  
τῶν προκειμένων.

with sound judgment and not with foolishness? We have become rebels against inherited superstition, loving what is better with a just and true judgment, and we have become lovers of true and genuine piety. But that is enough about these matters; let us now turn to the issues 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, είδέναι φασὶ τοῦτον  
εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι πρῶτον τε ὅντα καὶ  
πάντων θεῶν πατέρα τε καὶ βασιλέα, μεθ'  
ὅν γένος τὸ θεῶν ὑπάρχειν δεύτερον,  
ἐπόμενον δὲ τὸ δαιμόνων, τὸ δὲ ἡρώων  
τέταρτον· ἂ πάντα τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος  
ἴδεας μετασχόντα πῆ μὲν ἄγειν, πῆ δὲ  
ἄγεσθαι, καὶ φῶς ἄπαν προσαγορεύεσθαι  
τὸ τοιόνδε φωτὸς μετοχῇ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
χείρονος ούσίας τὸ κακὸν ἡγεῖσθαι φασι·  
τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι μιχθηρῶν δαιμόνων γένος,  
φίλω μὲν οὐδαμῶς χρώμενον τάγαθῷ,  
δύναμίν γε μὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων φύσει  
κεκτημένον πρώτην, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς  
κρείττονιν 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 everything into four categories. First, 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, with some leading and others being led, and all are referred to as light because of their participation in it. However, they also say that the essence of what is worse is evil; this is the nature of wicked demons, which do not relate to what is good at all, 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  
τρόπον θεοῖς μὲν οὐρανὸν 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

4.5.2 | Having made this distinction, they say that the gods are assigned to the heavens and the ether up to the moon; demons are associated with 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

ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας· τρίτον τὰς τῶν ἡρώων ψυχὰς, τέταρτον τοὺς φαύλους καὶ πονηροὺς ἀπομειλίσσεσθαι δαίμονᾶς.

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 ξιάνων ἐνεργούσας δυνάμεις ὅποιας χρῆν ἀποφαίνεσθαι σκοπεῖν, πότερα θεοὺς ἢ δαίμονας, καὶ εἴτε φαύλους εἴτε ἀγαθοὺς, 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 γάρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῖα λόγια οὐδὲ ὅλως ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν' ὄνομάζει δαίμονα, πάντας δὲ πονηροὺς εἶναι τοὺς τῆς λήξεως ταύτης καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας μετειληφότας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτερον θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως πλὴν ἵνα τὸν πάντων αἴτιον· τὰς δὲ ἀστείας καὶ ἀγαθὰς δυνάμεις, ἄτε τὴν φύσιν γεννητὰς οὕσας καὶ πολλῷ τὸν ἀγέν νῆτον καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιητὴν θεὸν ἀφυστερούσας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τῶν δαιμόνων μοχθηροῦ γένους ἀφωρισμένας, οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε δαίμονας ἀποκαλεῖν ἀξιοῦ, μέσας δὲ οὕσας θεοῦ καὶ δαιμόνων εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ μέσῃ προσηγορίᾳ ἀγγέλους θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματα λειτουργικὰ, δυνάμεις τε θείας καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καί τισιν ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις φερωνύμως τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν ὄνομάζειν εἴωθε, τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας, εἰ δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς προσήκει τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν ἔξειπεῖν, οὐχ ἥπερ Ἐλλησι δοκεῖ παρὰ τὸ δαήμονας εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμονας, ἀλλ' ἡ παρὰ τὸ δειμαίνειν, ὅπερ ἔστι φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν, δαίμονάς τινας προσφυῶς ὄνομάζεσθαι.

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, which is to be afraid and to frighten; thus, some are called demons.

4.5.5 | τάς γέ τοι θείας καὶ ἀγαθὰς δυνάμεις, ὡσπερ οὖν τοῦ τρόπου, οὐτωσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀλλοτρίας τυγχανεῖν ἐπεὶ καὶ πάντων ἀν εἴη παραλογώτατον τὰς μήτε τὴν προαίρεσιν μήτε τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου φύσιν δομοίας 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 ὄρθως αὐτῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν εἴτε καὶ μή. εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμι παρ’ ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν δηλουμένων προφέρειν, εῦ οἶδ’ ὅτι μηδ’ ἀνεπίληπτον παρέξω τοῖς φιλεγκλήμοσι τὸν λόγον. διόπερ αὐτὸς ούδεν οἴκοθεν είπὼν αὐθίς ταῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀποχρήσομαι μαρτυρίαις.

4.6.2 | μυρίων δὲ ὄντων παρ’ Ἑλλησι λογογράφων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων, πρὸ πάντων ἐπιτήδειον είς τὰ προκείμενα ἐγκρίνω τὸν δαιμόνων φίλον αὐτὸν ἔκεινον, δς δὴ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γεγονὼς ταῖς καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐλλαμπρύωεται ψευδηγορίαις. μάλιστα γάρ φιλοσόφων οὗτος τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς δοκεῖ καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ οἷς φησι θεοῖς ὡμιληκέναι, ὑπέρ τε τούτων πρεσβεῦσαι, καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον διηρευνηκέναι.

4.6.3 | οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας” συναγωγὴν ἐποιήσατο χρησμῶν τοῦ τε

4.5.5 | Indeed, the divine and good powers, just like their nature, receive a name that is different from the term 'demon.' It would be the most unreasonable thing 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 we can 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 enjoy arguing. Therefore, I will not share 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 find the one who is friendly to demons particularly relevant to our topic, as he spreads false teachings about us. This person seems to have interacted with both demons and those he calls gods, and he has not only supported them but has also investigated their matters with much greater accuracy.

4.6.3 | This person, therefore, in what he wrote, "On Philosophy from Reason," created a collection of oracles from Apollo

Ἄπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν τε καὶ  
ἀγαθῶν δαιμόνων, οὓς μάλιστα  
έκλεξάμενος αὐτῷ ἡγήσατο ἱκανούς εἶναι  
εῖς τε ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν θεολογουμένων  
ἀρετῆς εῖς τε προτροπὴν ἡς αὐτῷ φίλον  
όνομάζειν θεοσοφίας.

and the other gods and good demons. He specifically chose them and considered them 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  
έγκριθέντων καὶ μνήμης ὀξιωθέντων  
λογίων διακρῖναι 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 considered worthy of remembrance, it is good to distinguish the oracles and to think about 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 ἔντεῦθεν  
ώς ἂν ἐκ μόνου βεβαίου τὰς ἔλπίδας τοῦ  
σωθῆναι ἀρυτόμενος, οἷς δὴ καὶ  
μεταδώσεις μηδὲν ὑφαιρούμενος. ἐπεὶ  
κάγατοὺς θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι ώς 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 ḥηθέντων  
διετήρησα, εύλαβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τούτων  
ἀσέβειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἱεροσυλίας  
τιμωρὸν ἐπομένην δίκην.

4.7.1 | Surely, the one who relies only 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 preserved the pure meaning of what was said, being more careful of the impiety that comes from these things than of the punishment that follows from sacrilege.

4.7.2 | ἔξει δὲ ἡ παροῦσα συναγωγὴ  
πολλῶν μὲν τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν  
δογμάτων ἀναγραφὴν, ως οἱ θεοὶ τάληθὲς  
ἔχειν ἐθέσπισαν ἐπ' ὄλιγον δὲ καὶ τῆς  
χρηστικῆς ἀψόμεθα πραγματείας, ἥτις

4.7.2 | "This gathering will include a record of many teachings about philosophy, as the gods have established the truth. For a brief time, we will also touch on practical matters, which will help both

πρός τε τὴν θεωρίαν ὄνήσει καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
ὅλην κάθαρσιν τοῦ βίου. ἦν δ' ἔχει  
ώφέλειαν ἢ συναγωγὴ μάλιστα εἴσονται  
ὅσοι περ τὴν ἀληθειαν ὡδίναντες ηὔξαντό  
ποτε τῆς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιφανείας τυχόντες  
ἀνάπτασιν λαβεῖν τῆς ἀπορίας διὰ τῶν  
λεγόντων ἀξιόπιστον διδασκαλίαν."  
Τοιούτοις χρησάμενος προοιμίοις  
μαρτύρεται καὶ προκαταγγέλλει μὴ εἰς  
πολλοὺς ἐκφῆναι τὰ λεχθησόμενα, λέγων  
οὕτως

understanding and the overall cleansing of life. If this gathering is helpful, those who have sought 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 share what will be said with many, saying this:

## Section 8

4.8.1 | Σὺ δ' εἴπερ τι καὶ ταῦτα πειρῶ μὴ  
δημοσιεύειν, μηδ' ἄχρι καὶ τῶν βεβήλων  
ρίπτειν αὐτὰ δόξης ἔνεκα ἢ κέρδους ἢ τινος  
ἄλλης οὐκ εύαγοῦς κολακείας. κίνδυνος  
γὰρ οὐ σοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐντολὰς  
παραβαίνοντι ταύτας, ἀλλὰ κάμοὶ ῥᾳδίως  
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 share them with the unworthy for the sake of reputation, profit, or any other unholy flattery. 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 dedicated their lives to the salvation of the soul should be supported.

4.8.2 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει "Ταῦτά μοι  
ώς ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα κρύπτειν· ούδὲ  
γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ φανερῶς περὶ αὐτῶν  
ἐθέσπισαν, ἀλλὰ δι' αἰνιγμάτων."

4.8.2 | And after discussing other matters, he adds, "These things I must hide as more secret than secrets; for the gods have not revealed themselves openly, but through riddles."

4.8.3 | Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοιαῦτα ὁ λόγος  
ἀνετείνατο, φέρε λοιπὸν διὰ τῶν ἐνθέων  
καὶ πυθοχρήστων λογίων σκεψώμεθα  
ποδαπάς εἶναι τὰς θεολογουμένας ἀφανεῖς  
δυνάμεις προσήκει λογίζεσθαι· γένοιτο γὰρ  
ἄν καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔλεγχος ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων  
λόγων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

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 talked about in theology; for there could also be a challenge from a person's own words and actions.

4.8.4 | ὁ δὴ οὖν προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἵς 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 δύολογῶν ἀπαντας, οἵς ‘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’ ᾧν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας συνάγων, πῶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων χρῆναι θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς διδάσκει. ὃ καὶ παρατίθεται γράφων ᾧδε

4.8.4 | Therefore, the man who has been made clear in these matters, to whom he wrote “On the Philosophy from Words,” presents oracles of Apollo, instructing that sacrifices be made through living beings, not only to the lesser spirits or local powers, but also to the heavenly and celestial beings.

4.8.5 | In other places, he agrees that not all spirits are gods, to whom the Greeks offered sacrifices of blood and irrational animals; he says it is neither 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 related to the Philosophy from Words, explaining how Apollo teaches that one should serve the gods. He also presents this by writing the following.

## Section 9

4.9.1 | "Ἀκολούθως μετὰ τὰ ῥηθέντα περὶ εύσεβείας ἡ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν ἔχρησαν ἀναγράφοιμεν ἀν., ᾧν ἐκ μέρους κάν τοῖς περὶ εύσεβείας φθάσαντες παρατεθείκαμεν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄμα καὶ διαιρεσιν τῆς τῶν θεῶν περιέχων τάξεως,

4.9.2 | ἐργάζευ, φίλε, τήνδε θεόσδοτον ἐς τρίβον ἐλθών, μηδ’ ἐπιλήθεο τῶν μακάρων, θυσίας ἐναρίζων πή μὲν ἐπιχθονίοις, πῆ δ’

4.9.1 | Following what has been said about piety, we would write down what was said about their service, which we have partially included in our discussion about piety. The oracle of Apollo serves as 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. Offer sacrifices to those on earth, to

ούρανίοις, ποτὲ δ' αἴθρησαύτοῖσιν  
βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἡέρος ὑγροπόροιο, ἥδε  
θαλασσαίοις καὶ ὑποχθονίοισιν ἄπασι  
·πάντα γὰρ ἐνδέδεται φύσεως μεστώμασι  
τῶνδε.ζῷων δ' ὡς θέμις ἔστι τελευτῆσαι  
καθαγισμοὺςάείσω, δέλτοις δὲ χαράσσετε  
χρησμὸν ἔμετο), τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχθονίοις, τοὺς  
δ' οὐρανίοισι θεοῖσι·φαιδρὰ μὲν οὐρανίοις,  
χθονίοις δ' ἐναλίγκια χροιῇ.τῶν χθονίων  
διάειρε τριχῇ θυσίας ἐναρίζων, νερτερίων  
κατάθαπτε, καὶ εἰς βόθρον αἷμα ἵαλλε, χεῦ  
δὲ μέλι νύμφας τε Διωνύσοιό τε  
δῶρα.ὅσσοι δ' ἀμφὶ γένην πωτώμενοι αἱὲν  
ἔασι, τοῖσδε φόνου πλήσας πάντη  
πυριπληθέα βωμὸνέν πυρὶ βάλλε δέμας  
θύσας ζῷοι ποτανοῦ, καὶ μέλι φυράσας  
Δημῶν ἀλφίτῳ ἐνθευ, ἀτμούς τε λιβάνοιο  
καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἐπίβαλλε.εὗτε δὲ πάρ  
ψαμάθοισιν ἵης, γλαυκὴν ἄλα χεύασκάκ  
κεφαλῆς θυσίαζε, καὶ εἰς βαθὺ κῦμα  
θαλάσσηςζῶν ὅλον προίαλλε. τελευτῆσας  
τάδε πάνταές πλατὺν ἡερίων χορὸν ἔρχεο  
Οὐρανιώνων.ἀστραίοις δῆπειτα καὶ  
αἴθερίοις ἐπὶ πᾶσιναῖμα μὲν ἐκ λαμῶν  
κρουνώμασιν ἀμφὶ θυηλὰς λιμνάζειν, τὰ δὲ  
γυνία θεοῖς ἐν δαιτὶ πονεῖσθαι.ἄκρα  
Ἡφαίστῳ δόμεναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
πάσασθαι, ἀτμοῖσιν λαροῖσιν ἐνιπλήσαντες  
ἄπανταήρα ἡευσταλέον· ἐπὶ δ' εύχας  
πέμπε θεοῖσιν.'

those in heaven, and sometimes to the bright rulers of the sky and the moist air, as well as 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 let the earthly ones have a similar color. For the earthly ones, divide the sacrifices into three parts: bury the lower parts, 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 flames. 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' ὀλίγα ἐπεξηγεῖται τὸν χρησμὸν ἐρμηνεύων ὃδε "Αἱ δὲ θυσίαι ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν διαίρεσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι. ὅντων γὰρ ὑποχθονίων καὶ ἐπιχθονίων θεῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποχθονίων καὶ νερτερίων καλουμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπιχθονίων καὶ χθονίων κληθέντων θεῶν, κοινῶς μὲν τούτοις ιερεῖα τετράποδα

4.9.3 | And after a little while, he explains the oracle, interpreting it as follows: "The sacrifices are to be done in this way according to the previously mentioned division of the gods. There are gods of the underworld and gods of the earth, with the underworld gods and the lower ones being one group, and the earth gods and the earthly ones being another. For these, it is

μέλανα θύειν παρακελεύεται, περὶ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς θυσίας ἔξαλλάττει· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιχθονίοις σφάζειν ἐπὶ βωμῶν, τοῖς δὲ ὑποχθονίοις ἐπὶ βόθρων παρακελεύεται, καὶ μέντοι τοι καὶ θάπτειν τούτοις θύσαντας τὰ σώματα.

generally commanded to sacrifice black four-footed animals, but the way of the sacrifice is different: 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 γὰρ κοινὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τετράποδα αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπήγαγε ξυνὰ πέλει χθονίων καὶ ὑποχθονίων τάδε μούνων, τετράποδα χθονίοις ἀρνῶν νεοπηγέα γυῖα. τοῖς δὲ ἀερίοις πτηνὰ θύειν παρακελεύεται ὀλοκαυτοῦντας καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ τ(?)ν βωμῶν περιάγοντας· τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις πτηνὰ μὲν, ζῶντα δὲ ἀφιέναι εἰς τὰ κύματα, μέλανα τὴν χρόαν ὄντα. φησὶ γὰρ τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς τὰ πετεινὰ, θαλασσαίοις δὲ κελαινά,

4.9.4 | "For when asked about these common offerings, he provided the following: 'These are the sacrifices for the earth and underworld gods: four-footed animals, specifically 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, specifically those that are black in color. The birds are meant 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 ὄντων ἀφιεροῦν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ἐσθίειν· ἐκ μόνων γὰρ τούτων βρωτέον τέον σοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μή. οὓς δὲ εἴρηκεν ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει οὐρανίους, τούτους οὓς ἐνταῦθα ἀστραίους.

4.9.5 | He says that for all the gods, except for the earth gods, the birds are meant 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. You should eat only from these, but not from the others. Those he mentioned in the division as heavenly are the starry ones here.

4.9.6 | ἄρ' οὖν δεήσει ἔξηγήσασθαι τῶν θυσιῶν τὰ σύμβολα τῷ εύσυνέτῳ δῆλα; τετράποδα μὲν γὰρ τοῖς χθονίοις καὶ χερσαῖς τῷ γὰρ ὁμοίῳ χαίρει τὸ ὄμοιον. χθόνιον δὲ τὸ πρόβατον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

4.9.6 | Then, will it be necessary to explain the symbols of the sacrifices clearly for understanding? For the four-footed animals are for the earth gods and the land gods; like rejoices in like. The ram is earthly and

Δήμητρι φίλον, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν  
ἔκφανσιν 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.

therefore dear to Demeter, and in the heavens, it brings forth the fruits from the earth with the sun. As for the black ones, this is because the nature of the earth is dark. And three: these represent the three symbols of the physical and earthly.

4.9.7 | τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπιχθονίοις ἄνω ἐπὶ  
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 ἱερείᾳ πρόσφορα.  
τοῖς δὲ ἀερίοις λευκά· πεφάτισται γάρ καὶ  
ὸ ἀὴρ φύσεως ὡν διαφανοῦς. οὐρανίοις δὲ  
καὶ αἰθερίοις τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων κουφότερα,  
ἄπερ ἐστὶν ἄκρα, οἵς κοινωνεῖν τῆς θυσίας  
δεῖ. δοτῆρες γάρ οὗτοι ἀγαθῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
τῶν κακῶν κωλυτῆρες.' Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας τοῦ  
Θαυμαστοῦ θεοσόφου.

4.9.7 | "For the earth gods, it is necessary to sacrifice on the altars above; for they turn back to the earth. For the underworld gods, sacrifices are made in a pit and in a grave, where they dwell. The birds are for the other gods, since all are divine. 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; 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, and one should share in the sacrifice. For these are givers of good things, while the others are preventers of evils." Such are the teachings from the wonderful wisdom of the philosopher.

## Section 10

4.10.1 | Φέρε δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐναντίας  
τούτοις φωνὰς συγκρίνωμεν, ἃς τέθειται  
ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμφύχων  
ἀποχῆς." ἔνθα δὴ ὁρθῷ λογισμῷ  
κινούμενος πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὄμολογεῖ μὴ  
δεῖν τὸ καθόλου μηδὲν μήτε θυμᾶν μήτε  
θύειν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ταῖς μετ'  
αὐτὸν θείαις καὶ οὐρανίαις δυνάμεσιν.

4.10.1 | Come, then, let us compare the opposing views of the same topic, as presented in what he wrote, "On the Departure of Living Beings." There, indeed, using sound 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

4.10.2 | Then, moving on, he criticizes the beliefs of many, saying that it is not right to

φάσκων θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς ταῖς διὰ  
ζῷων 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 ἂν εἴη τὸν ἔαυτοῦ θεὸν  
ἀπελέγχων· προστάττειν γάρ ἀρτίως  
ἔφησε τὸν χρησμὸν μὴ μόνον τοῖς  
ὑποχθονίοις καὶ ἐπιχθονίοις θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοῖς ἀερίοις οὐρανίοις τε καὶ αἰθερίοις  
ζωοθυτεῖν.

4.10.3 | καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ  
τὸν Θεόφραστον μαρτυρόμενος θεοῖς μὲν  
οὐ φησιν ἀρμόζειν τὴν διὰ ζῷων 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, οἵς τὰς διὰ ζῷων  
θυσίας πανδημὶ πάντες ἄρχοντές τε καὶ  
ἄρχόμενοι κατά τε πόλεις καὶ χώρας  
ἐκτελοῦσι· τούτους γάρ οὐκ ἄλλο τι  
τυγχάνειν ἡγεῖσθαι χρή κατὰ τοὺς  
εἱρημένους ἢ δαίμονας.

4.10.4 | εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι φασιν αὐτοὺς,  
καὶ πῶς, εἴπερ ἀνόσιος ἦν καὶ μυσαρὰ καὶ  
ἐπιβλαβῆς ἡ δι' αἰμάτων θυσία, ἀγαθοὶ ἀν  
εἴλεν οἱ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε χαίροντες; εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ  
μόναις ταῖς τοιαύταις δὴ θυσίαις, καθ'  
ὑπερβολὴν δὲ ὡμότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας  
φανεῖν ἀνδροκτασίαις καὶ  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἡδόμενοι, πῶς οὐκ  
ἀντικρυς εἴλεν ἀν μιαιφόνοι, καὶ πάσης  
ώμοτητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας οίκετοι, καὶ  
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πονηροὶ δαίμονες;

4.10.5 | τούτων δὲ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν

think that the gods enjoy sacrifices made from living beings. He claims that killing animals is the most unjust act of all, and it is both impious and repulsive, 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 etherial gods to receive sacrifices of living beings.

4.10.3 | And Apollo says such things; but Theophrastus, in his testimony, does not say that the sacrifice of living beings is suitable for the gods, but only for the spirits. So, according to his and Theophrastus' words, Apollo is a spirit, not a god. Furthermore, all the gods recognized by all nations, to whom sacrifices of living beings are commonly made by both rulers and subjects in cities and regions, should be regarded as nothing other than spirits, based on what has been stated.

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 sacrifices truly 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 more than wicked spirits?

4.10.5 | Now that we have presented this

είληφότων οἷμαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῶν δηλουμένων ἀναχωρήσεως τὸ εὔλογον ἀποδεδόσθαι. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ὅσιον μηδὲ εὐσεβὲς, μὴ ὅτι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεβασμίαν προσηγορίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω τιμὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα καταβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώποις τὴν βασίλειον ἐπιειμένου ἀξίαν λησταῖς καὶ τοιχωρύχοις περιτιθέναι.

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 ἔπαγομεθα· νῷ δὲ πάσης κεκαθαρμένῳ κακίας καὶ σώματι τὸν ἐξ ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κόσμον πάσης λαμπρότερον ὄντα στολῆς περιβεβλημένῳ, δόγμασί τε ὄρθοῖς καὶ θεοπρεπέσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις διαθέσει γνησίᾳ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παραδοθεῖσαν εὐσέβειαν μέχρι καὶ θανάτου φυλάττειν εύχόμεθα.

4.10.7 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ἡμῖν προδιηρθρωμένων ὥρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῶν είρημένων χωρεῖν. πρῶτα δὲ πάντων διελθεῖν εὔλογον δι' ὃν ὁ προειρημένος συγγραφεὺς ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε 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 εὐσέβειαν.

evidence, I believe it is reasonable to step back 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 | 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 passed down to us by our savior until death.

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 makes sense to review what the previously mentioned author wrote in his work, "On the Departure of Living Beings." He states 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 not in line with 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 εὐθύς ἔστιν ἀκάθαρτον. διὸ οὐδὲ λόγος τούτω ὃ κατὰ φωνὴν οἴκεῖος, οὐδὲ ἔνδον, ὅταν πάθει ψυχῆς ἢ 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 ὑμνον 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 come together 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 ἔκγόνοις, νοητοῖς δὲ θεοῖς, ἥδη καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὑμνωδίαν προσθετέον. ἀπαρχὴ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ὃν δέδωκεν ἡ θυσία, καὶ δι’ ὡς ἡμῶν τρέφει καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι συνέχει τὴν οὐσίαν. ὡς οὖν γεωργὸς δραγμάτων ἀπάρχεται καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἀπαρξώμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐννοιῶν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καλῶν, εύχαριστοῦντες 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. ἀδελφὸς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ θυσιῶν ὃ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος γράφειν τοιάδε λέγεται

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," which is sung by many, and it is said that the Tyanean Apollonius wrote such things.

## Section 13

4.13.1 | "Οὕτως τοίνυν μάλιστα ἀν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν πιοιτο

4.13.1 | Therefore, if anyone is to take proper care of the divine, I think they

τοῦ θείου, τυγχάνοι τε αύτόθεν ἔλεων τε καὶ εύμενοῦς αύτοῦ παρ' ὅντινα οὖν μόνος ἀνθρώπων, εἰ θεῷ μὲν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἐνί τε ὅντι κεκωρισμένῳ 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, οὐδ' ἔστιν ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνίησι γῆ φυτὸν, ἢ τρέψει ζῶον, ἢ ἄλλο, ὡς μὴ πρόσεστί γέ τι μίασμα·) μόνῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ τῷ μὴ διὰ στόματος ίόντι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ὅντων διὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αἵτοις τάγαθά· νοῦς δέ ἔστιν οὐτος, ὄργάνου μὴ δεόμενος. οὐκοῦν κατὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ θυτέον." Τούτων δὲ ὡδε ἔχόντων θέα δὴ λοιπὸν ὄποια περὶ τοῦ ζωοθυτεῖν ὃ πρότερος ἴστορεῖ συγγραφεὺς, μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου τὸν Θεόφραστον ἀνακαλούμενος·

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.

## 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 ἀράς νῦν τέλος εἴληφέναι, σφαξάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αἷμαξάντων, ἀφ' οὗ λιμῶν τε καὶ πολέμων πειραθέντες αἷμάτων ἥψαντο. τοιγαροῦν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος, τούτων ἐκατέρων νεμεσῆσαν, ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν πρέπουσαν ἔοικε τιμωρίαν· καθὸ οἶ μὲν ἄθεοι γεγόνασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵ δὲ κακόφρονες μᾶλλον ἢ κακόθεοι λεχθέντες ἀν ἐν δίκῃ, διὰ τὸ φαύλους καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν βελτίους

4.14.1 | Far from the proper offerings for sacrifices, the neglect of the most terrible rituals has been introduced, filled with brutal acts. It seems that the curses we mentioned before have now come to an end, with people being slaughtered and the altars soaked in blood. From this, they have resorted to bloodshed during 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. 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,

ηγεῖσθαι τὴν φύσιν εἶναι τοὺς θεούς. οὕτως οὶ 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, εἰκότως ὁ Θεόφραστος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ θύειν τὰ ἔμψυχα τοὺς τῷ ὅντι 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. οἴ λιγοι τις ὅτι ονχή τον των καρπών καϊ τά ζώα ημῖν εις χρήσιν ὁ θεός δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ονν γε ἐπιθνομένων των ζώων φέρει τινά βλάβην αντοίς, ίίτε της ψνχής νοαφιζομένων. ου τέον ονν ταύτα' ή, γαρ θυσία οαία τις ἔυτι κατά τοννομα οιβίος δῆ ουδείς ος εκ των αλλότριων ἀποδίωαι χάριτας, καν καρπούς λάβη, καν φυτά μή ἐθέλοντί τος. πώς γαρ ὄντιν αδικούμενων των αφαιρεθέντων; ει δε ούδει καρπών ὁ ἀψάμενος αλλότριων όαίως θύει, τά γε\_τούτων τιμιώτερα παντελώς ονχ ούτιν ἀφαιρομένονς τινών θύειν· το γαρ δεινό ν οντω γίνεται μείζον, ή ψνχή δε πολλω τιμιώτερον τών ἐκ γης φνομένων, ην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι Ονοντα ζώα ον προαήκεν."

4.14.4 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Αφεκτέον ἀρα τών ζώων ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις."Καὶ πάλιν φησι"Τό τοίννυ μη όαιον μήτ' ενδάπανον ον ὕντέον."

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, citing 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 lives. Therefore, these things are not true sacrifices; rather, they are a kind of offering that no one should make 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 more precious than the things that come from the earth, which, if taken away, harm the animals that have done no wrong."

4.14.4 | And he adds, "Therefore, we should refrain from using animals in sacrifices." And again he says, "This is not right,

Καὶ εἶχες ζο

neither in the offering nor in the act."

4.14.5 | “Ωστε καὶ τῶν ζώων εἴ̄ ἀπαρκτέον,  
αυτά &εοῖς τούτων τινός ε'νεκα  
δντέον' καϊ γαρ α Ονομεν, τούτων τινός  
ε'νεκα 9νομεν. αρ' ονν τιμής ήγήσαιτ' αν τις  
τνγχάνειν ημών, ηεός, όταν άδικοντες  
εννς δια τής απαρχής φαινώμεθα, ή μάλλον  
άτιμίαν οῆήβαιτ' ἀν τό τοιούτο δραν; έν  
τωδέ γε ύειν άναιροντες τά μηδέν  
άδικοντα τών ζώων άδικήσειν  
ομοιογονμεν' ώῦτε τιμής μίν ε'νεκα ον  
9ντέον τών λοιπών ζώων ονδέν' ον μην  
ονδ̄ τών ενεργεβιών χάριν αύτοῖς  
άποδιδόντας. ό γαρ την δικαίαν άμοιβ ην  
τής ενεργεσίας καϊ τής ενποιίας τό  
αντάξιον άποδιδονς ουκ έκ τον κακώς  
τινάς δράν οφείλει ταύτα παρέχειν. ούδὲν  
γάρ μᾶλλον άμείβεσθαι δόξει ή κάν εί τά  
τοῦ πέλας άρπάσας τις στεφανοίη τινάς,  
ώς χάριν άποδιδούς καὶ τιμήν.

4.14.5 | So, if we should refrain from using animals, we must do so for the sake of these principles. For we know that we should not act unjustly in our offerings. Should anyone think they gain 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 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 work and creation should not provide these things by 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' οὐδέ χάριν τινὸς ἔνεκα τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν. ὁ γὰρ ἀδίκω πράξει τὸ παθεῖν εὐ<sup>τ</sup>  
θηρεύων ὑποπτός ἐστι μηδὲ εὗ παθών  
χάριν ἔξειν. ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐλπιζομένης  
εὔεργεσίας θυτέον ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ζῶα.  
καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων λάθοι τις ἄν  
ἴσως τινὰ τοῦτο πράττων, τὸν δὲ θεὸν  
ἀμήχανον καὶ λαθεῖν. εἰ τοίνυν θυτέον μὲν  
τούτων τινὸς ἔνεκα, οὐδενὸς δὲ τούτων  
χάριν αὐτὸ πρακτέον, δῆλον ὡς οὐ θυτέον  
ἐστὶ τὰ ζῶα τὸ παράπαν τοῖς θεοῖς."

4.14.6 | But not even for the sake of some good. For one who acts unjustly is always 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 the hope of receiving a favor. Indeed, while some humans might escape notice doing this, the gods cannot be deceived or overlooked. So, if we are to sacrifice for any reason, 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 ἐπιλέγει Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἣ τε φύσις καὶ πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αἴσθησις δρωμένοις συνηρέσκετο,

4.14.7 | And again, he adds: For both nature and the entire sense of the soul in humans are linked to actions. But the altar did not

ταύρων δ' ἀκράτοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο  
βωμὸς, ἄλλα μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν  
ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον, θυμὸν  
ἀπορραίσαντας ἐέδμεναι ἥια γυῖα.' Καὶ μεθ'  
ἔτερα

require the uncontrolled 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 ἐκῶν σωφρονήσειε; πῶς δὲ κεχαρισμένα θύειν ἡγούμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα οὐκ ἔξεῖναι ἀδικεῖν οἴήσεται 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 the gods 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 ἀρίστῃ μὲν ἀπαρχῇ νοῦς καθαρὸς καὶ ψυχὴ ἀπαθῆς οίκεῖον 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 δόσεσι.

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 planned gifts.

4.14.10 | Σαφῶς δὴ διὰ τούτων κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς τούτων φιλοσόφους ὡμολογήθη ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον τυθείη ἀν εύλόγως τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀνόσιον γὰρ καὶ ἀδικον καὶ ἐπιβλαβὲς εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἀλλότριόν τε μύσους, οὐκ ἦν ἄρα θεὸς, οὐδέ τις ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ὃ τὰς δι' αἰμάτων λοιβάς τε καὶ κνίσας μικρῷ

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 that it is foreign to their mysteries. Therefore, there is no god, nor any truthful and good spirit, who would

πρόσθεν είσπραττόμενος χρησμώδος· δός· ούδ' ἔκεινοι πάντες οἵς ὁ χρησμὸς θύειν ζῶα 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 ἀνύπολαμβάνειν αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς διηγήσεται διὰ τούτων

accept offerings of blood and fat, collected in small amounts beforehand, as a prophecy. Nor did those who received the prophecy command the sacrifice of 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 beings of the underworld 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’ ἦτοι ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ καὶ φαύλοις· καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ 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, whether they are good or even lesser ones. What, then, is the reason for sacrificing to them, and for those who need them to a certain extent?

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 μὴν ὅτι τούτων οἱ μὲν κακοποιοὶ, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ οὐκέτι ἐνοχλήσουσιν ἡμῖνυμ.”

4.15.2 | And again, he says that the sacrifices made with blood are not for the gods, but for spirits, as those who have learned about the powers in the universe have confirmed, and this is accepted by the theologians. Moreover, some of these spirits are harmful, while others are good and will not cause us any trouble.

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 οἵ νενομισμένοι αὐτῶν θεοὶ πάντες ἀλίσκονται; λάβοις δ' ἀν καὶ τούτου τὴν

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 the good spirits nor the lesser ones, which are all considered gods, are caught. You could also take this as proof in the

άπόδειξιν ὡδε.

4.15.4 | τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὥφελεῖ, 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, ὅ τε Κρόνος καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἡρα 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 ή διὰ ζώων ἀλόγων θυσίᾳ ἐπάρατος καὶ κακόθυτος πρὸς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐλέχθη, μυσταρά τε καὶ ἄδικος καὶ ἀνόσιος καὶ οὐκ ἀβλαβῆς τοῖς θύουσι, καὶ διά γε ταῦτα πάνταθεῶν ἀναξία, τί χρὴ νομίζειν τὴν δι' ἀνθρώπων σφαγῆς; ή παντὸς αὕτη γένοιτ' ἀν ἀσεβεστάτη καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτη; πῶς οὖν ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῖς παμμιάροις καὶ πανωλέθροις πνεύμασιν είκότως ἀν λεχθείη προσφιλής.

4.15.6 | φέρε οὖν ἐλέγχωμεν καὶ ἀποδείξωμεν ὅπόσον ή τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης λύμη τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εύαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας ἐκράτει. λελύσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ καθηρῆσθαι οὐκ ἄλλοτε ή κατὰ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνους, φωτὸς δίκην ἥδη διαλαμπούσης ἐπὶ πάντα τόπον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας.

following 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 like them, 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. 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 | Come then, let us examine and show how much the confusion of polytheism 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 | οἵς ούχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούντων μαρτυρήσουσιν αἴ φωναι διαρρήδην, τῶν πρὸ τούτου χρόνων τοσαύτην κατηγοροῦσαι μοχθηρίαν ὥστε ἥδη τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας πέρα καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ὅρων χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ὄλεθρίων πνευμάτων ἔξοιστρουμένους καὶ δαιμονῶντας ἄντικρυς, ὡς καὶ τοῖς τῶν φιλτάτων αἴμασι καὶ ἄλλαις μυρίαις ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἤλεοῦσθαι 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 ἀλλοτρίων 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 οῦν πάσαν ἔξετάζων Ἑλληνικήν τε καὶ βάρβαρον ἴστορίαν, ὅπως οἱ μὲν υἱεῖς, οἱ δὲ θυγατέρας, οἱ 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 ρῆμα

4.15.7 | Indeed, it is not us, but their own voices that will testify against those who do not think like us, openly declaring the great wickedness of those earlier times. They were so fearful that they went 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 their most beloved and countless other human sacrifices.

4.15.8 | And some father sacrificed his only son, while some mother offered her beloved daughter to the demon. The dearest ones killed those who belonged to them, like irrational and foreign animals. They sacrificed to the gods in cities and regions their fellow citizens and neighbors, sharpening their kind and compassionate nature to become cruel and inhuman, truly revealing a mad and demonic way of acting.

4.15.9 | You would find, then, by examining both Greek and barbarian history, that some sons and some daughters, and even themselves, were offered in sacrifices to the demons. But I also present to you a witness from these same accounts, in which the sacrifice of irrational animals is declared an impious and very unjust act, agreeing with this statement.

## Section 16

4.16.1 | “Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ούχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ

4.16.1 | And it is important to note that we

πλήρους οὕσης τῆς ιστορίας λέγομεν,  
αύτάρκη καὶ ταῦτα παραστῆσαι. ἐθύετο  
γὰρ καὶ ἐν Πόδῳ μηνὶ τνιῶνι ἔκτῃ  
ἰσταμένου ἄνθρωπος τῷ Κρόνῳ. ὃ δὴ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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  
ἴδους οὖν ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον.

are not speaking of these things simply, but with the full history in mind. For a man was sacrificed to Cronus in Rhodes on the sixth day of the month of Tnion. This custom, which had been long established, was changed; 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  
Ἄγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης  
Ἄγραυλίσος, καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν  
Διομήδους χρόνων· εἴτα μετέβαλεν, ὡστε  
τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ’  
ἐνα δὲ περίβολον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς καὶ  
ὁ τῆς Ἅγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. ὃ δὲ  
σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος  
τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν· ἔπειτα ὃ ἱερεὺς  
αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιε κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ  
οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν  
ἀλοκαύτιζον.

4.16.2 | In present-day Salamis, which was formerly called Coronis, a man was sacrificed to Aphrodite in the month according to the Cypriots, to Agraulos of Cecryphus and the nymph Agraulis. This custom continued until the time of Diomedes; then it changed so that during the festival of Diomedes, the man was sacrificed. Both the temple of Athena and that of Agraulos and Diomedes were under one enclosure. 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 δαιμῶν ἀντ'  
ἄνθρωπου τὸν βοῦν.

4.16.3 | This custom was abolished by Diphilus, the king of Cyprus, during the time of Seleucus, as he became a theologian. He changed the practice from a human sacrifice to a sacrifice of cattle. The demon was then associated with a bull instead of a man.

4.16.4 | οὕτως ἴσάξιόν ἐστι τὸ δρώμενον.  
κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς  
Αἴγυπτου τὸν τῆς ἄνθρωποκτονίας νόμον

4.16.4 | Thus, the practice is equally valid. Amosis also abolished the law of murder in the city of Helios in Egypt, as Manetho

Ἄμωσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανεθῶς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχαισμοῦ καὶ εὐσέβείας. ἔθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἡρᾳ, καὶ ἐδοκιμάζοντο καθάπερ οἱ ζητούμενοι καθαροὶ μόσχοι καὶ συσφραγιζόμενοι. ἔθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἀνθ' ὧν κηρίνους ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Αμωσίς τοὺς ἴσους ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

4.16.5 | ἔθυον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὄμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἄνθρωπον διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησιν Εὔελπις ὁ Καρύστιος· ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὸν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἅρει θύειν ἄνθρωπον.

4.16.6 | Φοίνικες δὲ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἢ πολέμων, ἢ λοιψῶν, ἢ αὐχμῶν, ἔθυον τῶν φιλτάτων τινὰ ἐπιψήφιζοντες Κρόνῳ· καὶ πλήρης γε ἡ Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία τῶν θυσάντων, ἣν Σαυχουνιάθων μὲν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώττῃ συνέγραψε, Φίλων δὲ ὁ Βύβλιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν δι' ὄκτω βιβλίων ἡρμήνευσεν.

4.16.7 | Ἰστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν φησι τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας. καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι φησι Πάλλας, ὃ ἄριστα περὶ τῶν τοῦ Μίθρα συναγαγὼν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. ἔθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ κατ' ἔτος παρθένος, νῦν δὲ ἔλαφος.

4.16.8 | καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐποίουν τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν Ἰφικράτης ἔπαυσε. καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς

testifies in his work on antiquity and piety. They used to sacrifice to Hera, and they were examined just like pure calves that 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 | They also sacrificed a man in Chios to Omadios Dionysus, and in Tenedos, as Euhelpis the Carystian says. Apollodorus mentions that the Spartans also sacrificed a man to Ares.

4.16.6 | The Phoenicians, during times of great disasters—whether from wars, plagues, or droughts—used to sacrifice one of their dearest by voting for Kronos. The Phoenician history is indeed full of sacrifices, written by Sanchuniathon in the Phoenician language and translated into Greek by Philo of Byblos in eight books.

4.16.7 | Istrus says in the Synagogue of the Cretans that the Curetes used to sacrifice children to Kronos in ancient times. He mentions that human sacrifices were nearly completely abolished by Pallas, who gathered the best information about the mysteries of Mithras during the reign of Emperor Hadrian. 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 | Indeed, the Carthaginians in Libya used to make sacrifices, which Iphicrates put an end to. The Dumatheni of Arabia

Ἄραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἔκαστον ἔθυον παῖδα, ὃν  
ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔθαπτον, ὃ χρῶνται ὡς ξοάνω.

also sacrificed a child every year, burying it under an altar, which they used as a statue.

4.16.9 | Φύλαρχος δὲ κοινῶς πάντας τοὺς  
Ἐλληνας, πρὶν ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἔξιέναι,  
ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν ιστορεῖ. καὶ παρίημι  
Θρᾷκας καὶ Σκύθας, καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν  
Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Πραξιθέας θυγατέρα  
ἀνεῦλον. ἀλλ’ ἔτι γε νῦν τίς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν  
Μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Δῖος  
έορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον;

4.16.9 | The chieftain says that all the Greeks, before going out to fight their 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<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μόνον τοῖς  
Λυκαίοις, οὐδέ’ 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. Instead, at certain times, to honor the law, they always shed blood at the altars.”

4.16.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς  
προδηλωθείσης κείσθω γραφῆς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
πρώτου συγγράμματος τῆς Φίλωνος  
Φοινικικῆς ιστορίας παραθήσομαι ταῦτα  
“Ἐθος ἦν 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 “Ἡλ  
προσαγορεύουσι, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας,  
καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εἰς  
τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστέρα καθιερωθεὶς, ἐξ  
ἐπιχωρίας νύμφης Ἄνωβρὲτ λεγομένης υἱὸν  
ἔχων μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰεοὺδ  
ἐκάλουν, τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, κινδύνων ἐκ

4.16.11 | Let these things be taken from the previously mentioned writing. From the first letter of Philo's Phoenician history, I will present this: "It was a custom among the ancients, in times of great disasters and dangers, to offer the beloved children of those in power, whether from the city or the nation, as a sacrifice to the avenging spirits, instead of allowing everyone to be destroyed. The ones offered were killed in secret. Therefore, Kronos, whom the Phoenicians call Hel, ruled over the land, and later, after his life ended, was honored as a star of Kronos. He had 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

πολέμου μεγίστων κατειληφότων τὴν χώραν, βασιλικῷ κοσμήσας σχήματι τὸν υἱὸν, βωμόν τε κατασκευασάμενος κατέθυσε.”

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 ἀπολογούρεται 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. ἥδη δὲ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, οἰονεὶ λοιμοὶ ἐπισκήψαντες, σπονδὰς ἀπήτησαν ἀνημέρους.

Ἄριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Δὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξε, τοσάντας ὅμοι καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῦν οἰόμενος ἐκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ιερεῖον εὐγενές. Ταῦροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν Χερρόνησον κατοικοῦντες, οὓς ἀν 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 ἀνθρωπὸν 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

of war, he adorned his son in royal form and built an altar to make a sacrifice.”

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, speaks against the deception of humans, saying, “Let us add this: 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 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

θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει. Φωκαεῖς δὲ — ούδὲ γάρ αὐτοὺς παραπέμψομαι — τούτους Πυθοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ δόμονοίας τῇ Ταυροπόλῳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἄνθρωπον ὀλοκαυτεῖν ἴστορεῖ. Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττικὸς καὶ Μάριος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τὰς αὐτῶν ἔθυσάτην θυγατέρας· ὃν ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερρεφάττῃ, ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν πρώτῃ Τραγῳδουμένων, ὃ δὲ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, ὁ Μάριος, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἰταλικῶν ἴστορεῖ. φιλάνθρωποί γε ἐκ τούτων καταφαίνονται οἱ δαίμονες· πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀνόσιοι ἀναλόγως οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, οἱ μὲν σωτῆρες εύφημούμενοι, οἱ δὲ σωτηρίαν αἴτούμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων σωτηρίας; καλλιερεῖν γοῦν τοπάζοντες αύτοῖς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λελήθασιν ἀποσφάττοντες ἀνθρώπους. οὐ γάρ οὕν παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἵερεῖν γίνεται ὁ φόνος· ούδ' εἰ Ἀρτέμιδι τις καὶ Διὸς ἐν ἱερῷ δῆθεν χωρίω μᾶλλον ἡ ὄργῃ καὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ, ἄλλοις δομοίοις δαίμοσιν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς, ἡ ἐν δόδοις ἀποσφάττοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἱερὸν ἵερεῖν ἐπιφημίσας· ἀλλὰ φόνος ἔστι καὶ ἀνδροκτασία ἡ τοιαύτη θυσία.

4.16.13 | τί δὴ οὗν, ὡς σοφώτατοι τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἄνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν θηρία περιφεύγομεν τὰ ἀνήμερα, κανὸν που περιτύχωμεν ἄρκτῳ, ἡ λέοντι, ἐκτρεπόμεθα, ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἴδων παλίνορσος ἀπέστηούρεος ἐν βήσσῃ, ὑπό τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα, ἥψ τ' ἀνεχώρησε. δαίμονας δ' ὀλεθρίους καὶ ἀλιτηρίους, ἐπιβούλους τε καὶ μισανθρώπους καὶ λυμεῶνας ὄντας προαισθόμενοι καὶ συνιέντες οὐκ ἐντρέπεσθε, ούδὲ ἀποστρέφεσθε;"

4.16.14 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλήμης. ἔχω δέ σοι

daughters; the former to Pherephatta, as Demaratus says in the first "Tragodoumena," and the latter to the averting deities, as Dorotheus 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 | What then, oh wisest of humans among all animals, do we flee from wild beasts? If we happen to encounter a bear or a lion, we turn away, just like someone who sees a dragon and quickly retreats from the mountain in fear, his limbs trembling as 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

καὶ ἄλλον καὶ παραστῆσαι μάρτυρα τῆς τῶν  
ἀθέων καὶ ἀπανθρωπων δαιμόνων  
μιαιφονίας, Διονύσιον τὸν Αλικαρνασσέα,  
ἄνδρα τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας ἀκριβῆ τὴν  
γραφὴν ἅπασαν ἐκθέμενον. γράφει δ' οὗν  
καὶ οὗτος τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
αἴτησαί ποτε ἀνθρωποθυσίας, τοὺς δ'  
αἴτηθέντας καρπῶν μὲν ἀπάντων καὶ  
βοσκημάτων τὸ λάχος ἀποθῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς,  
ὅτι δὲ μὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔθυσαν παντοίαις  
περιστῆναι συμφοραῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ  
τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀκοῦσαι ὥδε πῃ  
διεξιόντος

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 accurately  
laid out the entire history of Rome. 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 because of  
various misfortunes. There is nothing  
surprising in hearing this from the author  
as he continues his account.

4.16.15 | "Ολίγον δὲ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ  
τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων προνοίᾳ. πρῶτον μὲν οὗν  
τῆς οἰκοφθορίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐδόκει  
αύχμῳ ἡ γῆ κακωθεῖσα ἄρξαι, ἡνίκα οὕτ'  
ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι καρπὸς οὐδεὶς ὠραῖος  
διέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὡμοὶ κατέρρεον, οὕτε  
ὅποσα σπερμάτων ἀνέντα βλαστοὺς  
ἀνθήσειεν ὡς στάχυος ἀκμῆς μῆτοις τοὺς  
κατὰ νόμον ἔξεπλήρους χρόνους, οὕτε πόα  
κτήνεσιν ἐφύετο διαρκής, τῶν τε ναμάτων  
τὰ μὲν ούκέτι πίνεσθαι σπουδαῖα ἦν, τὰ δ'  
ὑπελίμπανε θέρους, τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος  
ἀπεσβέννυτο. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνετο  
περὶ προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς· ἡ γὰρ  
ἔξημβλοῦτο τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους  
διεφθείρετο, ἔστιν ἀ καὶ τὰς φερούσας  
συνδιαλυμηνάμενα. εἰ δέ τι διαφύγοι τὸν ἐκ  
τῶν ὀδίνων κίνδυνον ἀνάπτηρον, ἡ ἀτελές,  
ἡ διὰ ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην βλαφθὲν,  
τρέφεσθαι χρηστὸν οὐκ ἦν· ἐπειτα 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 αύτοῖς λωφῆσαι  
τὰ δεινὰ ἔλπις, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι τυχόντες  
ῶν ἐβούλοντο οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν ἀ ηὔξαντο,  
ἄλλὰ προσοφείλουσι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια. οἱ

4.16.15 | A little remained in Italy because  
of the care of the Aborigines. First, the land  
seemed to begin suffering from drought  
when no fruit was left on the trees, and  
only raw ones fell down. None of the seeds  
that were sown bloomed as they should,  
and no grass grew for the livestock. The  
waters were no longer worth drinking;  
some dried up in the heat, while others  
finally ran out. Many deaths occurred  
among the sheep and women; either the  
embryos were lost, or they were harmed  
during childbirth, which also affected the  
mothers. If any child escaped the danger of  
birth, it was either crippled, incomplete, or  
harmed in some other way, making it  
difficult to raise. 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, facing a shortage of  
everything in the land, vowed to Zeus,

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  
εύξαμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ Μυρσίλος ὁ Λέσβιος  
ἰστόρηκεν ὀλίγου δεῦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνδρασι  
γράφων οἵς ἐγὼ νῦν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ  
Πελασγοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ  
Τυρρηνούς· τὴν δ' αἴτιαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον  
ἀλλὰ.”

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 events, 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 | “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  
όρθως τε καὶ σὺν δίκῃ, ἀνθρώπων δὲ γονῆς  
τὸ λάχος, χρῆμα παντὸς μάλιστα θεοῖς  
τιμιώτατον, ὁφείλεσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ  
τούτων λάβοιεν τὴν δικαίαν μοῖραν, τέλος  
ἔξειν σφίσι τὸ λόγιον. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ὁρθῶς  
ἔδόκει λέγεσθαι ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἐξ 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.

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. 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 this, the matter 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, they asked the god if he would accept a tenth from humans, and the god replied that this should be done.

4.16.17 | ἐκ δὲ τούτου στάσις αὐτοὺς  
καταλαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς  
δεκατεύσεως· καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οἱ  
προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων τότε πρῶτον  
ἐταράχθησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος

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

δι' ὑποψίας τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐλάμβανεν.  
ἐγίνοντο δὲ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αἱ ἐπαναστάσεις,  
ἄλλ', ὡσπερ εἰκὸς, οἴστρῳ καὶ θεοβλαβείᾳ  
ἀπελαυνομένων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφέστια ὅλα  
ἔξηλειφθῇ μέρους αὐτῶν μεθισταμένου· οὐ  
γάρ ἐδικαίουν οἵ προσήκοντες τοῖς  
ἔξιοῦσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ  
ἐν τοῖς ἔχθιστοις ὑπομένειν. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ  
οὗτοι μεταστάντες ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἴς τε τὴν  
Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου πολλὴν  
ἐπλανήθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους  
ἔτεροι τὸ αύτὸν ἔπαθον, καὶ τοῦτο διετέλει  
γινόμενον ἐπὶ ἔτη. οὐ γάρ ἀνίεσαν οἵ  
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 εὔπρεπεῖ  
ἀπελαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων· ὥστε  
πολλαὶ αἱ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον γῆς τὸ Πελασγικὸν γένος  
διεφορήθη.

was no order in the uprisings; rather, as expected, they were driven by anger and fear of the gods, and many homes were destroyed in the chaos. Those in power did not allow their closest friends to be left behind but instead stayed 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. 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 occurred, 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  
παλαιοὺς, ὡσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἡ  
πόλις διέμεινε καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε  
χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν  
προσεσπερίων ἐθνῶν ἀνδροφονοῦσιν,  
Ἡρακλέα δὲ παῦσαι τὸν νόμον τῆς θυσίας  
βουληθέντα τὸν τε βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι τὸν  
ἐπὶ τῷ Σατορνίῳ καὶ κατάρξασθαι  
θυμάτων ἀγνῶν ἐπὶ καθαρῷ πυρὶ  
ἀγιζομένων, ἔνα δὲ μηδὲν ἢ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
δέους ἐνθύμιον, ὡς πατρίων ἡλογηγόσι  
θυσιῶν, διδάξαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους  
ἀπομειλιττομένους τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν ἀντὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς συμποδίζοντες καὶ  
τῶν χειρῶν ἀκρατεῖς ποιοῦντες ἐρρίπτουν  
εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριος ῥεῖθρον, εἴδωλα  
ποιοῦντας ἀνδρείκελα, κεκοσμημένα τὸν

4.16.18 | And after a short time, he says,  
"They also say that the ancient sacrifices to  
Cronus are performed, just as in Carthage  
the city remained for a long time, and  
among the Celts this still happens today. In  
some neighboring nations, they kill men,  
but they wanted to stop the law of sacrifice  
to Heracles and set up an altar to Saturn,  
beginning to offer 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 Tiber River, making idols in  
the shape of men, decorated in the same  
way as those. They throw them into the

αύτὸν ἔκείνοις τρόπον, ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἵνα δὴ τὸ τῆς ὀττείας ὃ τι δή ποτε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς παραμένον ἔξαιρεθῇ, τόν εἰκόνων τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθους ἔτι σωζομένων. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διετέλουν Ῥωμαῖοι δρῶντες ἔτι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔαρινῆς ἴσημερίας, ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, διχομήνιδα βουλόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾧ 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 εἰκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν ἄριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεφύρας βάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ἥεῦμα τοῦ Τιβέριος, Ἀργείους αύτὰ καλοῦντες."

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 ἴστορεῖ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτὴν, ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου, περὶ Καρχηδονίων ὑπὸ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελίας τυράννου πολιορκουμένων, ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν γράφων "Ηιτιῶντο δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν υἱῶν τοὺς κρατίστους, ὕστερον ὀνούμενοι λάθρα παῖδας, καὶ θρέψαντες ἐπεμπον 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

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 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

ἔθυσαν δημοσίᾳ, ἄλλοι δ' ἐν διαβολαῖς  
ὄντες ἐκουσίως ἔσαντούς ἔδοσαν, οὐκ  
έλάττους ὄντες τριακοσίων. ἦν δὲ παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς,  
ἐκτετακώς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας ἐκτεταμένας  
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὥστε τὸν συντιθέντα τῶν  
παιδῶν ἀποκωλύεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἰς τι  
χάσμα πλήρες πυρός."

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. εἰκότως ἄρα  
καὶ ἡ παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφὴ καταμέμφεται  
τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλώσασι τῶν ἐκ  
περιτομῆς, φάσκουσα "καὶ ἔθυον τοὺς  
υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τοῖς  
δαιμονίοις· καὶ ἐφρονοκτονήθη ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς  
αἴμασι, καὶ ἐμιάνθη ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν."  
ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι διὰ τούτων  
ἀπεληλέγχθαι σαφῶς δαιμονικήν τινα  
γεγονέναι τὴν παλαιτάτην καὶ πρώτην τῶν  
ξιάνων ἴδρυσιν, καὶ πάσαν τὴν εἰδωλικὴν  
τῶν ἔθνῶν θεοποιίαν καὶ δαιμόνων οὐκ  
ἀγαθῶν, ἄλλὰ πάντα μοχθηροτάτων καὶ  
φαύλων· ὡς ἐπαληθεύειν τὸ φάσκον ἐν  
προφητείαις λόγιον "πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν  
ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια" τό τε ἀποστολικὸν, δι' οὓς  
φησιν ὅτι "Ἄ θύουσι, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ  
θύουσιν."

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,  
which states that "what they sacrifice, they  
sacrifice to demons and not to God."

4.16.21 | Ἡ εἶτι γε ἦν ἀγαθὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς  
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταλαχεῖν  
προσηγορίας, εὐεργετικὸν ἀνὴν καὶ  
πάντων σωτήριον, φίλον τε δικαιοσύνης  
καὶ ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονικόν. τοιοῦτον δὲ  
ὅν πᾶς ἀνθρώπων ἔχαιρε σφαγαῖς; πᾶς δὲ  
οὐκ ἀπεῖργε διὰ χρησμῶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον  
γένος τοιαῦτα πράττειν; Ἡ που χεῖρον ἦν  
καὶ φαυλότερον ἀνθρώπων, οὕτως νόμων  
τιμωρίαις ἔξαντεις τοὺς μαιφόνους  
κατέστησαν. οὐ γὰρ θεός τις ἦν, ἀλλ'

4.16.21 | Or if there was anything good  
among them, then it would be called a  
sharing of good things, and it would have  
been beneficial and a salvation for all, a  
friend of justice and a guardian of  
humanity. Being such, how could it take  
pleasure in human sacrifices? And how did  
it not stop people from doing such things  
through oracles? Surely it was worse and  
more base than humans—those who,  
through the punishments of laws, had put

άνθρωπος, ὃ τῆς άνθρωποθυσίας τὴν χρόνιον καὶ μακρὰν παραλύσας νόσον.

4.16.22 | "Οτι 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, ὡσπερ τι χρέος ὁφειλόμενον, χρῆναί φασιν ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τῆς μοιχιδίου καὶ πορνικῆς πράξεως τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι, τῆς ἀκλεοῦς ταύτης καὶ ἀσέμνου ἐμπορίας, ὡσπερ τι χαριστήριον ἀγαθὸν, τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνατιθέντας. ὅμοια γὰρ ταῦτα ταῖς ἀνθρωποθυσίαις.

4.16.23 | εἰ δὴ οὖν οὐδὲ σώφρονος ἀνδρὸς οίκεῖον τὸ χαίρειν φόνοις αἰσχρορρημοσύναις τε καὶ παρανόμοις γυναικῶν μίξειν, ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὴν ὥραν ἀπεμπολούσαις, πολλοῦ δεῖ φάναι θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων εἶναι ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. εἰ δὲ δὴ λέγοι τις φαύλων μὲν ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι ταῦτα δαιμόνων, πλὴν ἄλλ' ἐτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὓς δὴ μάλιστα σέβειν αὐτοὺς οἶλα 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

an end to the murderers. For it was not a god, but a human, who had long and deeply weakened the problem of human sacrifice.

4.16.22 | That these demons were base and wicked would be even clearer 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 offer the fruits of their adulterous and immoral actions to the gods, treating this disgraceful and shameless trade as if it were a good gift. For these things are similar to human sacrifices.

4.16.23 | If it is not fitting for a sensible person to rejoice in murders and in the shameful and unlawful acts with women who sell themselves for a price, then how much less should we say that the gods 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 stop 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 declare to everyone that the rational and god-loving human race was being devoured by the cruelty of the base demons, instead

δὲ ἄντικρυς τοῖς πᾶσι προεκήρυττον  
άμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι  
πάντα θεὸν ὄνομαζόμενον ὡς οὐ θεὸν,  
ἄλλὰ φαῦλον δαίμονα, ὃ τὰ ώμὰ καὶ  
ἀπάνθρωπα καὶ παράνομα καὶ αἰσχρὰ φίλα  
τυγχάνει;

of saying 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 | καὶ εἴτε τις ἦν πάλαι πρότερον ἐν  
Ρόδῳ νενομισμένος θεὸς χαίρων  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις, τοῦτον ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς, εἴ  
τις ἦν ἄρα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπισχών, οὐ θεὸν,  
ἄλλὰ φαῦλον ἡγεῖσθαι δαίμονα τοῖς πάσι  
προεκήρυξεν, εἴτε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῇ πρότερον  
Κορωνείᾳ ὄνομαζομένῃ, ἐν δὲ ἐν μηνὶ κατὰ  
Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ ἔθύετο ἄνθρωπος,  
καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς ἀπέφηνεν ἀν  
ἀλιτήριον εἶναι δαίμονα, παύσας ως ἀσεβὲς  
καὶ ἀνόσιον τὸ γινόμενον;

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, putting an end to what was impious and unlawful.

4.16.25 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς  
Αἴγυπτου τὸν τῆς ἄνθρωποκτονίας νόμον  
Ἄμωσις ἔλυσε, πολὺν κρείττονα τοῦ θεοῦ  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς ἐδίδαξεν ἀν  
γεγονέναι· οὐ γὰρ θεὸς, δαίμων δὲ πάλιν  
κάκεινος ἦν ὁ κατάρχων τῆς  
άνθρωποκτονίας. οὐκ ἀν δὲ ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς  
καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἡρας δαίμονα οὐχὶ μιαρὸν  
ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν ἐνομοθέτησεν, ως τῆς ἡμέρας  
ἐκάστης τρεῖς ἄνθρωπους θύεσθαι  
παρέστησεν ἡ ἱστορία.

4.16.25 | And if in the city of Helios in Egypt, Amosis lifted the law against murder, the true god would have taught that humans are much greater than that. For he was not a god, but a demon who started the practice of murder. The true god would not have allowed the demon of Hera to be seen as anything but foul, since history shows that three people were sacrificed to him each day.

4.16.26 | τί δ' ἀν γένοιτο δαιμονικῶτερον  
ἀληθῶς θῶς τοῦ καλουμένου Ὄμαδίου  
Διονύσου. ὃ φασιν ἐν Χίῳ ἄνθρωπον  
μελιστὶ διασπῶντας θύειν, ή τοῦ ἐν Τενέδῳ  
ώσαύτως, δὸν καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς  
άνθρωποθυσίας ἰλάσκοντο; ἀπηγόρευσε δ'  
ἀν ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς καὶ τῷ Ἀρει τῷ  
βροτολοιγῷ καὶ φιλοπολέμῳ δαίμονι θύειν

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 who was 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

άνθρωπον, ἐνομιθέτησε δ' ἀν μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ἄλλοτρών τὰ φύλατα κατασφάττειν αὐτῷ.

4.16.27 | εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς 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, ὃς καὶ αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ἔκαστον ἔθυον παῖδα, ὃν καὶ ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔθαπτον.

## 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 ἥ μόνος ὁ παρ' Ἐβραίοις τιμώμενος, ὡς ἀν μόνος καὶ ἀληθῆς θεὸς, πεποιηκώς μνημονεύεται.

4.17.2 | μόνος γάρ οὗτος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ θεολόγου Μωυσέως προεκήρυξε τοῖς πᾶσι μὴ σέβειν ὡς ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας 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.

and slaughter, and would have established laws against killing even one's own loved ones or those of others for him.

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. This is similar to the one in Libya, who was honored in the same way, and the one in Arabia, to whom a child was sacrificed each year and who was even buried under the altar.

4.17.1 | The true and good god would have called all of them, including those who take pleasure in shameful practices and the unlawful corruption of women, as well as 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 | 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, since they are evil spirits. He also commanded the destruction of their temples and altars, along with their incomplete and false religions, completely erasing their memory among people. He established laws regarding 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 ὀστισοῦν  
ἰστορεῖ 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, εἴ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὰς  
τοῦ Μεγάλου Διός ἐορτὰς 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 see 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. This is also  
true for 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 γὰρ συναγαγὼν ὅμοῦ τὸν  
πάντων τῶν προειρημένων κατάλογον  
εὕροις ἀν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν  
ἔθνῶν θεοποιίαν τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς  
ἀνθρωποκτόνοις πνεύμασι καὶ τοῖς  
πονηροῖς δαιμονίοις ἀνακειμένην. εἴ γὰρ ἐν  
Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις  
νήσοις, ἐν τε Ἡλίου πόλει τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον,  
ἐν τε Χίῳ καὶ Τενέδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίῳ καὶ  
Ἀρκαδίᾳ, Φοινίκῃ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ 5 καὶ πρὸς  
τούτοις ἄπασιν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Αραβίᾳ, καὶ  
παρά γε τοῖς Πανέλλησιν καὶ ἔτι τούτων  
τοῖς Κορυφαιοτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις, κατά τε  
Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν καὶ παρὰ  
Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Σικύθαις ἀποδέδεικται τὰ τῆς  
δαιμονικῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας κατὰ τοὺς  
παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτελούμενα, καὶ μέχρι  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παρατείναντα· πῶς οὐκ  
εύλόγως τοὺς πάντας εἴποις ἀν τότε τοῖς  
πονηροῖς δαιμοσι τεδουλῶσθαι, οὐ  
πρότερον τε παῦλαν τῶν τοσούτων  
γενέσθαι τῷ βίῳ κακῶν ἢ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν καταλάμψαι διδασκαλίαν; ὅτι δὴ  
μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων διαμεῖναι

4.17.4 | But if you gather 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, as well as among all the  
Greeks, especially the most distinguished  
Athenians, and in 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 the time of our Savior.  
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 this. This was  
especially the time when the saving  
teaching was flourishing among all people.

ταῦτα, λελύσθαι δ' ἔξ ἐκείνου παρέστησεν  
ὅ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος. οὗτος δὲ μάλιστα ἦν  
ὁ χρόνος, καθ' ὃν ἡ σωτήριος είς πάντας  
ἀνθρώπους ἥκμαζε διδασκαλία.

4.17.5 | καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς εἴπεϊν  
ώς τοῖς πονηροῖς δαίμοσιν· αὐτοῖς γὰρ  
μάλιστα τοῖς μεγίστοις θεοῖς ἡ ἱστορία τὰς  
ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἀδήλωσεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.  
Θύεσθαι γὰρ ἔφησε τῇ Ἡρα καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ  
Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Ἀρει 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 εἶεν ἀν οἱ πονηροὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δαίμονες. εἰ γὰρ οἴδε τοιαύταις  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίαις  
ἔχαιρον, πῶς οὐκ ἀν αὐτοὺς είκότως τῇ  
τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων μιαιφονίᾳ  
καταριθμήσειας, εἴτε αὐτοὶ χαίρειν  
λέγοιντο τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴτε συγχωρεῖν καὶ  
περιορᾶν ἐτέροις γιγνόμενα;

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 ὅντας 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

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 | 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 those who are  
evil, when they should be striving for what  
is good and divine, staying far away from  
everything that is base and evil, and  
seeking guidance from a higher and more  
divine power?

4.17.8 | Surely a good father would not

φαύλοις ἀνδράσι φθειρόμενον περιίδοι ἀν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, οὐδὲ τὸν οἰκέτην σώφρων δεσπότης ὑπὸ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἀγόμενον περιόψεται, οὐδέ γε πολέμου στρατηγὸς, τοὺς οἴκείους παρὸν διασώσασθαι, τοῖς πολεμίοις αίχμαλώτους ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ποιμὴν τὰ θρέμματα τοῖς λύκοις· θεοὶ δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες ὑπὸ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς καὶ φαύλοις ἀνήσουσι τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος;

allow his own child to be harmed by wicked men, nor would a sensible master overlook his servant being taken by enemies. A general would not let his own men be captured by the enemy while he is there 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 captured by the wicked and base?

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 ἄνθρωπον μυρίων θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν πλήθει προσωκειωμένων ἐπιθαρσοῦντα, καὶ τοῖς οὐ μόνον κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείσιν καὶ μεγίστοις θεοῖς καθωσιωμένον, σμικρὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τῆς τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἀσθενείας;

4.17.9 | And the countless guardians of human beings, who are indeed the shepherds and saviors, kings, 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 everyone to trust in the many good gods and spirits that are close by, 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 ἄνθρωποθυσίας, χαίροντές τε αἰσχρορρημοσύναις ἀπάσαις καὶ ταῖς τούτων ἀκολούθοις πράξεσιν, ἔργῳ, φασὶ, δῆλον ὡς οὐδέν τι καὶ αύτοὶ φαύλων δαιμόνων τὴν φύσιν διήλλαττον, μᾶλλον δὲ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχον προαιρέσεως καὶ γνώμης· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴπειν ὡς οὐδὲ

4.17.10 | But when they did not do this, they were working against the good themselves, allowing the foretold human sacrifices through the oracles, and they rejoiced 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 choices and opinions. Furthermore, it can be said that

ὅλως θεός τις ἦν, ούδέ τις ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ὁ πάλαι πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας προσκυνούμενος.

4.17.11 | πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο ποτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ φαῦλον φίλον, εἰ μὴ καὶ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους κρᾶσιν δύνασθαι μίαν φαίη τις ἂν γενέσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ κρείττων ὁ παρ' ἀνθρώποις λογισμὸς τῶν νενομισμένων θεῶν, μηδὲ φαύλοις δαίμοσι χρῆναι θύειν παρακελευόμενος; λέγει δ' οὖν ὁ πρόσθεν εἰρημένος συγγραφεὺς, ἐν οἷς ἔφησε μὴ δεῖν ζωοθυτεῖν, δτὶ μηδὲ φαύλοις δαίμοσι θυτέον, τοῦτον τρόπον

there was not even a single god or any good spirit worshipped by all the nations in their cities and lands.

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 human reasoning than that of the established gods, so that one should not sacrifice even to the wicked spirits? Therefore, the writer mentioned earlier 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 εὐλαβηθήσεται τοιαύταις χρῆσθαι θυσίαις, δι' ὃν ἐπισπάσεται πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς τοιούτους, σπουδάσει δὲ καθαίρειν τὴν ψυχὴν παντοίως· καθαρᾶ γὰρ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, διὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἀνόμοιον. εἰ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τούτου 'ἢ ἀπομειλίττεσθαι, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμάς· ταύταις γὰρ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰ ἔκτὸς καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, κακὰ, ὀλιγοστὸν δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελούμενον." Τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπάγει λέγων

4.18.1 | Therefore, a wise and sensible person will be careful about using such sacrifices, as 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 because of their difference. And if it is necessary to sacrifice for the cities, it does not concern us; for in those places, wealth, external goods, and physical benefits are considered important, while the opposite, which is evil, is valued less, and little attention is given to caring for 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 ἔκτὸς πάσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμεθα θεῷ μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δομοιοῦσθαι, ( δὲ γίνεται δι' ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς

4.19.1 | But we, as much as we can, will not ask for what these offer. Instead, we will make every effort, both from the soul and from outside, to be like the god and those around him. This happens through a lack of

περὶ τῶν ὄντων 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.

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 world.

4.19.2 | “Ον δὲ ἡμεῖς ὑπογράφομεν φιλόσοφον στάμενον τῶν ἔκτὸς, εἰκότως φαμὲν μὴ ἐνοχλήσειν δαίμοσι, μηδὲ μάντεων δεήσεσθαι, μηδὲ σπλάγχνων ζῷων. 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 οἰκέτου, οὐ περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δοξοκοπίας, περὶ ὃν δὲ ζητεῖ, μάντις μὲν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζῷων μηνύσει τὸ σαφές· αὐτὸς δὲ δὶ’ 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 oracles exist for these reasons, and he has practiced staying away from them. He does not seek marriage, nor will the seer disturb him about it; 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 ἔξεφηνε τίνων ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὰς διὰ θυτικῆς ἐρωτήσεις, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς θαυμαζομένας περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων προγνώσεις. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα δοξοκοπίας ὄνομάσας ὡς ἀν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων πονηρῶν ἐνεργούμενα ἀποβάλλει.

4.19.3 | Clearly, through these things, the argument shows what one should think about oracles and the inquiries made through sacrifices, as well as the predictions that many admire regarding the unknown. For all these things, which are called mere opinions, are dismissed as if they are influenced by wicked spirits.

4.19.4 | τὸν γοῦν περὶ φαύλων δαιμόνων διεξιῶν λόγον, καὶ φάσκων τὸν συνετὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σώφρονα μή ποτε τούτοις ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι, μηδ’ ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς

4.19.4 | The argument about lesser spirits continues, stating that the wise and temperate person should never give himself over to them, nor should he draw

έαυτὸν διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν τοὺς τοιούτους,  
ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει λέγων τὸν φιλόσοφον  
μηδὲ μαντείων δεήσεσθαι, μηδὲ  
σπλάγχνων ζῷων, καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων,  
ώς ἀν τῆς δαιμονικῆς ὄντων κακοτεχνίας.

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 | εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα εὐλαβητέον  
τῷ συνετῷ καὶ σώφρονι τοιαύταις χρῆσθαι  
θυσίαις, δι’ ᾧν ἐπισπάσεται πρὸς ἔαυτὸν  
τοὺς δαίμονας—αὗται δ’ ἡσαν αἱ δι’  
αἰμάτων ἐκχύσεως καὶ δι’ ἀλόγων ζῷων  
σφαγῆς — οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐνδίκως ῥήθειν  
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 person 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 could 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  
εἴπειν 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 made everywhere. Therefore, no one among them could be considered wise and temperate.

4.19.7 | ὁ μὲν οὖν κοινὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπινος  
λογισμὸς ἐπόμενος ὄρθῳ λόγῳ παντὶ τῷ  
συνετῷ καὶ σώφρονι διαρρήδην  
προκηρύττει μὴ χρῆσθαι θυσίαις ἐπὶ<sup>λ</sup>  
θεραπείᾳ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων,  
σπουδάζειν δὲ καθαίρειν τὴν ψυχὴν  
παντοίως· καθαρῷ γάρ ψυχῇ μὴ  
ἐπιτίθεσθαι, διὰ τὸ αύτοῖς ἀνόμοιον·

4.19.7 | The common and human reason, following the right logic, clearly tells every wise and temperate person not to use sacrifices to appease wicked demons, but to strive to purify the soul in every way. A pure soul cannot be harmed because it is unlike them.

4.19.8 | ὁ δὲ θεὸς αύτοῖς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ( πάλιν γάρ ἀνθρώποις τοῦτον  
παραβλητέον, καὶ δεικτέον ὅσον τοῦ ὄρθοῦ  
λείπεται λογισμοῦ,) προστάττει τῷ

4.19.8 | The god Apollo, who should again be compared to humans to show how far he strays from right reasoning, commands that sacrifices be made to the wicked

πονηρῷ δαίμονι θύειν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ δηλαδὴ φίλος ὁν αύτῷ· κακῷ δὲ τὸ σμοιον φίλον. τούτου δὲ μάρτυς ὁ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας” ὅδε ιστορῶν πρὸς λέξιν.

## 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 πυρὴν ἥδ' αἷμα κελαινὸνοῖνον παμμέλανός τ' ὄιων 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 ἑρωτηθεὶς ἤρξατο μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐπλήρωσεν, οὕτως εἰπὼν δαῖμον ἀλιτρονόδων ψυχῶν διάδημα λελογχώς, ἡρέιων ὑπένερθε μυχῶν χθονίων τ' ἐγύπερθεν."

4.20.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θαυμάσιος θεὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πολυπλανὲς δαιμόνιον· τὰ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν λογισμοῦ τάναντία, καθαίρειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ θυσίαις ἐπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας, παρακελευόμενα· καθαρῷ γάρ ψυχῇ μὴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἀνόμοιον. εἰ δὲ δὴ συνετὸς εἶναι καὶ σώφρων ἀνὴρ ὁρθῶς ἐκρίθη ὁ εὐλαβὴς καὶ μὴ θύων δαίμοσιν, ὁ τοῖς πονηροῖς θύειν διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ παραινῶν τίς ἀν εὐλόγως καὶ ποδαπὸς νομισθείη σοὶ καταλείπω σκοπεῖν.

demon, as if he were a friend to him. A bad thing is a friend to what is similar. This is supported by what he wrote earlier in his work "On Philosophy from Reason," which I recount here in detail.

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 without first giving a ransom to the wicked demon. He said: "Give a ransom to the noble inhabitant of the homeland. First, make libations, then offer a fire and dark blood from wine, along with the black streams of wine and white streams." He spoke more clearly about the same things: "Pour wine and milk and beautiful water, and use wood that bears fruit from divine trees; place the entrails with rich streams." When asked 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 | These things come from the wonderful god, but even more from the wandering demon. The opposite of natural reasoning is to purify the soul, not to attract wicked demons with sacrifices, as he advises. A pure soul cannot be harmed because it is unlike them. If a wise and temperate man is rightly seen as 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 think about this.

4.20.3 | ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναδραμόντι προφανές 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, ὥρθότατα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν τελεῖσθαι, ὡρα τοῖς νῦν καταμέμφεσθαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι μηδεὶς ὅμοίως τοῖς πατράσιν εύσεβεῖ.

## 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 εἴεν οὕτε δαίμονες ἀγαθοὶ οἱ πάλαι πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων θεολογούμενοι, πορρωτάτω δὲ τού ἀγαθοῦ ἔξωκισμένοι.

4.21.2 | διὸ καὶ ἐνδίκως θεομάχοι τινὲς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς λεχθεῖν ἀν, τὸν πάντα λυμηνάμενοι βίον, ὃν ἔξ αἰῶνος οὐδεὶς ἥ μόνος ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν φυγὴν προεξένησεν, εὐαγγελιζόμενος ὁμοῦ πάντας Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους Θεραπείαν τῆς πατρικῆς νόσου, καὶ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ παλαιτάτης δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν· ἐφ' ἦν 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 αίχμαλώτοις

4.20.3 | From here, it will be clear who had the nature of this way: those who rejoice in human sacrifices or those who have long been enslaved to all of humanity. If someone claims that the practice of human sacrifice is not wrong and that it was performed correctly by the ancients, then it is time to criticize everyone today, for no one is as pious as their ancestors.

4.21.1 | If those among us have rejected the cruel and savage brutality, then none of the ancients were wise, as they tried to appease the wicked demons with human killings. Even a blind person can see that neither the gods nor the good demons, who were once worshipped by all nations, were far removed from goodness.

4.21.2 | Therefore, it is right that some are called god-fighters and impious, as they ruin all life from ancient times. No one, except our savior and lord Christ of God, has offered escape to all people, announcing healing from the ancestral sickness for both Greeks and non-Greeks, and freedom from bitter and ancient slavery. For this, the message of the gospel encourages 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

άφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, ίάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν.’ καὶ πάλιν ἔξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν πεπεδημένους, καὶ ἔξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει.”

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 εὐλαβεῖς βεῖς καὶ συνετοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ πάντων ἐλεύθεροι κακῶν, οὕτε θύσομεν οὕτε δουλεύσομεν τοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν νενομισμένοις θεοῖς, οἱ δὴ 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 μόνῳ τῷ προσῆκον ἀπονεμοῦμεν σέβας, μόνον γεραίροντες καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εύσεβοῦντες, τες, ούχ ἢ τοῖς δαίμοσι φίλον, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταπεμφθέντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτῆρι διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας παραδέδοται.

4.21.4 | ταύτῃ δὲ θεοσεβοῦντες διώξομεν καὶ ἀπελάσομεν ἐαυτῶν, πολλοῦ δεῖ φοβηθησόμεθα, τοὺς πονηροὺς δαιμόνς 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

brokenhearted.” And to bring out those bound in chains, and those sitting in darkness from the prison house.

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 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. Instead, being lifted up and brought to the teachings of our savior, we will regard the one true God, who is our master and provider, savior and benefactor, as well as 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 sent to all people for salvation through his true gospel teachings.

4.21.4 | In this way, while being God-fearing, we will drive away and remove the wicked demons from ourselves, 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. A pure soul cannot approach what is

άνόμοιον ώμολόγηται ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαντείας καὶ χρησμῶν δεησόμεθα, οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζώων διερευνήσομεν, οὐδέ τι τῶν διὰ δαιμονικῆς κινήσεως νήσεως ἐνεργουμένων πολυπραγμονήσομεν.

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 stirred up by demonic activity.

4.21.5 | Ὡν γὰρ ἔνεκα ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς σπουδάζεται, τούτων ἡμῖν ἀφίστασθαι μελετᾶν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος διεστείλατο, μόνων δὲ ἔκείνων ἐφίεσθαι προύτρεψε, περὶ ὧν ἀληθῶς μάντις μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζώων μηνύσει τὸ σαφὲς, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἔνοικῶν σπλάγχνοις τῶν οἴων τε αὐτὸν δι' ἄκραν ψυχῆς καθαρότητα ἔνδον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς χωρεῖν. περὶ ὧν φησί που ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν "ἔνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπειριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαός."

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 that truly matter. 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 | 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 δόμοιογῶν τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας ἐν σχήμασι πλείοσιν ἐκτυπουμένοις, καὶ παντοίας μορφὰς χαρακτηρίζοντας, λανθάνειν καὶ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀγαθῶν γὰρ, φησὶν, ὑποδύμενοι πρόσωπα καὶ προσεταιριζόμενοι τὰ πλήθη διὰ τοῦ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαίειν, τοὺς ἀνωτάτω θεοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιφημίζεσθαι βούλονται. τοσοῦτόν τέ φησιν αὐτοὺς ἴσχυσαι ὡς ἀπατῆσαι καὶ τοὺς σοφωτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους, οὓς καὶ δόμοιογεῖ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους γεγονέναι διαστροφῆς αἰτίους· ὅτι τε ἔξ αὐτῶν πᾶσα γοητεία συνέστη, καὶ

4.21.6 | These things, then, are clear proof of the wickedness of the demons regarding sacrifices. Listen to what the author of the work on the departure of living beings says about the same matters, openly admitting that the evil demons take on many forms and shapes to deceive and mislead many people. He states that they disguise themselves as good 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 acknowledges as 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

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· τὸν τρόπον

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<sup>ν</sup>  
καὶ κρατοῦνται, διὰ τοῦτο ἄγονταί τε καὶ  
φέρονται λίαν, ὅταν αἱ τοῦ πνεύματος  
όργαί τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι τὴν ὄρμὴν λάβωσιν·  
αὗται δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ δαίμονες μὲν καὶ αὐταὶ,  
κακοεργοὶ δ' ἂν εἰκότως λέγοιντο.

4.22.1 | As for the souls that are not controlled by the continuous spirit, but rather are mostly influenced by it, 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 fair to say they are evil doers.

4.22.2 | καὶ είσιν οἱ σύμπαντες οὗτοί τε καὶ  
οἱ τῆς ἑναντίας δυνάμεως, ἀόρατοί τε καὶ  
τελείως ἀναίσθητοι αἰσθήσεσιν  
ἀνθρωπίναις, οὐ γάρ 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· ἐνίστε 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 beyond human senses. They do not have a solid body, nor do they all share one form; instead, they appear in many shapes. Their spirits take on forms that sometimes become visible and at other times remain 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  
ὡστε τὸ εἴδος αὐτῶν διαμένειν πλείω  
χρόνον, οὐ μήν ἔστιν αἰώνιον· καὶ γάρ  
ἀπορρεῖν αὐτοῦ τι συνεχῶς εἰκός ἔστι καὶ  
τρέπεσθαι.

4.22.3 | Is the spirit bodily? It is passive and perishable. However, because it is so tied to the souls, its form can last for a longer time, but it is not eternal. It is likely to flow away and change constantly.

4.22.4 | ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν

4.22.4 | In balance, the good beings are like the bodies of those who appear, while the

φαινομένων, τῶν δὲ κακοποιῶν ἀσύμμετρα, οἵ πλέον τῷ παθητικῷ νέμοντες τὸν περίγειον τόπον ούδεν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦσι δρᾶν. βίαιον γάρ ὅλως καὶ ὑπουλον ἔχοντες ἥθος, ἐστερημένον τε τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος δαιμονίου, σφοδρόν καὶ αἴφνιδίους, οἷον ἐνέδρας, ὡς τὸ πολὺ ποιοῦν τὰς ἐμπτώσεις, πὴ μὲν λανθάνειν πειρώμενοι, πῆ δὲ βιαζόμενοι.”

4.22.5 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄμοια ποιοῦσι μεταστῆσαι ήμᾶς ἐθέλοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ὁρθῆς ἐννοίας τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιστρέψαι. πᾶσι γάρ 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, ἔξ ὧν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι φύονται καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτων.

4.22.6 | τὸ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ἐπαναβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶνδε, καὶ τὰ ὄμοια ἀναπείθουσι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄριστον θεὸν τούτοις τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπάγειν· ὃ δὴ καὶ τεταράχθαι φασὶ πάντ' ἄνω κάτω. πεπόνθασι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἴδιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβόντων οὐκ ὄλιγοι.

4.22.7 | ἡ δ' αἴτία δι' ἄλλήλων γέγονε. καὶ γάρ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων οἱ μὴ ἀποστάντες τῆς καινῆς φορᾶς εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι συνέβησαν· καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ πλήθη

evil doers are unbalanced. They, being more passive, do nothing but commit evil. Their nature is violent and sneaky, lacking the protection of the stronger spirit. They are fierce and sudden, like traps, often causing people to stumble, sometimes trying to remain hidden and at 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 true understanding of the gods and turn us back to themselves. They take pleasure in everything that arises in such a lawless and inappropriate way. Just as if they were wearing the faces of other gods, they enjoy our foolishness. They gather the crowds by stirring up human desires for love, 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 thing of all is that they rise up from here and persuade others about the greatest gods, even leading the best god into these wrongdoings. They claim that everything is disturbed and turned upside down. This suffering is not only felt by ordinary people but also by many who are involved in philosophy.

4.22.7 | The cause has come about through one another. Among those who study philosophy, those who did not turn away from the new ideas joined with the crowds.

σύμφωνα ταῖς αὐτῶν δόξαις παρὰ τῶν δοκούντων σοφῶν ἀκούοντα ἐπερρώσθη φρονεῖν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

4.22.8 | τὸ μὲν γάρ 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 γάρ θερμότητος, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, τὸ ψύχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὐδὲ ψυχρότητος τὸ θερμαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὕτως οὐδὲ τοῦ δικαίου τὸ βλάπτειν.

4.22.9 | δικαιότατον δὲ δήπου φύσει πάντων τὸ θεῖον, ἐπεὶ ούδ' ἀν ἦν θεῖον. ούκοιν ἀποτεμῆσθαι δεῖ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν καὶ μοῖραν τῶν δαιμόνων τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν. ἡ γάρ βλάπτειν πεφυκυῖά τε καὶ βουλομένη ἐναντία τῇ ἀγαθοεργῷ· τὰ δ' ἐναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο.”

4.22.10 | Καὶ αὖθις “Διὰ μέντοι τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἡ πᾶσα γοητεία ἐπιτελεῖται· τούτους γάρ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν ἔκτιμῶσιν 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 ἐρωτικὰ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ κακοδαίμονες· πᾶσα γάρ ἀκολασία καὶ

Again, the crowds, agreeing with their beliefs, became even more convinced by those who appeared wise to think more about such matters concerning the gods.

4.22.8 | The poetic has stirred up people's beliefs by using language that creates surprise and enchantment, leading to confusion and a belief in the most impossible things. It is important to understand that neither good ever harms nor evil ever helps. 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, the just does not cause harm.

4.22.9 | The divine is indeed the most just by nature of all things, since it would not be divine otherwise. Therefore, it is necessary to separate this power and role of the helpful spirits. To harm is naturally and willingly the opposite of being helpful; and opposites concerning the same thing could never occur.

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 can deceive through magic. Through these, the evil spirits create charms and love potions; for all wickedness and hopes for wealth and glory come through these,

πλούτων ἔλπις καὶ δόξης διὰ τούτων, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἀπάτη.

4.22.12 | τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος τούτοις οίκεῖον· βούλονται γὰρ εἶναι θεοὶ καὶ ἡ προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις δοκεῖν θεὸς εἶναι ὁ μέγιστος. οὗτοι οἱ χαίροντες ‘λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τέ,’ δι’ ᾧν αὐτῶν τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ σωματικὸν πιαίνεται. ζῆ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀτμοῖς καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεσι, ποικίλως διὰ τῶν ποικίλων, καὶ δυναμοῦται ταῖς ἐκ τῶν αἰμάτων καὶ σαρκῶν θυσίαις.”

4.22.13 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ἀκηκόαμεν ὅμοιογούντων 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 αὐτοὶ οὐ θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ πονηροὺς δαίμονας περιέποντες τὰ πλήθη καὶ τοὺς δήμους εἰς τὴν ὄμοιαν πλάνην ἔξετραχήσιαν.

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 ἔξ ήμῶν κατηγορεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὰ οίκεῖα μᾶλλον ἡ ἡμεῖς εἰδότων.

4.22.15 | ὡς γέ τοι αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς οὐ παρέργως ὄμιλήσας τῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσῃ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ φησὶ τοὺς

especially deceit.

4.22.12 | For falsehood is natural to them; they wish to be gods, and their leader seems to be the greatest god. These beings rejoice in offerings and incense, through which their spiritual and physical existence is nourished. For this thrives on steam and vapors, in various ways through different offerings, and is strengthened by sacrifices of blood and flesh.

4.22.13 | For this reason, we have heard those who agree that not only the poets among the Greeks have sparked people's beliefs about the wicked spirits as if they were gods and good, but also those engaged in philosophy who seem to take the gods seriously. These philosophers do not worship true gods; instead, they surround the crowds and the people with the same kind of deception.

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, based on their beliefs. This accusation does not come from us, but from those who understand their own matters better than we do.

4.22.15 | The author himself, not casually, discusses the widespread hidden superstition, stating that the wicked spirits

πονηροὺς δαίμονας βούλεσθαι εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ ἀγαθῶν δόξαν ἔχειν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τίς τε προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις τυγχάνει ὃ αὐτὸς πάλιν διασαφήσει, τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων λέγων εἶναι τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην· ἡ δὲ θεία γραφὴ τὸν βελζεβούλ. ἀκουε δ' ὅπως καὶ περὶ τούτου του γράφει ἐν τοῖς "Περὶ τῆς ἑκ- λογίων φιλοσοφίας."

## Section 23

4.23.1 | "Τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δαίμονας οὐκ εἴκῃ ὑπὸ τὸν Σάραπιν ὑποπτεύομεν, οὐδὲ 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' Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξι καὶ ὄλως παρὰ τοῖς τὰ θεῖα σοφοῖς ἴμαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵεροῖς ἐπιρρήσσονται, καὶ ζῷα προσουδίζεται πρὸ τῆς θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν, ἔξελαυνόντων τῶν ἱερέων τούτους, διὰ τοῦ δοῦναι πνεῦμα, ἢ ἀῖμα ζώων, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος πληγῆς, ἔνα τούτων ἀπελθόντων παρουσίᾳ του θεοῦ γένηται.

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

want to be seen as gods and to have a good reputation among people. He will clarify which power leads them, saying that the rulers of these wicked spirits are Sarapis and Hecate, while the divine scripture mentions Beelzebub. Pay attention 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 good reason, nor just because of 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 these spirits, providing symbols for their worship.

4.23.2 | This one also showed the worshippers that all living beings approach humans in a similar way. Therefore, among the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, and 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 animals away to provide their spirit or blood, and through the strike of the air, when one of them leaves, the presence of the god is created.

4.23.3 | And every house is full, and for this reason, they clean and drive these away whenever they call upon a god. The bodies are indeed full of these spirits; for they

μάλιστα ταῖς ποιαῖς τροφαῖς χαίρουσι.  
σιτουμένων γάρ ήμῶν προσίασι καὶ  
προφαῖνουσι τῷ σώματι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἱ  
ἀγνεῖαι, οὐ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προηγουμένως,  
ἄλλ' ἐν' οὗτοι ἀποστῶσι. μάλιστα δὲ αἴματι  
χαίρουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις, καὶ  
ἀπολαύουσι τούτων εἰσδύνοντες τοῖς  
χρωμένοις.

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 only after these spirits withdraw.  
They especially enjoy blood and impurities,  
and they take pleasure in these by entering  
into those who are affected.

4.23.4 | ὅλως γάρ ἡ ἐπίτασις τῆς πρός τι  
ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς  
όρέξεως 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 do  
not become strong from anywhere else  
except from their presence. They also  
compel people to fall into silent sounds and  
breaths through the shared pleasure that  
occurs with them.

4.23.5 | ὅπου γάρ πνεύματος πλείονος ὄλκὴ  
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  
γάρ ὁ θεὸς ὅταν εἰσκριθῇ, πολυπλασιάζεται  
τὸ πνεῦμα."

4.23.5 | For where there is a stronger pull  
of the spirit, or where the belly is filled with  
pleasure, or where eagerness is driven by  
delight and much is drawn from outside,  
there let the presence of such spirits be  
revealed to you. Up to this point, human  
nature dares to discover the traps set  
around it; for when the god is mixed in, the  
spirit multiplies.

4.23.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πονηρῶν  
δαιμόνων, ὃν φησιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι τὸν  
Σάραπιν. καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην δὲ τούτων ἄρχειν  
ὁ αὐτὸς διδάσκει λέγων οὕτως "Μήποτε  
οὗτοί εἰσιν ὃν ἄρχει ὁ Σάραπις, καὶ τούτων  
σύμβολον ὁ τρίκρανος κύων, τουτέστιν ὁ  
ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, ὕδατι, γῇ, ἀέρι,  
πονηρὸς δαίμων· οὓς καταπαύει ὁ θεὸς ὁ  
ἔχων ὑπὸ χεῖρα. ἄρχει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ  
Ἐκάτη, ὡς συνέχουσα τὸ τρίστοιχον." Καὶ

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, meaning  
the one in the three elements: water, earth,  
and air, a wicked demon; whom the god  
who has power over them calms. And  
Hecate also rules over them, as she holds

πάλιν φησὶν

4.23.7 | “Ἐν χρηστήριον ἔτι παραθεὶς, ὅπερ  
αὐτὴ ἡ Ἐκάτη πεποίηται, καταπαύσω τὸν  
περὶ ταύτης λόγουν ἥδ’ ἐγώ είμι κόρη  
πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος, ταυρῶπις,  
τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνῆς, χρυσοβέλεμνος, Φοίβη  
ἀπειρολεχῆς, φαεσίμβροτος  
Εἴλήθυια, τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα  
τρισσὰ φέρουσα· αἱθέρα μὲν πυρόεσσιν  
ἔειδομένη εἰδώλοις, ἡέρα δ’ ἀργεννοῖσι  
τροχάσμασιν ἀμφικάθημαι· γαῖα δ’ ἐμῶν  
σκυλάκων δνοφερὸν γένος ἡνιοχεύει·”

4.23.8 | οἵς ἐπιλέγει ὁ συγγραφεὺς σαφῶς  
τίνες οἱ σκύλακες· ὅτι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες,  
περὶ ᾧν 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 ἔτι  
μᾶλλον διὰ πλειόνων κρατύνωμεν.

together the threefold nature.” And again he says...

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 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 | The author clearly specifies which dogs he means: they are wicked demons, about which we have just stopped speaking. So much for these things. As for the demons being truly wicked and bringing nothing good, those worshipped by many, let us strengthen this even more with more examples.

## Book Five (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

5.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Ἰκανὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ  
προπαρατεθέντα συστῆσαι ἦν ὅτι μὴ θεοὶ,  
μηδ’ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, 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

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. We are not troubled to further strengthen this same argument with more and stronger evidence of their falsehood, which, through the teaching of our Savior, has brought freedom to all people from the old evils.

προξενηθεῖσαν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις  
έλευθερίαν τῶν πάλαι κακῶν ἐκφαινούσης.

5.1.2 | ἄκουε τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων  
ὅμολογούντων ἐκλελοιπέναι 'ναι αὐτῶν τὰ  
χρηστήρια, οὐκ ἄλλοτέ ποτε ἔξ 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 ούδέπω  
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 εὐαγγελικήν  
διδασκαλίαν εἰλήφασιν αἴ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς  
ἔθνεσιν ὡμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεῶς ἐπιτελούμεναι  
τὸ πρὶν ἀνθρωποθυσίαι· οἵς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
παρόντος προσθεῖναι καλὸν ὅτι μὴ μόνον  
ἔξ ἐκείνου τὰ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀπέσβῃ  
δεισιδαιμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν  
πολυαρχίας.

5.1.5 | σχεδὸν γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόκαὶ καὶ  
κώμην βασιλεῖς καὶ τυράννους τοπάρχας  
τε καὶ δυνάστας παλαιὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν,  
ἔθναρχίας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας, δι' ἃς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοὺς κατ' ἄλλήλων πολέμους συνεχῶς  
δρμῶντες δηρώσεις τε χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων  
πολιορκίας ἀνδραποδισμούς τε καὶ  
αίχμαλωσίας τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ  
παντὸς ἐνήργουν, πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων

5.1.2 | So listen, then, to the Greeks  
admitting that their oracles have been  
abandoned, 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 shone 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  
abandoned.

5.1.4 | It has already been shown that 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 carried out among all  
the nations have come to an end. It is worth  
noting that not only has the fear of demons  
disappeared since then, 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 them, people were always rushing into  
wars against each other, causing  
destruction of lands and sieges of cities,  
and constantly capturing and enslaving  
those nearby. They were driven by their

δαιμόνων ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' ἄλλήλων πόλεμον  
έξιστρούμενοι.

5.1.6 | ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων ἐν ὅποιᾳ τότε  
συγχύσει κακῶν συμφορῶν τε ἐπαλλήλων  
ὸ πᾶς ἐνέσχητο βίος καὶ αὐτῷ σοι  
παραλείπω σκοπεῖν.

5.1.7 | τούτων δὴ οὖν ἀθρόως ἀπάντων  
ὅμοιοῦ 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 οίκουμένην  
προσευκτήρια καὶ ναοὶ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ  
δημιουργῷ τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ μόνῳ θεῷ ἐν  
τε πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις βαρβάρων τε ἔθνῶν  
ἐν ἑρημίαις 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 ὅμοιοῦ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν εἰς  
ἐπήκοον παραδέδονται, νεκρὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ  
δαιμόνων πάντα χρηστήριά τε καὶ  
μαντεύματα;

5.1.8 | οὐδέ τις εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνθρώπων  
μέμηνε νῦν, ἐξ οὐπερ εἰς πάντας φωτὸς  
δίκην ἔξελαμψεν ἢ 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

own demons to fight 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  
think about.

5.1.7 | Therefore, when all these things  
were gathered together, along with the  
many false beliefs that had been cast aside,  
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, in both  
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  
and divinations, was now lifeless.

5.1.8 | No one has ever dared to believe  
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.

ζν.

5.1.9 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τι καὶ ίσχύειν 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

5.1.9 | Regarding the fact that the wicked demons can no longer have power or strength since our savior came to humans, even the leader of the demons among us, while speaking of this, testifies to the truth of the matter.

5.1.10 | "Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν είτοσούτων ἔτῶν κατείληφε τὴν πόλιν ἡ νόσος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μηκέτ' οὕστης. Ἰησοῦ γάρ τιμωμένου οὐδεμιᾶς τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἥσθετο."

5.1.10 | Now they are amazed that for so many years the city has been free from 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 | Ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αύτοῖς ὁ Πορφύριος. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν δομολογίαν Ἰησοῦ τιμωμένου οὐδεμιᾶς τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἥσθετο, μηκέτ' οὕστης μήτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐπιδημίας μήτε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, πόθεν δὴ λοιπὸν τὸ ὡς περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων δόγμα;

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 nor the other gods present, then where does the belief about the gods and heroes come from?

5.1.12 | τί γάρ ούχὶ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰησοῦ δυνάμεως; εἰ δὴ ὁ μὲν θνητὸς, ὡς ἀν φαῖεν, ἀνθρωπος — τάχα δ' ἀν εἴποιεν ὅτι καὶ πλάνος — οἵ δὲ σωτῆρες καὶ θεοὶ, τί δῆτα τοίνυν πάντες ἀθρώως αὐτῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ πεφεύγασι, τὰ νῶτα 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 like this, then why have all of them fled from Asclepius, turning their backs on the mortal, and 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 ὀσημέραι διαιωνίζει τιμώμενος, ἄντικρυς τῆς μετὰ θάνατον ζωῆς τὸ ἐναργὲς καὶ ἔνθεον τοῖς οἷοις τε συνορᾶν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.

5.1.14 | ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴς ὅν, καὶ, ὡς ἂν 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 πονηροὶ· μόνου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ καταπέμψαντος αὐτὸν θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων αὔξειν ὀσημέραι τὰς τιμάμας, καὶ εἰς μεῖζον ἀρετῆς καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐπιδιδόναι,

5.1.15 | δέον ϕεματιλιν τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς, εἰ δή τινες ὄντως ἡσαν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κηδεμόνες, τοῦ μὲν ἄρδην μεταστήσασθαι τὴν πλάνην, εἰ ἄρα τις ἦν, αὐτὸὺς δὲ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ ὠφελείας ἀφθόνως τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμπαρέχειν.

5.1.16 | νυνὶ δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπικεχείρηται μὲν πολλάκις, διὰ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἀρχόντων τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κραταιοτάτην πολεμησάντων διδασκαλίαν ἄπρακτον δ' ὅμως εὑροντο 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, αὐτοὺς τε ἐλαυνούσης, δαίμονας μὲν ἀληθῶς φαύλους ὄντας, ψευδῶς δὲ νενομισμένους εἶναι θεοὺς ἢ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς

5.1.13 | But he is honored every day by all the nations even after death, clearly showing the divine and the life after death to those who are able to see it.

5.1.14 | But being one, and as someone might think, alone, he drives away the many gods from all over the world and holds their honors in contempt, as if the gods no longer exist, do not act, or 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 | It is necessary for the gods, if any were truly guardians of the earth, to completely change the deception, if there was any, and to provide their help and benefits freely to everyone.

5.1.16 | Now, this has often been attempted by those in power over time, to teach the strongest doctrine of our savior. Yet, they found their efforts fruitless, always being overcome by the divine power of our savior. They destroyed all the rebellions of wicked demons against his teaching, driving them away—spirits that are truly worthless but falsely believed to be gods or good demons.

δαίμονας.

## 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 δ' ἃς ὑστερον  
ἀποδώσομεν αἴτιας, τάφοις νεκρῶν καὶ μνήμασι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ μυσαρῷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ ψλῃ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες, αἴμασί τε καὶ λύθροις καὶ παντοίων ζώων σώμασι τῇ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔξατμιζομένων ἀναδόσει χαίροντες, οἵ τε τούτων ἄρχοντες ἀέριοί τινες ὑπάρχοντες, ἥ καὶ καταχθόνιοι δυνάμεις, ἐπεὶ κατέμαθον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος κάτω που περὶ νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποίαν  
ἱλυσπώμενον, 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 ξοάνων, ἢ δὴ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν κατοιχομένων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀφιέρωται, καὶ ταῖς διὰ χρησμῶν φαντασίαις, θεραπείαις τε σωμάτων, ἢ διὰ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας ἀφανῶς αὐτοὶ λυμαινόμενοι, πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνέσεως ἐλευθέρους παθῶν ἡφίεσαν.

5.2.2 | δι' ὧν 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.

5.2.1 | These beings, some of whom are said to be earthly and some underground, wander through the heavy and dark air on the earth. 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 among the dead, are especially pleased by the sacrifices and offerings made with great effort. They are nearby, assisting the deception, preying on the evils of humans, and easily deceiving foolish souls with movements of statues, which are indeed dedicated in honor of the dead. They also use visions from oracles and the services of bodies, which they secretly corrupt through their own actions. Meanwhile, the same beings, through their release from these actions, grant freedom from passions.

5.2.2 | Because of this, they led the superstitious ones further 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 | ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν ἥδη μείζων τις εἶναι καὶ σεμνοτέρα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνομίζετο ἡ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης ὑπόληψις, μεταβαινούσης τῆς διανοίας ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρωμένων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῶν ἔγκρυπτομένων τοῖς ξοάνοις, καὶ τὴν πλάνην κραταιότερον ἐπικυρούσης .

5.2.4 | οὕτω δῆτα λοιπὸν οἱ περίγειοι δαίμονες, οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀέρα κοσμοκράτορες καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ὅ τε ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς κακίας ἔξαρχων, θεῶν οἱ μέγιστοι παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐνομίζοντο· ἡ τε τῶν πάλαι νεκρῶν μνήμη τῆς μείζονος ἡξιοῦτο θεραπείας.

5.2.5 | ὃν τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἴδεας οἱ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἀφιερωμένων είκόνων φέρειν ἀδόκουν τύποι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐνθέους καὶ ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες καθυπεκρίνοντο διὰ πολλῆς τερατοποιίας· καὶ αὐτῶν ἥδη τῶν θεραπεύοντων καὶ ιερωμένων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀεὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς φαντασίας τῦφον ἀπαγόντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ γοητικαῖς κακοτεχνίαις τὰ πολλὰ συσκευαζόντων, τῆς καὶ τούτων διδασκαλίας αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων τοῖς θεραπεύουσι προκαταρξάντων. οὕδε γοῦν καὶ τῆς ἀρχεκάκου γοητείας παντὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ κατέστησαν αἴτιοι, ὡσπεροῦν ὁ πρὸ τούτου διήλεγξε λόγος.

### Section 3

5.3.1 | Τούτων τοιγαροῦν τῶν μοχθηρῶν καὶ περιγείων δαιμόνων, τῶν τε ἀερίων καὶ καταχθονίων πνευμάτων, οὓς

5.2.3 | From this, the belief in many gods became stronger and more serious for many, as their thinking shifted from what is seen to the hidden things connected 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, along with the greatest gods of all, were believed to be in charge of all evil. The memory of the long-dead was seen as deserving 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 wicked demons through much trickery. Even those who served and honored them always led people away from the greater delusion of imagination, and indeed often packaged many things with magical tricks. Their teachings also became a starting point for the wicked demons who assisted those who served them. Thus, they became the cause of ancient evil magic in all human life, as the earlier discussion explained.

5.3.1 | Therefore, these wicked and surrounding demons, both the airy and the underworld spirits, whom the divine words

κοσμοκράτορας καὶ πνευματικὰ πονηρίας ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἔξουσίας οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι προσαγορεύουσι, τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας 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 ὁ πλάνος ἀνθρώποις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήει, τῶν μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἥρωας καὶ δαίμονας, ἄλλ' οὐ θεοὺς ὑπάρχειν ὅμολογούντων, 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 καὶ φασι δια τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἔστι τρέχειν, διὰ τε τὸ αἴτίους εἶναι τοῦ θεωρεῖν τὰ ὄρώμενα, πρώτους θεοὺς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι· δεύτερον τὸ διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν κοινὸν βίον, ὡς φασιν, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτετιμημένον, ὃ δὴ ἔξ ἀνθρώπων γεγεννῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅμολογοῦσι, τοὺς καλουμένους ἥρωας παραφέροντες, ραλέα καὶ Διοσκούρους, Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βαρβάροις ὅμοιους.

5.3.3 | ἔξ ᾧν ἀφορίσαντες καὶ διαστειλάμενοι τὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰσχρότερα μνημονευόμενα τρίτον εἶδος θεοποίας ὑπέθεντο, μυθικὸν αὐτὸ ἐπικαλέσαντες. ὃ δὴ ἐπαισχυνθέντεσ, καίπερ ἀληθὲς καὶ παλαίτατον τυγχάνον, ἐπὶ τὸ φυσικωτερον, ὡς φασι, μεταβεβλήκασι τροπικωτέραις

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 signs of wickedness became clear through their actions, many deceived people believed even more that they were gods, 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, insisting that the wicked should be appeased for the harm they caused. Thus, all of their deification fell into many forms.

5.3.2 | First, the 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 visible things. Second, because of the benefits they provide to everyday life, the heroes are honored, and it is acknowledged that they came from humans. They refer to figures like 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 aspects related to the same, and they added a third kind of deification, calling it mythical. This was indeed considered shameful, and although it was true and very old, they shifted it toward a more natural explanation, as they say, changing it with

άλληγορίαις, θεωρίας δή τινας εύρεσιλογήσαντες.

more metaphorical interpretations and inventing certain theories.

5.3.4 | ἀλλ' ούδ' εἰς τοῦτο πλάνης αὐτοῖς ἀπήρκει στῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν οίκείων παθῶν τὸ σεβάσμιου καὶ προσκυνητὸν ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καταβαλόντες τέταρτον θεοποίας προσεπενοήσατο τρόπον, ούδ' ἀντιρρήσεως ἄξιον, τῷ καὶ αὐτὸν προφανὲς ἐπάυεσθαι τὸ αἴσχος,

5.3.4 | But even this deception was not enough for them; they also lowered the revered and worshipped name of the god to fit their own passions, creating a fourth kind of deification. This was not even worthy of opposition, as it clearly put an end to the shame itself.

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.

5.3.5 | If they indeed called Eros and Aphrodite, along with their shameful and unrestrained desires, gods, and assigned reason to Hermes and thought to Athena, they included these in their own theology, reshaping the fifth kind of deification from the things that occur among humans.

5.3.6 | τὰς γὰρ ἐνεργείας τάς τε πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς τεχνικὰς ἀνειδωλοποιήσαντες θεοῖς ἀπένειμαν, Ἄρει μὲν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὰς πολεμικὰς, Ἡφαίστῳ δὲ καὶ τισιν ἐτέροις τὰς τεχνικάς.

5.3.6 | For they took the activities, both martial and artistic, away from being idols and assigned them to the gods, giving the martial ones to Ares and Athena, and the artistic ones to Hephaestus and a few 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 multifaceted. Sometimes it pretended to be gods, other times it claimed to be the souls of the dead. It contributed nothing to the virtue of the soul, but always lurked around, bringing everything through the deceptive trickery of superstition.

5.3.8 | ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ διόλου φαῦλον ὃν εἰς δύο διελόντες, εἴς τε τὸ βλαπτικὸν καὶ εἴς τὸ ὡρελοῦν, ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων αὐτοῖς τεθείκασι προσηγορίας.

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.

5.3.10 | 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

5.3.8 | This, being entirely 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 | Since these things are true, it seems necessary for me to present the part that requires no contradiction regarding divine activity. We will now fill in what is missing, having previously looked at it in the writing before this.

5.3.10 | So let us now move on 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 discusses the divination and oracles of evil spirits among the nations in this manner.

## Section 4

5.4.1 | “Εὗ μὲν οὖν λέγουσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι Πλάτων’ τὸ ταῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον ἔξευρὼν, ἣν 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 ταύτο καὶ συνάπτον ἔξευρόντες, εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἔστιν, εἴτε Θράκιος ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως, ἢ Αἴγυπτιος, ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἐκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμιγμένα

5.4.1 | Indeed, those who say that Plato discovered the element underlying the qualities of things, which they call matter, are speaking rightly. He freed many philosophers from great difficulties. However, 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 and bring us together, whether this idea comes from the magicians around Zoroaster, from the Thracians inspired by Orpheus, from the Egyptians, or from the Phrygians, as we can see from the many

πολλὰ θνητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν  
όργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων Ἱερῶν  
δρῶντες. Ἐλλήνων δὲ “Ομηρος μὲν  
έπιφαίνεται κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενος  
τοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε  
δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Ἡσίοδος δὲ  
καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτον ‘τὸν  
ἔξεθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη· θεοὺς,  
εἴτα δαίμονας, εἴτα ἥρωας, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν,  
ἀνθρώπους. ἔξ ὕπον ἔοικε ποιεῖν τὴν  
μεταβολὴν, τοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ γένους εἰς  
δαίμονας πολλοὺς κάγαθοὺς, τῶν δ'  
ἡμιθέων εἰς ἥρωας ἀποκριθέντων.”

5.4.2 | Εἶθ’ ἐξῆς φησιν “Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν  
τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς Δημητρίῳ  
διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ κἄν πλείων εἴη  
χρόνος, κἄν ἐλάττων, κἄν τεταγμένος, κἄν  
ἄτακτος, ἐνῷ μεταλλάττει δαίμονος ψυχὴ  
καὶ ἥρωος βίος, οὐδὲν ἵττον ἐφ' ᾧ  
βιούλεται δεδείξεται μετὰ μαρτύρων  
σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ὅτι φύσεις τινές εἰσιν  
ῶσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
δεχόμεναι πάθη θνητὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς  
ἀναγκαίας, οὓς δαίμονας ὄρθως ἔχει κατὰ  
νόμον πατέρων ἡγουμένους καὶ  
όνομάζοντας σέβεσθαι.” Τούτοις μεθ’ ἔτερα  
ἐπιλέγει Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς  
χρηστηρίοις μὴ θεοὺς, οἵς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν  
περὶ γῆν προσῆκόν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας  
ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς  
ἀξιοῦσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις,  
μονονουχὶ δραχμῇ λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν  
ἐπῶν τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ἀμαρτίας καὶ  
ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν,  
τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὕσπερ  
ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον  
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον.’

mortal and sorrowful rituals mixed in 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 presented four kinds of rational beings: gods, then demons, then heroes, and finally, humans. From these, it seems he makes the distinction, turning many good beings of the golden race into demons, while the half-gods are separated into heroes.

5.4.2 | Then he continues, “But concerning these matters, it is not necessary for us to disagree with 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, it will still be shown by wise and ancient witnesses that there are certain natures that, like those between gods and humans, experience mortal feelings and necessary changes. These are the demons, rightly regarded according to the law of our ancestors, who are to be honored.” With this, he adds other points: “It seems to me that placing the oracles not with the gods, from whom it is fitting to be separated regarding earthly matters, but with demons who serve the gods, is not a bad idea. However, for these demons to take 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 εἰρημένοις ταῦτα "Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν ἔστι λείψανον, ὡς περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὥν 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· ἐօρτάς 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 ἄλλαι ὄρινόμεναι ὥιψαύχενι 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 ἔστιν, οὕτε μάτην ἀν ἐδέχοντο βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ, παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ καταρχόμενοι καὶ σφάττοντες, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὄργας καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ ἀποπιμπλάντες ἀλαδτόρων, ἐνίων δὲ μανικοὺς ἔρωτας, οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων δύμιλεῖν. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ Ἡρακλῆς Οίχαλίαν ἐπολιόρκει 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.'

5.4.4 | Σαφῶς διὰ τούτων ὁ προδηλωθεὶς

5.4.3 | And again, he adds to what has been said, "For there are differences in virtue among humans and demons. For some, the passive and irrational are weak and dim, 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, where there are acts of cannibalism and violent disruptions, fasting and wailing, and many shameful acts toward the sacred, as well as other frenzies stirred up by reckless behavior, I would say they are performed not for any gods, but to ward off lesser demons. It is unlikely 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, while some would be driven 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 | Clearly, through these things, the

φιλόσοφος ὅτι δαίμοσι πονηροῖς τὰ προειρημένα κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπετελεῖτο παρέστησεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες ἡσαν ἐν τούτοις, ὡς φασιν, ἀγαθοὶ τὴν φύσιν ἢ καὶ θεοὶ, τί χρῆν θεραπεύειν τοὺς φαύλους, πρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπελαύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς δέον;

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 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. We should turn away through wise words and prayers, but not be led astray by shameful practices from the opposing powers.

5.4.6 | ὅτε δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, βίῳ δ' αἰσχρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ καὶ ἥγμασιν 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, τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ, ἢ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θείαις δυνάμεσιν, ἢ ὅλως ἀγαθοῖς τισὶ προσοικειοῦσθαι;

5.4.6 | But when they did none of these things, and instead lived a shameful and reckless life, using indecent words, they offered acts of cannibalism and violent disruptions to the wicked demons. How could they do such things and still expect to be favored by the god above all, 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 φίλα 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 someone who does what is dear to the wicked can never 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

5.4.8 | Moreover, Plutarch believes this statement even more when he says that the mythical stories about the gods are actually

εῖναί τινας περὶ δαιμόνων, τά τε παρ'  
Ἐλλησιν ἀδόμενα γιγαντικά τινα καὶ  
Τιτανικὰ δαιμονικὰ εῖναι διηγήματα, ὡς  
καινοτέραν ὑποβάλλειν διάνοιαν.

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  
ἔγεννήθησαν οἱ γίγαντες οἵ ὄνομαστοὶ ἐξ  
αἰώνος.”

5.4.10 | εἶποι γάρ ἂν τις τούτους ἐκείνους  
εῖναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πνεύματα παρὰ τοῖς  
μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις τεθεοποιημένα, καὶ  
τὰς ἐκείνων μάχας, τάς τε πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
διαστάσεις, καὶ τοὺς πολέμους. ταῦτ' εῖναι  
τὰ ὡς περὶ θεῶν μυθευόμενα. λέγει δ' οὗν ὁ  
Πλούταρχος ἐν ᾧ συνέταξε λόγῳ "Περὶ  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν "Ισιν καὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίων  
θεούς" αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι ταῦτα

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 | Could it be that the things said about the giants before the flood in the sacred writings are connected to those who were born from them? 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 | 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 mentions these ideas in his writing, "On the Gods of Isis and the Egyptians."

## Section 5

5.5.1 | "Βέλτιον οὖν οἱ τὰ περὶ Τυφῶνα καὶ  
Οσιριν καὶ Ἰσιν ἱστορούμενα μήτε θεῶν  
πάθη, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων  
μεγάλων εῖναι νομίζοντες, οὓς καὶ Πλάτων  
καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ  
Χρύσιππος, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις,  
ἐρρωμενεστέρους 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

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 these beings have become stronger than humans and far exceed us in power. However, they do not possess the divine nature purely or completely; instead, they are mixed with the nature of the soul and the senses of the body, experiencing both

πόνον, καὶ ὅσα ταύταις γινόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον, τοὺς δὲ ἥττον ἐπιταράττει. γίνονται γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. τὰ γὰρ γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικὰ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀδόμενα, καὶ πολλαὶ τινες ἀθεσμοὶ πράξεις, καὶ Πυθῶνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς Απόλλωνα, φυγαί τε Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος, οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὀσιριακῶν καὶ Τυφωνικῶν, ὃν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἔχεστι μυθολογουμένων ἀκούειν· ὅσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς μυθολογουμένων τελεταῖς ἄρρητα διασώζεται καὶ ἀθέατα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅμοιον ἔχει λόγον.”

pleasure and pain. The changes that 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, the conflicts of Python against Apollo, the banishments of Dionysus, and the wanderings of Demeter, include everything found in the Osirian and Typhonic tales, which can be heard everywhere in mythology. Additionally, whatever is preserved in secret rituals and unspeakable ceremonies has a similar meaning to the gods.

#### 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 δὲ ἐξ αὐγὰς ἡλίου ἀκάμαντος· ὁ δὲ αἴθέρος ἔμβαλε δύναις ἄλλος δὲ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες· ἄχρις οὖν κολασθέντες αὔθις τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἀπολάβωσι. τούτων δὴ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδελφὰ λέγεσθαί φασι περὶ Τυφῶνος, ὡς δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας είργασατο, πάντα πράγματα ταράξας, ἐνέπλησε δὲ κακῶν γῆν ὁμοῦ τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλασσαν, εἴτα δίκην ἔδωκε.”

#### 5.5.2 | And he goes on to say that

Empedocles claims the demons give justice to those who have sinned and done wrong. They pursue the ether with their strength, but they spit out the earth from the depths of the sea, and the earth reaches up to the rays of the tireless sun. The ether throws them into whirlpools, and one receives them from another, and all of them are despised until they are punished and once again take their natural place and order. Indeed, they say that these things and similar stories are told about Typhon, how he caused terrible things out of envy and hostility, disturbing everything, and filled both the earth and the sea with evils, and then he was punished.

#### 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

#### 5.5.3 | These things Plutarch presents in

the mentioned writing, and by exploring many points, he shares similar ideas in “On the Oracles of the Departed.” He claims that the oracle was linked to demons and had much to say about the Delphic oracle. He

άνηγεν είς δαίμονας, νᾶς, πλεῖστον δὲ Δελφῶν λόγον εἶχε, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δρωμένων ιερῶν οὐδενὸς ἀνήκοος ἦν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινα 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 Ούρανόν" 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 Ἀρσαλον καὶ Ἀρυτον καὶ Τόσιβιν, ἔψυγε, καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὅποιδήποτε—τοῦτο γάρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν—ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρσαλον σκιροὺς 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 ἡμῶν ὁ μέν τίς ἔστι Δῖος 5 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἢ Διονύσιος, ἢ Ἔρμαιος. ἀλλ' ἔνιοι μὲν ὄρθως κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηδὲν προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ἐνηλλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν

was aware 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 matters concerning the Pythia. For the one who kills, there is neither a nine-year period nor a flight to the Tempe; instead, 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 guarded by Themis. He also speaks of the Typhonic and Titan-like battles that occurred 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. The honors for these figures among us have become dimmer or have completely disappeared, having moved to another world. I also hear about the Solymi, the people of Lycia, who especially honor Cronus. After killing their leaders Arsalon, Aryton, and Tosius, he fled and moved wherever he could—this they cannot say. He was neglected, but those around 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.

παρωνυμίας.”

5.5.4 | Τοσαῦθ' ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς  
ἐσπούδασε “Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων  
χρηστηρίων,” πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ  
θνήσκειν παριστάς τοὺς δαίμονας, ὃ 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 αὗθις  
ἢ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευὴν πεποιημένος ἐν  
οἷς ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων  
φιλοσοφίας ἑκτίθεται μάλιστα γὰρ αὐτῷ  
καὶ νῦν ὕσπερ οὖν καὶ πολλάκις μάρτυρι  
χρήσομαι καὶ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς περὶ οὓς  
ὑπολαμβάνουσι θεοὺς πλάνης, ὡς ἀν ἐκ  
τῶν οίκείων βελῶν καὶ τοξευμάτων  
βαλλόμενοι καταισχύνοιντο.

5.5.6 | οὕτως γὰρ καὶ γένοιτ’ ἀν ἡμῖν ἔξ  
αὐτῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς c προσφιλῶν, καὶ δὴ  
καὶ εὔσεβῶν νενομισμένων, ἀκριβῶς τε τὸν  
περὶ τῶν οίκείων λόγον διηρευνηκότων,  
ἀνελλιπής καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἡ τῶν  
προκειμένων ἀπόδειξις.

5.5.7 | γράφει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν  
οἷς ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων  
φιλοσοφίας” ἐνθα μαρτύρεται μὴ τὰ  
ἀπόρρητα τῶν θεῶν ἐκφαίνειν,  
ἐπομνύμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ παραγγέλλων  
κρύπτειν καὶ μὴ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ  
λεχθησόμενα.

5.5.4 | Plutarch discusses much in his work  
“On the Oracles of the Departed,”  
presenting the demons as also capable of  
dying, which I will mention at the right  
time.

5.5.5 | For now, let us gather all the other  
information about the power and activity of  
the good demons, as he says, the one who  
has created our collection, in which he  
wrote “On the Philosophy of Reason.” He  
presents many things to him, and now, just  
as before, I will often use evidence and  
arguments against those who think they  
are gods, so that they may be shamed as if  
they were struck by arrows and darts.

5.5.6 | For this reason, it could also happen  
to us that those who are dear to the gods,  
and indeed the pious who are respected,  
would provide a complete and undeniable  
proof concerning their own matters when  
thoroughly examined.

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. He both swears an oath  
and instructs that they should be kept  
hidden and not shared with many people.

5.5.8 | τίνα δὲ ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸν Πᾶνα Διονύσου φησὶ θεράποντα εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅντα δαιμόνων ἐπιφνέντα ποτὲ τοῖς κατ' ἄγρὸν γεωπουοῦσι. τί χρῆν ἀγαθὸν ὅντα παρασχεῖν ἢ πάντως ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς παρουσίαν τοῖς τῆς θεοφανείας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κατηξιωμένοις;

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 ἀθρουν θάνατον ὑπομεῖναι λέγων ὡδε

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 show some sign of goodness to those who have been deemed worthy of the appearance of the good?

5.5.9 | Was there then some good thing for those who see the good demon, or did they encounter an evil demon, becoming aware through their experiences? Indeed, the remarkable 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 οὶ μὲν θεράποντές τινων ἀνεδείχθησαν, ὃς ὁ Πᾶν τοῦ Διονύσου· δεδήλωλκε δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ἐν Βραγχίδαις Ἀπόλλων διὰ τούτων. ἐννέα γὰρ εὐρέθησαν ἀποθανόντες· πυνθανομένων οὖν τῶν τὸν ἄγρὸν οἰκούντων τὴν αἵτιαν ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς χρυσόκερως βλοσυροῖ Διωνύσου θεράπων Πᾶν, βαίνων ὑλήεντα κατ' οὔρεα, χειρὶ κραταιῆράβδον ἔχεν, ἐτέρη δὲ λιγὸν πνείουσαν ἔμαρπτεσύριγγα γλαφυρὴν, Νύμφῃσι δὲ θυμὸν ἔθελγεν· οὖν δὲ συρίξας μέλος ἀνέρας ἐπτοίησεν ὑλοτόμους πάντας, θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσօρώωντας δαίμονος ὄρνυμένου κρυερὸν δέμας οἰστρίεντος· καὶ νύ κε πάντας ἔμαρψε τέλος κρυεροῦ θανάτοιο, εἰ μή οἱ κότον αἰνὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχουσα Ἀρτεμις ἀγροτέρη παῦσεν μένεος κρατεροῖο, ἢν καὶ χρὴ λίσσεσθ', ἵνα σοι γίγνητ' ἐπαρωγός.”

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 events. For nine were found dead. Therefore, when those who live in the 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. One must also plead with her, so that she may become a helper to you.’”

5.6.2 | Άκήκοας οἶκα τοῦ δαίμονος, οὐ  
φησιν ἀγαθοῦ, τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὰς πράξεις  
ὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις ξεν Ἀπόλλων· θέα δὴ καὶ  
τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ γενναῖα κατορθώματα, ὃν  
δὴ ἔνεκα τὴν οὐράνιον ἀπολελοιπότες  
διατριβὴν τὴν σὺν ἀνθρώποις  
ἀντικατηλλάξαντο.

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  
διηρευνηκώς καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀξιωθεὶς  
τῆς γνώσεως.

5.6.4 | τοτὲ μὲν οὖν τινὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
τούτων δαιμόνων φησὶν ἐρωτικαῖς  
ἡδυπαθείαις ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, τοτὲ δ' ἐτέρους  
τυμπάνοις καὶ αὔλοῖς καὶ θηλειῶν  
πατάγοις χαίρειν, ἄλλους δὲ αὖ πάλιν  
μάχαις καὶ πολέμοις ἀγάλλεσθαι, καὶ  
κυνηγεσίοις τὴν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς  
καρποῖς τὴν Δηῶν θρηνεῖν δὲ τὸν Ὀσιριν  
εἰσέτι νῦν τὴν Ἰσιν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
μαντεύεσθαι. τοιαῦται ὅν φασιν ἀγαθῶν  
δαιμόνων αἱ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὡφέλειαι.  
δέχου δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις

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 to see the noble deeds  
of others, for which they have left behind  
their heavenly life and exchanged it for a  
life among humans.

5.6.3 | Certainly, they should start 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 truths and has  
been deemed worthy of knowledge of the  
unspeakable.

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.  
Some find joy in battles and wars, honoring  
Artemis in hunting and Demeter with the  
fruits of the earth. They also mourn Osiris  
and still seek prophecies from Isis and  
Apollo. Such are the benefits of these good  
demons for humans. Accept also their  
evidence.

## Section 7

5.7.1 | οὐδὲν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ποτὲ δία  
μάταιονούδ' ἄκραντον ἔλεξε σοφοῖς Ἐκάτη  
θεοφήταις· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παγχράτοιο νόου  
πατρόθεν κατιοῦσααίεν ἀληθείῃ  
σελαγίζεται, ἀμφὶ δὲ μῆτις ἔμπεδος  
ἀρρήκτοισι μένει λογίοις βεβαυῖα. δεσμῷ δ'  
οὖν κλήιζε· θεὴν γὰρ ἄγεις με

5.7.1 | Nothing among the immortal gods is  
ever said in vain, nor did Hecate speak  
without reason to the wise. Coming down  
from the all-powerful mind of her father,  
she always shines with truth, and her  
wisdom remains steady in unbreakable  
thoughts. Therefore, call upon her; for you

τοσήνδε, ὅσση ψυχῶσαι πανυπέρτατον  
ἡρκεσα κόσμον.

5.7.2 | καὶ μήποτε διὰ τοῦτο τρίμορφος  
τριμερής τε καὶ ἡ ψυχή. ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν  
θυμοειδές, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητιχόν· ὅθεν καὶ  
πρὸς τὰ ἔρωτικὰ καλεῖται. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔμά,  
μήτοι νομίσῃς, τοῦ δὲ προειρημένου  
συγγραφέως ἀκήκοας, οὗ πάλιν ἔστι καὶ  
ταῦτα

5.7.3 | 'Πάνυ δέ με θράττει πῶς ὡς  
κρείττους παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται  
ὡς χείρους· καὶ δίκαιον εἰσθέντες διέναι  
ἀξιοῦντες τὸν θεράποντα, τάδικα αὐτοὶ  
σελευσθέντες δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ  
καθαρῷ μὲν μὴ ὄντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἀν  
καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἄγειν εἰς  
παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ  
όκνοῦσιν.'

5.7.4 | Εὔροις 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 ὥδε "Καὶ μὴν ὅ τι ἐκάστω  
ἐπιτέτακται αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ  
Διδυμαῖος διὰ τούτων ἦν δ' ἡ πεῦσις εἰ δεῖ  
όμοσαι τῷ ἐπαγαγόντι τὸν ὅρκον")

5.7.5 | μητέρι μὲν μακάρων μέλεται  
Τιτηνίδι Ρείηαύλοι καὶ τυπάνων πάταγοι  
καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος· Παλλάδι δ' εύπήληκι  
μόθοι καὶ δῆρις Ἐνυοῦς, καὶ βαλίαις

bring forth a goddess of such greatness, as  
she has the power to give life to the highest  
cosmos.

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; that is why it is also related to  
love. These ideas are not mine, nor should  
you think so; you have heard them from the  
writer I mentioned earlier, to whom these  
also belong.

5.7.3 | Indeed, it frightens me how those  
who are stronger command those who are  
weaker. It is only right that they expect the  
servant to endure while they themselves  
continue to act unjustly. 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 | 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 person  
who brings forth the oath."

5.7.5 | To the mother of the blessed, Rhea,  
the flutes, the sounds of drums, and the  
gathering of women are dedicated. To  
Pallas, there are beautiful dances and the

σκυλάκεσσι βαθυσκοπέλους ἀνὰ  
πρῶνας θῆρας ὄρειονόμους ἐλάαν Λητωίδι  
κούρῃ “Ἡρῃ δ’ εὐκελάδῳ μαλακῇ χύσις  
ἡέρος ὑγρῆς· λήια δ’ εὐαλδῆ κομέειν  
σταχυητρόφα Δηοῖ” Ισιδι δ’ αὖ Φαρίη,  
γονίμοις παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου, μαστεύειν  
οἴστροισιν ἐδὼν πόσιν ἀβρὸν “Οσιριν.

struggle of Enyo, and with strong 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 οὗν ‘αύλοὶ καὶ τυπάνων  
πάταγοι καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος” μέλεται τῇ  
μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἀσκητέον δὴ ταῦτα πάσης  
ἀρετῆς ἀφεμένους, δτι μηδὲν σωφροσύνης  
μηδέ τινος ἄλλης θεοφιλοῦς πράξεως  
μέλεται τῇ προειρημένῃ, ὡς καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ  
μόθοι καὶ μάχαι καὶ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ  
εἱρήνη καὶ τὰ ἐν εἱρήνῃ πράγματα. καὶ τῇ  
Λητωίδι δὲ κούρῃ, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μελέσθων  
αἴ βαλίαι σκύλακες, διὰ τὸ κατ’ ἄγροὺς  
κυνηγὸν οὕσαν τοῖς θηρσὶ πολεμεῖν, ὡς καὶ  
ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ κατειλεγμένα. τί οὖν δὴ  
ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ μαχάριον  
συντείνοι ἀν βίον; ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ πότερά σοι  
Θείας εῖναι δοκεῖ φύσεως, ἢ φαύλης καὶ  
μοχθηροτάτης, τὰ ἔξῆς ἐπιλεγόμενα

5.7.6 | If indeed “the flutes, the sounds of drums, and the gathering of women” are dedicated to the mother of the gods, then we must see these things as far from all virtue. 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. To the daughter of Leto, Artemis, the strong dogs are dedicated because she is a huntress in the fields, fighting against wild beasts, just as with the others that have been mentioned. So what then would 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 Ἐρόδιος  
Πιθαγόρας ἀπεφήνατο, δτι οὐχ ἔδονται οἱ  
κιληζόμενοι ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις θεοὶ, ἀνάγκῃ δέ  
τινι ἀκολουθίας συρόμενοι παραγίνονται,  
καὶ οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἵ δὲ ἥττον.

5.8.1 | “Rightly, the Rhodian Pythagoras declared that the gods do not take pleasure in those who are called upon during sacrifices. Instead, 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 ὥσπερ ἔθος ποιησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν παρουσίας εύμαρέστερον φοιτῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν καὶ φύσει ἀγαθοὶ τυγχάνωσιν· οἱ δὲ, κἄν ἔθος ἔχωσι τοῦ παραγίνεσθαι, βλάβην τινὰ προθυμοῦνται ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν ἀμελέστερόν τις δοκῇ ἀναστρέψεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι.

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' οἶν, εἰ χρὴ οὕτω φάναι, πειθανάγκην.

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, πειθοῦ τ' ἀρρήτων ἐπέων, οἵ δὴ φρένα τέρπειν ἀθανάτων ἐδάη θνητὸς βροτός.

5.8.5 | καὶ πάλιν ἥλυθον είσαίουσα τεῆς πολυφράδμονος εύχῆς. ἦν θνητῶν φύσις εὗρε θεῶν ὑποθημοσύνησι.

5.8.6 | καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον τίπτε δ' ἀεὶ θείοντος ἀπ' αἰθέρος ὕδει χατίζων θειοδάμοις Ἐκάτην με θεήν ἐκάλεσσας ἀνάγκαις; καὶ ἔξῆς τοὺς μὲν ἀπορρήτοις ἐρύων ἵνγξιν ἀπ' αἴθρης βρηδίως ἀέκοντας ἐπὶ χθόνα δίαν ἄγεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μέσους μεσάτοισιν

5.8.2 | But those who have made a habit of being present come more easily, especially if they are good by nature. On the other hand, those who are used to coming may cause some harm, especially if someone seems to be careless in their actions.

5.8.3 | For when Pythagoras said these things, I noted from the arguments that what he said is true. They all claim that they arrive out of necessity, not just in a simple way, but rather, if one must put it this way, out of a forced necessity.

5.8.4 | It has been said before about the 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, guided by her hidden plans and the persuasive words of the unspoken, which indeed delight the minds of mortals."

5.8.5 | And again I came, listening to the wise and intricate prayer. This prayer was discovered 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 out of necessity? Next, you lead those who are unwilling, drawn by the unspoken charms from the sky, easily to the earth. Meanwhile, those in the middle, caught in the winds, are far

έπεμβε βαῶτας ἀήταις, νόσφι πυρὸς θείοιο,  
πανομφέας ὁσπερ ὄνείρους, εἰσκρίνεις  
μερόπεσσιν, ἀεικέα δαίμονας ἔρδων.

from the divine fire. Like dreams, you mix  
them with mortal parts, committing  
shameful deeds.

5.8.7 | καὶ πάλιν ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε  
μετήροι Οὐρανίωνες περχόμενοι  
κούφαισι μεθ' Ἀρπυίαισι φέρονται ἥριμφα  
δὲ θειοδάμοισιν ἐπημύσαντες ἀνάγκαισείς  
χθόν' ἐπειγόμενοι Δηϊον ἀΐσσουσι, θνητοῖς  
ἐσσομένων ὑποφήτορες. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος  
ἀναγκαζόμενος ἔφη κλῦθι μεν ούκ  
ἔθέλοντος, ἐπεί μ' ἐπέδησας ἀνάγκη.

5.8.7 | And again, those above, the heavenly  
beings, 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, even though I do not want to, since you  
have bound me with necessity."

5.8.8 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ὁ συγγραφεύς  
φησιν "Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπανάγκους ἔαυτῶν  
ἐκδιδόασιν, ὡς δηλώσει ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδοθεὶς περὶ ἔαυτοῦ  
ἐπάναγκος.

5.8.8 | 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 | λέγεται δὲ οὕτως οὔνομ' ἀναγκαίης  
τόδε καρτερὸν ἡδ' ἔτι βριθύ. καὶ ἐπήγαγε

5.8.9 | It is said like this: "This name of  
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  
about your birth, immortal Paean.

5.8.11 | καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ῥεῦμα τὸ  
Φοιβείης ἀπονεύμενον ὑψόθεν  
αἴγλητνοιῇ ὑπὸ λιγυρῇ κεκαλυμμένον  
ἡέρος ἀγνοῦ, θελγόμενον μολπαῖσι καὶ  
ἀρρήτοις ἐπέεσσι, κάππεσεν ἀμφὶ κάρηνον  
ἀμωμήτοιο δοχῆος λεπταλέων ὑμένων·  
μαλακὸν δ' ἐνέπλησε χιτῶνα, ἀμβολάδην  
διὰ γαστρὸς ἀνεσύμενον παλίνορσον

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 brought forth a beloved voice.

·αύλοῦ δ' ἐκ βροτέοι φίλην ἔτεκνώσατο φωνήν."

5.8.12 | Τούτοις ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιλέγει "Τούτων οὕτε σαφέστερα οὕτε θεϊκώτερα καὶ φυσικώτερα γένοιτ' ἄν. πνεῦμα γάρ τὸ κατιὸν καὶ ἀπόρροια ἐκ τῆς ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως εἰς ὄργανικὸν σῶμα καὶ ἔμψυχον εἰσελθοῦσα, βάσει χρωμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, διὰ τοῦ στόματος ὡς ὄργάνου φωνὴν ἀποδίδωσιν."

5.8.13 | Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀναγκάζονται ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα παραστῆσαι· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἀπολυθῆναι, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως κειμένης, μάθοις ἀν' ἐκ τούτων

5.8.12 | 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 | But they are forced to present enough of these things, and they also claim to be freed, since the retreat does not depend on them. You will learn this from what has been said.

## Section 9

5.9.1 | “Οτι δὲ σπεύδουσιν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ κιληθέντες θεοὶ δηλώσει τὰ τοιαῦτα, λεγόντων λύετε λοιπὸν ἄνακτα, βροτὸς θεὸν οὐκέτι χωρεῖ.

5.9.2 | καὶ πάλιν τίπτ' ἐπιδευόμενοι δηρὸν βροτὸν αἰκίζεσθε;

5.9.3 | καὶ πάλιν ἔρπε, καὶ ὄτραλέως ἐπιέρχεο τόνδε σαώσας.

5.9.4 | καὶ πῶς ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς χρὴ αὐτὸς διδάξει λέγων παύεο δὴ πρόφρων ὄάρων, ἀνάπαυε δὲ φῶτα, ὥμνων ἐκλύων πολιὸν τύπον, ἡδ' ἀπὸ γυίων Νειλῷην ὄθόνην

5.9.1 | That they hurry to retreat will be made clear by those called gods, who say, "Release the lord, for a mortal can no longer endure the god."

5.9.2 | And again, why do you strike and torment a weak mortal?

5.9.3 | And again, go, and confidently approach this one you have saved.

5.9.4 | And how he himself will teach them to be freed, saying, "Stop your eager cries, and give rest to the light. Release the gray form from the limbs, and remove the

χερσὶν στιβαραῖς ἀπαείρας.

shroud of Neilos with strong hands.”

5.9.5 | καὶ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἶπεν ὑψίπρωρον  
αἴρε ταρσὸν, ἵσχε βάξιν ἐκ μυχῶν,

5.9.5 | And he spoke about the release, “Lift  
the high-footed tarso, and hold back the  
sound from the depths.”

5.9.6 | καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπιλεγόμενα. οἵς  
ἐπιφέρει “λαὶ βραδυνόντων ἀπολῦσαι φησὶ<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  
them 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 φησι λύσατέ μοι  
στεφάνους, καί μεν πόδας ὕδατι  
λευκῷ ὥρανατε, καὶ γραμμὰς ἀπαλείψατε,  
καί κε μόλοιμι χειρὸς δεξιτερῆς δάφνης  
κλάδον ἄρατε χερσὶ, ψήχετέ τ' ὁφθαλμοὺς  
διδύμους ῥῖνάς τε προσώπου ἄρατε φῶτα  
γένθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐταῖροι.”

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  
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 | Οἵς ἐπιλέγει 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  
κεκλημένων θεῶν.”

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 | Δεδεῖχθαι σαφῶς ἡγοῦμαι διὰ  
τούτων ὅτι μηδὲν τὸ καθόλου θεοπρεπὲς,  
μήτε μέγα μήτε ἀληθῶς θεῖον, ἔνεστι τοῖς  
εἰς τοσοῦτον ταπεινότητος

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 lowness.

καταπεπτωκόσι πνεύμασιν, ὡς τοῖς  
τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποσύρεσθαι  
καθέλκεσθαί τε οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας  
ἀνάληψιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μόνον τὰ τῆς περιέργου  
γοητείας μετέλθοιέν τε καὶ διαπράξοιντο.

For those who are human, they are 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 | οὕτ' οὖν ὄρθως ὁ 'Ρόδιος  
Πυθαγόρας οὕθ' ὁ τούτῳ ταύτην  
παρασχὼν τὴν μαρτυρίαν οὕθ' ὀστισοῦν  
ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς προσείποι ἂν εύλόγως,  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας, τοὺς ὑπὸ<sup>1</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.

5.9.11 | Therefore, neither the Rhodian Pythagoras nor anyone giving this testimony would reasonably claim that any human beings are gods, nor even good spirits among mortals. These things do not reflect their own opinions; instead, they are dragged along by force and necessity, having no power over their own release from bondage.

5.9.12 | εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἀβίαστον καὶ  
ἀκατανάγκαστον καὶ πάντων κρείττον τὴν  
φύσιν ἀπαθὲς ὃν καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ θεῖον,  
πῶς ἂν εἴεν θεοὶ, μαγγανείαις ταῖς διὰ  
τοιῶνδε σχημάτων καὶ γραμμῶν καὶ τύπων  
στεφάνοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθεσι καὶ  
τισιν ἄλλοις ἀσήμοις καὶ βαρβάροις ἥχοις  
τε καὶ φωναῖς κηλούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς  
τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις χειρούμενοι, καὶ  
ώσπερεὶ δεσμοῖς καταδουλούμενοι, ὥστε  
μηδὲ τὴν αὔτεξούσιον καὶ προαιρετικὴν  
σώζειν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς δύναμιν;

5.9.12 | For if the divine is truly unforced, unconstrained, and superior to all, being free and without passion, how could they be gods if they are bound by magic through such shapes and lines, by crowns and flowers from the earth, and by certain other meaningless and foreign sounds and voices? They are controlled by chance among humans and seem to be enslaved by bonds, so that they have no power to preserve their own free will and choices.

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;

5.9.13 | But how could they be called good spirits if they are dragged along by force and necessity? What is the reason for their unwillingness if they do not use their own free will to help those in need?

5.9.14 | εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποιοῦνται τὴν  
πάροδον ἀγαθοὶ ὄντες, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἔξ

5.9.14 | For if they do good while being good themselves, and if there is any benefit

αύτῶν ψυχῆς ὀφέλεια, χρῆν δήπου προαιρέσει τὸ ἄγαθὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι, φθάνοντας ταῖς εὐποιίαις τοὺς δεομένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ περιμένειν ἀνάγκην·

to their souls, they should choose to embrace the good, reaching out with their kindness to those in need, instead of waiting for necessity.

5.9.15 | εἰ δ' οὐ καλὸν ἦν ούδε' ὠφελοῦν τὸ πραττόμενον, διὸ μηδὲ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄγαθοὶ εἴεν, τὸ μὴ καλὸν μηδὲ συμφέρον πράττοντες;

5.9.15 | But if what is being done is neither good nor helpful, then it should not happen according to their will. How could they be good if they do not act in ways that are good or beneficial?

5.9.16 | πῶς δὲ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιοι καὶ θεραπείαις θεῶν τιμᾶσθαι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι γόησι 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 αὐθις συγγραφεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον Αἴγυπτιον ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς ἂν προφήτῃ τάληθῇ καὶ ἀπόρρητα κοινούμενος, τέθειται, τοὺς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα συντελοῦσιν, ἀξιῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδαχθῆναι; πυνθάνεται γοῦν ὥδε πως ἀπορῶν καὶ λέγων

5.9.16 | But how can they be worthy of admiration and honored by the services of the gods when they are enslaved by the ways of sorcerers, suffering the worst fate, and 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 Egyptian, presents these words as if sharing true and secret knowledge with a prophet. Is it reasonable to expect to learn about these matters from him? He indeed asks this, feeling puzzled and speaking.

## Section 10

5.10.1 | “Πάνυ δέ με θράττει πῶς ὡς κρείττους παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται ὡς χείρους, καὶ δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀξιοῦντες τὸν θεράποντα τὰ ἄδικα αὐτοὶ κελευσθέντες δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι· καὶ καθαρῷ μὲν μὴ ὅντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἂν καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄγειν είς παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ ὄκνοῦσι.

5.10.1 | Indeed, I am amazed at how those who are better call upon those who are worse, believing it is just to demand that the one who does wrong should act as they are ordered. 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 ἐμψύχων 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 ζῷαν αἱ θεαγωγίαι ἔκτελοῦνται.

5.10.3 | πολλῷ δὲ τούτων ἀλογώτερον τὸ μὴ δαίμονι, εἴ τύχοι, ἡ ψυχῇ τεθνηκότος, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡλίῳ, ἡ σελήνῃ, ἡ τινὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν, ἄνθρωπον τῷ τυχόντι ὑποχείριον ἀπειλάς προσφέροντα ἐκφοβεῖν, ψευδόμενον, ἵν' ἔκείνοι αληθεύσωσι.

5.10.4 | τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τὸν οὐρανὸν προσαράξει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐκφανεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἄβύδῳ ἀπόρρητον δείξει, καὶ τὴν βᾶριν στήσει, καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὁσίριδος 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, ὡς κομιδῇ παῖδες ἀνόητοι;

5.10.5 | καίτοι καὶ Χαιρήμων ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ἀναγράφει ταῦτα, ὡς καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις θρυλούμενα, καὶ ταῦτα φασιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βιαστικώτατα.

5.10.6 | αύταὶ δὲ αἱ εύχαι τίνα ἔχουσι λόγον, τὸν ἐξ ἴλυος ἀναφανέντα λέγουσαι,

5.10.2 | They say that those who give advice should be free from living beings, so they are not harmed by the vapors from bodies. Yet, they themselves are most attracted to the vapors from sacrifices. It is said that the overseer should be untouched by the dead, but many of the divine rituals are performed using dead animals.

5.10.3 | It is much more unreasonable not to address a spirit, if it exists, or the soul of a dead person, but instead to address the king of the sun, the moon, or any of the things in the sky. They bring a human as a servant to frighten those who happen to be there, hoping that they will speak the truth.

5.10.4 | For someone to say that they will bring down the sky, reveal the hidden things of Isis, show the secret in Abydos, raise the heavy one, and scatter the limbs of Osiris to Typhon—what an extreme threat that is to the one making the threat! These are things that neither he knows nor can do, leaving behind such an empty fear and falsehood for those who are afraid, like foolish children.

5.10.5 | Indeed, Chairemon the scribe writes these things, as they are also rumored among the Egyptians. They say that these and similar things are very forceful.

5.10.6 | But what meaning do these prayers have when they say that they come from

καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λωτῷ καθήμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίου ναυτιλλόμενον, καὶ καθ' ὥραν τὰς μορφὰς ἀμείβοντα, καὶ κατὰ ζώδιον μετασχηματιζόμενον; οὕτω γάρ φασιν αὐτοπτεῖσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὸ ἕδιον πάθος τῆς αὐτῶν φαντασίας ἐκείνω περιάπτουσιν.

the mud, sit on the lotus, sail on a ship, change forms every hour, and transform according to the zodiac? They claim to see these things, not realizing that their own feelings are what shape their visions.

5.10.7 | εἰ δὲ συμβολικῶς λέγεται ταῦτα, τῶν ἐκείνου δυνάμεων ὅντα σύμβολα, τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῶν συμβόλων εἰπάτωσαν. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἴ τοῦ ἡλίου ἦν τὸ πάθος, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσι, πᾶσιν ἀν ὄφθη ταυτὸν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι.

5.10.7 | But if these things are said symbolically, as symbols of those powers, let them explain the meaning of the symbols. It is clear that if it were the passion of the sun, just like during eclipses, it would look the same to everyone who gazes at it.

5.10.8 | τί δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄσημα βούλεται ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν ἀσήμων τὰ βάρβαρα πρὸ τῶν ἐκάστω οἰκείων; εἴ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀφορᾷ τὸ ἀκοῦον, αὐτάρκης ἡ αὐτὴ μένουσα ἔννοια δηλῶσαι, καν δποιονοῦν ὑπάρχῃ, τοῦνομα.

5.10.8 | But what about the names of the unmarked things and the foreign names before each person's own? If the sound refers to what is meant, the same meaning can be clearly expressed, even if there is any kind of name.

5.10.9 | οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Αἴγυπτιος ἦν τῷ γένει· εἴ δὲ καὶ Αἴγυπτιος, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε Αἴγυπτίᾳ χρώμενος φωνῇ, ούδ' ἀνθρωπείᾳ ὅλως χρώμένος. ἢ γὰρ γοήτων ἦν ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα καὶ προκαλύμματα διὰ τῶν ἐπιφημιζομένων τῷ θείῳ τῶν περὶ ἡμάς γινομένων παθῶν, ἢ λελήθαμεν ἐναντίας ἔννοιάς ἔχοντες περὶ τοῦ θείου ἢ αὐτὸ τῷ ὅντι 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 related to 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 appears.

5.10.10 | Ταῦτ' είπὼν πάλιν ἀπορεῖ πρὸς τὸν Αἴγυπτον λέγων Ἐί δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπαθεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐμπαθεῖς, οἵδια τούτων φαλλούς φασιν ἴσταναι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι αἰσχρορρημοσήνας, μάταιοι αἱ θεῶν

5.10.10 | After saying this, he questions the Egyptian again, saying, “But if some are without passion and others are full of passion, those who claim that through these things phalluses stand and create

ικλήσεις ἔσονται, προσκλήσεις αύτῶν  
έπαγγελόμεναι, καὶ μῆνιδος ἐριλάσεις, καὶ  
ἐκθύσεις, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον αἱ λεγόμεναι  
ἀνάγκαι θεῶν. ἀκήλητον γὰρ καὶ ἀβίαστον  
καὶ ἀκατανάγκαστον τὸ ἀπαθές.”

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 being without  
passion is unforced, unpressured, and  
uncoerced.”

5.10.11 | Καὶ πάλιν ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Μάτην  
αύτοῖς 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 οὔδ' ἔχεγγυον, οὐκ ἡσαν ἄρα οὕτε  
θεοὶ οὕτ' ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκεῖνος ὁ  
λεγόμενος πλάνος.”

5.10.11 | And again he continues, “Their  
wisdom is in vain when it comes to finding  
a thief, buying 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  
when it comes to happiness, there is  
nothing safe or guaranteed. Therefore,  
there are neither gods nor good spirits, but  
rather that so-called deceiver.”

5.10.12 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ  
ἀπὸ ταύτης προκείσθω τῆς Πορφυρίου  
γραφῆς. καὶ μὴν καὶ διδάσκαλοί γε τῆς  
κακοτέχνου γοητείας αύτοὶ δὴ πρῶτοι οἱ  
γενναῖοι θεοὶ κατέστησαν. πόθεν γὰρ  
ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα παρῆν είδέναι ἡ τῶν  
δαιμόνων αύτῶν τὰ περὶ ἑαυτῶν  
ἔξειπόντων καὶ τοὺς καταδέσμους τοὺς  
κατ' ἄλλήλων ἔξηγορευκότων;

5.10.12 | Let these things be said up to this  
point, and let this be the beginning of  
Porphyry's writing. Indeed, the teachers of  
this wicked sorcery 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 one  
another?

5.10.13 | μηδὲ τοῦτον δὲ ἡμέτερον εἶναι  
τὸν λόγον ἡγοῦ· οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἡμεῖς  
δύμολογοῦμεν οὕτε ἐπίστασθαι οὕτε θέλειν  
είδέναι. πλὴν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς περὶ ταῦτα  
ἀτοπίας καὶ εἰς ἡμετέραν ὅμοιην τῆς τούτων  
ἀναχωρήσεως ἀπολογίαν ὃ τούτων ἡμῖν  
παρεισήχθω μάρτυς, σοφὸς ὁν ἐν τοῖς  
γνωρίμοις, καὶ πάντα ἀκριβῶς τὰ οἴκεια  
είδώς τε καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος. ὃ δὴ οὖν αὐτὸς  
ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ τῶν λογίων συναγωγῇ

5.10.13 | Let us not consider this speech to  
be ours. For we agree on none of these  
things; we neither claim to know them nor  
wish to know them. But to prove 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

ταῦτα λέγει πρὸς λέξιν

things in the stated collection of arguments.

## Section 11

5.11.1 | "Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αύτῶν αὐτοὶ μεμηνύκασι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οῖστισι χαίρουσι καὶ κερατοῦνται ὑπηγόρευσαν, καὶ μὴν καὶ τίσιν ἀναγκάζονται, τίνα δὲ δεῖ θύειν, καὶ ἐκ ποίας ἡμέρας ἔκτρέπεσθαι, τό τε σχῆμα τῶν ἀγαγμάτων μάτων ποταπὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν, αύτοὶ τε ποίοις σχήμασι φαίνονται, ἐν τε ποίοις διατρίβουσι τόποις, καὶ ὅλως ἐν οὐδένι ἔστιν ὃ μὴ παρ' αύτῶν μαθόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως αύτοὺς ἐτίμησαν. πολλῶν δ' ὅντων ἂ τούτων ἔστι παραστατικὰ, ὀλίγα ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν παραθησόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτυρον τὸν λόγον καταλείπωμεν. XII. "Οτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αύτοὶ ὑπέθεντο πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκ ποίας ὕλης δηλώσει τὰ τῆς· Ἐκάτης ἔχοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

5.11.1 | They not only revealed their own way of life and the other things mentioned, but they also take pleasure in and boast about those who serve them. Indeed, they are forced to decide whom to sacrifice to, 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 represent them, we will mention a few, so that we do not leave the speech without evidence. XII. As for the statues, they themselves explain how they should be made and from what material, showing the way of Hecate.

## Section 12

5.12.1 | ἀλλὰ τέλει ξόανον κεκαθαρμένον ὡς σε διδάξω ἀπηγάνου ἐξ ἀγρίοιο δετὰς ποίει, ἡδ' ἐπικόσμειζώοισιν λεπτοῖσι κατοικιδίοις καλαβώταις ἀσμύρνης καὶ στύρακος λιβάνοιο τε μίγματα τρίψασθν κείνοις ζῷοισι καὶ αἴθριάσας ὑπὸ μήνην αὔξουσαν τέλει, αύτὸς 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 waxing moon, while you yourself pray this prayer.

5.12.2 | Εἶτ' ἔξέδωκεν εύχὴν, ἔδίδαξέ τε πόσους ληπτέον ἀσκαλαβώτας ὅσσαι μορφαί μοι, τόσσοις ζῷοις σε κελεύω, καὶ σφόδρα ταῦτα τελεῖν· δάφνης δέ μοι αύτογενέθλουοίκου ἐμοῦ χώρημα ποιεῖν;

5.12.2 | Then he offered 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

καὶ ἀγάλματι πολλὸν κείνῳ ἐπευχόμενος δι' ὑπνῶν τοίαν ἀναθρήσεις. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς ἔξεδωκε τοιοῦτον.”

carefully. Should I make a place for the self-born house of the laurel? While 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 αύτοὶ 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 γὰρ, 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 shared how they imagine them, from which the statues were created 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 spoken. He saw my unblemished strength, a shining flame of fire, and 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 ἐδίδαξεν ἔχοντα οὕτως εὔχομαι βροτὸς γεγώς Πανὶ συμφύτῳ θεῷ, δισσοκέρατι, δισσόποδι, τραγοσκελεῖ, τρυφῶντι. καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα.

5.13.2 | And Pan taught a hymn about himself, saying this: “I pray as a mortal born to the god Pan, with two horns, two feet, goat-like, and enjoying life.” And the following things.

5.13.3 | καὶ ἡ Ἐκάτη δὲ περὶ ἐαυτῆς οὕτω φησὶν ἥδη μοι σὺ γε πάντα ποίει· ξοάνῳ δ' ἄρ' ἐν αὐτῷ μορφή μοι πέλεται Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου, εἴμασι παλλεύκοις, περὶ ποσσὶ δὲ χρυσοπέδιλος ἀμφὶ δέ τοι ζώνῃ δολιχοὶ δράκοντες, δράκοντες, ἵχνεσιν ἀχράντοισιν ἐφερπύζοντες, ἄνωθεν αὐτῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἀρτώμενοι ἐς πόδας ἄκρους, σπειρηδὸν περὶ πᾶσαν ἐλισσόμενοι κατὰ κόσμον.4. Ὕλη δὲ, φησὶν) ἡ Παρίοιο λίθου, ἡ εύξέστου ἐλέφαντος.”

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, and wearing golden sandals on her feet. Around her, long dragons are coiled, moving with pure footprints, 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.”

## Section 14

5.14.1 | Έμφαίνουσι δὲ πολλαχοῦ οἵ θεοὶ  
ἄπερ λέγουσι προσημαίνοντες, τῷ ἐκάστου  
γινώσκειν τὴν τῆς γενέσεως σύστασιν,  
εῖναι αὐτοὺς, εἰ χρὴ οὕτω φάναι, ἄκρους τε  
μάγους καὶ ἄκρους γενεθλιαλόγους, καὶ  
πάλιν ἐν χρησμοῖς ἔφη τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
εἰπεῖν “κλήζειν Ἐρμείην ἡδ’ Ἡέλιον κατὰ  
ταύτα, ἡμέρῃ Ἡέλιου, Μήνην δ’ ὅτε τῆσδε  
παρείη, ἡδὲ Κρόνον καὶ Ρέαν ἡδ’ ἔξείης  
Ἀφροδίτην κλήσεσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὗρε  
μάγων ὅχ’ ἄριστος τῆς ἐπταφθόγγου  
βασιλεὺς, δὸν πάντες ἵσασιν Ὁστάνην  
λέγεις εἰπόντων ἐπήγαγεν καὶ σφόδρα καὶ  
καθ’ ἔκαστον ἀεὶ θεὸν ἐπτάκι φωνεῖν.”

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 then 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 this forth, and that each god always calls out seven times.

5.14.2 | ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦτα παρατίθησιν  
“Εστι δὲ σύμβολα μὲν τῆς Ἐκάτης κηρὸς  
τρίχρωμος, ἐκ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος καὶ  
έρυθροῦ συνεστῶς, ἔχων τύπον Ἐκάτης  
φερούσης μάστιγα καὶ λαμπάδα καὶ ξίφος,  
περὶ ἣν εἰλείσθω δράκων· οὐρανοῦ δὲ  
ἀστέρες οἱ θαλάττιοι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν  
πεπατταλευμένοι. ταῦτα γάρ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ  
μεμηνύκασι διὰ τούτων. λέγει δὲ ὁ Πᾶν  
τούσδε δ’ αὐτὸν εἰλαύνετε, κηρὸν ἐν πυρὸς  
μένειθέντες αἰόλου χροός· λευκὸς ἔστω καὶ  
μέλας, καὶ τὸ πῦρ φαεσφόρον ἄνθρακος  
πεφλεγμένος, δεῖμα νερτέρων  
κυνῶν γλύμα δεινὸν Ἐκάτης· λαμπάς ἔστω  
πρὸς χέρας, καὶ ξίφος τὸ ποίνιμον, καὶ  
δράκων περισταλήσαμασιν κόρην  
κρατῶν, δεινὸν ἀμφὶ κράτα θεῖς, αἰόλη τε  
κλεὶς δόμοῦ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνων  
κράτος μάστιγος ψόφος πολύς.”

5.14.2 | And he also presents these things:  
“There are symbols of Hecate, a three-colored spirit made of white, black, and red, taking the form of Hecate holding a whip, a torch, and a sword, around which a 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 let the fire shine 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  
δομοίων ὁ γενναῖος Ἑλλήνων φιλόσοφος, ὁ

5.14.3 | Through these and similar things, the noble philosopher of the Greeks, the

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;

wonderful theologian, the initiate of the hidden mysteries, shows that philosophy based on words contains the secret teachings of the gods, revealing directly the truly wicked and demonic power that sets traps for humans. For what could be beneficial for humans from such 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 ἥ μαγεύειν καὶ τὰ ἀπειρημένα διώκειν συμβουλεύειν ἔχρην, τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν τρόπου πρὸς εὔδαιμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον αὐτάρκους τυγχάνοντος; ὁ δὲ ἐπιτείνων τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔλεγχον προστίθησι τοῖς εἰρημένοις 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? Shouldn't it be better to seek wisdom rather than practice magic and chase after the endless? It would be wiser to guide others on the path of virtue and philosophy toward a happy and blessed life that is self-sufficient. And he, strengthening 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 ἂ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποι 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;

5.15.1 | That Hecate loves the symbols of the characters is shown through what humans cherish. Who among mortals has not been drawn to grasp the characters of shining bronze, gold, and silver? And who does not love these things, standing above and bringing together the many kinds of lights?

5.15.2 | οὐ μόνον δ' ὅτι φίλοι οἱ χαρακτῆρες δεδήλωκεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν, αὐτοὶ περιγράφονται, καὶ εἰσιν οἶον ἐν Ἱερῷ χωρίῳ τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ εἰκόνῃ οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς ὄχεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς Ἱερᾶς ἐδυνήθησαν· Ἱερὰ δὲ ἡ εἰκόνα φέρουσα θεοῦ, ἣς ἀρθείσης λέλυται τὸ κρατοῦν ἐπὶ

5.15.2 | Not only has she shown that the characters are friends, but also, as we mentioned, they describe themselves and are like an image in a sacred space. For they are not meant to be merely on the earth; instead, they have been made sacred while on the earth. The sacred image

γῆς τὸ θεῖον.”

carries the god, and when it is lifted, the divine power is released upon the earth.

5.15.3 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡγοῦμαι σαφῶς ἐληλέγχθαι ὡς ἄρα περίγειοι τινες καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς δαίμονες ἥλωσαν αὐτῶν ὅντες οἱ θεοί· διό μοι δοκῶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτῶν πεποιῆσθαι.

5.15.4 | ὅρᾶς γοῦν ὡς κρατεῖν αύτους ἔν τισι γῆς χωρίοις τοὺς κατὰ μαγείαν φασὶ τύπους καὶ τοὺς τοιούσδε χαρακτῆρας, δέον, εἴπερ ἄρα θεῖόν τι ἦν ἀληθῶς, μηδ' ἀλλαχῇ πῃ ἐπιβαίνειν ἢ ἐν μόνῃ ψυχῇς διανοίᾳ, καὶ ταύτῃ παντὸς ὅρου καὶ πάσης ηλīδος κεκαθαρμένη, σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένη.

5.15.5 | τούτων γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ὡς ἐν ἀληθῶς Ἱερῷ χωρίῳ προουποκειμένων, εἰκότως ἀν ἐπέλθοι θείου πνεύματος παρουσίᾳ ὁύδ' ἀν ἦν ἔτι χρεία τῆς κακοτέχνου γοητείας ταῖς εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ θείου κατὰ τὴν ἐνάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον πρᾶξιν προηντρεπισμέναις ψυχαῖς.

5.15.6 | ὥστε διαρρήδην ἔξ ἀπάντων τούτων περιγείους τινὰς ἀλίσκεσθαι, φιλοπαθεῖς τε καὶ φιλοσωμάτους ὑπάρχειν δαίμονας, περὶ ὧν ἄρτι ἐλέγομεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔξης τούτοις ἄκουε οἶλα ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς περὶ τοῦ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτῶν τὰ βιώμενα χρηστήρια ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τίθησι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

5.15.3 | Because of all these things, I believe it is clear that some earthly and passionate demons have ensnared the gods themselves. Therefore, I think it is wise to turn away from them.

5.15.4 | You see, indeed, that to keep them in certain earthly places, there are types and such characters that are said to come from magic. If there is truly something divine, it should not be found anywhere else but in the pure thoughts of the soul. In that thought, cleansed of all dirt and every stain, it is adorned with wisdom, justice, and other virtues.

5.15.5 | For in a person's soul, as if in a truly sacred place, if such things were prepared, the presence of the divine spirit would naturally come. There would no longer be a need for the harmful 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 up in all these things, existing as passionate and body-loving demons, which we have just discussed. But listen further to what the same author says about the abandoned oracles, which he presents in the same manner.

## Section 16

5.16.1 | "Ἄμφι δὲ Πύθω οἱ Κλαρίην τε θεοπρόπα Φοίβου αύδήσει φάτις ἡμετέρη θεμιτώδεσιν ὄμφαῖς. μύρια μὲν γαίης μαντήια θέσκελα νώτῳ βέβλυσθη, πηγαὶ τε καὶ ἄσθματα δινήεντα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄψ χθονίοισιν ὑπαὶ κόλποισιν ἔδεκτοάυτὴ γαίᾳ χανοῦσα, τὰ δ' ὥλεσε μυρίος αἰών. μούνῳ δ' ἡελίῳ φαεσιμβρότῳ εἰσέτ' ἔασινέν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήιον ἐνθεον ὕδωρ, Πυθῶνός τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ Παρνάσιον ἀπίστος, καὶ κραναὶ Κλαρίη, τρηχὺ στόμα φοιβάδος ὄμφῆς. Νίκαιεῦ δὲ χρῶν ἔφη Πυθῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναρρῶσαι λάλον ὄμφήν· ἤδη γὰρ δολιχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοισιν βέβληται κληῖδας ἀμαντεύτοιο σιωπῆς. ὢξετε δ' ὡς ἔθος ἔστι θεοπρόπα θύματα Φοίβω.

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. It is said that there is no longer a clear voice to be heard from Pytho. For already, having been dimmed over a 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." Παυσανέου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, Μαλλὸν, ἔφην ἐγώ, περὶ τοῦ μαντείου δίελθε ἡμῖν, ὃ Κλεόμβροτε· μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ πάλαι δόξα τῆς ἐκεῖ θεότητος, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔοικεν 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 created. But when Ammonius had finished speaking, I said, "Let us discuss 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 ἐκεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν, τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἡ δυοῖν ἀπάντων ἔκλειψιν ὀρῶντας, 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 ask about or worry over the oracle there, since the prophecies here are fading. Instead, he noticed that there was an eclipse affecting all but one or two, and suggested that we should consider together 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 ἐπιλέοιπε κομιδῇ, καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχε μαντικῆς αὐχμὸς τὴν χώραν. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἄλλαχόθι νῦν ἡ περὶ Λεβάδειαν ἡ Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγὴ, τὰ δὲ παντελὴς ἐρημία κατέσχηχε." "Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ καὶ θνήσκειν δ τοὺς αὐτῶν δαίμονας ταῦτά φησι

## Section 17

5.17.1 | "Τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, εἶπε, μὴ θεοὺς, οἵς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἄλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις, μονονούχῳ δραχμῇ λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Εμπεδοκλέους, ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον.

5.17.2 | ἡρώτησεν οὖν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος τὸν Φίλιππον ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὅποθεν ὁ νεανίας. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἔφη, λανθάνομεν, ὡς Ἡρακλέων, ἐν λόγοις ἀτόποις γεγονότες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων μὴ μεγάλαις προσχρησάμενον ἀρχαῖς ἐπὶ τὸ εἰκὸς τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν.

5.17.3 | σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν λέληθας ὁ δίδως

5.16.4 | "For what else is there to say? 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. 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 says that their spirits are dying.

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. However, for these spirits, taking only a small amount from the verses of Empedocles to create 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 | 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, even though our words may seem strange. However, it is not possible to talk about great matters without using grand beginnings to lead to what is likely according to belief."

5.17.3 | But you have forgotten yourself by

άφαιρούμενος. δόμολογεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δαίμονας, τῷ δὲ μὴ φαύλους ἀξιοῦν εἶναι, μηδὲ θνητοὺς, οὐκέτι δαίμονας φυλάττεις. τίνι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διαφέρουσιν, εἴ καὶ κατ' ούσιαν τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχουσι;

taking away what you give. You agree that there are spirits, but you do not believe they should be lesser beings or mortals, and so you no longer protect the spirits. How do they differ from the gods if they possess the immortal essence and the qualities of being unfeeling and without fault?

5.17.4 | πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος σιωπῇ διανοούμενου τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ φαύλους μὲν δαίμονας οὐκ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μόνον, ὁ Ἡρακλέων, ἀπέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος· ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτος εύχόμενος εὐλόγχων εἰδώλων τυγχάνειν δῆλος ἦν ἔτερα δυστράπελα καὶ μοχθηρὰς γινώσκων ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις τινὰς καὶ ὀρμάς.

5.17.4 | While Heracles was silently thinking about something, Philip said, "O Heracles, it was not only Empedocles who left behind lesser spirits, but also Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus. Furthermore, Democritus, wishing to encounter the clear images of idols, clearly understood that there were other troubling and wicked choices and desires."

5.17.5 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τοιούτων ἀκήκοα λόγον ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδὲ ἀλαζόνος. Αίμιλιανοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνιοι διακηκόασιν, Ἐπιθέρσης ἦν πατήρ, 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. It was from Aemilianus, the speaker, of whom some of us have heard, that his father was Epitheres, a fellow 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· ἔξαιφνης δὲ φωνῆς ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῶν Παξῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, Θαμνοῦν τινὸς βοῆ καλοῦντος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν· ὁ γὰρ Θαμνοῦς Αἴγυπτιος ἦν

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 eaten dinner. Suddenly, a voice was heard from the island of Paxos, calling out to someone named Thamnous, which caused amazement. Thamnous was an Egyptian pilot, not well known to many of

κυβερνήτης, ούδε τῶν ἐμπλεόντων γνώριμος πολλοῖς ἀπ' ὄνόματος. δὶς μὲν οὖν κληθέντα σιωπῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ καλοῦντι, κάκεῖνον ἐπιτείναντα τὴν φωνὴν εἴπειν, ὅπόταν γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν.

5.17.7 | τοῦτο ἀκούσαντας ὁ Ἐπιθέρσης ἔφη πάντας ἐκπλαγῆναι, καὶ διδόντας ἐαυτοῖς λόγον, εἴτε ποιῆσαι βέλτιον εἴη τὸ προστεταγμένον, εἴτε μὴ πολυπραγμοεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔὰν, οὕτω γνῶναι τὸν Θαμνοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἴη πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, νηνεμίας δὲ καὶ γαλήνης περὶ τὸν τόπον γενομένης ἀνειπεῖν ἢ κουσεν.

5.17.8 | ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὔτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὔτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμνοῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἴπειν, ὥσπερ ἱκουσεν, ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν, οὐ φθῆναι δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτὸν, καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἐνός, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναγμὸν, ἅμα θαυμασμῷ μεμιγμένον.

5.17.9 | οἵα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι καὶ Θαμνοῦν γενέσθαι μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος· οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον ὥστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός· εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένον.

5.17.10 | ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος εἶχε τῶν παρόντων ἐνίους μάρτυρας, Αίμιλιανοῦ τοῦ

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 announced that Pan the great had died.

5.17.7 | When Epitheres heard this, he said that everyone was amazed, and they began to debate among themselves whether it would be better to follow the orders given or not to interfere. If they were to find out about Thamnous, whether he was alive, they should sail quietly. When calm and peaceful conditions returned to the area, they could share what they had heard.

5.17.8 | When it happened at Palodes, with neither wind nor waves, seeing Thamnous from the stern, he said, just as he had heard, that Pan the great had died. But he did not stop there; instead, a great sigh arose, not from one person, but from many, mixed with amazement.

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 ask questions and search for information about Pan. Those around him, who loved to talk, often guessed that Pan was the son of Hermes and Penelope.

5.17.10 | Philip had some witnesses among those present who had heard from the old

γέροντος ἀκηκοότας ὃ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νῆσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἑρήμους σποράδας, ὡν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὄνομάζεσθαι· πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἔνεκα πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τῶν ἑρήμων, ἔχουσαν ού πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας, ἵεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας.

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 to learn about history and to see the king's procession to the nearest of the deserted islands, which had few 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 μὲν, ὡς νῦν, πνεύματα καὶ χαλάζας τρέφουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθεσι τὸν ἀέρα φαρμάττουσιν.

5.17.11 | When he arrived recently, there was great confusion about the weather, and many signs appeared. Strong winds blew, and storms came. After he calmed down, the islanders said that there had been an eclipse of something greater. They explained that just as a lamp, when lit, poses no danger, but when it goes out, it brings sadness to many, so great souls have pleasant and carefree moments when they shine. However, when they are extinguished or destroyed, it often brings storms and hail, and sometimes they poison the air with diseases.

5.17.12 | ἔκεī μέντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Κρόνον καθεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα· δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπνὸν μεμηχανῆσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαιμονας ὄπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας.”

5.17.12 | There is indeed one island there where Cronus is kept imprisoned, sleeping under the guard of Briarus. They have created a bond to keep him asleep. Many spirits surround him, serving and attending to him.

5.17.13 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Πλούταρχος. ἐπιτηρῆσαι δὲ ἄξιον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ φησι τὸν θάνατον γεγονέναι τοῦ δαιμονος. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ Τιβέριον καθ' ὃν ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τὰς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ποιούμενος διατριβὰς πᾶν γένος δαιμόνων ἔξελαύνειν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

5.17.13 | So much for Plutarch. It is important to note the time when he mentions the death of the spirit. This was during the time of Tiberius, when our savior drove out all kinds of spirits that were mixed with humans, as recorded in the lives of people. Some of the spirits even

ἀναγέγραπται βίου· ὡστε ἥδη τινὰς τῶν δαιμόνων γονυπετεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ίκετεύειν μὴ τῷ περιμένοντι αύτοὺς Ταρτάρῳ παραδοῦναι.

5.17.14 | ἔχεις οὖν καὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων καθαιρέσεως τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐξ αἰώνος ίστορηθείσης, ὡστερ 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 ήμιν ἀπὸ τῆς νεωτέρας ίστορίας ἐληλέγχθω.

## Section 18

5.18.1 | Ἄλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσι γνώριμα τυγχάνει τὰ είρημένα, εῦ μοι δοκεῖ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰ πᾶσι πρόδηλα τοῖς φιλολόγοις μεταβῆναι, καὶ τοὺς παλαιτάτους τῷ χρόνῳ χρησμοὺς ἔξετάσαι ἀνὰ στόμα πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀδομένους, κάν ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ φοιτῶσι παραδιδομένους.

5.18.2 | ἄνωθεν τοίνυν ἀναλαβὼν τὰς παλαιὰς ιστορίας ἐπίσκεψαι οἴα ὁ Πύθιος Ἀθηναίοις χρᾶ λοιμῷ πιεσθεῖσι διὰ τὴν Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτήν. ἐλοίμωσον δὲ πάντες Ἀθηναίοι δλ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς θάνατον, τῆς δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας τυχεῖν ἡξίουν.

5.18.3 | τί ποτ' οὖν αύτοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ θεὸς παραινεῖ; τάχα πού τις οίήσεται δικαιοσύνης τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας

knelt before him, 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 gospel message had been preached to all people. These matters, 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 who love learning. We should examine the oldest oracles sung by all the Greeks, as well as those shared in city gatherings among those who come together for education.

5.18.2 | Therefore, let us take up the old histories and see 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 | What, then, does the savior and god advise them? Perhaps someone might think they should take care of justice and

έπιμέλεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ἥ  
μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πλημμελήματι, καί τι τῶν  
δσίων καὶ εύσεβῶν ἔκτελεῖν, ὡς ἀν τῶν  
θεῶν τούτοις ἴλασκομένων. ἀλλὰ τούτων  
μὲν ἦν οὐδέν.

kindness, and other virtues, or repent for their wrongdoing and perform some holy and pious acts, so that they might be forgiven by the gods. But none of this happened.

5.18.4 | τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέλον ἦν τούτων τοῖς  
θαυμασίοις θεοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς  
παμπονήροις δαίμοσι; πάλιν οὖν τὰ αὐτοῖς  
συγγενῆ καὶ οίκεια, τὰ ἀνηλεῇ καὶ ώμὰ καὶ  
ἀπάνθρωπα, λοιμὸν ἐπὶ λοιμῷ φασι καὶ  
θανάτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

5.18.4 | For what could please those wonderful gods, especially the very harsh spirits? Again, they say that the same cruel, brutal, and inhuman acts bring plague upon plague and death upon death.

5.18.5 | κελεύει γοῦν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔτους  
ἐκάστου πέμπειν αύτοὺς τῶν ἴδιων παίδων  
ἄρρενας ἐνήβους ἐπτὰ καὶ θηλειῶν  
ἰσαρίθμους παρθένους, ἀνθ' ἐνὸς δέκα καὶ  
τέσσαρας ἀναιτίους καὶ ἀπράγμονας, οὐκ  
εἰς ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος  
τυθησομένους ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ τῷ Μίνωῃ·  
ῶστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Σωκράτους  
χρόνων πλέον ἡ πεντακοσίοις ὕστερον  
ἔτεσιν ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ ἀπανθωπότατος  
δασμὸς μνήμην παρ' Αθηναίοις διεφύλαττε·  
τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα τὸ καὶ Σωκράτει τὴν  
ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου πεποιημένον.

5.18.5 | So, Apollo commands them to send seven young boys and an equal number of young girls from their own children every year, instead of just one, fourteen innocent and untroubled ones. This was not just a one-time event, but they were to be sent every year to Crete to Minos. Thus, even up to the time of Socrates, more than five hundred years later, this terrible and most inhuman tribute was remembered by the Athenians. This was indeed what led Socrates to postpone his death.

5.18.6 | τίθησι γοῦν ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀπελέγχει τὸν  
χρησμὸν εὗ μάλα τις τῶν νέων ἀνδρικῷ  
λογισμῷ γοήτων φωράν ἐν οίκειώ  
συγγραμματι πεποιημένος οὐ καὶ αύτοῦ  
τῶν φωνωι·, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἄκουε,  
πρὸς τὸν χρησμωδὸν ὥδε πως  
ἀποτεινομένου·

5.18.6 | So, one of the young men, with a brave thought, skillfully puts together the oracle and questions it, having created a trap in his own writing, not even listening to his own voice. But do not listen to my words, as the oracle poet seems to be responding in this way.

## Section 19

5.19.1 | "Τί δ'; οὐκ Αθηναῖοι τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων

5.19.1 | Why then did the Athenians, after

ἀποχτείναντες, κτείναντες, καὶ λοιμώξαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ, εἶπον ἀν μετανοεῖν; ἢ μὴ λεγόντων, οὐ σὲ προσῆκον ἣν εἰπεῖν μετανοεῖτέ μᾶλλον ἢ λοιμοῦ καὶ λιμοῦ τέλος ἔσσεται, ἥνπερ ἑαυτῶνσώματ' ἀπὸ κλήρου ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ νέμητε Μίνωι, εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν ἀποστέλλοντες, ἀμοιβήντῶν ἀδίκων ἔργων· οὕτω θεὸς Ἰλαος ἔσται.

killing Androgeos and suffering from a plague because of it, say they would regret their actions? Or, if they did not say this, was it not right to suggest that they should regret it, rather than face an end to the plague and famine? If they send both male and female bodies from their lot to Minos, sending them to the bright sea as a payment for their unjust deeds, then the god will be favorable.

5.19.2 | ἐῶ γὰρ τὸ Ἀνδρόγεω μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀποθανόντος ὑμᾶς ἀγανακτεῖν, τῶν δὲ τοσούτων καὶ πανταχόθι καὶ πάντοτε καθεύδειν. καίτοι είδὼς ὅτι ἐδαλασσοκράτει τότε ὁ Μίνως, καὶ μέγα ἐδύνατο, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευε, καὶ ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δικαιότατος, καὶ νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς, καὶ Ὁμήρως ἐδόκει Διός μεγάλου εἶναι ὀαριστής, καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐν ᾧ Αἰδου δικαστής, καὶ σὺ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τάς δίκας ταύτας είσεπράττου.

5.19.2 | Let me allow you to be upset because Androgeos died in Athens, while so many others everywhere and always rest in peace. And yet, knowing that Minos was powerful at that time and could achieve great things, all of Greece honored him. He was very just and a good lawmaker. Homer believed he was a close friend of great Zeus, and after his death, he became a judge in Hades. Because of this, you are bringing these cases on his behalf.

5.19.3 | ἀλλὰ παραλείπω γε οὐδὲν ταῦτα ὑμῶν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς φρονεῖς ἔάσαντες τοὺς οὐδὲν αἴτίους πέμπειν ἐκελεύετε ἀποθανουμένους, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα, ὃν ἀναδεικνύαι ἐμέλλετε κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων δικαστὴν, δικάσαι. καίτοι πόσους ὑμεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τῶν κορῶν δίκαιοι πέμπειν ἔστε Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς ἀδίκως Αυδρόγεω ἀπεκτείνατε;"

5.19.3 | But I will set all this aside. You command that the killers, who are not at fault, be sent to die, and this is against the man you were about to reveal as a common judge of people, who did not even want to judge this case. And yet, how many just people do you think the gods are sending to the Athenians instead of these crows, whom you unjustly killed, Androgeos?

5.19.4 | 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος συγγραφεὺς ὀπόσοις ὁ Ἀπόλων διὰ τῆς τῶν χρησμῶν ἀμφιβολίας θανάτου αἴτιος τιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀναλαβὼν

5.19.4 | This same writer, who has become the cause of death for those affected by the uncertainty of Apollo's oracles, takes up the story of the Heracleidae and speaks clearly

ιστορίαν, εύθύνει λέγων οὕτως

like this.

## Section 20

5.20.1 | "Ἐπεὶ δέ πως ἐπεμνήσθην τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, φέρε τὰ καθήκοντα διέλθω τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακειδᾶς c διηγήματος. οὗτοι γάρ ποθ' ὡρμημένοι κατάτὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐσφάλησαν. Ἀριστόμαχος οὖν ὁ Ἀριδαίου, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἀριδαῖος ἀποτεθνήκει ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ, ἔρχεται ἀκουσόμενος παρὰ σοῦ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἐπεθύμει δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατέρ.

5.20.2 | σὺ δ' αὐτῷ λέγεις νίκην σοι φαίνουσι θεοὶ δι' ὁδοῦ στενύγρων, καὶ ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὡρμησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ μάχῃ τελευτᾶ. τούτου υἱὸς ὁ Τήμενος κακοδαίμων ἦκεν ἐκ κακοδαιμόνων τρίτος σὺ δ' αὐτῷ παρεγγυᾶς ἂ καὶ Ἀριστομάχῳ τῷ πατρὶ· καὶ ὃς, ἀλλὰ κάκενός σοι, ἔφη, πεισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ.

5.20.3 | καὶ σὺ ἔφης, οὐ κατὰ γῆν λέγω στενύγρην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν εύρυγάστορα, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπὸν ἦν εἴπειν κατὰ τὴν Θάλασσαν, κάκενος ἦει κατὰ τὴν Θάλασσαν, δόξαν ἐμποιήσας ὅτι κατὰ γῆν είσιοι, καὶ μέσον στρατοπεδεύεται Ναυάτου καὶ Τυπαίου· καὶ διακοντίζει Κάρνον νον ἵπποτην φυλάνδρου τὸν Αἴτωλὸν, εὺ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ποιῶν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνεκύρησε νόσος πλησίᾳ καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀριστόδημος, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ Τήμενος ἐλθὼν ἀπεμέμφετο τῇ ἀποτυχίᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσεν ὅτι ποινὴν ἀνεμάχατο τοῦ θείου ἀγγέλου, καὶ τὸ ὑπέρ τῆς εὔχῆς

5.20.1 | If I somehow remembered this speech, let me go through the events concerning the Heracleidae. For they, eager to invade the Peloponnese through the Isthmus, were caught. Therefore, Aristomachus, the son of Aridaios, comes to hear from you about the journey, since Aridaios had died during the invasion; he desired this 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 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 ones. You give him the same instructions as you did to his father, Aristomachus. He, just like his father, said to you that he died during the invasion after being persuaded.

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 talk about the sea." That one was going by the sea, creating the impression that they were entering by land, and he camped between Naupatos and Typaios. He served as a helper to the horseman Karnos, the Aetolian, who, it seems to me, was doing something important. When a disease broke out nearby and Aristodemus died, they retreated again, and Timenos, upon arriving, blamed the failure. He heard that he had brought upon himself the

Ἄπόλλωνι Καρνείώ ποίημα τὸ διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ λέγον ἄγγελον ἡμέτερον κτείνας ἀνεμάξαο ποινήν.

punishment of the divine messenger, and the offering for the prayer to Apollo Carneios was the message from the oracle: “Having killed our messenger, you have brought upon yourself punishment.”

5.20.4 | τί οὖν φησιν ὁ Τήμενος; τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ πῶς ἀνὶ λασαίμην ὑμᾶς; εὔχεο Καρνείώ τελέειν σέβας Ἀπόλλωνι. ὡ μιαρώτατε καὶ ἀναισχυντότατε μάντι· εἴτ' οὐκ ἡπίστασο ὅτι διαμαρτήσεται τῆς στενύγρης ὁ τὴν στενύγρην ἀκούσας; ἀλλ' ούδὲν 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 about 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 οὐκ ἔτυχεν. εὑρηται πάλιν εἰς ἀποφυγὴν Κάρνος ἄγγελος ἀποθανῶν.

5.20.5 | But the narrow path is uncertain. If you seem to be the cause of victory when you win, you are not blamed for defeat when you lose, and you will have to escape to the wide-bellied one. However, a man came to the wide-bellied one and did not succeed. Karnos is found again as a messenger, but he is dying.

5.20.6 | καίτοι πῶς, σα κράτιστε, ὁ κηδόμενος οὕτω τοῦ Κάρνου ἄλλοις μὲν αὐτὸν θεοφορεῖσθαι ἐκέλευες, ἐαυτῷ δὲ οὐ; καὶ δέον σώζειν ἵνα ὅντα Κάρνον, αὐτὸν τε περιεῖδες καὶ ἐναποθανόντι αὐτῷ Ὁμηρικὴν 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? 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 offered prayers for the disease?

5.20.7 | εἰ δ' εύχόμενος ούδὲν ἥνυεν, ἄλλο τι ἀν ἔξεύροιτο ἄκος τῷ σῷ σοφίσματι, καὶ ούδεποτ' ἀν ἐλήξατε, οἱ μὲν ἐρωτῶντες, σὺ δὲ σοφιζόμενος, ἵνα καὶ νικῶσι καὶ ἥττωμένοις ἥς ἀφώρατος κακουργῶν.

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

ἰκανὸν γὰρ τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία  
παραβουκολῆσαι, ὡς μηδ' εἴ χιλιάκις  
σφαγεῖν ἀπιστεῖν σοι ποιῆσαι.'

victorious and unseen by the defeated. For passion and desire are enough to lead people 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 ἔβασίλευσεν,  
ἄνωθεν ἐκ παλαιῶν εἰς 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, καᾶπειτα κρατῆρι καὶ πλίνθοις  
χρυσαῖς ἀναθημάτων τε μυρίων πλήθει  
κοσμήσας τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐν  
ὅλῳ χρόνῳ πλουσιώτατον ἀπέφηνεν,  
οὐδὲ 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 greater than his ancestors, he decided to honor the gods. After trying, he chose Apollo at Delphi above all others. He adorned the temple with golden offerings, including many vessels and bricks, and in a short time made it the richest in all the land, leaving nothing lacking for sacrifices because of 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 acts of piety, plans to march against the Persians, hoping to greatly increase his power with the help of the god.

5.20.10 | τί οὖν ὁ θαυμάσιος χρησμωδός;  
αὐτὸς ἔκεινος ὃ 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 ἐκῶν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ,  
ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποβησομένου· (μὴ  
γὰρ τὸ μέλλον εἰδὼς ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ μὴ θεός ἦν  
μηδέ τις ἀνθρώπου κρείττων δύναμις, ἐπὶ<sup>τὸν</sup> θάτερα σοφιστικῶς τὸν χρησμὸν  
ἡρμόσατο·) καὶ μονονυχὶ φήσας Κροῖσος  
Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει,

5.20.10 | What then is the wonderful oracle? It is the 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 lose 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 truly a god, nor was there any human power greater, cleverly arranged the oracle.) And in a single night, he says, "Crossing Halys, Croesus will

τὴν ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς τὸν εύσεβη κατελθοῦσαν τῆς Λυδίας ἀρχὴν, μεγάλην οὖσαν γαῖη πολυχρόνιον, καταστρέφει, τῆς ἄγαν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς τοῦτον ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεοφιλεῖ τὸν καρπόν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ συγγραφεὺς οἶα οὐκ ἀλόγως διαγαναχτεῖ ἄκουε

destroy a great power,” which had come down from his ancestors to the pious ruler of Lydia, a great land with a long history. He will ruin it, 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 ως ἀληθῶς τὰ μὲν ὅσα ψάμμου ἄξια ἔστιν εἰδέναι, καλὸν δὲ μηδὲν εἰδέναι. τὸ γοῦν ὄσμὴν ἐς φρένας σὰς ἐλθεῖν κραταιρίνοιο χελώνησ ἐψομένης ψάμμου ἄξιον ἐπίστημά ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀληθὲς μὲν ὃν οὔδ’ αύτὸ, 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 at all. For the smell of the strong-shelled turtle coming from the sand is worth knowing, but it is not true in itself. Still, it resembles the boastful and shameless person who raises his brow over empty knowledge, and it persuades the Lydian man, Croesus, not to look down on it.

5.21.2 | ὃς μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐπὶ τῇ πείρᾳ ἥμελλεν ἀνερωτᾶν σε εἰ στρατεύοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ σύμβουλον ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ μανίας καὶ πλεονεξίας. Ὡς οὐκ ὕκνησας εἴπειν ὅτι Ἀλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει.

5.21.2 | He was about to ask you, after a little while, if he should march against the Persians and to make a plan about his own madness and greed. You did not hesitate to say to him, “Crossing Halys, he will destroy a great power.”

5.21.3 | ἐκεῖνο μέντοι εὖ, ὅτι σοι οὐδὲν ἔμελεν εἴ τι ἄτοπον πείσεται ὑπ’ ἀμφιβόλου χρησμοῦ ἐπαρθεὶς ἐπ’ ἄλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν, οὐδ’ εἰ πικροί τινες ἀνθρωποι καὶ δέον ἐπαινεῖν σε ἐπὶ τῷ τραχηλίσαι μαινόμενον ἀνθρωπον, καὶ προσεγκαλοῖεν ως οὐδὲ ἴσορροπον φωνὴν ἀφέντα, ἵν ὄκνήσειν καὶ βουλεύσαιτο ὁ Λυδός ἀλλὰ ‘καταλῦσαι’ καθ’ ἵνα τρόπον ἔστι νοεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ τὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν

5.21.3 | That is good, that you did not care if he would suffer something strange, being led by a questionable oracle against a foreign power, nor if some bitter people praised you for silencing a madman and called you as if you had given up a balanced opinion, so that the Lydian would hesitate and think. But “to destroy,” as it is understood among the Greeks, does not mean to lose his own power, but to gain possession of someone else’s.

άλλοτρίαν περιποιήσασθαι.

5.21.4 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ 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 ἔπαιζε, βαβαὶ οἴα τὰ θεῖα παίγνια ἔστιν. εἰ δ' ούδε 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 οἱ πανταχόθεν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ σὲ διώκοντες; τί δὲ σὺ κνισιᾶς;"

5.21.6 | Τοιαῦτα τῆς Οίνομάου παρρησίας τὰ τῆς τῶν γοήτων φωρᾶς, κυνικῆς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένα πικρίας. ούδε γὰρ δαίμονος, μὴ ὅτι θεοῦ, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Πανέλλησι θαυμαζομένους χρησμοὺς εἶναι βούλεται, γοήτων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλάνας καὶ σοφίσματα ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τῶν πολλῶν ἐσκευωρημένα: ὃν ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο ἐμποδὼν τοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλέγχων ἐπακοῦσαι, καὶ πρώτου γε δι' οὗ φησιν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἡπατῆσθαι, γράφων ὡδε

5.21.4 | For he is either half-Median or half-Persian, being the son of a tyrant on his mother's side and from a common family on his father's side. In the riddle, he reveals the blinding muse, as well as the prophetic muse, if indeed the seer does not understand the riddle.

5.21.5 | If he was not acting out of ignorance, but out of luxury and trickery, alas, what divine games these are! But if it is not even this, but rather that it had to happen this way, then this is the most impious of clever words. Still, if it had to happen this way, why do you, poor soul, sit at Delphi singing empty and vain things? What benefit is this to us? Why are we madly chasing you from all over the earth? And what does it mean to you?

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 come from a god, but rather from the tricks and cleverness of deceivers among men, designed to fool the masses. Since we have mentioned this once, nothing would stop us from listening to the accusations of others, especially since he himself claims to have been deceived by the Clarian Apollo, writing in this way.

## Section 22

5.22.1 | "Αλλὰ δὴ ἔδει τι καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς

5.22.1 | But indeed, we should also take

κωμῳδίας μετασχεῖν καὶ μὴ σεμνύνεσθαι  
ώς οὐκ ἐμπεσόντας εἰς τὴν κοινήν  
παραπληξίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν εἰς πεῖν, ἥν  
καὶ αὐτὸὶ περὶ σοφίας ἐνεπορευσάμεθα ἐκ  
τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς Κλάριε, παρὰ σοῦ· ἔστιν ἐν  
Τρηχῖνος αὕτη κῆπος Ἡρακλήιος πάντ' ἔχων  
θάλλοντα, πᾶσι δρεπόμενος  
πανημαδὸν, οὐδὲ ὀλιζοῦται, βέβριθε δ'  
ὑδάτεσιν διηνεκές.

part in the comedy and not pretend that we have not fallen into the common confusion. If we are to drink, we have also learned about wisdom from Asia, O Clarius, from you. There is a garden of Heracles in Trichinos, full of all kinds of plants, gathering everything at once, and it does not lack anything, being constantly filled with water.

5.22.2 | εἴτ' ἔγὼ ἀκούσας ὁ βάκηλος καὶ  
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐψυσθην, καὶ  
τοῦ Ἡρακλήιου κήπου θάλλοντος  
Ἡσιόδειόν τινα ὄνειροπολῶν ἴδρωτα διὰ  
τὴν Τρηχῖνα, καὶ ὢηδίην αὐθις ζωὴν διὰ  
τὸν θάλλοντα κῆπον.

5.22.2 | Then I, hearing this, was also inspired by Heracles. While the garden of Heracles was blooming, I dreamed of some Hesiod as I sweated through Trichinos, and once again I found life easy because of the flourishing garden.

5.22.3 | εἴτα μοι ἐπερομένω εἴ̄ μοι  
συναίρονται οἱ θεοὶ 5 εἴ̄ς τις ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν  
λέγει, ἐπομνύμενος αὐτοὺς τοὺς  
συναιρομένους θεοὺς, ή μὴν παρὰ σοῦ  
ἀκηκοέναι αὐτὸς τοῦτο Καλλιστράτῳ  
δεδομένον Ποντικῷ τινὶ ἐμπόρῳ.

5.22.3 | Then, when I was asked whether the gods gather together with me, one of the many said, swearing by those gods who gather, that indeed I heard this from you, given to Callistratus by some merchant from Pontus.

5.22.4 | ἔγὼ οὖν ὡς ἥκουσα, πῶς οἴει  
ἡγανάκτησα, ὡς δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ  
ἀποστερούμενος; ἀλλὰ καίπερ ὅμως  
δυσφορῶν ἀνεσκοπούμην τὸν ἐμπόρον, εἴ̄  
τι κάκεῦνος ἔθαλφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·  
ἔφαίνετο δὴ οὖν κάκεῦνος πόνον τινὰ  
πονεῖν, καὶ κέρδους ἐφίεσθαι, καὶ βίον τινὰ  
ἡδὺν ἐκ τοῦ κέρδους προσδοκᾶν.

5.22.4 | So when I heard this, how do you think I felt? I was angry, since I was being deprived of virtue by him. But even though I felt bad, I watched the merchant to see if he was also being helped by Heracles. It seemed that he too was suffering some pain, hoping for profits and expecting a sweet life from those profits.

5.22.5 | ὡς δ' ἔφαίνετο ὁ ἐμπόρος  
ἐξισούμενος, οὐκέτι τὸν χρησμὸν ἐδεχόμην,  
οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλ' ἀπηξίουν τῶν  
αὐτῶν κοινωνεῖν, εἴ̄ς τε τοὺς παρόντας  
πόνους αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὰς ἐν

5.22.5 | As the merchant seemed to be doing well, I no longer accepted the oracle or Heracles. Instead, I turned away from sharing in the same things, focusing on their current struggles and the hopes they

έλπίδι φάτνας.

5.22.6 | ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ ληστὴς ἄμοιρος  
έφαίνετο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, οὐδ' ὁ στρατιώτης,  
οὐδ' ἔρων ἀνὴρ, οὐδ' ἔρωσα γυνὴ, οὐδὲ  
κόλαξ, οὐδὲ ῥήτωρ, οὐδὲ συκοφάντης.  
ἐκάστῳ γάρ ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν  
πόνον, προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ τὴν εύφροσήνην."

5.22.7 | Ταῦτα ἔκθέμενος εύθὺς  
ἐπισυνάπτει ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἔρωτήσας  
καὶ τρίτον οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἔγνω τοὺς  
θαυμασίους, μόνω δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀσαφείας  
σκότῳ τὴν σΦῶν ἄγνοιαν ἐπικρύπτοντας.  
λέγει δ' οὖν

had in mind.

5.22.6 | But neither did the thief seem 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 face the pain, but hopes for the joy.

5.22.7 | After saying these things, he immediately adds that after asking a second time and a third, knowing nothing, he recognized the remarkable ones. However, 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, ἄπορος  
δὲ ἔφαίνετο 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; εἴ δ' ἀγαλματοποίος τις ἦ  
ζωγράφος ἐπεθύμουν γενέσθαι καὶ  
διδασκάλους ἐζήτουν, ἅρά μοι ἥρκει  
ἀκοῦσαι ἐν τε τοῖσιν εὐπελέεσσιν', ἀλλ' οὐκ  
ἄν μαίνεσθαι εἶπον τόύ λέγοντα;

5.23.3 | ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἵσως οὐχ ἱκανὸς εἴ  
διανοῆσαι, ἀσάφειαν γάρ ἔχει πολλὴν τὰ

5.23.1 | "Since the matters of my trade  
were already underway, and it was  
necessary for a man to guide me toward  
wisdom, this one seemed to be at a loss. I  
needed you to be a guide in this, and in  
those simple matters for the Achaeans, he  
will incur 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 simple  
things, or would I not be angry with the one  
speaking?"

5.23.3 | "But perhaps you are not able to  
think about this, for human customs are full

άνθρωπεια ἥθη· ὅπου δέ μοι ἐκ Κολοφῶνος  
ἄμεινον πορεύεσθαι, οὐκέτ’ οὔτως ἀφανὲς  
τῷ θεῷ, ἐκ τανυστρόφοιο λᾶας σφενδόνης  
ἰεὶς ἀνήρχῆνας ἐναρίζειν βολαῖσιν  
ἀσπέτους ποιηβόρους. τούς δὲ ἀσπέτους  
ποιηβόρους χῆνας τίς μοι μηνύσει ὃ τί ποτε  
λέγουσι; τίς δὲ τὴν τανύστροφον  
σφενδόνην; ὁ Ἀμφίλοχος, ἢ ὁ Δωδωναῖος, ἢ  
σὺ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἴ γενοίμην, οὐκ ἀπάγξῃ που  
ἀπελθὼν τῇ τανυστρόφῳ σφενδόνῃ μετὰ  
τοῦ ἀδιανοήτου ποιήματος;”

of uncertainty. But where it is better for me to go from Colophon, it is no longer 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 will tell me 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 as I left with the long sling and the incomprehensible poem?”

5.23.4 | Άλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ᾔδε ἐληλεγμένων  
ώρα συνιδεῖν αὐθις ἄνωθεν ὅπως τοὺς  
παλαιτάτους χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ  
αὐτὸς ἀπελέγχει, τοὺς δὴ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς  
Ἐλληνικαῖς ἴστορίαις θαυμαζομένους.

5.23.4 | “But indeed, since these things have been said, it is time to look again from above at how the same person examines the oldest oracles at Delphi, which are especially admired in Greek histories.”

5.23.5 | ‘Πολὺς ἦν ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς  
ἀπλισμένος κατὰ Ἀθηναίων, ούδ’ ἦν τις  
αὐτοῖς ἄλλη σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ἢ μόνος ὁ  
Θεός· οἱ δὴ τοῦτον ὅστις ἦν οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν  
πάτριον ἀρωγὸν ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὁ ἐν Δελφῖς  
Ἀπόλλων οὗτος ἦν.

5.23.5 | “There was a large Persian army armed against the Athenians, and they had no hope of salvation except for the god alone. They were calling on him, not knowing who their ancestral helper was; this was Apollo at Delphi.”

5.23.6 | τί οὖν ὁ θαυμαστὸς οὐτος;; ἀρά γε  
τῶν οίκείων ὑπερεμάχει; ἄρα λοιβῆς καὶ  
κνίσης ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὡν αὐτῷ συνήθως  
έτελουν τὰς ἐκατόμβας ἐπιθύοντες;  
ούμενοῦν. ἀλλὰ τί φησιν; φεύγειν, καὶ  
φεύγειν ξύλινον τεῖχος  
παρασκευασαμένους, οὕτω τὸ ναυτικὸν  
δηλῶν, δι’ οὓ μόνου φησὶν αὐτοὺς  
σωθῆσεσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἐμπρησθείσης.

5.23.6 | “What then is this wonderful thing? Is he perhaps fighting against his own people? Does he remember the sacrifices and the smoke, and the things they usually offered to him in their hecatombs? Not at all. But what does he say? To flee and to prepare a wooden wall, showing that he believes they will be saved only through it when the city is burned.”

5.23.7 | ὡ μεγάλης θεοῦ βοηθείας. εἴτα  
πολιορκίαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν

5.23.7 | “O great help of the god! Then he pretends to prophesy not only about the

πόλιν οίκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφιερωμένων προιλέγειν δῆθεν προσποιεῖται. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δίχα χρησμοῦ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου προσδοκᾶν ἥν.” Εἰκότα δῆτα ποιῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς διαπαίζει πάλιν τὴν ‘Ἐλληνικήν ἀπάτην ἔξελέγχων ἐν τούτοις

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 enemy's attack.” Indeed, the author is playfully criticizing the Greek deception in these matters.

## Section 24

5.24.1 | “Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἶσως ἔθελοκάκου τινός ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ δεῖ μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν κρίσιν προάγειν τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. καὶ δὴ λεγέσθω τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὡς μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; πόλιν φύγετ’ ἔσχατα γαίης·οὕτε γάρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδος οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,οὐ χέρες, ούδε πόδες νέατοι· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείψειπῦ τε καὶ ὁξὺς Ἄρης, συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων·πολλὰ δὲ τῇδ’ ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα καὶ κατερείψει ’πολλοὺς δ’ ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει·οἴ που νῦν ιδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι ἐστήκασιν,δείματι παλλόμενοι.

5.24.1 | “But such things may perhaps be the work of some willing fool; those matters 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 fierce Ares will strike it down, chasing with a whistling chariot. Many towers will perish here, and many temples of the immortals will be destroyed by raging fire; perhaps now they stand, sweating and trembling with fear.’”

5.24.2 | ίδοὺ δή σοι τὸ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους λόγιον ’ ἡπού τι μαντικὸν ἔνεστι; σὺ γάρ οὔτως ἔθάρρεις αὐτῷ νὴ Δία, φαίη τις ἄν. εἰ δὲ προσθείης ἢ δεομένων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέγεται, γνωσθήσεται. ίδοὺ δὴ προσκείσθω, οὐ δύναται Πάλλας Δί’ Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι,λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις. . . .σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὗτις ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας·τῶν ἄλλων γάρ ἀλισκομένων. . . .τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδιοῖ εύρύοπα Ζεὺςμοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὄνήσει·μηδὲ σύ γ’ ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεξὸν ίόντα,νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κάντιος ἔσται.ώ Θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἦ

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, that someone might say so. 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 yourself remain in horse-fighting and going forth, turning your back; yet there will still be a

συνιούσης.

5.24.3 | Ἄξιός τέ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ Δῖός, ὃ νιὲ τοῦ Δῖός' ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὡς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀδελφέ· ἡ 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 ἔκεινον 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.

5.24.4 | καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ τολμηρὸς ἄμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὶ ῥιψοκίνδυνος, οὐκ οίμώζεις; εἴπον ἀνὸν ἄνθρωποι, ὑπὲρ ὕν τὴν Πάλλας οὐ δύναται Δί' Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι·) ἡ οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμήνιεν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ξύλοις· κάπειτα σὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους 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 φρληναφεῖν. πῶς δὲ, ὡς μάντι, ὅτι μὲν ἡ θείη Σαλαμίς ἀπολεῖ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἥδεις, πότερα δὲ σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης οὐκέτ' ἥδεις; πῶς δὲ ούδε τοῦτο ἥδεις, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα τῶν γυναικῶν εἴποι μὲν ἀν τις εἶναι καὶ τὰ οίκεῖα, εἴποι δ' ἀν καὶ τὰ πολέμια, αἱσθόμενος τοῦ κακοτεχνήματος;

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 | "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 daughter, but even 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, is indeed great and holds the entire Cyrean land. At the same time, he is persuasive, moving so many nations from Asia to Europe, yet in Europe, he is unable to overturn even one city."

5.24.4 | "And you, bold one, who is also reckless in nothing, do you not lament? People would say that Pallas cannot appease Zeus of Olympus for them; or did Zeus not care for humans, but for stones and wood? And then you saved the humans, while he burned the buildings with extra fire? For at that time, he did not have a thunderbolt."

5.24.5 | "Or perhaps we are bold and reckless, not letting you speak 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 because Demeter is scattered or coming together? How is it that you do not know this either, that the children of women could belong to both their own and their enemies, noticing

the poor craftsmanship?"

5.24.6 | περιμένειν δὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀποβησόμενον  
' ἐν γάρ δεῖ τι τούτων ἀποβήσεσθαι. ἡ γάρ  
τοι Σαλαμὶς ἡ θείη οὐδὲ ἡ ττωμένων  
ἀφήρμοσεν ἄν, ως εἰς οἴκτον οὔτως  
ἐπιφωνουμένη· ἡ τε μέλλουσα τῶν νηῶν  
μάχη, ἦτοι που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ  
συνιούσης, καταπέπλασται τῇ ποιητικῇ  
σεμνολογίᾳ, ἵνα γένηται μάντευμα  
ἀφώρατον τῷ σοφισμῷ καὶ μὴ εὐθὺς  
καταφανὲς ἥ, ὅτι ἐν χειμῶνι μάχη ναυτικὴ<sup>1</sup>  
οὐ συνίσταται.

5.24.6 | "But it is necessary to wait for what will happen, for something must come from these events. The divine Salamis would not be diminished, calling out as if to home. The upcoming battle of the ships, whether from Demeter being scattered or coming together, is wrapped in serious poetry, so that it becomes a prophecy that is not easily understood by cleverness and is not immediately clear, that a naval battle does not happen in a storm."

5.24.7 | ἥδη δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ τραγωδία ἀφανής,  
οὐδὲ οἱ θεοὶ ἔπεισκυλούμενοι, ὁ μὲν  
ἰκετεύων, ὁ δὲ οὐ κατακαμπτόμενος  
χρήσιμοι τῷ μέλλοντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου  
παραδόξῳ ὢπῃ, ὁ μὲν σωζομένοις, ὁ δ'  
ἀπολλυμένοις. εἴτε γάρ σωζοιντο, ίδού αἱ  
τῆς Παλλάδος λιταὶ προμεμήνυνται, ίκαναι  
οὖσαι κάμψαι τὴν τοῦ Διός ὄργήν· εἴτε καὶ  
μὴ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῷ μάντει  
ἀκατασκεύαστον· οὐ γάρ δύναται Πάλλας  
τὸν Δία ἔξιλάσασθαι· πρός τε τὰς  
ημικάκους τύχας ὁ τεχνίτης ἐκέρασε τὸ  
λόγιον, ως δὴ τοῦ Διός τῇ μὲν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ  
πρόθεσιν ἐκτελέσαντος, τῇ δὲ τὴν δέησιν  
τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ περιφρονήσαντος.

5.24.7 | "But now, neither is the tragedy hidden, nor are the gods surrounding it, one praying and the other not bowing 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 being lost. For if they are saved, look, the prayers of Pallas are remembered, enough to bend the anger of Zeus. And if not, this is also not impossible for the seer. For Pallas cannot appease Zeus. Regarding the mixed fortunes, the craftsman has woven 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 ἐπήεσαν, τάχα ἄν  
ψεῦδος ἦν, ὃπότε καὶ μετὰ ναρθήκων  
ἔπραξαν ἄν τι πάντως οἱ τοσοῦτοι. ἀλλ'  
ἔγω, φησὶν, ἔξευρον τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, τὸ  
μόνον ἀπόρθητον. συμβούλευμα σύ γε, ἀλλ'  
οὐ μάντευμα, οὐκ ἀπεοικός τῷ. φεύγειν,

5.24.8 | "That many towers are destroyed, if they fell with wooden beams and not with iron and fire, might be a lie, especially when they acted with wooden beams, as 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 suitable for this. To flee, neither to stay, nor to be ashamed of

μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αίδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

being bad."

5.24.9 | ὡς γοῦν ἐπιλυσάμενος ἔκεῖνο τὸ αἰνιγμα οὐ χείρων ἦν σου κατιδεῖν, ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις πρόφασις ἦν τῷ Πέρσῃ τῆς ὀδοῦ, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἔλασις ἐπὶ ταύτην πρώτην τε καὶ ἔξοχωτάτην ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἀμαντις αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τοῦτ' αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἄν, οὐ μόνον τὸν Λυδὸν, ἐκέλευον φεύγειν νῶτα ἐπιστρέψαντα. ἔτι γάρ ποτε κάντιος ἔσται πολλὴ γὰρ ἵπποσύνη 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 happened first and foremost for this. Since I, 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; 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 τὴν γῆν."

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, giving the land to those who wanted it."

5.24.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀσθενῆ δὲ σφόδρα καὶ καταγέλαστα τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἥτοι γὰρ πᾶσα, φησὶν, ἡ πόλις πολιορκηθήσεται, ἢ ἀπολωλότα τὸν βασιλέα πενθήσει. τοῦτο δ' ἐξ ἀπαντος εἴκος ἦν παντὶ τῷ στοχάζεσθαι, τὸ ἥτοι τόδε ἢ τόδε συμβήσεσθαι.

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 something everyone could think about, that either this or that would happen."

5.24.12 | ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου θεοῦ ἦν μάντευμα ὃδέ πως ἀμφιβάλλειν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ μέλλοντος, βοηθεῖν δέον καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν καιρῷ παραφαίνεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ βαρβάρων νίκην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς ἄν οἴκειοις φίλοις προξενεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, κāν τὸ μὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς, μηδ'

5.24.12 | "But surely it was not a prophecy from a god to be uncertain about the future. 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

ἀλῶναι παρέχειν. ὁ δὲ ούδε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ούδ'  
ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἡττης περιστήσεται  
γινώσκει. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα οἶλα φησιν ὁ  
ἔλεγχος ἄκουε

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  
matters."

## Section 25

5.25.1 | "Αλλ' ού δεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις,  
φήσεις, ταύτὸν παραινεῖν. ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ού  
γάρ ήπιστασο, ὡς σοφιστὰ, οἵ χωρήσει τὰ  
τῆς Σπάρτης ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.  
έδεδοίκεις οὖν μὴ σὺ μὲν κελεύσῃς αὐτοὺς  
φεύγειν, καπειτα οἱ μὲν φεύγοιεν, οἵ δὲ μὴ  
έπελθοιεν.

5.25.1 | "But you will say that it is not right  
to advise the Spartans in the same way. You  
speak the truth. For you do not know, oh  
wise one, how the situation in Sparta will  
unfold like that in Attica. Therefore, you are  
afraid that if you tell them to flee, some will  
escape while others will not make it."

5.25.2 | ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδει τι λέγειν, οὕτως εἶπας  
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμὶν, ὡς Σπάρτης  
οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο, ἢ μέγα ἄστυ  
έρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδησιπέρσεται,  
ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχὶ, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ  
γενέθλησπενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον  
Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.

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  
destroyed by the men of Persia, or it will  
not. But from the lineage of Heracles, the  
king will mourn for the fallen land of  
Lacedaimon.'"

5.25.3 | πάλιν ὁ ἀμαντευτότατος  
σύνδεσμος. ἀλλ' ἔῶμεν αὐτὸν, ὡς μὴ δὶς  
περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοι ἐπιπηδῶντες ἐπαχθεῖς  
ἄμα καὶ ἅποροι δοκῶμεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
ἐπισκοπῶμεν.

5.25.3 | "Again, we have the most uncertain  
connection. But let's set it aside, so we  
don't seem burdensome and confused by  
jumping on the same thing twice. Instead,  
let's focus on the other matters."

5.25.4 | είς σὲ μὲν ἀπέβλεπον ἄπαντες ἐν  
τηλικούτῳ κινδύνῳ, σὺ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τόν  
μελλόντων μηνυτῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητέων  
ἥσθα σύμβουλος. καὶ σὲ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι πιστὸν,  
σὺ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέπεισο ἡλιθίους εἶναι, καὶ ὁ  
καθεστὼς καιρὸς ὅτι ἱκανὸς ἦν ἄγειν καὶ  
τραχηλίζειν τοὺς ἀβελτέρους οὐ μόνον είς  
Δέλφικά καὶ Δωδωναῖα σοφιστήρια, ἀλλ'

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. The situation  
was such that it was easy to lead and  
confuse the less skilled, not only to the  
Delphic and Dodonian oracles, but also to

ἥδη καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρνιθομαντεῖα καὶ  
ἀλευρομαντεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἔγγαστριψθους.

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 οὗτ' ἀν ἀμφότερα  
μᾶλλον ἐδέξαντο ἢ τὸ ἔτερον οὗτ' ἀν τὸ  
μεῖζον ἀντὶ τοῦ μείονος, μεῖον δὲ εἶναι ἔνα  
ἀντὶ πάντων πεσεῖν τὸν βασιλέα.

5.25.5 | "The gods were not only trustworthy at that time, but also the heifers, the crows, and the dreams that come in sleep. It is clear that they would not have accepted both options or one over the other, nor would they have chosen the greater instead of the lesser. The lesser would mean the king falling instead of everyone else."

5.25.6 | μετὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως πιπτούσης  
ούδεμία οὐδ' αὐτῷ ἀποφυγή· εἰ δ' αὐτὸς  
ἄλλῃ πῃ τάττοιτο, τάχα ἂν τι καὶ  
παράδοξον γένοιτο. λείπεται δὴ τοὺς ταῦτα  
λογιζομένους τὸν μὲν βασιλέα πέμψαι  
προσπολεμήσοντα, αὐτοὺς δὲ οἴκοι  
μένοντας ἔξω κινδύνων καραδοκεῖν.

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 unusual might happen. So, the plan is to send the king to fight while they stay at home, waiting safely away from danger."

5.25.7 | τῷ μὲν οὖν μετ' ὄλιγων ἐναντίῳ  
ισταμένῳ 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.

5.25.7 | "Therefore, after a short time, destruction was clear for the one standing against the endless crowd, while Sparta had delays caused by fear and unusual hopes. Still, it was no less impossible to escape, whether one ran away or was captured."

5.25.8 | τί δή ποτε; ὅτι οὐκ εἴρητο μὰ Δία εἰ  
δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποθάνοι, ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται,  
ἄλλ' ὅτι ἡ μόνος ἀπολεῖται ἢ ἡ σύμπασα  
πόλις· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ 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.

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 lost or the whole city? This is beyond anyone's control, whether he is alone or not. This is the result of madness and foolishness. But that is that. It is also important to mention what the people of Cnidus prayed for again, asking for help from the god."

συμμαχίαν αίτοῦσιν. ”

## Section 26

5.26.1 | “Επαθον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κνίδιοι τούτῳ προσεοικὸς 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.

5.26.2 | σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶπας Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ’ ὄρυσσετε· 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 δὲ μὴ κελεύων ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἐπαγγέλῃ τὴν ἀποφυγήν.

5.26.3 | τούτῳ δὲ οὐ τὸ λῶον εἶναι μὴ ὄρυξασι προσετίθεις, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ τῷ Διὶ αὐτὴν νῆσον εἶναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀποτροπῇ ἀμφότερα ἰσόρροπα, ἐν δὲ τῇ προτροπῇ τὸ διαφεύξεσθαι προεῖχεν· οὖν δὴ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν τῷ σοφιστῇ τὸ ἀνατρέπειν. οὕτως τε οὐδὲν εἰπών ὃν ἔνεκα ἥσαν ἀφιγμένοι ἀπέπεμψας οἴομένους ἀκηκοέναι τι.”

5.26.4 | Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἀδρανὲς τῶν τε χρώντων καὶ τῶν χρωμένων ἀπελέγχειν αὐταρκῶς, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἡ ἔνθεον

5.26.1 | “But the people of Cnidus suffered because of this, just like when Harpagus campaigned against them. They tried to cut off the isthmus there and turn the city into an island. At first, they were in control of the work, but when they faced resistance, they quickly used it as an excuse to stop.”

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. Since there was no safe escape by digging, you stopped that. But when you do not command them to continue the work, you promise them an escape.”

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 change the situation. Thus, without saying anything about why they had come, you sent them away thinking they had heard something.”

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

εστιν εὺρεῖν ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις.

is being shown."

5.26.5 | τὸ δὲ κακότροπον τοῦ ἥθους εἴτε τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων εἴτε τῶν τὰ μαντεῖα καθυποκρινομένων ἀνδρῶν ἴδοις ἀν, εἰ μάθοις ως καὶ εἰς τὸν κατ' ἄλλήλων πόλεμον τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἡρέθιζον, είρήνης 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, when they should be champions of peace and friendship."

5.26.6 | τοτὲ μὲν οὗν Λακεδαιμονίους ως ἀν οίκείους καὶ φίλους ὃ ἐν Δελφοῖς πάλιν κατὰ Μεσσηνίων παροξύνει, τοτὲ δ' αὖ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων χρᾶ, εἰ πάλιν οὗτοι δι' ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἡλάσοιντο 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, pay attention to what is said about these matters."

## Section 27

5.27.1 | "Ἐπικρινεῖ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ σοφία παροῦσα τῇ μαντικῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει αὐτῇ ως ἔτυχε διαλέγεσθαι, ἀτε δὴ τῶν πάντων ἀναψαμένη τὰ πείσματα καὶ ἐπιθεμένη τὰ πρεσβεῖα, οὐδ' ἐφήσει ματαίω ὅντι τῷ Πυθίῳ χρᾶν οὕτε τούτοις οὕτε Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Μεσσηνίων καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἣς εἶχον Μεσσήνιοι ἀπάτη νικήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕ σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός 'ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναις τις ἀλώσεται αἰσπερ ὑπῆρξεν.

5.27.1 | "Wisdom will judge such matters in relation to prophecy, and it will not allow it to speak randomly, since it has considered 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 regarding the Messenians and the land, which the Messenians held by deceiving the Spartans. Phoebus commands not only to bring forth acts of battle, but also that the Messenian people keep the land through trickery, and that someone will be caught by the same methods as before."

5.27.2 | είρήνης μᾶλλον μεμνῆσθαι κελεύει καὶ ὀλιγοδείας καὶ αὐταρκείας. οἱ δέ που τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις κατακοσμούμενοι

5.27.2 | "It commands us to remember peace more, along with moderation and self-sufficiency. But those who follow

ῆκον ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας καὶ δόξης κενῆς  
έρησόμενοι, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν Μεσσηνίων  
μάχῃ λείπεσθαι, ἐν νόμοις καρτερικοῖς  
τεθράφθαι δοκοῦντες.

5.27.3 | εἰ δέ γε οὗτοι ἦσαν  
νόμοις οὕτω τεθραμμένοι, ἐκαρτέρουν ἄν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄν μάχης αὐτοῖς  
ἔδει, οὐδὲ ὅπλων 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, καὶ  
κεν σώσειας Ίθώμην.

5.27.5 | τὰ γάρ παρευρήματα οὐ δέχομαι,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι καθαρὸν ἐκ γένους Αἴπύτου τὸ  
ἱερεῖον, ὅθεν ἀτέλεστα Μεσσηνίοις εἶναι.  
τοιοῦτος γάρ εἰς οἶος ταράττειν." Τὰ μὲν δὴ  
τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας 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 ὀρμῶντων, τοτὲ δὲ  
σφαλλομένων ἐκ τῆς τῶν χρησθέντων  
ἀδηλίας, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἐκ τῆς  
αὐτόθεν τῶν λογίων ἀπάτης.

5.27.6 | τί δεῖ δὲ λέγειν, ὡς ποτε ἐν ταῖς  
μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς, ἥτοι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς  
έχθροὺς παρατάξεων, ἢ τῶν ἐν ταῖς

Lycurgus's laws fell into greed and empty  
glory, so that they would not seem to be left  
behind in the battle against the Messenians,  
thinking they were raised under strong  
laws."

5.27.3 | "But if they were truly raised under  
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 other dangers."

5.27.4 | "These things are for the Spartans  
against the Messenians, and again for the  
Messenians against the Spartans. For you,  
too, the oracle speaks against the Spartans:  
'You call the maiden Aipytiada, whom you  
should give to the lower gods, and you  
might save Ithome.'"

5.27.5 | "For I do not accept the offerings,  
because the priesthood from the lineage of  
Aipytus was not pure, and therefore it was  
incomplete for the Messenians. Such a  
person can cause trouble. These are the  
matters from ancient history. There are  
many similar things for us to see, from  
ancient times up to our own, where those  
in power sometimes lead to unsuccessful  
wars through the advice of oracles,  
sometimes fail because of unclear  
messages, and at other times are misled by  
the very deceptions of the words."

5.27.6 | "What can we say about times of  
great disasters, whether in battles against  
enemies or in dangers from physical

σωματικαῖς ἀρρωστίαις κινδύνων, τῆς τῶν νενομισμένων θεῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ θεραπείας ούδὲν ὕναντο.

5.27.7 | τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἐκπίπτει, οἷα καὶ τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας συνίστησιν.

5.27.8 | ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν μάλιστα παρὰ “Ἐλλησι θρυλουμένων τοῦ Πυθίου χρησμῶν εἰς τις ἦν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Λυκοῦργον, ὃ προσιόντι ἡ Πυθία ἐπεφώνησε τὸ βιώμενον ἔκενο, ἥκεις, ὡς Λυκόεργε, ἐμόν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν, Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν ‘Ολύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι· δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι· ὡς Λυκόεργε, ἥκεις εύνομίην διζήμενος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοιδώσω, καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπιλεγόμενα· φέρε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίνα ποτὲ συνεῖδεν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἔλεγχος ἐποπτεύσωμεν. γράφει δὲ ὡδε

illnesses? They received no help or support from the established gods.”

5.27.7 | “Such things always slip away from them, just as those from ancient history show.”

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. I will either prophesy to you as a god or as a man; but I hope for a prophecy from a god even more. O Lycurgus, you come seeking good order. I will give you...’ and the things that go along with this. Let us also consider what the revealed proof has shown. It is written like this.”

## Section 28

5.28.1 | “Ἄλλὰ σὺ τὸν Τυρταῖον προκαθηγεμόνα καὶ σκοπὸν ἐλθόντα ποτὲ ὡς σὲ ἥκειν ἔφης ἐκ κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος Ζηνὶ φίλον καὶ πᾶσιν ‘Ολύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι, δίζεσθαί τε εἰ θεὸν αὐτὸν μαντεύσῃ, ἢ ἄνθρωπον, 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 arrived from hollow Laconia, dear to Zeus and all the Olympian gods. You were to ask whether he would prophesy as a god or as a man, but I hope even more for a prophecy from a god, since he came seeking good order.”

5.28.2 | καὶ πῶς, εἰ θεὸς, οὐκ ἡπίστατο νόμον πολιτικὸν ὁ φίλος τοῦ Διός καὶ πάντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ οὐ δίχα θεοῦ ἴσως τὰ τοιαῦτα εὑρίσκεται, ἂ

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 might be found even without a god,

δέδεικται τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς  
θεοῦ φωνῆς, φέρε ἵδωμεν τὴν θείαν  
φωνὴν, καὶ ἂν δίδαξας τὸν Λυκοῦργον  
ἡκεις εὐνομίην διζήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἔγώ  
τοιδώσω.

which have been shown by the most divine  
voice of a goddess, come, let us hear 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· ούδεμίαν γάρ  
πω δόσιν ούδενὶ ἐπηγγείλω τοιαύτην. ώς  
ἀν μαντείησιν ὑποσχέσιάς τε καὶ  
ὅρκους, καὶ δίκας ἀλλήλοισι καὶ  
ἄλλοιδαποῖσι διδῶτε, ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς  
πρεσβηγενέας τιμῶντες, Τυνδαρίδας δ'  
ἐποπιζόμενοι, Μενέλαν τε καὶ  
ἄλλουναθανάτους ἥρωας, οἵ ἐν  
Λακεδαίμονι δίη, οὔτω δή χ' ὑμῶν  
περιφείδοιτ' εύρύοπα 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 paying respect to the  
Tyndarids, Menelaus, and the other  
immortal heroes who dwell in Laconia, may  
loud-voiced Zeus protect you."

5.28.4 | Ἀπολλον, διδασκαλίας καὶ  
παρεγγυήσεως θείας· καὶ οὐ μακρὸς ἔνεκα  
τούτων ὁ στόλος, ούδε ὅπως εἰς Δελφοὺς  
έκ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ούδ' εἰς  
Ὑπερβορέους αύτοὺς, ὅθεν ἀφῆθαι  
λέγουσι κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀστερίας ἄλλης  
μάντεως οἰκητὰς Δήλοιο θυώδεος ήδ'  
ἱερῆας.

5.28.4 | "Apollon, of divine teaching and  
prophecy; and this journey is not far,  
neither to Delphi from the Peloponnesus,  
nor even to the Hyperboreans themselves,  
from where they say the dwellers of Delos  
arrived according to the oracle of another  
seer, offering sacrifices and serving as  
priests."

5.28.5 | δοκεῖ δέ μοι ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὗτος  
οὐκ ἐσχηκέναι τιτθὴν, ούδὲ σύνθωκος  
πρεσβυτέρων ούδέποτε κεκαθικέναι, παρ'  
ῶν καὶ παρ' ἡς εἶχε καλλίω τούτων  
ἀκοῦσαι καὶ σοφώτερα.

5.28.5 | "It seems to me that this Lycurgus  
has not held any position of authority, nor  
has he ever been among the elders, from  
whom he could have heard better and  
wiser teachings."

5.28.6 | τάχα δέ πού τι προσθήσεις, ἔάν σε  
λιπαρῇ ὁ Λυκοῦργος είπεν τι σαφές. εἰ οἱ  
μὲν εὖ ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δ' ἔποιντο, ούκέτι φήσω  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι συνθώκου τοῦτο, καὶ  
ἀξιώσω τὸν Λυκοπυργὸν μὴ ἀποκαμεῖν εἴ  
τι δύναιτο πολιτικὸν παρὰ σοῦ δίδαγμα

5.28.6 | "Perhaps there will be some  
additions if Lycurgus wants to say  
something clear. If some lead well and  
others follow, I will no longer say that this  
is the same position of authority. I will  
encourage Lycurgus not to give up if he can

άναλαβών ἀπιέναι είς τὴν Σπάρτην.

learn a political lesson from you and go to Sparta."

5.28.7 | είσὶν ὄδοι δύο πλεῖστον ἀπ' ἄλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι, ἡ μὲν ἐλευθερίας εἰς τίμιον οἶκον ἄγουσα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ δουλείας φυκτὸν δόμον ἡμερίοισι καὶ τὴν μὲν διά τ' ἀνδροσύνης Ἱερῆς θ' ὁμονοίας ἔστι περᾶν, ἦν δὴ λαοῖς ἡγεῖσθε κέλευθον, τὴν δὲ διὰ στυγερῆς Ἱρίδος καὶ ἀνάλικος ἀτησείσαφικάνουσι. . . , τὴν δὲ πεφυλάχθαι.

5.28.7 | "There are two paths that are mostly far apart from each other: one leads to a noble home of freedom, while the other leads to a miserable house of slavery. The first can be crossed through the sacred unity of courage, which you indeed guide the people to follow. The second leads through hateful conflict and weak destruction."

5.28.8 | μάλιστα ἀνδρείους εἴναι κελεύεις τοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δειλῶν πολλάκις ἡκούσαμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμορφονας τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν μόνων, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν στασιαξόντων. ὥστε ιούτου μὲν τοῦ παρεγγυήματος ἀφίεμέν σε.

5.28.8 | "You often urge people to be brave; we have heard this many times from the cowardly, but also from those who agree with one another. This is not only said by the wise, but even by those who create conflict. So, we release you from this promise."

5.28.9 | καίτοι μάντις ὃν οὐκ 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, as a seer, you have not recognized us many times, even when many have received this gift. This includes neither those who ate from the laurel nor those who drank the water of Castalia, nor those who ever raised their brow in wisdom."

5.28.10 | λέγ' οὖν περὶ ἀνδρείας, λέγε περὶ ἐλευθερίας, λέγε περὶ ὄμοφροσύνης, τίνα τρόπον ἔγγίνεται ταῦτα πόλει, καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς τοὺς οὐκ είδότας κέλευε ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς λαοῖς τῆς κελεύθου ταύτης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἥγοϋ. 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 understand, to believe in this path; instead, lead yourself. For it is beautiful, but it is hard and frightening for us."

## Section 29

5.29.1 | Σὺ δὲ καὶ περὶ γάμου ἔτοιμος λέγειν  
“Αργεος ἵπποβότου πᾶλον λάβε  
κυανοχαίτου.

5.29.2 | περὶ δὲ παίδων Ἡετίων, οὐ τίς σε  
τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα· λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ'  
όλοοιτροχον.

5.29.3 | περὶ δὲ ἀποικίας στέλλ' ἐπὶ  
χρυσείους ἄνδρας πολυεθνέα λαὸν, ὅμοις  
μὲν χαλκὸν προφέρων, χερσὶν δὲ σίδηρον.

5.29.4 | περὶ δὲ κενῆς δόξης γαίης μὲν  
πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν οῦδας ἄμεινον· ἕπποι  
Θρηίκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ  
γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες θ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς  
Ἀρεθούσης.

5.29.5 | καί μοι δοκεῖς ούδεν τὸν  
τερατοσκόπων καλουμένων κρείττων  
εἶναι, ἀλλ' ούδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγυρτῶν καὶ  
σοφιστῶν. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ούδεν ἔγωγε  
έθαύμασ, εἰ μισθοῦ τραχηλίζουσι, σοῦ δὲ  
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ μισθοῦ  
τραχηλίζονται.

5.29.6 | εἴθ' ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης ἔκεῖνος  
ούδετερον ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν  
έρωτήσαντα πότερον γαμήσει ἢ μὴ, ἀλλ'  
ὅτι μετανοήσει ἀμφότερα· πρὸς δὲ τὸν  
ἐπιθυμοῦντα παίδων οὐκ εὗ ἔφη αὐτὸν  
ποιήσειν, δος ἔάσας ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅπως, εἴ οἱ

5.29.1 | “But you are also ready to talk  
about marriage. Take the horse from Argos,  
the one with the blue mane.”

5.29.2 | “But when it comes to children, no  
one honors you, even though you are  
valuable. The wolf will give birth, and it will  
produce a deadly offspring.”

5.29.3 | “But when it comes to colonies,  
send forth golden men, a diverse group of  
people. They carry bronze on their  
shoulders and iron in their hands.”

5.29.4 | “But when it comes to empty glory,  
the Pelasgian land is better than all the  
earth. There are Thracian horses, Spartan  
women, and men who drink the water of  
beautiful Arethusa.”

5.29.5 | “And it seems to me that you are no  
better than those called wonder-workers,  
nor than the other tricksters and sophists. I  
did not marvel at any of them, even if they  
are paid for their work, but I do marvel at  
you, of the god and of men, if you are paid  
for your work.”

5.29.6 | “Then Socrates did not answer the  
one who asked whether he would marry or  
not, but said that he would regret either  
choice. To the one wanting children, he did  
not say that he would do well, since he  
allowed him to try, and if he had children,

παῖδες γένοιντο, ἄριστα αὐτοῖς χρῶτο,  
τούτου μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποίήσατο, αὐτὸ<sup>ν</sup>  
δὲ μόνον ἐσκοπεῖτο, πῶς ἀν αὐτῷ γένοιντο.

he would use them best. He made no argument about this, but only thought about how it might happen for him."

5.29.7 | ἐτέρου δὲ ἀποδημεῖν ἔγνωκότος  
διὰ τὸ κακῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν οἴκοι οὐκ ἔφη  
όρθως αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθαι ' τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
πατρίδα αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν ἄπεισι, τὴν δὲ  
ἀμαθίαν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ ἄγων, ἥτις αὐτὸν καὶ  
τοῖς ἑκεῖ δυσαρεστεῖν ποιήσει καθάπερ καὶ  
τοῖς ἐνθάδε. καὶ οὐχ ὅποτε ἡρωτᾶτο μόνον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόκλητος ἐπὶ τὰς τοιάσδε  
συνουσίας ίών·

5.29.7 | "But when it was known that another was away because things were going badly for him at home, he said it was not right for him to make plans. 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. 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  
μετέπειταοίκων ἐνὶ σκιερῷ Διονύσῳ  
χρῆσθαι ίητρῷ. Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ καύματος  
ἐνοχλουμένοις ίατρικὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ μαντικὸν.

5.30.1 | "Twenty for the dog and twenty for later use, to be used in the shady house of Dionysus by a doctor. This is for the Athenians who are troubled by the heat; it is medical, but not prophetic."

5.30.2 | Ἐργῖνε Κλυμένοιο πάι  
Πρεσβωνιάδας,δψ' ἥλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος·  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπησίστοβοῇ γέροντι νέαν  
ποτίβαλλε κορώνην. γέροντι νέαν  
συνοικεῖν, εἰ παίδων ἐπιθυμεῖ, οὐ μάντεως  
οὐδὲ 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 into the fire for the old man. Living with a young man, if he desires children, is not a matter of prophecy, but of understanding nature. But desire leads the foolish astray."

## Section 31

5.31.1 | Διόπερ σοι καὶ νάρθηκα παραινῶ  
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, εἴ μὴ πείθοις  
μανθάνειν ἀντὶ τῶν καταπτύστων  
έρωτημάτων ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θείου  
φοιτητηρίου· ἡ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ

5.31.1 | "Therefore, I advise you to take the staff, unless you are convinced to learn something worthy of the divine school instead of asking shameful questions. Or, to Antiochus the Parian, who has lost his

άποβαλόντι τὴν ούσιαν ἐν πολιτικῇ φυλαρίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἥκοντι πρὸς σὲ λέγειν Ἀντίοχ', εἰς Θάσον ἔλθε, καὶ οὕκει εὐκλέα νῆσον· ὃς ἐκείνως ἀν μᾶλλον ὄντα ἀκούσας, Ἀντίοχ', εἰς νοῦν ἔλθε, καὶ ἐν πενίᾳ μὴ ὁδύρου.

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 hear 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, Πυθων 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 flowing river of Dio, I urge you to complete the purification of Phoebus, bringing good news, so that you may settle in Crete, not under the blessings of ancestral laws, while honoring Zeus.”

5.31.3 | οἵς ἀκοῦσαι ἐκεῖνο κρεῖττον ἦν λήρους καὶ μανίας ναέται, πολλοῦ θ' ἄμα τύφουοικεῖν τελέειν κέλομαι λήροιο καθαρμὸνεύαγέοντας, ὅπως σοφίαν καταναιετάητε, ὅλβον μὴ πατρίοισι νόμοις, θείοις δὲ σέβοντες. ὡς μὴ μᾶλλον τῆς Κρήτης σὺ καθαρμοῦ προσδέῃ, Ὁρφικούς τινας ἢ Ἐπιμενιδείους καθαρμοὺς φανταζόμενος.

5.31.3 | “To hear that is better than madness and folly, and I urge you to complete the purification from madness, bringing good news, so that you may gain wisdom, not under the blessings of ancestral laws, but while honoring the divine. You do not need more purification from Crete, imagining some Orphic or Epimenidean rituals.”

## Section 32

5.32.1 | Διὰ τί δὲ, (6 σοφώτατε, Χαρίλαος καὶ Ἀρχέλαος οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς, εἴ κεν ἐπικτήτου μοίρης λάχος Ἀπόλλωνι ἕμισυ δάσσωνται, πολὺ λώιον ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς, ποιώ δὲ καὶ ἄλλω λέγεις Ἀπόλλωνι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτῷ σοι, ὡς ἀναίσχυντε μάντι, ὡς μή τίς σοι αὐτῷ ἐπιπλήξειεν, ἄτε κακῶς οὕτω συνδιαιρουμένω τοῖς λησταῖς.”

5.32.1 | “Why then, most wise one, do you say that Charilaus and Archelaus, the kings of the Spartans, will have much better if they receive half of Apollo's share? And what do you say to Apollo about another matter? For it is not for you, shameless seer, to worry that no one might strike you, since you are so poorly divided among the robbers.”

5.32.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡδε ἔχέτω. φέρε δὲ

5.32.2 | “Let these things be as they are. But

τούτοις προσθῶμεν καὶ δι' ὃν αὕθις ὁ  
Ἀπόλλων θαυμάζει τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, ἄνδρα  
παντοίαις κατὰ γυναικῶν  
αἰσχρορρημοσύναις καὶ ἀρρητολογίαις, ἃς  
οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαί τις σώφρων ἀνὴρ  
ὑπομείνειεν 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 Ὁμηρον ἐπὶ  
τούτοις, ὃν δὲ γενναῖος Πλάτων' ἔξωθεῖ τῆς  
ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείας ως κατ' οὐδὲν ὡφέλιμον,  
ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τοὺς νέους  
λυμαινομένων λόγων ποιητὴν γεγενημένον.  
ἔφ' οἵς πάλιν δὲ προδηλωθεὶς τὸν  
χρησμῷδὸν θεὸν ὢδέ πως σκώπτει

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, even in his own poems. And Euripides, who has strayed from the teachings and philosophy of Socrates, is still performing tragedy in the midst of the storm. And Homer, whom the noble Plato drives out of his own city as completely useless, is also seen 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. δὲ  
παῖς ἦν Ἀρχίλοχος.

5.33.1 | "Immortal and famous is your  
child, O Telecleides; he will be among men."  
And that child was Archilochus."

5.33.2 | ἔσται σοι κοῦρος, Μνησαρχίδη,  
ὄντινα πάντες ἄνθρωποι τίσουσι, καὶ ἐς  
κιλέος ἐσθλὸν ὄρούσει, καὶ στεφέων ἱερῶν  
γλυκερὴν χάριν ἀμφιβαλεῖται.

5.33.2 | "There will be a boy for you,  
Mneseachus, whom all men will honor. He  
will rise to noble fame and will be  
surrounded by the sweet grace of sacred  
crowns."

5.33.3 | δὲ κοῦρος ἦν Εύριπίδης. Ὅμηρος  
δὲ σοὶ ζωὴ δοιὰς μοίρας λάχεν, ἡ μὲν  
ἀμαυρῶν ἡλίων δισσῶν, ἡ δὲ 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 and the other equal to the  
immortals, living and dying. Because of this,  
he was called both blessed and wretched,  
for he was born to both."

5.33.4 | λέγει δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρωπος, ἀλλά τις  
διατεινάμενός ποτε, ὅτι αὐτὸν οὐ χρή

5.33.4 | "But no man says this; rather, it is  
someone who once reached out, saying that

άνθρωπων θεὸν ὅντα δυηπαθέων  
ἀλεγίζειν. ἄγε οὖν, ὁ θεὲ, μὴ περιίδῃς μηδ'  
ἡμᾶς. ἐπιθυμοῦμεν γὰρ, εἰ μή τι ἀδικοῦμεν,  
οἴ μὲν Κλεοῦς ἐσθλοῦ, οἴ δὲ στεφάνων  
ἱερῶν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς θεοὺς ἴσομοιρίας, οἱ δὲ  
αὐτῆς ἀθανασίας.

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 glory, some of sacred crowns, some equal shares with the gods, and some of the same immortality."

5.33.5 | τί ποτ' οὖν ἦν τοῦτο δὶ' ὅσοι  
Ἄρχιλοχος ἔδοξεν ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;  
μὴ φθονήσῃς, ὁ φιλανθρωπότατε θεῶν,  
μηδ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἀνω ὀδοῦ. τί  
πράττειν κελεύεις ἡμᾶς; ἢ δηλαδὴ τὰ  
Ἄρχιλόχου, εἰ μέλλοιμεν ἄξιοι φανεῖσθαι  
τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστίας,

5.33.5 | "What then was it that made Archilochus seem 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, should we focus on the things of Archilochus, if we are to be shown worthy of your hearth?"

5.33.6 | λοιδορῆσαι μὲν πικρῶς τὰς οὐκ  
έθελούσας 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 approach 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, like Archilochus."

5.33.7 | καὶ οὐδὲν ἵσως θαυμαστόν. διὰ γὰρ  
τὴν ἐν τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν εὗ μὲν οἴκος  
οίκεῖται, εὗ δὲ ἰδιώτης βίος, πόλεις δὲ  
δημοφρόνως καὶ ἔθνη εύνόμως συνεστᾶσιν.

5.33.7 | "And perhaps there is nothing surprising about this. For because of the greatness in these matters, the household is well-managed, 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 he had killed 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· ἔμεμνήμην γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ποιητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Εύριπίδου στεφάνων, καίτοι ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἐπιθυμῶν οὐχ ὅτι ἐστεφανοῦστο, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἦν τὰ στέφη ταῦτα ἱερά· οὐδὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ κλέος ὅρουσεν, 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. Although I was confused and wanted to understand, it was not about what he was crowned for, but about how these crowns were sacred. It was not that his fame was rising, but rather how good this was."

5.33.11 | ἔκροταλίζετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅχλοις, οἴδα, καὶ τυράννοις ἥρεσκε, καὶ τοῦτο οἴδα· καὶ ἔργον ἐπετήδευεν, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐθαυμάζετο ὁ ἑραστὴς, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις, ὅτι μόνη τραγῳδοὺς ἤνεγκεν.

5.33.11 | "For he was admired among the crowds, I know, and he pleased the tyrants, and I know this too. He worked not for his own admiration, but for the city of Athens, because it alone produced tragedians."

5.33.12 | εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ κρότος ἰκανὸς κριτὴς καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τράπεζα, οὐδὲν ἔτι λέγω, βλέπων ἐν ἀκροπόλει δειπνοῦντα τὸν Εύριπίδην καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄμα καὶ τὸν Μακεδόνων δῆμον ἐπιψιφοῦντα' εἰ δὲ καὶ δίχα τούτων ἔστι τις καὶ θεῶν ψῆφος, καὶ αὕτη πιστὴ, 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

5.33.12 | "If, then, the applause is a good judge and the table in the Acropolis, I have nothing more to say. I see Euripides dining in the Acropolis, while the people of Athens and the Macedonians praise him together. But if there is also a vote from the gods, and this is trustworthy, not less than that of the tyrants or the crowds, then come, tell us for which of the beautiful things you gods have given your vote in favor of Euripides, so that we may hurry and chase the sky under your praises."

ύμετέρων ἐπαίνων.

5.33.13 | οὐ γάρ δὴ οὐκ είσὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτοιμοι κωμῳδεῖσθαι καὶ Σαβαῖοι καὶ Λυκάμβαι, πρὸς δέ γε τὸ τραγῳδεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀν οὔδὲ νῦν ἐνσταίη οὕτε ὁ Θυέστης οὕτε ὁ Οἰδίπους οὕτε ὁ Φινεὺς ἑκεῖνος, οὐδ' ἀν, οἶμαι, φθονήσαιεν ούδενὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντι φιλίας τῆς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀν μοι δοκοῦσιν ἑκεῖνοι, εἴ ἥσθοντο ὅτι ἔσοιτό τις Εὐριπίδης 5 ἀνήρ ἐπὶ τῷ διασκευάσαι αὐτοὺς γενόμενος θεοφιλῆς, ἐμελῆσαι ἀν τῶν κακῶν ἑκείνων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μετροποιεῖν τραπέσθαι·

5.33.13 | “For indeed, there are now also the Sabines and the Lycomidae ready to perform comedy. But as for tragedy, neither Thyestes nor Oedipus nor that Phineas would stand there now. I think they would not envy anyone who desires the friendship of the gods. They seem to me that if they sensed there was someone like Euripides, a man who became beloved by the gods through his skill, they would have addressed those evils, not aiming for something better, but simply trying to measure up in their performances.”

5.33.14 | καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων εί τὰ ὄνόματα ὄγκου πλήρη ἥκουν, χρῆσθαι τούτοις είς τὴν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀδοιπορίαν, ἵν ἐλθόντες καθίζοιντο ἐν τῷ Ὄλύμπῳ μετὰ τῶν πυκτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δῖος αὐλῇ· ταῦτα γάρ λέγει ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς ποιητής.

5.33.14 | “And if the people before us heard names that carried great weight, they would use them for their journey to the sky. Once they arrived, they would sit in Olympus with the athletes in the grove of Zeus, for this is what the poet at Delphi says.”

5.33.15 | φέρε καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου τοῦ ὄλβίου ἴδωμεν ἐρώτησιν, ἥν τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾶ· ἥπου γάρ τις ούρανία ἦν καὶ ἱκανὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐκκαλέσασθαι· οὐ γάρ ἀν οὔτω ῥαδίως ὁ θεὸς ὄλβιον μὲν ἐπεφώνησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὄλβιῷ ῥῆσιν ἀπένειμε πατρίδα δίζηαι· μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρίς ἔστι· Μίνωος δ' ἀπὸ γῆς, οὕτε σχεδὸν οὕτ' ἀπὸ τηλοῦ, ἐν τῇ σοι μοῖρ' ἔστι τελευτῆσαι βιότοιο, εὗτ' ἀν ἀπὸ γλώσσης παίδων μὴ γνῶς ἐπακούσας ἀξύνετον πολλοῖσι λόγοις είρημένον ὕμνον.

5.33.15 | “Come, let us also look at the question of blessed Homer, which asks the god. Surely it was heavenly and fitting to call upon the god. The god would not have so easily called out the blessed one, and in that 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, your fate is to end your life whenever you hear the words of children without understanding, listening to the countless hymns that have been spoken.’”

5.33.16 | δεινὸν γὰρ, ὡ σοφώτατε ἀνδρῶν,  
μᾶλλον δὲ θεῶν, εἴ μήτε ὅπου τῆς γῆς  
έξεθορε τῆς μητρὸς εἰδείη ὅλβιος βιος μήτε  
ὅπου καταμύσας κείσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ φῦμη  
ἴσον Ὅμηρόν τε ὄντα περὶ τούτων  
προσιέναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἵνα τῶν κανθάρων,  
καὶ τὸν θεὸν μὴ μᾶλλον ἀν Ὅμηρω  
ἀφηγήσασθαι περὶ τοιούτων ἀγνοημάτων  
ἢ κανθάρω.

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 arise from anywhere on this earth, nor where he will lie down after death. I thought that even Homer, being who he is, would approach the god about these matters, and that the god would not reveal more about such unknowns to him than he would to a beetle.”

5.33.17 | οἶον εἴ καὶ κάνθαρός τις γεννηθεὶς  
οὐκ ἐνεβίωσε ούδ’ ἐνεγήρασεν ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ  
κοπρίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἔχθρῳ ἀνέμῳ περιέτυχε, καὶ  
κανθαρίῳ δαίμονι σκληρῷ, ὃς αὐτὸν  
μετέωρον ἄρας βίᾳ ἀπήνεγκεν ἐπί τινα  
ἄλλην γῆν καὶ ἄλλην κοπρίαν, κᾱπειτα  
ἔλθων 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 like 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, when it arrived at 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 | Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνους ποιητὰς, ἥδη δὲ  
καὶ πύκτας καὶ ἀθλητὰς ὁ θαυμάσιος θεὸς  
διὰ τῶν οἰκείων χρησμῶν ἔξεθέωσεν,  
είκότως 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 speakers and athletes through his own oracles, it seems reasonable to me that he also challenges these things with these words.”

5.34.2 | ὡ εἰδὼς ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ  
μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ ξυνιεὶς καὶ μὴ  
λαλέοντος ἀκούων. εἴθε ὥφελες τὰ μὲν  
τοιαῦτα πάντα ἀγνοεῖν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰδέναι,  
ὅτι ἡ πυκτικὴ τῆς λακτιστικῆς οὐδὲν  
διαφέρει, ἐν ἡ καὶ τοὺς ὄντους  
ἀπηθανάτους, ἡ μηδὲ Κλεομήδην πύκτην  
Ἀστυπαλαιέα, λέγων οὕτως ὕστατος

5.34.2 | “O, knowing the number of sand grains and the measures of the sea, and understanding the deaf while 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

ἥρωων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεὺς, ὃν  
θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ὡς ούκέτι θνητὸν ἔοντα.

boxer from Astypalaea, who is called ‘Cleomedes of Astypalaea, the last of the heroes,’ whom they honor with sacrifices as he is no longer mortal.”

5.34.3 | διὰ τί γάρ, ὃ πάτριε τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ἔξηγητά, ὃς σε καλεῖ Πλάτων', ἐθέωσας  
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον; ἡ ὅτι Ὁλυμπίασι πληγῇ  
μιᾱͅ πατάξας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνέῳξε τὴν  
πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα  
έλάβετο 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, with a single blow in the Olympics, he struck his opponent, opened his side, and reached in to take hold of his lung?”

5.34.4 | Ἀπολλον, 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,  
ὅς ἀνεῖχε τὴν στέγην; ἄρ', ὃ θεοποιὲ, διὰ  
ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ὁ Κλεομήδης τιμητέος ἔστιν;

5.34.4 | “Apollon, worthy of honor; or is it not only that, but also because, after being fined four talents, he did not let this defeat him? Instead, under the weight of grief and sadness, he stirred the spirits of the boys in the school by pulling down the pillar that supported the roof. Is it, O god-made man, for these reasons that Cleomedes deserves to be honored by you?”

5.34.5 | ἡ κάκεῖνο προσθήσεις, τὸ ἔτερον  
δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκείνου ἀνδρείας ἄμα καὶ  
θεοφιλίας, ὅτι δὴ ἐμβάς εἰς ἱερὸν κιβώτιον  
καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπαγόμενος ἄληπτος ἐγένετο  
τοῖς διώκουσι, πειρωμένοις αὐτὸν  
ἐξελκύσαι. ὃ Κλεόμηδες, ἄρα ἥρως ούκέτι  
θνητὸς, οἴα τὰ μηχανήματα ὑπὲρ  
ἀθανασίας ἔξευρες.

5.34.5 | “Or will you add this, another proof of his bravery and love for the gods: that indeed, after entering 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 means to achieve immortality?”

5.34.6 | ἥσθοντο γοῦν εὐθέως οἱ θεοὶ τῆς  
ἀγαθουργίας καὶ ἀνηρείψαντό σε, ὡσπερ  
οίτοῦ Ομήρου 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 recognized your goodness and took you away, just like Homer’s Ganymede. But while Ganymede was taken for his beauty, you were taken for your strength and the

good use of your power.”

5.34.7 | εἴθε οὖν, ὡς μάντι, ως ἔφην, έάσας τὴν ψάμμον καὶ τὴν ἄλμην ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἔξέμαθες ὅπόσου ἄξιόν ἐστιν 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 ὅνος ἄγριος, οὐ Κλεομήδης, ὃν θυσίαις τιμῆθ’ ως ουκέτι θνητὸν ἔοντα.

5.34.7 | “Therefore, I wish, O seer, as I said, that you learned instead of sand and salt how valuable the dense is, 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, they would be more appropriate than for your dense one: ‘the remarkable wild one of the immortals, not Cleomedes, whom you honor with sacrifices as one who is 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 | “Don’t be surprised if even a wild one claims immortality, having been well prepared by the divine. And when you hear this, don’t hold back; instead, threaten to throw Cleomedes himself into the abyss and not allow him to rise to the heavens.”

5.34.9 | εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄξιώτερος αὐτῶν τῶν θείων δώρων, ἄτε μήτε αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἔτοιμος ὁν μάχεσθαι, καν εἰ σιδηροῖς χρῶτο τοῖς ἴμᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Θασίῳ πύκτῃ ἄμα ἀμφοτέροις, ὑπὲρ οὗ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἔχαλέπηναν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὴν Θασίων γῆν ἄφορον είργάσαντο.

5.34.9 | “For he is more deserving 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 along with both of them. The gods were angered over this statue and made the land of Thasos barren.”

5.34.10 | πιστεύομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλὰ θεῷ τῷ αὐτῷ. ἔξ ὕν ἔγω καὶ πάνυ κατενόησα ὅτι θεῖόν τι ἄρα ἦν ἐπιτήδευμα ἡ πυκτική, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ οἰομένους εἶναι σιφοὺς ἐλελήθει, ἵν’ ἀφέμενοι τοῦ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ εἶναι ἥσκουν τὰ τοῦ Θασίου πύκτου· ὡς ἀθανασίαν μὲν, ὡσπερ Κλεομήδει, οὐκ ἔδωκαν, ἐφίλησαν

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 misled. They abandoned being good and noble and instead followed the ways of the Thasian dense one. The gods did not

δὲ μεγάλως οὶ θεοί.

grant him immortality, as they did to Cleomedes, but they loved him greatly."

5.34.11 | οὕτω καὶ ὁ χάλκεος αύτοῦ ἀνδριὰς ἔδειξε τι ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας, ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ μαστιγοῦντι ἔχθρῳ, κατά τινα, ὡς ἔοικε, δαιμονίαν μέριμναν.

5.34.11 | "Thus, his bronze statue revealed something beyond the images of other people. It was struck down by the enemy who was whipping him, as if there was a divine concern."

5.34.12 | ἀλλ' οἱ ἄφρονες Θάσιοι καὶ θείων ἄπειροι πραγμάτων ἡγανάκτησάν τε καὶ ἄγος ἐπεκάλεσαν τῷ ἀνδριάντι, καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξαντο, καὶ καταδῦσαι ἐτόλμησαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

5.34.12 | "But the foolish Thasians, who were inexperienced in divine matters, became angry and placed a curse on the statue. They sought justice and dared to plunge into the sea."

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 ἔδίδαξε μόλις αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν θεῶν βουλεύματα, ὅ τε φιλανθρωπότατος θεῶν σὺν τῷ οίκειῷ τρόπῳ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψάς λέγων εἰς πάτρην φυγάδας κατάγων Δήμητρ' ἀπαμήσεις.

5.34.13 | "Indeed, the Thasians did not escape. The gods showed how great an evil they dared to commit by sending famine as a messenger of divine justice, who barely taught them the plans of the gods. 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 ὤντο ὅτι δεῖ αὐτοὺς κατακαλεῖν· κακῶς είδότες. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέλει τοῖς ἀφιλανθρωποτάτοις θεοῖς ἀνθρώπων κατακαλουμένων ὅσονπερ ἀνδριάντων; ἀμέλει ούδεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὠφελήθη 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

5.34.14 | "But the more foolish ones thought 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 fallen statue was like a refugee. And it was so. For as soon as it stood up, the earth immediately began to bloom again, and the people honored

λοιπόν.

Demeter from that time on."

5.34.15 | πῶς οὖν οὐ τεκμήρια ταῦτά είσιν ἐναργῆ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἀθλητικῆς, δὅτι ἔστι θεοτίμητος; καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πεντάθλου ἀνδριάντι ὑβρισμένω ἐμήνισαν οἱ θεοὶ, καὶ Λοκροὶ ἐπείνησαν διὰ τοῦτο, ὡσπερ Θάσιοι, ἔως αύτοὺς ίάσατο λόγιον σὸν ἔχον οὕτως ἐν τιμῇ τὸν ἄτιμον ἔχων τότε γῆν ἀναρώσεις.

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. They honored the dishonored one, and then you will ask the earth."

5.34.16 | οὐδὲ γὰρ Λοκροὶ ἥσθοντο θείας διανοίας πρότερον ἢ σὲ αύτοῖς τούτου πρόξενον γενέσθαι. ἀλλ’ Εύθυκλέα τὸν πένταθλον ἐνέβαλον εἰς εἰρκτὴν, αἴτιασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι εἰληφέναι δῶρα· καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανόντος καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας ἐξύβριζον, ἔως οἵ θεοὶ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν γινομένων ἐπαφῆκαν αύτοῖς τὸν κράτιστον λιμόν· κανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διώλοντο ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἥλθε βοήθεια, λέγουσα δὅτι δεῖ αύτοὺς τιμᾶν ἄνδρας πεφατνευμένους, οὓς οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν οὐχ ἡττον ἢ οὓς οἱ ἀλφιτοποιοὶ πιαίνουσι βοῦς, δι’ ὃν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐνίστε θύοντες πείθουσιν' οὐχ ἡττον ἵσως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον παχέων βοῶν οἱ παχεῖς ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνουσιν ὑμᾶς οὕτως ὥστε ἐνίστε ὅλῃ πόλει καὶ ὅλῳ ἔθνει ὄργιζεσθαι, ἐνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἀδικούντων ταῦτα τὰ θρέμματα.

5.34.16 | "For the Locrians did not understand divine thoughts until you became their cause. But they threw Euthykle, the pentathlete, into prison, blaming him for accepting gifts in his homeland. Not only that, but even after he died, they insulted him in the statues, until the gods, unable to endure what was happening, allowed them to suffer the greatest famine. 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 people sometimes sacrifice to you. Perhaps not less, but much more, the wealthy make you happy, so that sometimes the whole city and the whole nation become angry over the wrongs of one or two people."

5.34.17 | ὡς δὴ ὥφελες, ὡς μάντι, ἀλείπτης ἡμῖν ἀντὶ μάντεως γενέσθαι, σθα, ἢ καὶ μάντις ἄμα καὶ ἀλείπτης, ἵν ᾧ ὡσπερ χρηστήριον Δελφικὸν, οὕτω καὶ γυμναστήριον. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἀλλότριον ἦν ἄγωνος Πυθικοῦ Πυθικὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ

5.34.17 | "As you helped, oh seer, may you be a healer for us instead of just 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 unusual for the Pythian games to be both Pythian and a

γυμναστήριον.' Τούτοις ἐπισυνάψω καὶ ἄφησιν ἀπελέγχων ὡς καὶ τοὺς τυράννους κολακεύειν εἰώθασιν οἵ περὶ ὃν ὁ λόγος.

gymnasium. With this, I will also add what he says, showing that those who flatter tyrants are the ones the story speaks about."

## Section 35

5.35.1 | "οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Αἴακίδης, βασιλεὺς κλεινοῦ Κορίνθου. οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι, οὐ μόνον οἵ τῶν τυράννων ἐπίβουλοι, Κύψελος, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ Κορίνθῳ πῆματα τεύξει, καὶ Μελάνιππος ὁ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ τῇ Γελών πόλει τεύξας.

5.35.2 | πῶς δ' εἴ Κύψελος ὅλβιος, ὡς κακόδαιμον, οὐ καὶ Φαλαρὶς ὅλβιός, ὅμότροπος ὃν Κυψέλω; ὥστ' ἂν ἐκείνως ἄμεινον εἶναι ὑμῖν εύδαιμων Φαλαρὶς καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ, θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐν ἀνθρώποις διχονοίας.

5.35.3 | ἤκουσα δέ σου καὶ διαλελυμένον χρησμὸν περὶ τοῦ Θαλάριδος, ἐπαινοῦντας καὶ τιμῶντα, ὅτι λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἤκισατο μὲν, καρτεροῦντας δὲ ἀγάμενος ἀφῆκε 'Λοξίας καὶ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἀναβολὴν ἐψηφίσαντο θανάτου Φαλαρίδι, ἀνθ' ὃν ἡμέρως Χαρίτων καὶ Μελανίππω προσηνέχθη. ἀλλ' εὖ γε καὶ μόλις ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἔδειξας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς, ὅτι κάλλιστόν τι ἔστιν ἡ ζωή. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄπασι καὶ τόδε προσκείσθω

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 plot against them, are Cypselus, who will bring many troubles to Corinth, and Melanippus, who will bring many good things to the city of Gela."

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 conflicts."

5.35.3 | "I heard your prophecy about Thalaris, praising and honoring him, that he defeated those who plotted against him but let go of the strong ones. 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, though with difficulty, about death and life, that life is indeed the most beautiful thing. Let this also be added to all these matters."

## Section 36

5.36.1 | ἀλλά κε Μηθύμνης ναέταις πολὺ λώιον ἔσται φαλληὸν τιμῶσι Διωνύσοιο

5.36.1 | "But the people of Methymna will honor the phallus much more than the

κάρηνον. Θύουσι γάρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ τελετὰς ἄγουσιν οὐ μόνον φαλληνοῖς Διωνύσιοι καρήνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιθίνοις καὶ χαλκέοις καὶ χρυσέοις, καὶ οὐ μόνον φαλληνοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις παμπόλοις Ἡσιοδείοις θεοῖς.

head of Dionysus. For the cities make sacrifices and hold festivals not only for the phallus of Dionysus, but also for those made of stone, bronze, and gold. They honor not only the phallus but also the Dionysian gods and many other gods from Hesiod's stories."

5.36.2 | τρὶς γάρ ὡς ἀληθῶς μύριοί είσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, οὐκ ἀθάνατοι, ἀλλὰ λίθινοι καὶ ξύλινοι δεσπόται ἀνθρώπων· οἱ εἰ ἀνθρώπων ὅβριν τε καὶ εύνομίην ἐφεώρων, οὐκ ἀν τοσοῦτος ἥρθη λῆρος, ὥστε καὶ ἡδη καὶ μέχρις ὑμῶν κεχωρηκέναι τὸ κακὸν, ἐπιδιαβάν καὶ εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον, ὅθι, φασὶ, θεῶν ἵδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

5.36.2 | "For truly, there are countless thousands on the fertile earth, not immortal, but stone and wooden masters of men. If they could see the arrogance and order of humanity, such nonsense would not exist. Even now, and up to your time, evil has already crossed 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 εἰς τις τῶν Ὄλυμπίων είς τοῦτο ἥλθε παρανοίας ὥστ' ἔλαίνον κορμὸν θεῶσαι' ὃν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι σαγήνης ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς λίνοις ἀνείλκυσαν, καὶ δις, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τρὶς καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σαγηνεύοντες ἀνθρωποι, καὶ ἔξ ἐκείνου εἰς τὸ Λιβυκὸν ἔξοκείλαντες, ούδ' εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔξω ἐκβαλόντες αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀν, μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐνεπλάκη τοῖς λίνοις.

5.36.3 | "And yet, if it were safe, there wouldn't be such foolishness, nor would any of the Olympians come to this madness, to 'make a body of clay' that the people of Methymna pulled up, tangled in nets. And if you wanted, they would have fished it up twice, three times, or even more in the same way. From there, they would have cast it out into Libya, and they wouldn't have thrown it out onto the land outside. For, by Dionysus, it wouldn't have been tangled in the nets any longer."

5.36.4 | ἀλλ' ἔξ ἄκρου κεφαλοειδῆς ὁ κορμὸς ("Ἀπολλον, ξένου κατασκευάσματος") τί ποτ' οὖν ἔπραττεν ἐν τῷ πελάγει; ἀπορήσαι ἄν τις. τί γάρ ἀλλο ἢ ἐκάθητο, νὴ Δία, ἀναμένων ἔως ἀνθρωποι μαινόμενοι, οὐ γάρ φήσω ὅτι καὶ θεοὶ, ἐγκυρήσαντες αὐτῷ, οὐ διοπετὲς, ἀλλὰ ποσειδωνοπετὲς ἡγήσωνται,

5.36.4 | "But from the top, the body looks like a head (Apollo, a strange creation). What, then, was it doing in the sea? Someone might wonder. For what else could it be doing, by Zeus, but sitting there, waiting for the madmen to arrive? I won't say that even the gods, coming to him, would not see him as heavenly, but rather

κάπεικτα είς ἄστυ ἀπαγάγωσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀγαθὴν τύχην, κακὴν οὖσαν ως ἀληθῶς, οὐ τύχην, ἀλλὰ τυφεδόνα; ἢ οὐκ ἥρκει ἄρα αὐτοῖς οἴκοθεν διολλύουσα, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ἐπέρρωσέ τε καὶ προσεπέτεινε θεοπληξίας, ως ἂν τις εἶποι, ἐκ Δελφῶν μετάπεμπτος ἐπιθήκῃ.’

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 misfortune. Or was it not enough for them to be drifting away from home? Did it grow strong on its own and add to the divine terror, as someone might say, sent from Delphi as a gift?”

5.36.5 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Οἰνόμαος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὰ είρημένα μεταβάς αὗθις 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 ὧν δυνάμεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ὃ περὶ τῶν θρυλουμένων χρηστηρίων ὑποπεσεῖται λόγος.

5.36.5 | “So much for Oinomaos. But after what has been said, let us turn 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 a stranger to divine power, the discussion about the famous oracles will come to you even more.”

## Book Six (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

6.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τοῦ περὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τρόπου διὰ τῶν προδιηγυσμένων αὐτάρκως ἡμῖν ἀπεληλεγμένου, καὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τὸ θεοπρεπὲς ἄμα καὶ βιωφελὲς ἐπιδεδιγμένης, δτι δὴ διὰ μόνης αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐ δι’ ἄλλης, τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος τὸν πάντα βίον ἐπισκοτισάντων τε καὶ λυμηναμένων δαιμονικῶν φαντασμάτων ἐλευθερία πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἀνθρώποις, φέρε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ εἰμαρμένης ψευδοδοξουμένων αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπευθύνωμεν λόγον, ως ἂν μὴ διὰ μόνης τῆς τοῦ τρόπου μοχθηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν οὐκ ὄρθως οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῖς δοξαζομένων, φαῦλοι καὶ ἀδρανεῖς ὅντες οἱ τὰ χρηστήρια κινεῖν νενομισμένοι δαίμονες

6.praef.1 | Introduction. Since we have discussed the nature of the oracles enough through what has been said before, and since the divine power of our savior has been shown through his good teaching as both godly and helpful, 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 the ages. Let us also focus on 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.

δειχθεῖν.

6.praef.2 | σκέψαι δ' οὖν εί μὴ καὶ σοὶ θείας ἀλλότριος ὡν δυνάμεως ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποπεσεῖται λόγος, ἐκ τε ὧν παραθήσομαι ἀνατρεπτικῶν τοῦ περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν τὰς μαντείας ποιεῖσθαι λέγονται.

6.praef.2 | So think about whether the discussion about these things will also reach you, even if you are unfamiliar with divine power. I will present ideas that challenge the beliefs about fate and also draw from the nature itself, according to which the oracles are said to be created.

6.praef.3 | ού γὰρ δὴ δυνάμει κρείττονι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν προειληφέναι φασὶν αὐτοὺς, ἐκ θεωρίας δὲ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων κινήσεως ὅμοιώς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα καταστοχάζεσθαι. οὕτως ούδὲν δύνασθαι οὕτ' ὥφελεῖν 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” ὡδεῖ λέγων πρὸς λέξιν

6.praef.3 | For they say that knowledge of future events does not come from a greater power, but that people can also predict the future by observing the movements of the stars. Therefore, they claim that they cannot help or do anything at all unless it is according to fate. The evidence for this can be found in the writings of the leading demons, where it is stated, “On Philosophy from Reason,” saying this exactly.

## Section 1

6.1.1 | “Α γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ θεοὶ, εἴπερ τὰ μεμοιραμένα γινώσκοντες λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων φορᾶς δηλοῦσιν, καὶ τοῦτο σχεδὸν πάντες ἔξεφηναν οἱ ἀψευδεῖς τῶν θεῶν.”

6.1.1 | For what the gods say, if they truly know what is fated, they reveal it through the movement of the stars, and this has been stated by nearly all the honest gods.

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 ὁδῶν, ὅθι λείμακες ὅμβρουδιψοσύνη κατέμαρψαν ὅλον πόμα μητέρος αυτῆς, ἔνδον ὄρινομένης χρόνον ἄρκιον· οὕτι δὲ κοῦρον, ἀλλὰ κόρην· Φοίβη

6.1.2 | Then he continues, saying, “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 explains: ‘From the earth, along the paths where the meadows were soaked with rain, she drank all the nourishment from her mother, while the

γὰρ ἔῦσκοπος ἥροσεν ἀγνὴν Κύπριν,  
ἐπειγομένην θῆλυν γόνον, ω̄ φίλε, σεῖο.

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 | ίδοὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπορίμου, ὅτι  
σελήνη ἐπὶ Αφροδίτην ἐφέρετο, εἴπεν ὅτι  
θῆλυ γεννηθήσεται. καὶ I. " " ^ γὰρ λέγουσιν  
οἱ θεοὶ, εἴπερ τὰ μεμοιραμὴν καὶ τὰς  
νόσους ἐκεῖθεν προλέγουσιν. ἐπάκουουσον  
γὰρ ἡ μάλα μιν κακὸς ἴὸς ἐνὶ στέρνοισι  
δαμάζει, πνεύμονος ἀλγινόεσσαν  
ὑπερβλύζων κακότητα.

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 illnesses that come from there. For listen, a very harmful poison is troubling her in her chest, causing painful suffering in her lungs.”

6.1.4 | καὶ ἔξῆς, οἵς ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα δὲ  
Μοιράων νόος ἤγαγεν, ἡδὲ κελαινὴνείς ἔριν  
ἐστήριξε, κακηπελίησι δαμάζειν, ὑψιπόλοιο  
Κρόνοιο κακήν ύπ' ἀταρπὸν ιόντος.

6.1.4 | And next, she says that the mind of the Fates guided these events, and she cast 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 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἀλλά σε μόρσιμον  
ῆμαρ ἀναπλῆσαι βιότοιο ἀλγινόεις  
βροτολοιγὸς ἐπισπέρχων Κρόνῳ  
ἄντασπεύσατο, σῆς δὲ θέμειλον ἀπὸ  
φρενὸς ἡίστωσε· τοῦνεκα καὶ πατέρος  
Θεοειδέος ιερὸν ἥτορφευγέμεναι  
κακοεργὸν ἐπηπείλησεν Ἀρηα.

6.1.5 | And after other things, she hurried to fill your destined day with a painful fate, rushing toward Cronus, and she understood from your thoughts. For this reason, the sacred heart of your godlike father was threatened by the evil deeds of Ares.

6.1.6 | ταῦτα μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκ θείας αύτῶν  
δυνάμεως μαντεύονται, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἀστρων  
ἐπιτηρήσεως κατὰ τοὺς μαθηματικῶν  
λόγους, ω̄ς μηδὲν ἐν τούτῳ διαφέρειν  
ἀνθρώπων μηδέ τι κρεῖττον καὶ φύσεως  
Θειοτέρας ἔργον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

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. Nothing in this differs from humans, nor does anything show a greater work of nature that is more divine.

6.1.7 | θέα δ' ώς καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιροῦσιν, ἵν, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἔκτὸς καὶ τὰ ούκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῇ τῶν ἄστρων ἀνατιθέντες φορᾶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας προαιρέσεις.

6.1.7 | But as they also take away what is in our control, they do not only place things outside and those not in our control under the influence of the stars, but also our own choices.

## Section 2

6.2.1 | "Οὕτως καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων περί τινος, ἅμα καὶ ἡ τὴν περὶ στρατιὰν προθυμίαν ἀφηγούμενος πόθεν αὐτῷ γίνεται, ἔφη Ἄρεα κραιπνὸν ἔχει γενεθλήιον, ὃς μιν ὄρινει, ούδέ εἰ ταρχύσει: Ζῆνός γάρ ἐπέχρας βουλὴ , ἥ οἱ κῦδος ἄρειον ἀπ' Ἅρεος εύθὺς ὀρέξει. καὶ πάλιν ἐπ' ἄλλου εύχαίτης ἐπέκειτο Κρόνος, στυγεροῖσι δὲ κέντροις ἄλγυνεν παιδὸς Ταλαοῦ δυσπέμφελον ἥῶ.

6.2.1 | So Apollo, while talking about something, also explained where his eagerness for battle comes from. He said that Ares has a fierce nature, 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. Again, at another time, Kronos was waiting for a prayer, and with terrible stings, he caused pain to the child of Talaus, who was difficult to send away at dawn.

6.2.2 | εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τὴν εἰμαρμένην οἱ γενναῖοι θεοὶ πεφρίκασιν ώς ὁμολογεῖν μηδὲ κεραυνούμενοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱεροῖς δύνασθαι ἐπαμύνειν. πολλὴ ἄρα γένοιτ' ἀν ἑλπὶς ἀνθρώποις εύχομένοις τυχεῖν βοηθείας παρὰ τῶν μηδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπαρήγειν δυνατῶν. τί δὲ χρὴ λοιπὸν εύσεβεῖν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν, μηδὲν οἶους τε καθόλου μηδὲ ἐαυτοῖς ἐπαρκεῖν; ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἂ φησιν ὁ χρησμός:

6.2.2 | The noble gods have been so frightened by fate that they cannot even help those among their sacred ones who are struck by lightning. Therefore, there would be great hope for humans praying to receive help from those who cannot even aid themselves. So why should one still be pious, worship the gods, and serve them when they are unable to help themselves at all? Listen then to what the oracle says:

## Section 3

6.3.1 | Οὕτω καὶ ναῶν μοῖραι καὶ ἱερῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἱερὸν μεμοίρατο κεραυνωθῆναι, ώς φησιν ὡς ζαθέης γεγαῶτες Ἐριχθονίοιο γενέθλης

6.3.1 | Thus, the fates of temples and sacred places, including the temple of Apollo himself, are destined to be struck by lightning, as the saying goes: "O you who

,ἔτλητ' ἔλθέμεναι καὶ ἐμὴν ἔρεεινέμεν  
όμφὴν, ὃ ππόθι δηωθῇ περικαλλέος ἔδρανα  
σηκοῦ. κλῦτε δαφνηρεφέων μυχάτων ἄπο  
Θέσκελον ὄμφήν. εὗτ' ἀν ἄνω πνείοντες  
ὑπηριοι κελάδοντες τρίβωνται πατάγοισιν  
ἐναντία δηριώντες — κρυμὸς δ' αὖ περὶ  
κόσμον ἀπέιρονα νήνεμος ἔσται — μηδὲ  
διεξερύγησιν ἔχῃ κεκακωμένος  
αἴθήρ, αἴθαλόεις περὶ γαῖαν, ὅπη τύχεν,  
ἔκπεσε πυρσός τὸν μὲν δὴ θῆρές τε κατ'  
οὔρεα δειμαίνοντες φεύγουσιν πυμάτοις  
ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν, οὐδὲ μένουσιν εἰσιδέειν  
ὅσσοισι καταιβάσιον Δῖός ἔγχος. τοῦ μὲν  
καὶ νηὸι μακάρων καὶ δένδρεα  
μακράλιβάτων τ' ὄρέων κορυφαὶ νῆες τ'  
ἐνὶ πόντῳ δάμνανται ζαπύροις πωτήμασιν  
ἔμπελάντος· καὶ δ' αὐτὴ πληγεῖσα  
Ποσειδάνωνος ἐταίρη πολλάκις ἡχήεσσ'

ἀναχάζεται Ἀμφιτρίτη. ὑμεῖς οὖν καὶ  
ἄτλητον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλγος ἔχοντες, τέτλατε  
Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα δήνεα θυμῷ ταῖσι  
γὰρ Οὐρανίδαο Δῖός κατένευσε  
κάρηνον, ὅττι κε διγήσωσι μένειν  
ἀσάλευτον ἀτράκτοις. αἴσα γὰρ ἦν  
δολιχοῖσι χρόνοις περικαλλέα  
σηκὸν πυρσῶν αἱώρησι διπετέεσσι  
δαμῆναι.

6.3.2 | εἰ δὴ οὖν Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις καὶ τῶν  
σεβασμίων θεῶν οὶ ναοὶ, τά τε ἱερὰ αύτῶν  
δώματα δάμναται ζαπύροις πωτήμασι, τίς  
ἄν ἔτι λείποιτο ἔλπις θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
τῆς τῶν πεπρωμένων ἀποφυγῆς; εἰ δὲ καὶ  
μηδεμία ἐκ θεῶν ὑπάρχοι βοήθεια, δεῖ δὲ ἐξ  
ἄπαντος τετλάναι Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα  
δήνεα θυμῷ, τίς ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ματαία  
σπουδῇ; εἴποι ἄν τις.

6.3.3 | τί δὲ δεῖ λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε καὶ τὸ  
ἐκ τούτων γέρας τοῖς μηδὲ τούτων ἀξίοις

were 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 surrounds the world. The troubled sky will not be able to escape the ruined air, smoky around the earth, wherever a fire may fall. The beasts, in fear, flee to the mountain tops for 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, as well as the ships at sea, are destroyed by the fierce waves of the storm. 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, so 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 fate and 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 hearts. What is the point of striving for the gods in vain? Someone might say.

6.3.3 | What is the point of offering sacrifices and gifts to those who do not

άπονέμειν, εί τα' ούδεν ἥμας ὠφελεῖν δύνανται; ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρας οἴεσθαι χρῆν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ὡμολόγουν αἰτίαν.

6.3.4 | εἰ γὰρ πέπρωται ἀνθρώποις εἶτε τι ἀγαθὸν εἶτε τι καὶ ἐναντίον, ἔσται ἔξ ανάγκης καὶ παρέσται τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ τῶν θεῶν. μόνην ἄρα τὴν ἀνάγκην θεραπευτέον, σμικρὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲν φροντίσαντας τῶν θεῶν, μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε εὔεργετεῖν δυναμένων.

6.3.5 | εἰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Μοιρῶν μόνος ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων ἐπιστατεῖ θεὸς, καὶ μόνος καὶ τούτων ὑπάρχει κύριος, ταῖσι γὰρ Οὐρανίδαο φησὶ! Δῖός κατένευσε κάρηνον, ὅττι κε δινήσωσι μένειν ἀσάλευτον ἀτράκτοις, τί δὴ οὐχὶ πάντα ὑπερθέμενος τὸν παμβασιλέα καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης δεσπότην μόνον θεὸν εἶναι δημολογεῖς, καὶ μόνον ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρα καὶ σωτῆρα; ὅτι δὴ μόνω αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ φῆς Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα δήνεα τρέπειν καὶ μεταλλάττειν ῥάδιον· ὡς μήτ' ἀνάγκη μήτε εἰμαρμένῃ τὸν τῷ παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ καθωσιωμένον καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εὐσεβοῦντα δουλεύειν, οἵα δὲ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παντὸς ἀφειμένον δεσμοῦ ταῖς ἐνθέοις καὶ σωτηριώδεσιν οἰκονομίαις ἀκωλύτως ἐφέπεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀληθῆς τοιαῦτα προφαίνει λόγος, ὁ δὲ ἔμπαλιν ὅρα διὰ τίνων φησὶ τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης λύεσθαι.

## Section 4

6.4.1 | Δεηθέντος γάρ τινος καταδέξασθαι θεὸν, είπὼν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἀνεπιτήδειός ἐστι

deserve them, if they cannot help us at all? Since they are not even considered givers of good things, but rather share the blame for the bad things.

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 minor, especially since the gods do not care at all and are unable to help or harm us.

6.3.5 | If indeed the Fates are the only god who oversees everything, and they alone are the masters of these matters, 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. Therefore, neither necessity nor fate should serve the god who is honored by all; instead, he should be free and unbound by any ties to the divine and saving powers. But the true word reveals such things, while the opposite explains why the bonds of fate can be broken.

6.4.1 | When someone asks a god to accept them, the god replies that it is

διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ φύσεως καταδεδέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποτροπιασμοὺς ὑπαγορεύσας, ἐπάγει ḥιπῆ δαιμονίη γὰρ ἄλις ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀλκήσασι γοναῖς, ἃς χρή σε φυγεῖν τοίασι μαγείαις.

6.4.2 | δι' ὅν καὶ σαφῶς δεδήλωται ὅτι ἡ μαγεία ἐν τῷ λύειν τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης παρὰ θεῶν ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ὀπωσοῦν ταύτην παρατρέπειν.”

6.4.3 | Ταῦτά σοι ὁ Πορφύριος, οὐκ ἔγω. ὁ τοίνυν μαγείαις παραινῶν λύειν τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης πῶς αὐτὸς θεός ὁν τὰ πεπρωμένα κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ναοῦ κεραυνῷ πιμπραμένου μὴ ἔλυσεν; ὁ δὲ δὴ μαγεύειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν παρορμῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴη δῆλος ὅποιος ὁν τυγχάνει τὸν τρόπον; ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ψεύδεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὁ αὐτὸς ὄμολογεῖ.

inappropriate because they are bound by nature. For this reason, the god brings about terrible things, as a divine force has rushed in with great power, which you must escape using such magic.

6.4.2 | Through these things, it is clearly shown that magic was given by the gods to change whatever is decided 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 change what is destined when his own temple is being struck by lightning? And yet, urging people 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.

## Section 5

6.5.1 | “Αλλ’ ἥδη καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς φορὰς τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων συμβάσεις ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὐ μόνον τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τισι τῶν δαιμονίων’ ὅθεν καὶ ψεύδονται περὶ πολλῶν ἐρωτηθέντες.”

6.5.1 | But already, the exact knowledge of the movement and the agreements that come from these things is hard for humans to understand. It is not only difficult for them, but also for some of the spirits, which is why they 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

6.5.2 | These things again suggest that what is contained forces the oracles to become false, rather than willingly adding lies to those present. Indeed, they often say that they will lie, but they stay and are forced to

καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκάζουσι διὰ τὴν ἄμαθίαν.

6.5.3 | εἶπε γοῦν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ποτὲ, τοιαύτης οὐσῆς τῆς καταστάσεως, ὡς ἐδεῖξαμεν, πονηρᾶς τοῦ περιέχοντος, κλεῖε βίην κάρτος τε λόγων· ψευδηγόρα λέξω. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἅπερ ἔφαμεν δηλώσει τὰ ὡς λόγια.

6.5.4 | ἔφη γοῦν τις κληθεὶς τῶν θεῶν σήμερον οὐκ ἐπέοικε λέγειν ἄστρων ὀδὸν ἵριν ἔδρανα μαντοσύνης γὰρ ἐν ἄστραις νῦν πεπέδηται. καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Πέφηνεν ἄρα πόθεν πολλάκις τὸ ψεῦδος συνίσταται.”

## Section 6

6.6.1 | Ἄρα σοι πέπαυται λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς ἀμφιβόλου γνώμης, ὅτι μηδέν τι ἦν θεῖον ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν χρησμοῖς. πῶς γάρ ποτε τὸ θεῖον ψεύσαιτ’ ἄν, τὴν φύσιν δὲ ἀψευδέστατον, εἴ γε ἀψευδὲς τὸ θεῖον; πῶς δὲ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ταῖς ψευδολογίαις ἀπατήσειέ ποτε τοὺς χρωμένους; πῶς δ’ ἂν εἴη κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῇ τῶν ἄστρων φορᾶς πεπεδημένον;

6.6.2 | Θνητὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ βραχεῖαν ἀρετῆς σπουδὴν εἰσενεγκάμενος οὕποτ’ ἀν ψεύσαιτο, τάληθὲς προτιμᾶν προθέμενος, ούδ’ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην ούδ’ ἄστρων φορὰν αἰτιάσαιτο ψευσάμενος· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τῷ σώματι πῦρ τις ἢ σίδηρον προσφέροι, διαφθείρειν ἔχαναγκάζων τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐλευθεροστομῶν

speak because of their ignorance.

6.5.3 | Indeed, Apollo once said, in a situation like the one we have shown, about 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 | 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 where the falsehood often arises.”

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 | 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 his lies. 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

άντιφθέγξεται, ἵτω μὲν πῦρ, ἵτω δὲ φάσγανα τέμνε, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μουπίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτωγῆς εῖσιν ἄστρα, γῇ δ' ἀνεισ' ἐς οὐρανὸν, πρὶν ἔξ 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 αύτοπροαιρέτου κινήσεως ἀνελῶν, λῶν, ἀνάγκῃ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καταδουλώσας, θέα εἰς οἶνον κακῶν δογμάτων ὅλεθρον τοὺς αὐτῷ πειθομένους καταβέβληκεν.

6.6.5 | εἴ γὰρ ἄστροις καὶ εἰμαρμένῃ οὐ μόνα τὰ ἔκτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κατὰ λογισμὸν προθυμίας ἀναθετέον, καί τις ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἐκβιάζεται γνώμας, οἰχήσεται σοι φιλοσοφία, οἰχήσεται χαὶ εὔσέβεια· οὐδέ τις ἦν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔπαινος ἀρετῆς, οὐδέ τις θεοφιλία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει πόνων καρπὸς ἐπάξιος, ἀνάγκης καὶ εἰμαρμένης τὴν αἰτίαν πάντων ἀναδεδεγμένης.

6.6.6 | οὐ δὴ οὖν προσήκει καταμέμφεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν βίον πλημμελοῦσιν, οὐδέ γε τοῖς ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἐπιρρητοτάτοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

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 comes from me."

6.6.3 | But the deceiving and misleading spirit tricks the foolish, so that whenever he falls into the predictions of the future, he provides him with a refuge of irrationality that is destined.

6.6.4 | But the spirit, having arranged everything according to fate through the oracles, has taken away what is in our control from our own free choice and has even enslaved this by necessity. It has thrown 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 shape our desires based on reasoning, and if an unavoidable necessity forces human opinions, then philosophy will slip away from you, and piety will slip away from you. There will be no praise for serious-minded virtue, no love for the divine, and no worthy fruit from the efforts in practice, since all things are tied to the cause of necessity and fate.

6.6.6 | Therefore, it is not right to blame those who struggle in life, nor even the impious and most reckless, nor to admire

τοὺς σπουδαίους θαυμάζειν· ταύτη δὲ, ὡς  
ἔφην, οἰχήσεται καὶ τὸ μέγα τῆς  
φιλοσοφίας κλέος, οὐκ αύτοπροαιρέτου  
μελέτης καὶ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν  
ἄστρων ἀνάγκης ἀπηωρημένον.

the serious-minded. For, as I said, the great glory of philosophy will also slip away, not from self-chosen practice and effort, but because of the necessity of the stars.

6.6.7 | ὅρα οὖν εἰς οἶν τακῶν δογμάτων  
βυθὸν οἱ θαυμάσιοι θεοὶ καταβεβλήκασι,  
καὶ σκέψαι ὡς εἰς ἀσωτίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ  
ἄλλα μυρία κακὰ παρορμᾶ καὶ προτρέπει  
τουτὶ τὸ δόγμα, ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ παντὸς  
βίου ἀθρόως κατεργαζόμενον.

6.6.7 | Look then at the deep pit of evil beliefs into which the marvelous gods have cast us, and consider how this doctrine encourages and leads to ruin, injustice, and countless other evils, causing a complete upheaval of all life.

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 καταρρᾳθυμεῖν ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς  
μὴ ἄνευ καμάτων καὶ πόνων καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν  
αὐτῶν προθυμίας κατορθοῦσθαι  
δυναμένοις;

6.6.8 | If someone were to believe the marvelous oracles of the gods, that both telling the truth and lying are not our own actions, but rather the result of unavoidable fate, and that the desire 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 on everything that cannot be achieved without effort, pain, and our own willingness?

6.6.9 | εἴ γὰρ ἔξ εἰμαρμένης τόδε τι  
γενήσεσθαι νομίζοι, εἴτε πονοίημεν ἡμεῖς  
περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ σπουδάζοιμεν εἴτε καὶ μὴ,  
πῶς οὐκ ἀν τις ἔθελήσειε τὸ ῥᾶσον  
αἰρεῖσθαι, παρεὶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀμελῶν, ὡς ἔξ  
εἰμαρμένης καὶ ἀνάγκης γενησομένου τοῦ  
πραχθησομένου;

6.6.9 | For if someone believes 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, since what will happen is determined by fate and necessity?

6.6.10 | ὅθεν καὶ λεγόντων ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι  
τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι ἄρα πραχθήσεται τοῦτο, εἴ  
γε εἴμαρταί μοι, καὶ τί με χρὴ παρέχειν  
ἔμαυτῷ πράγματα;

6.6.10 | From this, many say that this will happen if fate allows it for me, so why should I provide myself with anything?

6.6.11 | εί γάρ ὃ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ὄρμῶν οὐκ ἔκ προαιρέσεως οίκειας 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 γάρ ἀν εἴη ἀκόλουθον τῷ περὶ εἰμαρμένης 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, as well as to those who engage in proper and moderate activities; for this would support the argument about fate.

6.6.12 | πῶς οὖν ὃ ταῦτα μὴ ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἡγούμενος ἐγχειρεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀνάγκης προσέξοι ἂν ποτε τῷ νουθετοῦντι καὶ διδάσκοντι σκοντι μὴ ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδιδόναι ἔκδοτον τοῖς προειρημένοις;

6.6.12 | How then could someone who does not believe these things come from themselves ever pay attention to the one advising and teaching, and not give themselves over to those mentioned earlier?

6.6.13 | εἴποι γάρ ἀν πρὸς τὸν νουθετοῦντα ώς καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τισὸν εἴρηται, τί με, ὡς ἄνθρωπε, νουθετεῖς; ταῦτα γάρ οὐ δήπου ἔστιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ, τὸ μεταβάλλειν βάλλειν τὴν προαίρεσιν· ἡ γάρ εἰμαρμένη 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 ἂν οὐδὲ προθυμεῖσθαι δυνήσομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο καθείμαρταί μοι; προθυμήσομαι δὲ, εἰ καθείμαρται, καὶ ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀγόμενος. τί οὖν μάτην σεαυτῷ ἐνοχλεῖς;

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 for no reason?

6.6.15 | ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ σὲ παραινεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν φήσεις κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐπιτελεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ παραινεῖν καὶ πείθειν ἐμὲ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ κάν τούτῳ τί χρὴ σπουδάζειν; ἀργὴ γάρ καὶ ἀνωφελὴς ἡ

6.6.15 | But if you say that you advise and teach me out of necessity to persuade me about these things, then what is the point of striving for this? For advising is lazy and useless. If it is fated for me, I will work

παραίνεσις. εί γάρ 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 δοῦλους θοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ  
ἐναργῶς ἐλέγχεται τὸ μὲν ἔργον  
καταλιπών τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τού  
αὐτεξουσίου, τὸ δὲ τῆς εἴμαρμένης ὄνομα  
αὐτῷ συνάπτων μόνον;

6.6.17 | ὥσπερ εί τις τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσιν,  
ἥς κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν ἄριστα διοικεῖται  
τὸ ζῶον, τῷ τοῦ κακοῦ προσαγορεύοι  
ὄνόματι. οὕτω γάρ ἐπεὶ ἐναργῶς ἐαυτῶν  
αἰσθανόμεθα μὴ βιαζομένων ὑπ' ἄλλης  
τινὸς αἵτίας ἐν τῷ παιδεύειν τοὺς υἱεῖς καὶ  
μαστίζειν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀμαρτήσαντας, καὶ  
ἐν τῷ τόδε τι βούλεσθαι καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι,  
ἄλλ' αὐτοτελῶς ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας ἐξουσίας σίας  
εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας κινήσεις ἀφικνουμένων,  
ἀμαρτάνοι ἀν ὃ ταῦτα λέγων γίνεσθαι καθ'  
εἴμαρμένην, πρὸς τὸ παραλύειν τὰς τε  
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίας καὶ τὰς εἰς ἄλλους  
γινομένας παρακλήσεις καὶ νουθετήσεις, ἐξ  
ῶν δρῶμεν μάλιστα κατορθούμενα τὰ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων πράγματα.

6.6.18 | καὶ μὴν καὶ νόμους ἀνατρέποι ἀν  
οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοὺς τοῦ συμφέροντος

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, as well as making mistakes or not, and  
also giving praise or blame. How is it not  
clear that he is ignoring 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 best governs the creature 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. Instead,  
we are acting from our own power. The one  
who says these things would be mistaken if  
he claims they happen by fate, as this  
weakens both 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 | And indeed, this argument would  
overturn the laws that are made for the

ένεκεν ἀνθρώποις κειμένους. τί γάρ δεῖ προστάττειν ἡ ἀπαγορεύειν τοῖς ὑφ' ἐτέρας ἀνάγκης κατεσχημένοις; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας δεήσει κολάζειν μὴ παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἡμαρτηκότας, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰ κάλλιστα πράττουσι τιμᾶς ἀπονέμειν, ὃν ἐκάτερον πολλὴν αἰτίαν παρέσχηκεν εἰς ἀναστολὴν ἀδικίας καὶ εἰς εύποιίας ἐτοιμότητα.

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 εὔσέβειαν ἀνατρέποι ἀνὴρ δόξα, εἴ γε μηδὲν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς, μηδὲ μὴν αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶνδε χρησμῷδοι, δοὶ, μήτ' εύχομένοις μήτ' εύσεβοῦσι 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, and if those who give oracles know nothing about 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 ἔθελησαι τάδε πρᾶξαι, καὶ ἐλέσθαι παρὰ προαιρεσιν ἔτερα, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴη ἀναιδὲς καὶ ἀναισχυντότατον, ἐπείπερ ἐναργῶς αἰσθανόμεθα ἐαυτῶν ἡμετέρᾳ ὅρμῃ καὶ κινήσει τάδε τινὰ προθυμουμένων, καὶ ἀμελούντων, πάλιν ἐαυτῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, καὶ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν κατορθούντων ἡ μὴ κατορθούντων, καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου βιαζομένων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκουσίων γνῶμῃ αἰρουμένων, τὰ δὲ φευγόντων καὶ παραιτουμένων ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προαιρέσεως;

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 are eager to do certain things and indifferent to others. 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. Instead, some things we choose willingly, while others we avoid and reject based on our own preferences.

6.6.21 | οὕτ' ὁ δὲ ἄρα ἐναργῆς ἦν ὁ τοῦ αὐθεκουσίου λόγος ὥστε ὅμοίως τὸ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τὸ ἥδεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τόδε τι ὄρᾶν, καὶ τόδ' ἀκούειν, οὐ συλλογισμῷ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείᾳ

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 understood not

καταλαμβανομένων, συναισθέσθαι ἐαυτῶν ἔξημῶν αύτῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλῆς ὀρμώντων, καὶ τάδε τινὰ αἰρουμένων, τινὰ δὲ ἀποστρεφομένων, ὥστε ἔξ ἄπαντος τὸ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν λογικῆς καὶ νοερᾶς φύσεως ἐνδίκως ὅμοιογεῖσθαι.

6.6.22 | εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ προαίρεσιν 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 ἀλογος 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 | Ἡδη δὲ κατ' εἶδος ἴδιως ἔκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων τὰ μὲν ἔξει, τὰ δὲ φύσει, τὰ δὲ ὄρμῇ καὶ φαντασίᾳ, τὰ δὲ λογισμῷ καὶ οίκειᾳ κρίσει τε καὶ προαιρέσει κινούμενα, καὶ ἄλλα μὲν κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον γιγνόμενα, ἔτερα δὲ κατ' ἐπισυμβεβηκότα τοῖς προηγουμένως γεγονόσι, ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συνεστήσατο διακόσμησιν, ἐκάστῳ γένει τῶν ὄντων ἴδιαν καὶ ἀφωρισμένην τινὰ φύσεως κατασκευὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιου διανείμαντος.

6.6.25 | σχολῇ μὲν οὖν τις τὸν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διεξέλθοι λόγον, τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ

through reasoning, but through direct experience. We feel ourselves acting based on our own will, choosing some things and turning away from others. Therefore, 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 concerned. Here, we need to separate the nature of our situation and examine the reasoning behind what is not in our control. For no reasonable person will accept that these things are simply fate, while another reasoning is linked to the overall plan of the universe. So, let us carefully consider the problem.

6.6.23 | All things are said to be 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, we can classify each of the things that come to be: some exist by nature, some by impulse and imagination, and some are moved by reasoning and personal judgment or choice. Some things happen according to previous reasoning, while others occur due to events 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 take their time to go through the discussion

αύτεξουσίου ḥῶν ἀν καταμάθοι ὡδε

about other things, but they could more easily learn about free will here.

6.6.26 | ἐπεὶ μὴ μονογενὲς χρῆμα μηδ' ἔκ μιᾶς συνεστώς φύσεως τυγχάνει ὧν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ δυοῖν δὲ ἐναντίων εὐληχε τὴν σύνοδον, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ συμβεβηκός ὄργάνου 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, ὡσθ' 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 ἐλευθερίαν· ὡς καὶ δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλεύθερον, 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 ὄνόματι χρώμενος, ὑπ' αἰτίαν ἀνάγκης καταβάλλοι, διαμάρτοι ἀν τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας. εἰ γάρ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκη τις ἦν ἀκώλυτος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κατὰ φύσιν προσόντων παραποδίζεται, μυρία τε ἔξωθεν ἄλλα συναντῷ παρὰ φύσιν κατά τι συμβεβηκός καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι παρεπόμενα, επόμενα, πῶς ἀν εἴη ταύτὸν εἰμαρμένη καὶ φύσις;

6.6.26 | Since a person is not just one 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 earlier reasoning. One part is irrational, while the other is rational; one part is mortal, while the other is immortal. Thus, we carry the body like a brother that is irrational, while the soul is linked to the rational and immortal nature. This dual nature likely comes from 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 this condition from the divine, through which they understand the mixture of soul and body.

6.6.27 | If someone uses the term 'fate' in relation to either the body or the soul and claims it is due to necessity, they would misunderstand the true meaning of the term. For if 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 occur 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 εἶναι ἀπαραίτητον) πολλὰ δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, παρὰ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σώματι συμβαίνει, οὐκ ἀν ὁρθῶς τις ὄνομάζοι ταύτὸν εἶναι λέγων εἰμαρμένην καὶ φύσιν.

6.6.29 | γένοιτ' ἀν οὓν τῶν ὅντων ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ μὲν κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐφ' ἡμῖν γιγνόμενα, οἷα τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰ δὲ τούτοις μὲν συμβεβηκότα, ψυχῆς λέγω καὶ σώματι, ἐτέροις δὲ συντελούμενα κατὰ φύσιν· ἀλλ' οὕτε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν οὕτε τοῦ σώματος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ μὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν τὸ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ἐνδίκως ἀν τις ἀποστεροίη τὸν αἴτιον.

6.6.30 | Θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ συμβεβηκός δημιουργὸς ὁν ἀποπέφανται. καθόλου γὰρ περὶ πάντων ἀκουστέον τῆς θείας γραφῆς, τὸ "αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν" ἀποφηναμένης.

6.6.31 | εἰ δὴ οὖν βουλομένοις ποτέ τινα ἔτερα παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην συμβαίνει, ὑπομνηστέον αὐτοὺς ὡς ἄρα τοῦτ' ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ διττὸν καὶ ἔτερογενὲς τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν συμπλοκῆς, λέγω δὴ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, παρ' ὃ καὶ ψυχῆς ούσια, τὴν φύσιν οὖσα νοερὰ καὶ λογικὴ, ἐν

6.6.28 | For if they say that fate is unchangeable and that nothing can happen outside of it (since 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 rightly claim that fate and nature are the same.

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. However, neither the actions of the soul that depend on us nor the natural actions of the body, nor even those that result from outside events, would justly remove responsibility from the cause.

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 pay attention to the divine scripture, which says, "He said, and they came to be; He commanded, and they were created."

6.6.31 | If, then, when people want something different from our opinion, they should be reminded that this reflects the dual and different nature of the conflict within us, referring to the soul and body. The essence of the soul, being rational and logical, exists in a body that is naturally

νηπιάζοντι κατὰ φύσιν σώματι παρὰ φύσιν αὐτὴ χώραν ἀλόγου μετεύληφε· καὶ νοῦς ὁ φρονήσεως οίκεῖος ἀφράινει πολλάκις κατά τι συμβεβηκός, παρατραπεὶς ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσαις φέρε σώματος ἀρρωστίαις.

childish and has taken on an irrational nature. The mind, which is connected to reason, often becomes confused by some chance event, especially when it is affected by overwhelming illnesses of the body.

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.

6.6.32 | Often, old age comes upon the body and takes away the ability to think clearly, which is a natural result of life's peak, dulling the rational part of the mind of the intelligent soul.

6.6.33 | αἰκίαι δ' αὖ 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.

6.6.33 | Again, injuries and pains that occur in the body, which go against nature, have conquered the free will of the soul due to these events. The pains bind the soul tightly, sometimes preventing it from being free because of the body's nature, and at other times because of outside events.

6.6.34 | ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν προαιρέσεως είς τοσοῦτον ἥκον ἀρετῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὡς ἀντιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τολμῶν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπισυμβαίνουσιν.

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 | ἡ μὲν γε τοῦ σώματος φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὀρμὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καλεῖ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ λόγω σώφρονι χαλινὸν ἐμβαλοῦσα τῷ πάθει κρείττων καθίσταται τῆς τοῦ σώματος φύσεως· καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ ḥιγοῦν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσαναγκάζουσα ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν θεραπείας τε καὶ πληρώσεις παρακαλεῖ, ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις λόγοις σώφροσιν

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, influenced by wise words and a love for some practices of self-discipline, counters the body's nature

άναπεισθεῖσα, καί τινας ἀσκητικὰς προτροπὰς αύθεκουσίως ἀγαπήσασα, πολυημέροις ἀσιτίαις καὶ καρτερίαις παρακρούεται τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν, ἀρετῇ λογισμοῦ κρίνασα τοῦτο καὶ ἐλομένη.

6.6.36 | καὶ αὖτις ἡ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν πάσαις ἡδοναῖς χαίρει καὶ τῇ λείᾳ τῶν σωμάτων κινήσει, ἡ δὲ προαιρεσις 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, ταῖ, ὡς καὶ πρὸ ὥρας ἔσθ' ὅπῃ χερσὶν ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος, ὅτε τὸ ζῆν αὐτῷ μὴ λυσιτελές κριθείη.

6.6.39 | εἰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς μόνην τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ὁ πᾶς ἄγων ἦν αὐτῷ, μέτριος ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βίον ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ μεταξὺ πολλῶν καταβέβληται, ὡς μετὰ θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ιοβόλων, ἐν μέσῳ τε πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἀέρος τε τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἄπασι παρηλλαγμένων καὶ διαφόρων φύσεων τὰς διατριβὰς πεποιῆσθαι, εἴκότως αὐτῷ ἡ διαμάχη καὶ ἡ ἔνστασις οὐ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ καὶ συνημμένην αὐτῷ μόνον φύσιν τοῦ

with long periods of fasting and endurance, having judged and chosen this through the virtue of thought.

6.6.36 | And again, the body enjoys all natural pleasures and the movement of the senses, but the choice of virtue embraces a difficult and challenging life with desire.

6.6.37 | There are those who have turned to a worse path, changing natural use into unnatural, committing shameful acts among men.

6.6.38 | Thus, reason does not always give in to nature; it often wins, just as it can sometimes be overcome. At times, it takes the lead, and at other times, it is led, like when someone tries to free the body, especially when living is seen as not beneficial.

6.6.39 | If the struggle were only against the natural condition of the body, it would be manageable. But since god has placed him among many things, like wild animals and poisonous creatures, surrounded by fire, water, and air, and among all these different natures, it makes sense that his conflict and resistance are not only against the natural condition of the body but also against countless external events. He faces these challenges while living a mortal life,

σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς μυρία τὰ ἔκτος συμβεβηκότα, ὃν ἐν μέσῳ ζῆ ὁ τὸν θνητὸν βίον διεξάγων, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα καρτερῶς ἀντέχειν.

6.6.40 | πολλαὶ γοῦν ἥδη καὶ τοιόνδε τροφῶν φύσεις καὶ τοιαίδε συγκράσεις τοῦ περιέχοντος, κρυμῶν τε ἐπιφοραὶ καὶ φλογιμῶν ἐκκαύσεις, πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα κατά τινας οἰκείους λόγους φυσικῶς μὲν κινούμενα, συμβατικῶς δὲ ἡμῖν προσπίπτοντα τάραχον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς αύτεξουσίω διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπλοκὴν παρέσχηκε, τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων φύσεως τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφορὰς οὐχ ὑπομενούσης, κρατουμένης δὲ καὶ νικωμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἔκτος κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείαν ἐπιτελουμένων.

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 αύτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἴδιας ἔξουσίας ἀποφέρονται, ἐλευθέρα τῇ σφῶν χρώμενοι προαιρέσει, ταύτη πάλιν είκότως καὶ ταῖς ἐτέρων γνώμαις ὑποκεισόμεθα, τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔκείνων αύτεξουσίου ὥδε πως ἡμῖν κατὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν χρωμένου.

6.6.42 | ὥσπερ γάρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν 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 γάρ συνουσίᾳ φαύλη κακύνειν, ὥσπερ αὖ τούναντίον ποιεῖν ἀμείνους τῶν καλῶν ὀμιλία.

so he must endure them with strength.

6.6.40 | Indeed, there are many kinds of food and mixtures in our surroundings, hidden dangers and burning flames, as well as many other things that move according to their own nature but disturb us by chance because of our free will. This is due to the conflict with the body, which cannot withstand the pressures from outside, while being controlled and overcome by those things that occur naturally from the outside.

6.6.41 | Again, since we share our experiences with many people, and they also have the same substances as we do, they draw from their own free will. Using their freedom, they make choices, and in this way, we are naturally influenced by the opinions of others. This same free will also impacts us in relation to the body or concerning the soul.

6.6.42 | For just as the nature of our body is often overcome by outside forces, our choices are also affected by countless external influences. When persuaded by free will, we give ourselves over to these pressures, sometimes becoming better and sometimes worse. A bad company can corrupt good character, just as good company can enhance our positive

“φθείρουσι γὰρ ἥθη χρηστὰ δύμλιαι κακαῖ,” qualities.  
ῶσπερ οὖν καὶ σώζουσι βελτιοῦσαι τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν αἱ συνουσίαι.

6.6.43 | καὶ λόγοις μὲν ἡ λογικὴ τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπισυμβαινόντων ὅδέ πως καὶ τῇδε φέρεται ἵσχυει δὲ πάλιν οἴκεία καὶ λογικῆς ούσιας 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 οἴκείας ἀρετῆς ὑφιεμένη, φιλοσοφεῖν παρεσκεύασται. ὅτε μὴν ὀλιγωρεῖ, ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων τὰ χείριστα διατίθεται, ὕσπερ οὖν καὶ βελτιοῦται τῆς ἔξωθεν τυγχάνουσα ἐπιμελείας.

6.6.44 | τί χρὴ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς καὶ φοραὶ καὶ ἀφορίαι τοιῶνδε ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, κατά τινα περίπτωσιν οἴκείως τῇ τοῦ παντὸς διοικήσει συντελούμεναι, εὐ τε καὶ ὄρθως ἔχουσαι τῷ παντὶ, πλείστην ὅσην τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν παντοίας κινήσεως περιουσίαν ἀπειργάσαντο;

6.6.45 | πᾶσιν δὲ καθόλου τοῖς οὖσι, τοῖς τε παρ’ ἡμᾶς γινομένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν αἴτιαν, καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐπιοῦσι, τοῖς τε φυσικῶς ἐνεργουμένοις, μίᾳ παναλκής καὶ παντοδύναμος ἐπιστατεῖ ἡ διὰ πάντων ἐπιπορευομένη τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια, ἡ 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

6.6.43 | In terms of words, the rational power of the soul is influenced by outside events in this way. However, the virtue of its own rational nature remains strong, showing a divine and godlike power when it stands firm against all external pressures, overcoming everything with a free spirit and not yielding to any of its own virtues. It is ready to engage in philosophy. But when it becomes careless, it falls under the worst influences, just as it can improve through the care it receives from outside.

6.6.44 | What should we say about these things? Both the movements and conditions of such souls and bodies are naturally connected to the overall order of the universe in some way. They exist and are rightly aligned with the whole, having a great abundance of various movements that are directed toward us.

6.6.45 | For all things in general, both those that exist with us and those that arise from our own actions, 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 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 right times. It works together with us and also provides

συμπράττουσα τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἔκτὸς πάλιν συμβαίνουσι τὴν δέουσαν τάξιν ἀπονέμουσα.

the necessary order to those outside.

6.6.46 | Τούτων εἰς τρία τοῦτον διηρημένων τὸν τρόπον, εἴς 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 ἔχει λόγος.

6.6.46 | When we divide these into three categories, we have 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 role of fate.

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, οὕτ' ἐν σώμασιν οὕτ' 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 εὐθεῖαν βαδίζει, ἀλλ' ὅτε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐκστᾶσα οἴκείᾳ γνώμῃ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν τρέπεται, αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς καθεστῶσα κυρία

6.6.47 | Let us find 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 things that arise by chance. However, it can only be found in the free choice of the soul itself. In this case, it does not follow the natural path when it goes straight, but instead, when it turns away from the natural order and follows its own judgment, it becomes the master of itself.

6.6.48 | ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γέρας ἔξαίρετον παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τυγχάνει, τῆς οίκείας ὄρμῆς τὸ κριτήριον εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἀναδεδεγμένη· νόμος δὲ θεῖος αὐτῇ συνεζευγμένος κατὰ φύσιν, λαμπτῆρος καὶ φωστῆρος δίκην, ἐπιφωνεῖ ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχῶν αὐτῇ καὶ λέγων, Ὁσῷ βασιλικῇ πορεύσῃ, οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς δεξιὰ οὐδὲ ἀριστερά· βασιλικὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὄρθον λόγον πορείαν εἶναι διδάσκων.

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 inward. A divine law, naturally connected to it, 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 that follows right reason.

6.6.49 | τοῦτον γὰρ ἀπάσῃ ψυχῇ φυσικὸν νόμον βοηθὸν αὐτῇ καὶ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τῶν

6.6.49 | For every soul, the creator of all has established a natural law as a helper and

πρακτέων ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς  
ὑπεστήσατο, διὰ μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὴν  
εύθειαν αὐτῇ παραδείξας ὀδὸν, διὰ δὲ τῆς  
αὐτῇ δεδωρημένης αὐτεξουσίου  
έλευθερίας τὴν τῶν κρειτόνων ἴρεσιν  
ἐπαίνου καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίαν ἀποφένας  
γερῶν τε καὶ μειζόνων ἐπάθλων τῶν ἐπὶ  
τοῖς κατορθουμένοις, ὅτι μὴ βεβιασμένως,  
γνώμῃ δὲ αὐτεξουσίῳ κατώρθου, παρὸν  
καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐλέσθαι ὡς ἔμπαλιν τὴν  
τὰ χειριστα 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 ἐκ τινος ἔξωθεν  
ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρας γνώμης καὶ  
κρίσεως.

6.6.50 | αἴτια δὴ τοῦ ἐλομένου, θεὸς  
ἀναίτιος. οὕτε γὰρ φύσιν φαύλην ὁ θεὸς  
είργασατο, οὐδέ γε ψυχῆς ούσιαν ἀγαθῷ  
γὰρ οὐδὲν πλὴν ἀγαθὰ δημιουργεῖν θέμις.  
ἀγαθὸν δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι κατὰ φύσιν. ψυχῇ δὲ  
πάσῃ λογικῇ κατὰ φύσιν πάρεστι τὸ  
αὐτεξουσιον ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν  
αἰρέσει γεγενημένον.

6.6.51 | φαύλως δὲ ὅτε πράττει, οὐ τὴν  
φύσιν αἴτιατέον. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν, παρὰ  
φύσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεται τὸ φαῦλον. ὃ  
προαιρέσεως ὁν, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεως ἔργον. ὃ  
γὰρ παρήν δύναμις τῆς τάγαθοῦ αἰρέσεως,  
ὅτε μὴ τοῦτο εἴλετο, ἐκῶν δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον  
ἀπεστράφη τού χείρονος μεταποιηθεὶς, τίς  
ἄν τούτῳ τόπος ἀποφυγῆς λείποιτο τῆς  
οἰκείας αἴτιῳ καταστάντι νόσου, τοῦ τε  
συμφύτου νόμου σωτῆρος οἶα καὶ ίατροῦ  
παραμελήσαντι;

ally in its 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, having the ability to choose the opposite as well. Therefore, choosing the worst deserves blame and punishment, since it neglects the natural law and brings forth the source of evil. It misuses itself, 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. God did not create a bad nature or the essence of the soul. It is fitting for a good being to create only good things. Everything that is good aligns with nature. In every rational soul, the ability to choose freely is a good thing, and this ability leads to the choice of what is good.

6.6.51 | When it acts poorly, one should not 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 ability to choose 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 ήμῶν εἶναι φάσκων τὰ αἴτια, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τὰ πάντα κινούσης δυνάμεως, πῶς οὐκ ἀνόσιον καὶ δυσσεβῆ λογισμὸν εἰσφέροι ἄν;

6.6.53 | εἴτε γὰρ αὐτόματον καὶ ἀπρονόητον θείη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φορὰν, ἐλέγχοιτ' ἀν 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 οίκειας γνώμης διαπεπραγμένους, ἀνάγει δὲ τὴν αἴτιαν τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καθόλου πρόνοιαν, ἀνάγκην αὐτὴν καὶ εἰμαρμένην ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἰσχρουργίας καὶ ἀρρητοποίας ὡμότητός τε καὶ μιαιφονίας αἴτιαν εἶναι λέγων.

6.6.54 | καὶ τίς ἀν εἴη τούτου δυσσεβῆς 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 ἐαυτὸν βλάσφημον, τόνδε δὲ, ὃν αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν ἄρρενα συνεστήσατο, πάσχειν παρὰ φύσιν τὰ θηλειῶν οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, κατηναγκασμένον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ

6.6.52 | Indeed, anyone who ignores all these things and blames everything on necessity and the influence of the stars, claiming that the causes of human wrongdoing come not from us but from the power that moves everything, how could they not have an impious and disrespectful thought?

6.6.53 | For if someone were to claim that the movement of everything is automatic and mindless, they would be shown to be godless, since they ignore the wise harmony and good order of the universe that has been in motion for ages. Even 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. This is because they let those who err among humans go free, claiming that none of the wrongs are done by 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 | And who could be more disrespectful than someone 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 themselves, since they say that the one who created nature as male suffers things contrary to nature, not by choice, but being compelled

ἄλλον ἀνδροφόνον γίνεσθαι μὴ παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης δὲ ἔλαυνόμενον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μηδ' εύλόγως ἐπιμέμφεσθαι τοῖς πλημμελοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἵτοι 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, ὁ τὸ τοιόνδε συστήσας ὅργανον, καὶ τὴν τῶν θηρωμένων παγίδα μηχανησάμενος, εἴη ἀν αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων αἴτιος.

6.6.56 | εἴτ' οὖν αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτὸν, εἴτ' οὖν πάλιν αὐτὸς διά τινος ἄλλης πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμηχανημένης ἀνάγκης τοὺς οὐκ ἔθέλοντας τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖς περιβάλλει, αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος, ὁ πάντων κακῶν ποιητικὸς, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἀν ἐν δίκῃ ἡμαρτηκὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγοιτο, ἀλλ' ὁ τούτου ποιητὴς θεός.

6.6.57 | καὶ τίς ἀν τούτου γένοιτο ἔτερος λόγων ἀσεβέστερος; ὁ δὴ οὖν εἰμαρμένην εἰσάγων ἄντικρυς θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔξωθει, ὕσπερ ὁ τὸν θεὸν ἐφιστάς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνέλοι ἀν τὸν περὶ εἰμαρμένης λόγον. ἢ γὰρ ταύτὸν ἀν εἴη ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἰμαρμένη, ἢ θάτερον διεστῶς ἐτέρου. ταύτὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο.

6.6.58 | εἰ γὰρ τὴν εἰμαρμένην εἰρμόν τινα

by god 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 claim that 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 necessary and compelling, then he who created such a mechanism and set the trap for those who are caught would indeed be the cause of their being 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. In that case, the person would no longer be seen as having sinned justly, but rather the god who made this would be.

6.6.57 | And who could be more disrespectful than this? For he brings fate directly against god and dismisses god's care, just as someone who places god above all would reject 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

αίτιῶν εἶναι φασιν ἀπ' αἰῶνος  
ἀπαραβάτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως ἐκ τῆς τῶν  
οὐρανίων ἄστρων φορᾶς καθήκοντα, πῶς  
οὐ πρότερα ἀν εἴη τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰ  
σωματικὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὃν καὶ τὰ οὐράνια  
συνέστηκεν, ὃν τὴν εἰμαρμένην  
συμβεβηκός τι σύμπτωμα λέγοι ἀν τις  
εἰκότως;

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  
make sense for someone to say that fate is  
just an accident that happens to these  
elements?

6.6.59 | καὶ πῶς ἀν ταύτὸν εἴη τὸ  
συμβεβηκός τοῖς στοιχείοις τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων  
Θεῷ, εἰ δὴ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχα καὶ ἄλογα  
κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιθεωρεῖται φύσιν, ὃ δὲ  
Θεὸς ἔξω σωμάτων αὐτοζωὴ καὶ σοφία  
τυγχάνει ὃν, τῆς ἔξ αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας τοῖς  
τε κατὰ μέρος στοιχείοις καὶ τῇ τῶν ὅλων  
διακοσμήσει τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν δωρούμενος;  
οὐ ταύτὸν ἄρα Θεὸς καὶ εἰμαρμένη.

6.6.59 | And how could what happens to  
the elements be the same as god, if the  
elements are lifeless and irrational by their  
very 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 | εἱ δὲ δὴ ἔτερον, πότερον κρεῖττον;  
ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ κάλλιον, οὐδέ τι  
δυναμικώτερον. οὔκοῦν κρατήσει καὶ  
περιέσται τοῦ χείρονος, ἢ συγχωρῶν  
κακοποιῷ τυγχανούσῃ τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ αὐτὸς  
ἀν ἐφέλκοιτο τὴν αἴτιαν, διὸς δυνατὸς ὃν  
ἐπισχεῖν τὴν κακοποιὸν ἀνάγκην οὐκ  
ἐπέσχεν, ἀνῆκε δ' ἀφετον ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ  
διαφθορᾷ τῶν ἀπάντων, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς  
τοῦτο εἰργάσατο, εἰ δὴ πάντων καὶ αὐτῆς  
εἰμαρμένης ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς  
εἰσάγοιτο.

6.6.60 | But if they are different, which is  
better? Nothing is more beautiful than god,  
nor is anything more powerful. So, would  
god not overcome what is worse, or would  
he allow evil to happen through fate? If he  
is powerful enough to stop evil but does  
not, then he himself would be responsible  
for the destruction and ruin of everything.  
Instead, he would be the creator and maker  
of all, including fate itself.

6.6.61 | εἰ δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ λόγος τῆς τοῦ  
παντὸς διατάξεως, ἀθέων αὗθις  
ἀνακύψειεν ὃν φωνὴ, πρὸς ἣν τὰς ἀκοὰς  
ἀποκλειστέον, τῆς ἐνθέου προνοίας καὶ  
δυνάμεως ἐναργῶς ἀποφαινούσης ἐαυτὴν

6.6.61 | But if no explanation for the order  
of everything comes forth, then a voice  
would rise again, which must be shut out  
from hearing. This voice would clearly  
show the divine providence and power,

ἔκ τε τῶν καθόλου πανσόφων καὶ τεχνικῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔκ τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναμφιλόγως τὴν ἐλευθέραν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς χῆς δύναμιν παραδεικνυμένων.

6.6.62 | καθ' ἦν καίτοι μυρίων ἔξωθεν ἐμποδῶν τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος φύσει ταῖς τε κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄρμαῖς κατά τι συμβεβηκὸς προσπιπτόντων, ὅμως πρὸς ἄπαντα τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀντέχει, ἀμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῶν καλῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

6.6.63 | τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ὁ παρὼν 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 αύθεκουσίω τοὺς πόνους τῶν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ἀθλῶν ἀναδεδεγμένους, οὓς καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης μυρία πλήθη Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἐνεδείξατο, πάσας μὲν προθύμως τὰς κατὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπομείναντα αἰκίας, πᾶν δὲ βασάνων εἴδος φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ διελθόντα, καὶ τέλος πολυτρόποις σχήμασι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀσπαστῶς καταδεξάμενα.

6.6.64 | καὶ μὴν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα λόγος ἐπιτρέψειν ἀν τὴν εἰμαρμένην αἰτιᾶσθαι. ποῦ γάρ σοι ἔξ αἰῶνος τοιούσδε ἀθλητὰς εύσεβείας ἡνεγκεν ἡ τῶν ἀστρων φορά; ἢ πότε ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταβληθείσης διδασκαλίας τοιόνδε

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 | In this situation, even though there are countless obstacles from the nature of the body and from the choices that come our way, the freedom of the soul's virtue still stands strong. It is invincible and undefeated, showing our ability to choose what is good.

6.6.63 | This especially reveals to us the present time of our savior's teachings through their actions. For these are not empty words; they allow you to see the struggle of the pious and to witness those who willingly endure the hardships of the contests for piety. Many crowds of Greeks and non-Greeks have shown this throughout the entire world, all eagerly enduring the sufferings of the body, while every kind of torment passed by with a cheerful face. In the end, they welcomed the release of the soul from the body in various ways.

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 champions of piety? Or when did human life, before the teachings of our savior were shared with all people, display such a

προβέβληται καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων  
οἰκουμένης ἀγῶνα;

contest throughout the entire world?

6.6.65 | ποῦ δὲ τοιωνδὶ λόγων διδασκάλιον,  
δεισιδαίμονος μὲν πλάνης ἀναιρετικὸν,  
ἐνὸς δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ γνώσεως  
διδακτικὸν, ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις, "Ἐλλησι τε  
καὶ βαρβάροις, ὁ πᾶς αἱών ἡνεγκε;

6.6.65 | Where has there been such a  
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 | τίς δὲ τῶν ἔξ αἰῶνος ἀοιδίμων  
σοφῶν, βάρβαρος ἢ Ἐλλην, τοιᾶσδε ποτε  
ἡξιώθη εἰμαρμένης ὡς εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα  
κόσμον διαφανῆ καταστῆσαι τὸν ὑπ'  
αὐτοῦ προβληθέντα λόγον, γνωσθέντα τε  
μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐσχατιῶν, καὶ θεοῦ δόξαν  
παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῷ καθωσιωμένοις  
κτήσασθαι;

6.6.66 | Who among the wise poets of old,  
whether barbarian or Greek, was ever  
honored to share such a clear teaching with  
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 | εἴ δὲ ταῦτα ἔξ αἰῶνος νος οὕτ' ἥν  
οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε ἀκοαῖς ἥκουσται, οὐκ ἥν  
ἄρα εἰρμὸς αἴτιων καὶ ἀνάγκη τὸ τούτων  
αἴτιον. πάλαι γὰρ ἀν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ἀνακυκλήσεως καὶ περιφορᾶς τῶν ἀστρων  
ούδεις ἥν φθόνος καὶ ἄλλους τῆς αὐτῆς  
τυχεῖν γενέσεως τε καὶ εἰμαρμένης

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  
jealousy 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 ἢ διὰ τῆς τοῦ νέου θεοῦ  
διδασκαλίας;

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 non-Greeks have been cast  
aside, and they were cast aside in no other  
way than through the teaching of the new  
god?

6.6.69 | ποία δ' αύτῶν εἰμαρμένη θεὸν δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατήγγειλεν, εἰμαρμένην δὲ μὴ εἶναι φάναι ἔξηνάγκασε; καὶ πῶς ἡ εἰμαρμένη μὴ εἶναι ἐαυτὴν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν ἐβιάσατο; τί δὲ οὗτος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὔσεβος ἔνεκα διδασκαλίας παντοίους ἀθλους 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, ἕνα τε καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι βίον, καὶ λόγον ἀγαπήσαι τὸν αὐτὸν, τάς τε αὐτὰς ἀγαπητικῶς ὑπομεῖναι πάθας δι' ἔνστασιν εὔσεβείας.

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 ὅμοιοι καὶ ἐλευθερίων, λογίων τε καὶ παιδείας ἀμετόχων, οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ γῆς οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῖσδε γενομένων τοῖς ἀστροῖς, καθ' ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης, εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκῃ φάναι βεβιασμένους τόνδε τινὰ τῶν πατρώων ἀπάντων προτιμῆσαι λόγον, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ εὔσεβείας 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 γάρ ἀν εἴη τὰ καὶ τυφλῷ δῆλα, ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης, μαθήσεως δὲ

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 faithful teaching, and that 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, having one virtue of the soul, embracing one and the same way of life, loving the same message, 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, people of all ages, both males and females, and different kinds of barbarian men, both slaves and free, as well as those without education, are not in some corner of the earth or under these stars, but throughout the whole inhabited world, are said to be forced by the necessity of fate to prefer this certain teaching of all their ancestors? And who would embrace the death for piety of the one god above all, learn well about the immortality of the soul, and choose a philosophy that is 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

καὶ διδασκαλίας οίκεῖα τυγχάνει,  
αύθεκουσίου γνώμης καὶ προαιρέσεως  
έλευθέρας ἐναργῆ τυγχάνοντα  
παραδείγματα.

necessity, and that learning and teaching belong to them, as they are clear examples of free choice and voluntary decision.

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 ἀνθρωπος ὁ τοὺς θαυμασίους χρησμοὺς ψευδεῖς ἀπελέγχων καὶ τὸν Πύθιον αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχρησε περὶ εἰμαρμένης ἐπιρραπίζων.

6.6.73 | But there could also be countless other examples of the problem, many of which I have mentioned. I will be satisfied with what has been said, but I will leave you to consider your own reading of your seven philosophers. This way, you may learn how much wiser and better the man was who exposed the marvelous oracles as false and challenged the Pythian oracle itself on what it declared about fate.

6.6.74 | ἄκουε δ' οὗν αὐθις τοῦ τὴν τῶν γοήτων φωρὰν τὸ οίκειον ἐπονομάσαντος σύγγραμμα, ὡς εὖ μάλα νεανικῷ φρονήματι τὸν πλάνον τῶν πολλῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπανορθοῦται, δι' ὃν γράφει τάδε κατὰ λέξιν

6.6.74 | Listen again to the work of the one who followed the path of the prophets. Notice 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 οὗν ἐν Δελφοῖς καθῆσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον, μηδ' εἰ βούλοιο, σιωπᾶν. ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ἄρα ὁ τοῦ Διός υἱὸς νῦνὶ βούλεται, οὐχ ὅτι βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνάγκης είς τὸ βουληθῆναι τέτακται.

6.7.1 | So you cannot sit in Delphi, even if you want to, and you must be silent. But Apollo, the son of Zeus, now wants to speak, not because he desires to, but because he is compelled to.

6.7.2 | δοκῶ δέ μοι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα παρεὶς, ἐπειδὴ είς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ούκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑπήχθην, οίκειόν τι καὶ ἀξιοζήτητον ζητίσειν πρᾶγμα. ἀπόλωλε γάρ, τό γ ἐπὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου, ἀπόλωλεν, εἴτε οἴακά τις αὐτὸς εἴτε ἔρμα

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 what is among the wise has perished from human life. Whether someone calls it

εἴτε κρηπῖδα όνομάζων χαίρει, τῆς  
ἡμετέρας ζωῆς ἡ ἔξουσία, ἢν ἡμεῖς μὲν  
αύτοκράτορα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων  
τιθέμεθα, Δημόχριτος δέ γε, εἰ μή τι  
ήπάτημαι, καὶ Χρύσιππος, ὁ μὲν δοῦλον, ὁ  
δὲ ἡμίδουλον ἐπινοεῖ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιδεῖξαι.

6.7.3 | ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν λόγος τοσοῦτος,  
ὅσον ἂν τις ἀξιώσειν ἄνθρωπος ὥν  
ἀνθρωπίνοις· εἰ δ' ἥδη καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῶν  
καταστρατεύεται, παπᾶ, οἵα πεισόμεθα.

6.7.4 | ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκὸς, ούδὲ δίκαιον, ἀπὸ  
γοῦν τούτων τεκμαριομένοις ἡμῖν ἔχθρε  
περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι  
Θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸ προβόλαιον ἔχων  
πεφυλαγμένος ἥσο.

6.7.5 | τί γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀργεῖος, εἴ  
βουλοίμην, ἔξεστί μοι, καὶ δύναμαι, εἴ μοι  
δόξειεν, ἥσθαι καὶ πεφυλάχθαι; ἔξεστιν,  
εἴποις ἄν, καὶ δύνασαι· ἡ πᾶς ἂν σοι τοῦτ'  
ἔγω προσέταττον;

6.7.6 | Χείρωνος φίλε τέκνον ἀγακλειτοῦ  
Κάρυστε, Πήλιον ἐκπρολιπών Εύβοίας  
ἄκρον ίκέσθαι, ἔνθ' ιερὰν χώραν κτίζειν σοι  
θέσφατόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' θι. μηκέτι μέλλε.

6.7.7 | ἡ γὰρ ως ἀληθῶς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ τί<sup>1</sup>  
ἐστιν, ὡς Ἀπολλον, καὶ βουληθῆναι Πήλιον  
ἐκπρολιπεῖν κύριός είμι ἔγω; καὶ μὴν  
ἥκουν παρὰ πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν ὅτι εἴ μοι

a little boat, a cart, or a shoe, the power of  
our life is what we set as the ruler of the  
most necessary things. 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 aspects of  
human life.

6.7.3 | But the discussion of these things is  
worth as much as any human would value  
them. But if the divine is already coming  
against us, oh dear, how will we be  
persuaded?

6.7.4 | But it is neither likely nor just for us,  
enemies of the surrounding land, to feel  
safe inside, relying on the protective  
barrier of the immortal gods, our divine  
friends.

6.7.5 | For what, says the Argive, if I wanted  
to, is it possible for me to sit and be safe?  
You might say it is possible, and you can;  
but how could I have given this command  
to you?

6.7.6 | Dear child of the famous Chiron,  
having left the peak of Euboea, you are to  
arrive at the sacred land, where it is meant  
for you to create a holy place. But go now.  
Do not delay any longer.

6.7.7 | Is it truly the case, oh Apollo, that I  
am allowed to leave the peak of Pelion? I  
have indeed heard from many wise people  
that if it is my fate to arrive at the peak of

πέπρωται Εύβοίας ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι καὶ ἵερὰν  
χώραν ’ρᾶν 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, ὦ Ἀπόλλον,  
πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερος.

Euboea and to establish a sacred land, I will both have it 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 | ἔσοικα δή σοι μᾶλλον προσέξειν.  
ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεεσ, ὡς σε  
κελεύωντας ἐν Ἡερίῃ κτίζειν εύδείελον  
ἄστυ. Ἀγγέλω, νὴ Δία, φήσει τάχα που τις  
τετυφωμένος, ἢ σὲ ἐλέγχων,) κάν μὴ  
κελεύσῃς' πέπρωται γάρ. καὶ ἔστι Θάσος  
μὲν ἡ Ἡερία νῆσος· ἥξουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν  
Παρίοι, Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἔμοῦ υἱοῦ  
φράσαντος ὅτι ἡ νῆσος αὕτη πρὶν Ἡερία  
ἐκαλεῖτο. σὺ οὖν, δεινὸς γάρ ἐπεξελθεῖν,  
οὐκ ἀνέξῃ, οἴμαι, αὐτοῦ οὔτως ὄντος  
ἀχαρίστου καὶ θρασέος, δς, εἰ μὴ σὺ  
μηνῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐβουλήθης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
ἥγγειλεν, οὐδ' ἂν Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
Παρίους ἔξενάγησεν, οὐδ' ἂν οἱ Παρίοι  
Θάσον ὥκησαν.

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. If you had not wished to inform him, he 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 εἰ σὺ λέγεις μὲν ταῦτα,  
οὐκ οἰσθα δὲ ἃ λέγεις. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σχολὴν  
ἄγειν ἔσοικαμεν καὶ μακρὰ διαλέγεσθαι, ὁ δὲ  
λόγος οὐ πάρεργος, ἐκεῖνό μοι λέγε· ἵσως  
γάρ καὶ ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρκεῖ·

6.7.9 | I do not know if you are saying these things, but you do not understand what you are saying. Since we seem to be taking our time and talking for a 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 ὁπόθεν ἴσμεν; τῷ ποτ'  
ἄρα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἐκρίναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἄλλο  
ἰκανὸν οὔτως ως ἡ συναίσθησίς τε καὶ

6.7.10 | Are we anything, you and I? You might say so. But how do we know this? By what means did we decide to understand this? Or is there nothing else that is enough

άντιληψις ήμῶν αὐτῶν;

except for our own perception and understanding?

6.7.11 | τί δ'; ὅτι ζῷά ἐσμεν πῶς ποτ' ἄρα  
έξεύρομεν; πῶς δ' ὅτι καὶ ζῷων, ως μὲν ἀν  
έγω εἴποιμι, ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἄνθρωπων ὁ  
μὲν γόης, ὁ δὲ γόητος ἀπελεγκτής· ως δ' ἀν  
σὺ, ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ θεός, καὶ ὁ μὲν  
μάντις, ὁ δὲ συκοφάντης; καὶ ἔστω γέ σοι  
οὕτως ἔχον, ἔανπερ 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, one is a seer, and another is a false accuser? Let it be so for you, if I happen to be caught.

6.7.12 | πῶς δ' ὅτι διαλεγόμεθα ἐν τῷ  
παρόντι ἐγνώκαμεν; τί φῆς; ἄρ' οὐκ ὁρθῶς  
ἐκρίναμεν τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιληψιν τῷ  
πάντων ἐγγυτάτῳ πράγματι αὐτῷ; δῆλον  
ὅτι οὐ γάρ 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 reliable.

6.7.13 | ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἔξει, μήτε ἄρα ὡς  
σέ τις εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενέσθω λοιπὸν  
ὄνομα Ἀλκμαίων, ἀπεκτονώς τὴν μητέρα,  
καὶ οἴκοθεν ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ οἴκαδε  
ἐπιθυμῶν. οὐ γάρ οἶδεν οὕτ' εἰ ἔστι τι  
αὐτὸς τὸ παράπαν, οὕτε εἰ οἴκοθεν  
ἐλαύνεται, οὕτ' εἰ οἴκαδε ἐπιθυμεῖ ἀλλ' εἰ  
καὶ μαίνεται ὁ Ἀλκμαίων καὶ ὑπονοεῖ τὰ μὴ  
ὄντα, διὸ γε Πύθιος οὐ μαίνεται. μηδὲ λέγε  
οὕτως νόστον δίζηαι πατρίην ἐς γαῖαν  
ἰκέσθαι Αμφιαρηάδη. οὐδέ γάρ σὺ οἰσθά  
πω εἰ σέ τις ἔρωτᾶ Ἀμφιαρηάδης, οὐδ' εἰ  
σὺ τὶ εἴ ὁ ἔρωτώμενος, καὶ λέγειν ἔχων περὶ  
ῶν τις ἔρωτᾶ.

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 while wishing to return. For he does not know whether he exists at all, nor whether he is being driven from home, nor whether he wishes to return. But if Alcmaeon is truly mad and suspects what is not real, the Pythian does not go mad. Do not say that you seek to return to your homeland, Amphiarus. For you do not even know if someone asks you about Amphiarus, nor do you know who 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

6.7.14 | Let not Chrysippus, who introduces

ἡμιδουλείαν είσάγων, ὃ τί ποτέ ἔστιν αύτὸς τοῦτο οὐκ είδώς, ἀπαντάτω εἰς τὴν Στοὰν, μηδὲ οἴέσθω ἀπαντήσεσθαι τοὺς βλέννους ἐκείνους ὡς αὐτὸν ἀκουσομένους τὸν Οὗτιν' μηδὲ διατεινέσθω περὶ μηδενὸς καταστάτης πρὸς μὲν Ἀρκεσίλαον παρόντα, πρὸς δὲ Ἐπίκουρον οὐ παρόντα.

6.7.15 | τί γάρ ἔστιν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, τί δὲ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, ἢ τί ἡ Στοὰ, ἢ τί οἱ νέοι, ἢ τίς ὁ Οὗτις, οὐτὲ οἶδεν οὕτε οἷος εἰδένει· πολὺ γὰρ πρότερον οὐδὲ εἴ αὐτός τί ἔστιν οἶδεν.

6.7.16 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε οὕτε ὑμεῖς οὕτε ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ λέγοι τις ταῦτα· οὐ γὰρ εἴναι πιστότερον μέτρον οὐ λέγω· οὐδὲ εἰ δοκεῖ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ εἴναι, τούτῳ γ' ἀν παρισωθεί· ἢ παρισωθεί μὲν ἀν, ὑπερβάλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἄν.

6.7.17 | ούκοῦν, φήσειν ἄν τις, Ὡ Δημόκριτε, καὶ σὺ, ὦ Χρύσιππε, καὶ σὺ, ὡ μάντι, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτεῖτε εἴ τις ἐθελήσαι παρελέσθαι τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντίληψιν—οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὰς πολλὰς ἐκείνας βίβλους εἴναι—φέρε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνταγανακτήσωμεν.

6.7.18 | τί δή ποτε; ἔνθα μὲν ἀν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, ἔσται τοῦτο καὶ πιστότατον καὶ πρεσβύταττον, τατὸν, ἔνθα δ' ἀν μὴ δοκῇ, ἐκεῖ καταδυναστεύσει τι λεληθὸς αὐτοῦ εἰμαρμένη πεπρωμένη, διαφορὰν ἐκάστῳ ὑμῶν ἔχουσα, τῷ μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν μικρῶν ἐκείνων σωμάτων τῶν φερομένων κάτω καὶ ἀναπαλλομένων ἄνω καὶ περιπλεκομένων καὶ διαλυομένων καὶ

half-slavery, go to the Stoa, not knowing what it 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 | For what is Arcesilaus, and what is Epicurus? What is the Stoa, 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 | But neither you nor Democritus will endure if someone says these things. There is no more trustworthy measure than what I say. Even if it seems that there are other things, this would be added to it, but it could not surpass it.

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 | What then? Wherever it seems right to you, this will be the most trustworthy and the oldest. But where it does not seem so, there some hidden fate will take control, having a different effect for each of you: for one from the divine, and for another from those small bodies that are carried down and rise up, twisting and breaking apart, separating, and being

διισταμένων καὶ παρατιθεμένων ἔξ  
ἀνάγκης;

6.7.19 | ίδοὺ γὰρ ὡς τρόπῳ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
ἀντειλήμμεθα, τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν  
αὐθαιρέτων καὶ βιαίων. οὐ λέληθε δὲ ἡμᾶς  
ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βαδίζειν καὶ τοῦ  
ἄγεσθαι, ούδε ὅσον τοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ  
ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

6.7.20 | ὃν δὲ ἔνεκα ταῦτα προσήνεγκα τῷ  
λόγῳ; δtti σε ἐκπέφευγεν, ὡς μάντι, ὃν  
κύριοι ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὃ τὰ πάντα εἰδώς  
ταῦτά γε οὐκ ἀν εἰδείης, ὃν τὰ πείσματα  
ἀνῆπται ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλήσεως.

6.7.21 | αὕτη δέ γε ἐφαίνετο οὐκ ὄλιγων  
οὗσα πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ ὃν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ, ἥτις  
ἥν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αἴτια, ἐκπέφευγεν, ἡ  
πού γε τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰδείη ἀν οὗτος.

6.7.22 | ἀναίσχυντος δηλαδὴ ὁ Λαί· ω  
προμαντευόμενος ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ ὁ  
φύς. ἥμελλε γάρ που ὁ φύς κύριος ἔσεσθαι  
τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βουλήσεως, καὶ οὕτε τις  
Ἀπόλλων οὕτε τις αὐτοῦ ὑπέρτερος  
ἔξικνεῖσθαι ἱκανὸς οὐδεμιᾷ δυνάμει ὃν οὐκ  
ἔστιν οὕτε ὑπαρξίς οὕτε γενέσεως ἀνάγκη

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.

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. We have not overlooked how  
much there is between walking and being  
led, nor how much there is between  
choosing and being forced.

6.7.20 | Why then did I bring these things  
into the discussion? Because you, O seer,  
have escaped from what we are in control  
of, and the one who knows everything  
would not know these things, from which  
the trials arise from our own choices.

6.7.21 | This seemed to be the beginning of  
many things, but the cause of what comes  
after the beginning has escaped him, or he  
would know what follows the beginning.

6.7.22 | Laius was indeed shameless,  
predicting that he would be killed by his  
own son. For it was destined that the son  
would be in control of his own choices, and  
neither Apollo nor anyone greater than him  
could reach him with any power, since  
there is no necessity for existence or for  
coming into being.

6.7.23 | For that is indeed the most  
laughable of all things: the mixture and  
coming together of what is and what is not  
among humans, and it is no less a

προσεοικέναι γάρ αύτὸν, ως λέγουσιν οἱ  
σοφώτεροι, τῷ Εύριπιδείῳ λόγῳ'

connection. For it resembles, as the wise  
say, the words of Euripides.

6.7.24 | τεκνῶσαι μὲν γάρ ἔθελήσαι τὸν  
Λάϊον, κύριον εἶναι τὸν Λάϊον, καὶ τοῦτο  
ἐκπεφυγέναι τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ὄφιν  
τεκνώσαντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐπεῖναι ἀνάγκην  
ἄφυκτον ὑπὸ τοῦ φύντος αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν  
οὔτως οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μελλοντὶ ἀνάγκην  
παρέχειν τῷ μάντει τὴν τοῦ γενησομένου  
προαίσθησιν.

6.7.24 | For Laius wanted to have children,  
to be in control, and to escape the serpent  
of Apollo. But after he had children, it  
became unavoidable that he would die at  
the hands of his own son. Thus, he gave the  
seer 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 ως  
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 in control, just like the one who  
created it. Just as that one had the choice to  
have children or not, 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,  
ἦν 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 Ἀργει,  
καὶ στόλῳ στρατηγῶν ἐπτὰ καταγελάστων  
καὶ συμβολῇ· ὃν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ  
ἔξουσίας διαιρουμένων πᾶς ἀν εἴη σοι  
ἔξεπίστασθαι) ἢ ὃ εἰρμὸς συνδεῖν δύναιτο;

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  
an answer to a riddle. 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, along  
with a group of seven laughing leaders and  
their agreement. How could you know  
about many rulers and powers being  
divided, or whether fate could bind them  
together?

6.7.27 | εἴ γάρ αὐτοῦ κύριος ὃν μὴ  
έβουλήθη τυραννεῖν ὁ Οἰδίπους, ἢ τοῦτο  
βουληθεὶς καὶ πράξας γαμεῖν τὴν Ἰοκάστην  
οὐ προείλετο, ἢ γῆμας μὴ ἐτετύφωτο μηδ'

6.7.27 | For if Oedipus, being his own  
master, did not want to rule, or if he  
desired this and married Iocasta without  
knowing, or if, after marrying, he was not

ἢν δύσθυμος καὶ δυσάρεστος, πῶς ἀν τὰ καθ' ἔκαστα ἐπράχθη; πῶς δ' ἀν τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν ἤψατο; πῶς δ' ἀν τοῖς παισὶν ἐπηράσατο τὴν Εύριπίδου καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀράν;

blinded or was not unhappy and unpleasant, how could each event 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 ἐξῆς τούτων τίνα ἀν τρόπον ἐγέγόνει, μὴ πρότερον αἴτιῶν γιγνομένων ἢ σὺ τὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων λέγειν ἡδύνασο; πάλιν δ' αὖ εἰ συμβάντες οἱ παῖδες ἄμα ἐβασίλευον, ἢ εἰ συνθέμενοι παρὰ μέρος ἐμενον 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 based on what was laid out, or if the one who fled knew not to go to Argos, but to Libya or to Perrhaebia, or if he entered Argos and knew to sell fish instead of taking a wealthy wife?

6.7.29 | ἀλλὰ χερνῆτίν τινα ἢ καπηλιν, ἢ εἰ ὉἈδραστος μὴ ἔδωκε τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ, ἢ εἰ ὁ μὲν ἔδωκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπεθύμησε τῆς οἴκαδε ὀδοῦ, ἢ εἰ ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκράτησεν ἐαυτοῦ ἢ εἰ μὴ προσέσχεν αὐτῷ δεομένῳ συμμαχίας ὁ ὍἈδραστος, ἢ εἰ τῷ ὍἈδράστῳ μήτε ὁ Ἄμφιάραος μήτε ὁ Τυδεὺς μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ταξιάρχων ἔκαστος ἡκολούθουν, ἢ εἰ οἱ μὲν συνηκολούθουν, ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἐμάχετο τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ' ἢ συμβάσις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄμα αὐτῷ ἢ μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀνεχώρησε, πεισθεὶς Εύριπίδῃ λέγοντι ἀσύνετα δ' ἥλθες καὶ σὺ πορθήσων πάτραν,

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 want to go 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, who said, "You came without understanding and will plunder your homeland."

6.7.30 | ἢ εἰ οὗτος 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

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

Λαῖου πᾶν δῶμα ἔβη δι' αἵματος;

together and fight, causing all of Laius' house to be filled with blood?

6.7.31 | ἀλλὰ μὴν, φήσεις, γέγονε ταῦτα.  
γέγονεν ἀλλὰ σὺ ποίᾳ δόδῷ εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν  
τούτων εἴδησιν; ή οὐχ ὅρᾶς ὡς πυκνὰ  
διακέκοφε τὸ ὄλον δρᾶμα ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς τὸ  
δρᾶμα συμπληροῦσι δύναμις; οὕτω δὲ καὶ  
ἥν βούλει ὑπόθεσιν λαβὼν διατεμῶ τὸν  
εἰρμὸν ὑμῶν, ἀποφανῶ τε ἀδύνατον ὄντα.

6.7.31 | But indeed, you might say, these things have happened. They have happened; but by what path did you come to know them? Or do you not see how the whole play is closely woven together by the power that fills the drama among us? So, 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, ή δὲ ὑπόθεσις ἐκ διακοπῆς  
εἰρμοῦ δυνάμεως ὅλη συντέτακται.

6.7.32 | But you say that you know the very end of the plot, yet the plot is entirely made up of the power of the connections that have been severed.

6.7.33 | ή ὁ λέγω οὐ συνίης; ἀλλὰ καθ'  
ἐκάστην ὑπόθεσιν, ω μάντι, τὰ ζῶα ή  
όλιγας πολλάκις ἀρχὰς ποιούμενα, ή  
πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ. αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ ἀεὶ τὰ μέχρις  
αὐτῶν διακόψασαι αὐτὰ ἄλλα προάγουσι  
πράγματα· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προχωρεῖν  
δύναται, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀν μὴ ἄλλη ποθὲν  
ἐπιστᾶσα ἀρχὴ τὰ μετ' αὐτὴν μὴ τοῖς  
ἔμπροσθεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῇ  
κελεύσῃ.

6.7.33 | Or do you not understand what I am saying? In each plot, oh seer, the living beings often create a few or many beginnings, or even many within it. The beginnings always cut off what comes after them and lead to other things. 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' ἀν ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνος καὶ κύων  
καὶ ψύλλα. οὐ γάρ παραιρήσει οὐδὲ τῆς  
ψύλλης, λησ, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὴν ἔξουσίαν  
ἀλλ' ὀρμήσει τινὰ ίδίαν ὀρμὴν η ψύλλα, ή  
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν ἐνίστε  
συμπλακεῖσα ἀρχὴν ἐαυτὴν παρέξεται  
τινος ὀδοῦ. σὺ δὲ χρώμενος ούκ αἴσθῃ τῷ

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, I swear by Apollo, but will start its own unique movement. Sometimes, this movement gets mixed up with human affairs and presents its own beginning along some path. But you, using

γένει τούτω.

6.7.35 | Τρηχῖν' ἔξειλες πόλιν Ἡρακλέος  
θείοιο, ὡ Λοκρέ· σοὶ δὲ Ζεὺς ἄλλας δῶκ' ἡδ'  
ἔτι δώσει. τί φής; οὐ γὰρ ἐπέπρωτο ὑφ'  
ὑμῶν ἔξαιρεθῆναι αὐτήν; καὶ τί αἴτιοι  
ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀνάγκη; οὐ  
δέκαια ποιεῖς, ὡ "Απολλον, ούδ' ὄρθως  
ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἡμῖν.

6.7.36 | ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς οὗτος, ἡ τῆς ὑμετέρας  
ἀνάγκης ἀνάγκη, τί ἡμᾶς τίννυται, ἀλλ'  
ούκ, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἐαυτὸν, ὅτι τοιαύτην  
κατέδειξεν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην; τί δὲ καὶ  
ἀπειλεῖ ἡμῖν; ἡ τί ἡμεῖς, ὡς ὅντες τούτου  
κύριοι, λιμώττομεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦτοι  
ἀνοιγισθήσεται πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἢ οὕτως ὅπότερον  
δ' ἂν ἦ, τοῦτο πέπρωται.

6.7.37 | λῆξον δὴ, ὡ Ζεῦ λιμοποιὲ, τοῦ  
θυμοῦ· ἔσται γὰρ δὲ πέπρωται, καὶ τοῦτο  
προστέτακται ποιεῖν δὲ σὸς εἰρμός· ἡμεῖς δὲ  
πρὸς τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔσμεν. παῦσαι δὲ καὶ  
σὺ, ὡ "Απολλον, μάταια χρησμῶδῶν· ἔσται  
γὰρ δὲ, ἔσται, κάν σὺ σιωπᾶς. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὡ  
Ζεῦ καὶ "Απολλον, τί πάθωμεν, οὐδὲν ὅντες  
αἴτιοι τῆς ὑμετέρας νομοθετήσεως,  
τουτέστιν ἀναγκοθετήσεως; τί δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ  
ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἄταις, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἔχειν δίκαιοι  
ἔστε ὑπὲρ ὃν ἡμεῖς ἡναγκάσθημεν;

6.7.38 | Οίταιοι, μὴ σπεύδετε' ἀτασθαλίησι  
νόοιο. ἀλλ' οὐ σπεύδομεν, ὡ "Απολλον, ἀλλ'

this, do not notice its true nature.

6.7.35 | You have taken away the city of divine Heracles, oh Locrian; but Zeus has given you other gifts and will continue to give more. What do you say? It was not meant 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 masters of this, suffering from hunger? But it will either be revealed to us or not; whichever it is, this is what is meant to happen.

6.7.37 | Stop, oh Zeus who brings hunger, your anger; for what is meant to happen 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, since we are in no way responsible for your laws, that is, 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 | "Oitaians, do not rush with reckless thoughts." "But we do not rush, oh Apollo;

έλαυνόμεθα, ούδε ἀτασθαλίαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ  
ὑμετέρᾳ ἀνάγκῃ.

6.7.39 | τὸν δὲ Λυκοῦργον ἔκεῖνον πῶς, ὡ  
"Απολλον, ἐπαινεῖς, δος οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθὸς, οὔτε  
ἐκῶν οὕθ' ἐλόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἄκων; εἴπερ που  
καὶ γίνεται τις ἀγαθὸς ἄκων. ἔοικε δὲ ὃ νῦν  
ποιεῖτε, ὡς εἴ τις τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τὰ  
σώματα ἐπαινοίη καὶ γεραίροι, τοὺς δὲ  
αἰσχροὺς ψέγοι καὶ κολάζοι.

6.7.40 | δίκαια γὰρ εἴποιεν ἀν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ  
πονηροὶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπετρέψατε ἡμῖν, ὡς θεοὶ,  
ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι, οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἐβιάσασθε εἶναι πονηρούς· οὐ τε ἀγαθοὶ, εἰ  
ἔξηγκωνισμένοι περιπατοῦεν, οὐκ  
ἐπιτρέψει τις αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φήσει, ὡ  
Χρύσιππέ τε καὶ Κλέανθες καὶ δοσοὶ τούτου  
τοῦ χοροῦ, ὑμεῖς γὰρ πεποίησθε εἶναι  
ἀγαθοὶ,) ἐγὼ μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐπαΐνω, ὑμὰς δὲ  
τοὺς ἐναρέτους οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.

6.7.41 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον, δὸν σὺ  
πολλὰ, ὡς Χρύσιππε, ἐβλασφήμησας, ἐγὼ τό  
γε ἐπὶ σοὶ ἀφίημι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. τί γὰρ  
πάθη δος οὐχ ἐκῶν ἦν μαλακὸς ούδε ἄδικος,  
ἄσπερ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐλοιδόρησας;

6.7.42 | εύτάκτων θνητῶν βιοτῇ θεοὶ ἥλαι  
είσιν, εύσεβέων θ' αγίας θυσίας τιμάς τε  
δέχονται. δοκεῖτε δέ μοι οὐκ ἀν ταῦτα  
λέγειν, μὴ πεπεισμένοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄκοντες,  
ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι χωροῦσιν ἐφ' ἄ  
χωροῦσιν. ἂ δ' ἀν βουληθῶσιν, οὔτε θεὸς  
οὔτε ἄνθρωπος σοφιστής, οὕτω  
προεληλεγμένων, τολμήσει λέγειν ὅτι  
ὑποτέτακται · ἡ λόγους μὲν ούκετι πρὸς

rather, we are being driven, not by  
recklessness, but by your necessity."

6.7.39 | "How can you praise that Lycurgus,  
oh Apollo, who was not good, neither  
willingly nor by choice, but against his will?  
If anyone ever becomes good against their  
will. It seems that what you are doing now  
is like praising beautiful bodies while  
criticizing and punishing the ugly."

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 compete, no one would allow  
them, but they would say, 'Oh Chrysippus  
and Cleanthes and all those in 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 | "But even Epicurus, whom you  
have often blasphemed, oh Chrysippus, I  
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 | "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 act willingly,  
but that they act for what they desire. And  
whatever they wish, neither god nor wise  
person would dare to say that it is forced  
upon them. Or we will no longer make

αύτὸν ποιησόμεθα, σκῦτος δέ τι τῶν εὐτόνων λαβόντες, ὡς ἐπ' ἀνάγωγον παῖδα, τὰς πλευρὰς εὗ μάλα καταξανοῦμεν αὐτοῦ.'

arguments against him, but taking something simple, like for a child who is being raised, we will carefully cut open his sides."

6.7.43 | Τοσαῦτα πρὸς τὸν χρησμῷδὸν ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἀπετείνατο. σὺ δ' ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ τῷ τοιῷδε χαίρεις, λαβῶν ἀνάγνωθι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων περὶ εἰμαρμένης οὐ μόνον τῶν προπαρατεθέντων χρησμῶν ἀνατρεπτικὰ, ἄλλὰ 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 find joy in this, take and read what the other philosophers say about fate, not only the arguments against the previously given prophecies, but also their general ideas about the doctrine being discussed."

6.7.44 | ἔπειδὴ γάρ μόνον ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ μέγα φρονήσαντες πλείους κατεσύρησαν ὅμοσε τῷ δόγματι, ἥγοῦμαι δεῖν ἀναγκαίως τὰς αὐτῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς σφὰς αὐτοὺς ἀντιρρήσεις ἐκθέσθαι εἰς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ προβλήματος διάσκεψιν. πρῶτα δὴ οὖν σοι παραναγνώσομαι ἀπὸ τῶν Διογενιανοῦ τὰ περὶ εἰμαρμένης, ὃδέ πως τῷ Χρυσίππῳ ἀντειρημένα

6.7.44 | "Since not only the uneducated and common people, but also many who have deeply considered education and philosophy have come together on this doctrine, I believe it is necessary to present their objections for a careful examination of the issue. Therefore, I will first read to you from Diogenes about fate, opposing Chrysippus in this way."

## Section 8

6.8.1 | "Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄπασι παραθέσθαι καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα Χρυσίππῳ τῷ στωικῷ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε. οὕτος γάρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης βιβλίῳ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι 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 στυγερὴ, ἥπερ λάχε γεινόμενόν περ.

6.8.1 | "It is also worth presenting everything that seems to come from Chrysippus the Stoic about this argument. For in the first book On Fate, he wants to show that indeed everything is taken by necessity and fate. He uses other testimonies, including those from Homer the poet: 'But for me, grim fate has seized me, which has fallen upon me.'"

6.8.2 | καὶ ὕστερον αὗτε τὰ πείσεται ἄσσα

6.8.2 | "And later, he will experience

οὶ αἴσαγεινομένω ἐπένησε λίνω, ὅτε μιν  
τέκε μήτηρ· καὶ Μοῖραν δ' οὐ τινά φημι  
πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν. οὐ θεωρῶν  
ὅτι τὰ ἄλλαχοῦ πάλιν παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ  
λεγόμενα τούτοις ἄντικρυς ἡναντίωται, οἵς  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ χρῆται,  
βουλόμενος συνιστᾶν τὸ καὶ παρ' ἡμάς  
πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, οἵν τὸ αὐτοὶ γάρ  
σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὅλοντο. καὶ τὸ ὡ  
πόποι, οἶν δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ  
αἰτιώνται. ἔξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ τοις  
οἱ δὲ καὶ αύτοὶ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ  
μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσι.

6.8.3 | ταῦτα γάρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ πάντα  
γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἡναντίωται. οὐ  
μὴν οὐδέ' ἔκεινο συνιδεῖν ἡδυνήθη, τὸ  
μηδαμῶς τὸν "Ομηρον μηδ' ἐν ἔκεινοις τοῖς  
ἔπεσι συμμαρτυρεῖν αύτοῦ τῷ δόγματι. οὐ  
γάρ τὸ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην,  
ἄλλα μᾶλλον τὸ τινα κατ' ἔκεινην  
συμβαίνειν ἔξ αὐτῶν ὑποβάλλων  
εὐρεθήσεται.

6.8.4 | τὸ γάρ ἄλλ' ἔμὲ μὲν κήραμφέχανε  
στυγερὴ, ἥτις λάχε γεινόμενόν περ, οὐχ ὅτι  
πάντα κατὰ τὴν κῆρα συμβαίνει λέγοιτο  
ἀν, ἄλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεθνήξεσθαι· καὶ γάρ ὡς  
ἀληθῶς παντὶ γεννητῷ ζῷῳ θανεῖν  
καθείμαρται.

6.8.5 | ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὕστερον αὗτε τὰ  
πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ αἴσαγεινομένω ἐπένησε  
λίνω, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ, τὸ αὐτὸ βούλεται.  
οὐ γάρ ὅτι πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα καθ'  
εἰμαρμένην συμβήσεται λέγει, ἄλλ' ὅτι κατ'  
ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ τινὰ συμβήσεται. ἡ γάρ τοῦ  
ἄσσα διαστολὴ τί ποτε ἔτερον ἢ τοῦτο  
σημαίνει; πολλὰ δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἡμῖν, εἴ

everything that fate has brought upon him,  
when his mother gave birth to him. I say  
that no man can escape fate. I do not see  
that the other things said by the poet  
directly oppose 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 similar ones  
are opposed to everything happening by  
fate. But he could not even see that Homer  
does not support his doctrine in those lines.  
It is not that everything happens by fate,  
but rather that something happens  
according to it, which will be discovered by  
looking at those things."

6.8.4 | "For the line 'But for me, grim fate  
has seized me, which has fallen upon me'  
does not suggest that everything happens  
according to fate, but rather that the very  
act of dying occurs. For indeed, it is truly  
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' means 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. What else  
could the word 'all' mean other than this?"

καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἐπίκειται.

Many things indeed come to us by necessity, even if not everything."

6.8.6 | καὶ τὸ Μοῖραν δ' οὕτινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν, ἄριστα εἴρηται. τίς γάρ ἂν δύναιτο τὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην παντὶ ζῷῳ συγκυροῦντα διαφυγεῖν; ὡστ' 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 εὑρεθείη.

6.8.7 | καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ μὲν, ἄτε οὐ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡμῖν τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ὑπισχνουμένῳ, ἀλλὰ μιμουμένῳ πάθη τε καὶ ἥθη καὶ δόξας παντοίας ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμόττον ἀν εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν πολλάκις · φιλοσόφῳ δὲ οὔτε τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν οὔτε ποιητῇ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χρῆσθαι μάρτυρι

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 Chryssippos to think that Homer believes everything happens according to fate; rather, it is the opposite. While he has clearly said many times that many things happen to us, he has never stated that everything happens by necessity."

6.8.8 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι "Τεκμήριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἰσχυρὸν φέρειν Χρύσιππος οἵεται τῆς ἐν ἄπασιν εἰμαρμένης τὴν θέσιν τῶν τοιούτων ὄνομάτων. τὴν τε γάρ πεπρωμένην πεπερασμένην τινά φησιν εἶναι καὶ συντετελεσμένην διοίκησιν, τὴν τε εἰμαρμένην, είρομένην τινὰ εἴτε ἐκ θεοῦ βουλήσεως εἴτε ἐξ ἣς δή ποτε αἰτίας.

6.8.8 | "And he also says, 'Chryssippos thinks that there is another strong proof about the position of such names in everything that is fated. For he says that fate is a certain limit that is defined 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

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

είρησθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν Μοιρῶν τοὺς τρεῖς ὑποβάλλει χρόνους ἐν οἷς κυκλεῖται τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' ᾧν ἐπιτελεῖται.

is said to be imposed and fitting according to fate. He also suggests that the number of the Fates is three, in which everything is cycled and through which everything is fulfilled.”

6.8.10 | καὶ Λάχεσιν μὲν κεκλῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ λαγχάνειν ἐκάστῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον,  
"Ἄτροπον δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄτρεπτον καὶ  
ἀμετάθετον τοῦ μερισμοῦ, Κλωθώ δὲ παρὰ τὸ συγκεκλῶσθαι καὶ συνείρεσθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν τεταγμένην τινὰ εἶναι διέξοδον. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια φρυναρῶν ἀποδεικνύναι τὴν ἐπασιν ἀνάγκην νομίζει.

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 division, and Clotho because of the idea of spinning and weaving everything together, with one of them having a certain path laid out. For these ideas and similar ones are believed to demonstrate the necessity that exists in everything.”

6.8.11 | ἔμοὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισιν εί  
τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἡσθάνετο τῆς  
ματαιολογίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ. 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 ἐξ  
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 governed by fate, and that the causes which have been set from eternity are unchangeable in all beings and events.”

6.8.12 | τί οὖν ἀκολουθεῖς, ὡ Χρύσιππε,  
πάσαις ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαις, καὶ  
οὐδεμίᾳ σοι περὶ οὐδενὸς φαίνεται  
διεψευσμένη, ἀλλὰ πάντες τῆς ἀληθείας  
είσὶ θεωρητικοί;

6.8.12 | “What then do you follow, O Chrysippus, in all the beliefs of people? Does nothing seem to you to be proven wrong, or are they all thinkers of the truth?”

6.8.13 | πῶς οὖν οὐδένα φῆς ἀνθρωπὸν, ὃς  
οὐχὶ μαίνεσθαι σοι δοκεῖ κατ' ισον Ὁρέτη  
τε καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι, πλὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ; ἵνα δὲ ἦ  
δύο μόνους φῆς σοφοὺς γεγονέναι, τοὺς δὲ

6.8.13 | “How then do you say that no one, who does not seem to you to be mad like Oretas and Alcmaeon, is wise except for the wise one? Do you really think that only two

ἄλλους δι' ἀφροσύνην ἐπ' ἵσης τοῖς  
προειρημένοις μεμηνέναι;

6.8.14 | πῶς δὲ ἀνασκευάζεις αὐτῶν τὰς  
δόξας ἔκείνας ως διημαρτημένας, οἷον τὰς  
περὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ τυραννίδος  
καθόλου τε ἡδονῆς, ἅπερ ἀγαθὰ  
νενομίκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι; πῶς δὲ τοὺς  
κειμένους νόμους ἡμαρτῆσθαι φήσ  
ἄπαντας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας; ἢ διὰ τί πλῆθος  
τοσοῦτον βιβλίων συνέγραψας, εἰ περὶ  
μηδενὸς εἴχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι δόξας  
διημαρτημένας;

6.8.15 | οὐ γάρ, ὅταν μὲν ταύτα σοὶ  
δοξάζωσιν, ὁρθῶς φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς  
φήσομεν, ὅταν δὲ διάφορα, μαίνεσθαι.

6.8.16 | πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ούδε σὺ φήσ  
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 ἔφαίνοντο ταυτὰ σοὶ  
δοξάζοντες κατὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν,  
ως ὁρθοῦ τινὸς ἔπειλημμένους, καθὸ δὲ  
διεφώνουν ἀμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς  
ὑπολαμβάνειν;

6.8.17 | μαρτύριον μέντοι τῆς ἀληθείας  
ἰκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ἔκείνοις ούδὲ  
οὕτως ἔχρην φύσει, καὶ μὴ μαίνεσθαι  
καθάπερ σὺ οἴει, ἀλλὰ πολύ γε  
ἀφεστηκέναι σοφίας πᾶς ἃν τις  
δομολογήσειε.

have become wise, while the others are just  
as mad as those mentioned before?"

6.8.14 | "How do you argue that their  
beliefs are wrong, like those about wealth,  
honor, tyranny, and all pleasure, which  
most people think are good? How can you  
say that all the established laws and  
governments are mistaken? And why have  
you written so many books if people have  
mistaken beliefs about nothing?"

6.8.15 | For when they believe the same  
things as you, we will say that they think  
correctly; but when they believe  
differently, they are mad.

6.8.16 | First of all, you do not claim to be  
wise, nor do we, so we cannot judge  
whether they think correctly just because  
they agree with your opinion. Then, if this  
were true, why should we say that  
everyone is equally mad? Shouldn't we  
praise those who seem to think like you, as  
if they are grasping something true, while  
considering those who disagree to be  
mistaken?

6.8.17 | However, one should not consider  
what seems true to them as sufficient proof  
of the truth, and they should not be thought  
to be mad, as you believe. Instead, anyone  
would agree that they have greatly strayed  
from wisdom.

6.8.18 | γελοίως οῦν καὶ σὺ χρήσῃ μάρτυσι τούτοις διὰ τῆς θέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὓς οὐδὲν ἀν κατά γε σύνεσιν σεαυτοῦ φήσαις διαφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς θεμένους ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα σοφοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὅπερ οὐδαμῶς δεῖξαι δυνήσῃ.

6.8.19 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεδόσθω σοι τοῦθ' οὔτως 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 ἀπαξιπλῶς καθ' εἰμαρμένην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ, εἰ ἄρα, ταῦτα μόνα ὧν ἐστιν εἰμαρμένη;

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 ἑκείνοις, ἐνδείκνυται τὸ ἀπαράβατον καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος καθῆγον τῶν αἰτιῶν, ὅσα οὐτωσὶ κατηνάγκασται γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλως ἔχειν κεκώλυται.

6.8.21 | πολλὰ δ' ἀν εἴη τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ οὐχ οὔτω γίνεται, τούτων τισὶ μὲν οἱ ἀνθρωποι θεοὺς διοικητὰς καὶ δημιουργοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν, τινῶν δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ὑπέλαβον, ἄλλων δὲ αὖ πάλιν τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλων τὴν τύχην.

6.8.22 | Ἡς τὸ εὔμετάβολον καὶ ἄστατον καὶ νῦν μὲν οὔτω, νῦν δὲ οὔτως ἔχον

6.8.18 | Therefore, you will use these names as proof in a foolish way, since you would not say that they differ from your own understanding at all, unless it turns out that those who first established these names are wise, which you cannot prove at all.

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, keeping 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 | For the number of the Fates, their names, the spindle of Clotho, the thread that is wound on it, 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 different.

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 rulers and creators, while others have thought of us as the causes, some have considered nature, and others have thought of fate.

6.8.22 | They wanted to show the changeable and unstable nature of it, now

ένδείξασθαι βουλόμενοι,  
είδωλοποιήσαντες τὸ ποιὸν τοῦτο  
σύμπτωμα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ σφαιράς  
βεβηκūαν τὴν τύχην ἔδειξαν.

6.8.23 | Η 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, ἀλλ'  
ὅτι γε πάντα τὰ αἴτια ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν  
εἶναι δοξάζουσι παντί που δῆλον.

6.8.24 | ὥστε ούδὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ὑπολήψεις, ούδὲ τὰς θέσεις τῶν τοιούτων  
όνομάτων συμμαρτυρεῖν τῇ Χρυσίππου  
δόξῃ συμβέβηκε.”

6.8.25 | Τούτοις ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Ἐν μὲν οὖν  
τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης βιβλίῳ  
τοιαύταις τισὸν ἀποδείξεσιν κέχρηται, ἐν δὲ  
τῷ δευτέρῳ λύειν πειρᾶται τὰ ἀκολουθεῖν  
δοκοῦντα ἄτοπα 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  
προτροπὰς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὴν  
ἡμετέραν αἴτιαν γινόμενα φαίνεται.

6.8.26 | φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τὸ  
μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν πολλὰ γίνεσθαι δῆλον εἶναι,  
ούδεν δὲ ἡττον συγκαθειμάρθαι καὶ ταῦτα  
τῇ τῶν ὅλων διοικήσει.

this way and now that way. They have  
made an idol of this kind of chance event in  
things, presenting fate as if it were a rolling  
ball.

6.8.23 | Or do people not believe that these  
things are true? For whenever they confuse  
the causes, they think that whatever  
happens by fate or by chance comes from a  
divine power, while they consider  
whatever comes from us to be by fate.  
However, it is clear that they believe all  
these causes exist in what is.

6.8.24 | Therefore, neither the opinions of  
people nor the beliefs about such names  
have supported the view of Chrysippus.

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 presented at the beginning. For  
example, the idea of taking away our own  
willingness regarding blame, praise,  
encouragement, and everything else that  
seems to happen beyond our own control.”

6.8.26 | He says, therefore, in the second  
book, that it is clear many things happen  
because of us, but it is just as important to  
connect these to the overall arrangement.

6.8.27 | κέχρηταί τε παραδείγμασι ιοιούτοις τισί. τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀπολεῖσθαι, φησὶ, θοίμάτιον 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.

6.8.28 | ὡσπερ γὰρ, φησὶν, λέγοντός τινος Ἡγήσαρχον τὸν πύκτην ἔξελεύσεσθαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος πάντως ἀπληκτον, ἀτόπως ἄν τις ἡξίου καθιέντα τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἡγήσαρχον μάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ ἀπληκτον αὐτὸν καθείμαρτο ἀπελθεῖν, τού τὴν ἀπόφασιν ποιησαμένου διὰ τὴν περιττοτέραν τάνθρωπου πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλήγτεσθαι φυλακὴν τοῦτο εἴπόντος, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχει.

6.8.29 | πολλὰ γὰρ 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.

6.8.30 | πάλιν οὖν κάνταῦθα θαυμάσειέ τις ἀν τάνθρωπου τὸ ἀθεώρητον καὶ ἀνεπιλόγιστον, καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἴδιων λόγων ἀνακοιλουθίας. οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι καθάπερ τὸ καλούμενον γλυκὺ τῷ καλουμένῳ πικρῷ συμβέβηκεν ἐναντιώτατον εἶναι, τῷ τε λευκῷ τὸ μέλαν καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ τὸ θερμὸν, οὔτωσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμᾶς τῷ καθ' εἰμαρμένην, εἴ γε καθ' εἰμαρμένην μὲν ἔκεῖνα καλεῖν προείληφεν ὅσα καὶ ἐκόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκόντων πάντως γίνεται, παρ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος

6.8.27 | It is used as examples of such kinds. For he says that not being destroyed is not simply arranged, but also involves being protected. He adds that being saved from enemies happens when one flees from them, and that having children occurs with the desire to share life with a woman.

6.8.28 | For just as he says, if someone were to claim 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 without injury. This decision was made to provide extra protection so that a person would not be harmed. It is the same in other situations.

6.8.29 | For many things cannot happen without us wanting them and putting in great eagerness and effort. He says that after this, they were arranged to take place.

6.8.30 | Again, someone might wonder at the unseen and unthought-of nature of humans, as well as the actions and the connections of their own words. I believe that just as what is called sweet is often the opposite of what is called bitter, and white is the opposite of black, and cold is the opposite of hot, so too what we have is opposite to what is arranged. If indeed those things that happen are called arranged, then everything occurs either willingly or unwillingly. What comes from our effort and action leads to success, while

έρχεται, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀμελεῖν καὶ ὥσθυμεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖται.

6.8.31 | έὰν τοίνυν ἔκ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ἔμὲ θοιμάτιον φυλάττειν ἑκεῖνο σώζηται, καὶ ἔκ τοῦ βούλεσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν τὰ τέκνα γίγνηται, καὶ ἔκ τοῦ βούλεσθαι φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκ τοῦ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνδρείως φυλάττεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιβολὰς τὸ ἄπληκτον ἔκ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πῶς τὸ καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἐνταῦθα σωθῆσεται;

6.8.32 | εἴ μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἑκείνην ταῦτα συμβαίνει, παρ' ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἀν λέγοιτο συμβαίνειν, εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἀν κατ' ἑκείνην δηλαδὴ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι συνδραμεῖν ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις.

6.8.33 | ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς μὲν ἔσται, φησὶ, περιειλημμένου μέντοι τοῦ παρ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης. καὶ πῶς, εἴποιμ' ἀν, περιειλημμένου; εἴ γε καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν θοιμάτιον καὶ τὸ μὴ φυλάττειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξουσίας ἐγίνετο τῆς ἐμῆς. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τοῦ σώζεσθαι τοῦτο δηλονότι κύριος ἀν εἴην ἐγώ.

6.8.34 | καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς διαστολῆς, ἷν ποιεῖται Χρύσιππος, δῆλον γίνεται τὸ ἀπολελύσθαι τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὴν παρ' ἡμᾶς αἴτιαν. καθείμαρται γὰρ, 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

what comes from neglect and laziness does not achieve anything.

6.8.31 | If then, through effort, I am saved by keeping that safe, and through desire, a mother draws her children close, and through desire, one escapes enemies by not dying at their hands, and through 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 | For if these things happen in that way, they would not be said to happen by us. But if they happen by us, then they would not happen in that way, because these things cannot occur together with each other.

6.8.33 | But it will be by us, he says, while being surrounded by what is arranged. And how, I would ask, is it surrounded? If indeed both keeping safe and not keeping safe happened beyond my control. For in this way, I would clearly be in charge of being saved.

6.8.34 | And from this distinction made by Chrysippus, it becomes clear that the cause of being lost is beyond our control. For he says that it is arranged to be saved if you keep it safe, and there will be children if you also desire that, but otherwise, none of these things would happen. And concerning

εὶμαρμένης προκατειλημμένων οὐκ ἄν  
ποτε ὑποτιμήσεσι τοιαύταις χρησαίμεθα.

those things that are already determined by fate, we would never use such matters as excuses.

6.8.35 | οὐκ οὖν φαμὲν τεθνήξεσθαι πάντα  
ἄνθρωπον εἰ τόδε τι γένοιτο, μὴ  
τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ εἰ μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς  
τεθνήξεσθαι, κανὸν ὅτιοῦν πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
ἀποθνήσκειν καθόλου γίγνοιτο· ἡ μὴ  
ἀλγηδόνος ἔσεσθαι δεκτικὸν ἄνθρωπόν  
τινα, κανὸν ταδὶ πράττῃ, ἀλλὰ πάντ’  
ἄνθρωπον ἀλγηδόνος εἶναι δεκτικὸν, ἐάν  
τε βούληται έάν τε μῆτε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
οὐτωσὶ καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ἔχειν καθείμαρται.

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 occur 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 | ὥστε εἰ τὸ γενέσθαι τόδε τι  
ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, εἰ βουληθείμεν ἡμεῖς,  
ἄλλως δὲ οὐχὶ, φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ ἡμᾶς  
βουληθῆναι τε καὶ μὴ βουληθῆναι ὑπὸ<sup>τούτου</sup>  
οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας αἰτίας προκατείχετο, ἀλλ’  
ἢν αὐτεξούσιον.

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 reason, but it was in our own power.

6.8.37 | εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκατανάγκαστον ἦν,  
καὶ τὸ γενέσθαι τόδε τι δῆλον ὡς ἀπ’  
αἰῶνος οὐ προκατείχετο, εἰ μή τι καὶ αὐτὸ<sup>τούτου</sup>  
τὸ βούλεσθαι φυλάττειν θοίμάτιον, ἡ μὴ  
βούλεσθαι, παρὰ τινα εὶμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ  
αἰτίαν ἔξωθεν ἀναγκαίαν ἐγίνετο.

6.8.37 | But if this were unavoidable, and if it is clear that this must happen from the beginning, unless something also protects the wanting itself, or the not wanting, it would occur because of some fate and a necessary cause from outside.

6.8.38 | ἀλλ’ οὕτω τέλεον ἡ παρ’ ἡμᾶς  
ἔξουσιαστικὴ δύναμις ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ  
οὐκέτι σώζοιτο ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τὴν  
αἰτίαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἡ ἀπολλύοιτο· διὸ καὶ εἴην  
ἀν ἔγὼ καὶ ἀπολλυμένου τούτου κατὰ  
λόγον ἀνεπιτίμητος, (ἄλλη γὰρ αὐτό τις  
ἀπώλλυεν αἰτία) καὶ σωζόμένου πάλιν  
οὐδαμῶς ἐπαινούμενος, ὅτι μηδὲ τοῦτο

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 caused it. And if it were saved again, I would not be praised at all, because I did

είργαζόμην έγώ. σὺ δὲ ως σῶσαι πάντα δυνάμενος οὕτ’ ως ἀνετείνου τῷ λόγῳ.

not do anything. But you, being able to save everything, would be praised as if you were the one who did it.

6.8.39 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ. συνήρθω 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

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 teachings.

## Section 9

6.9.1 | "Διαιρεῖται δὲ τὰ τόν γινομένων αἴτια εἰς τρόπους αίτιῶν τέσσαρας, καθὼς ὁ Θεῖος Ἀριστοτέλης δέδειχε· τῶν γὰρ αίτιῶν 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 αἴτιας ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον καὶ τέλος, οὗ χάριν τὸ γινόμενον γίνεται.

6.9.1 | The causes of things that come into being are divided into four types, as the divine Aristotle showed. Among these causes, some are productive, while others are material and have a reason. There is also a cause according to the form. In addition to these three causes, there is also a cause and an end, for which the thing comes into being.

6.9.2 | καὶ τοσαῦται μὲν αἱ τῶν αἰτίων διαφοραί· ὅτι γὰρ ἀν αἴτιον ἦ τινὸς ὑπό τι τούτων τῶν αἰτίων ὃν εὑρεθήσεται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα τοσούτων αἰτίων δεῖται, ἀλλὰ τά γε πλείστων δεόμενα οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει τὸν είρημένον ἀριθμόν.

6.9.2 | And there are many differences among the causes. For whatever cause there may be, it will be found to belong to one of these types. Even if not everything that comes into being needs so many causes, most things do not exceed the number mentioned.

6.9.3 | γνωριμωτέρα δ' ἀν αὐτῶν ἡ διαφορὰ γένοιτο, εἰ ἐπὶ παραδείγματός τινος τῶν γινομένων ὀραθείη. ἴστω δὴ ἐπ' ἀνδριάντος ἡμῖν ἡ τῶν αἰτίων δεικνυμένη διαίρεσις. τοῦ δὴ ἀνδριάντος ως μὲν ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ὁ ποιήσας τεχνίτης, ὃν

6.9.3 | The differences 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

άνδριαντοποιὸν καλοῦμεν, ὡς δὲ ὅλη ὁ  
ύποκείμενος χαλκὸς, ἢ λίθος, ἢ ὅ τι ἀνὴ τὸ  
ύπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου σχηματιζόμενον κατὰ τὴν  
τέχνην · αἴτιον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ  
γεγονέναι τε καὶ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδριάντα.

a sculptor. The material cause is the bronze, stone, or whatever material is shaped by the craftsman according to his art. This too is a cause of the statue's coming into being and existence.

6.9.4 | ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἐν τῷ  
ύποκειμένῳ τούτῳ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
τεχνίτου καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἄνδριάντος αἴτιον·  
διὸ εἶδός ἔστι δισκεῦον, ἢ ἀκοντίζον, ἢ ἐπ'  
ἄλλου τινὸς ὠρισμένου σχήματος.

6.9.4 | 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 may be a figure of a discus thrower, a javelin thrower, or some other specific shape.

6.9.5 | οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς τοῦ  
ἀνδριάντος γενέσεως αἴτια, ἀλλ' ἔστιν  
οὐδενὸς τῶν αἰτίων τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ  
δεύτερον τὸ τέλος, οὐχ χάριν γέγονε,  
τουτέστιν, ἢ τιμῇ τινος, ἢ εἰς θεὸν εὔσέβειά  
τις. ἂνευ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας οὐδ' ἀν  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἄνδριάς ἐγένετο.

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 it was created either to honor someone or as an act of devotion to a god. Without such a purpose, the statue would not even have come into existence.

6.9.6 | ὅντων τοίνυν τορούτων τῶν αἰτίων  
καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφορὰν ἔχοντων  
γνώριμον, τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐν τοῖς  
ποιητικοῖς αἰτίοις δικαίως ἀν  
καταριθμοῦμεν, ἀναλογίαν σώξουσαν πρὸς  
τὰ γινόμενα κατ' αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ ἄνδριάντος  
δημιουργῷ τέχνῃ.”

6.9.6 | Since these causes exist and are clearly different from one another, we can rightly include the necessary causes among the creative causes. This would show a relationship that helps us understand what happens in the art of the statue's creator.

6.9.7 | “Τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος  
ἀκόλουθον ἀν εἴη περὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν  
αἰτίων ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον· οὕτω γὰρ  
ἔσται γνώριμον εἴτε πάντων τῶν  
γιγνομένων χρὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην αἰτιᾶσθαι  
εἴτε δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ παρὰ τήνδε  
συγχωρεῖν, ὡς οὖσι ποιητικοῖς τινῶν

6.9.7 | With this in mind, it would be fitting to discuss the creative causes. For it will be clear whether we should attribute the necessary cause to everything that comes into being or if we should also allow it for some others, since there are certain creative causes.

αίτίοις.

6.9.8 | ἀπάντων δὴ τῶν γιγνομένων  
Ἄριστοτέλης 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, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τέλος  
ἀρισμένον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν, τοιαῦτα  
οἷόν ἐστι καρφῶν τε τινῶν διακρατήσεις  
καὶ περιστροφαὶ, καὶ τριχῶν ἐπαφαί τε καὶ  
έκτάσεις, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοίως γίνεται.

6.9.8 | Aristotle, when dividing all that comes into being, says that some things exist for a purpose, having a specific goal set by the creator. However, others come into being without any intention from the creator and do not have a specific end. These are like the growths of certain plants and their twists, as well as the branching and extensions of hairs, and anything else that occurs in a similar way.

6.9.9 | ὅτι μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ  
γνώριμον· οὐ μὴν ἔχει τὴν κατὰ τὸ τέλος  
καὶ τὴν οὐ χάριν αἴτιαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν οὕτω  
γινόμενα ἀσκόπως καὶ ἀπλῶς γινόμενα  
οὐδεμίαν εὔλογον ἔχει διαιρεσίν .

6.9.9 | It is clear that these things come into being. However, they do not have a cause based on purpose or for a specific reason. Therefore, things that come into being in this way, without intention and simply, do not have any reasonable way to be divided.

6.9.10 | τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τι τὴν ἀναφορὰν  
ἔχόντων καὶ τίνος γιγνομένων χάριν τὰ μὲν  
κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον γίγνεται. τὰ  
τε γὰρ φύσιν αἴτιαν ἔχοντα τῆς γενέσεως  
κατά τινας ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τάξιν ὀρισμένην  
πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τι τέλος, ἐν ᾧ γιγνόμενα τοῦ  
γίγνεσθαι παύονται, εἰ μή τι αὐτοῖς ἐνστὰν  
ἐμποδὼν γίγνοιτο τῇ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῶν  
ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ὀδῷ.

6.9.10 | Things that have a reference to something and come into being for a purpose are either natural or based on reason. Natural things have a cause for their coming into being according to certain numbers and a defined order, moving toward a specific end, where they stop coming into being, unless something gets in their way according to their natural course.

6.9.11 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ λόγον γιγνόμενα  
ἔχει τι τέλος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχε τῶν κατὰ  
λόγον γιγνομένων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τινα  
σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς.

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; rather, everything is directed toward a specific

purpose.

6.9.12 | ἔστι δὲ κατὰ λόγον γιγνόμενα ὅσα ὑπὸ τῶν ποιούντων αὐτὰ γίγνεται λογιζομένων τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ συντιθέντων καθ' ὃν ἀν 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 created by makers 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 arise from choices occurs.

6.9.13 | ἂ διαφέρει τῶν γιγνομένων φύσει τῷ τὰ μὲν φύσει γιγνόμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὴν ἀρχήν τε καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τουλάτης γενέσεως, τοιοῦτον γάρ ή φύσις), καὶ γίγνεσθαι μὲν κατὰ τάξιν τινὰ, οὐ μὴν τῆς ποιούσης αὐτὰ φύσεως ὄμοιώς ταῖς τέχναις λογισμῷ περὶ αὐτῶν χρωμένης.

6.9.13 | Things that differ from those that come into being by nature have their beginnings and causes for such generation within themselves, for this is how nature operates. They come into being in a certain order, but not in the same way as those made by creators who apply reasoning to 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 from within. The reasoning of the creator directs 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 προηγουμένων 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, ἀπαντᾶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλου χάριν γιγνομένοις, ὡς τέλος, τὸ αὐτομάτως τε καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης γίγνεσθαι λεγόμενον."

6.9.15 | Third, there are things that come into being for the sake of something else, which are thought to happen by chance or automatically. These differ from the previously mentioned things because, in those cases, things happen for the sake of their end. In these cases, however, things happen for the sake of something else before reaching their end, and they are also created for the sake of something else, which is what we call happening

automatically or by chance.

6.9.16 | “Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων καὶ πάντων τῶν γιγνομένων εἰς τούτους τοὺς τρόπους νενεμημένων ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἴδεῖν ἐν τίνι τῶν ποιητικῶν αἵτίων χρὴ τιθέναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην.

6.9.17 | Ἄρα γε ἐν τοῖς οὐδενὸς γιγνομένοις χάριν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν παντάπασιν ἄλογον; ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τέλους τινὸς τῷ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὀνόματι χρώμεθα, καθ’ εἰμαρμένην τε αὐτὸ λέγοντες γεγονέναι· διὸ ἐν τοῖς ἔνεκά του γινομένοις ἀναγκαῖον τιθέναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην.”

6.9.18 | Ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ὥρμασιν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ διελὼν διὰ πλειόνων ἔξῆς συνίστησιν, οὐδέ 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, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν 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.

6.9.16 | With these things arranged in this way and all things coming into being in these ways, it is important 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 use the term fate when something reaches its 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 seek 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, and these are also called unnatural, just like things done according to skill that are said to be against skill. But if something happens completely against nature, then it could also happen against fate, if those things according to nature are indeed the same as 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 ὄμοιώς ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐδὲ ἔξ ἀνάγκης. ίκαναὶ γὰρ ἐκκροῦσαι πολλάκις τὴν τοιάνδε ἔξιν ἐπιμέλειαν 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 help 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, arising from practice, learning, and improved reasoning.

6.9.22 | εἰπόντος γοῦν ποτὲ τοῦ φυσιογνώμονος περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἄποτά 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 γὰρ ἀν τοιοῦτος, δοσὸν 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 incorrect claims about his choices in life. When those around Socrates laughed at this, Socrates did not say that Zopyrus was wrong; for he was such a person by nature, unless he had improved upon his nature through the practice of philosophy.

6.9.23 | Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἂ καὶ μηδέν φησι διαφέρειν τῶν καθ' εἰμαρμένην. “Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης τοιαῦτα, ὅταν ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν γενομένω τινὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσῃ οὐ χάριν ἐγένετο, ἄλλο δέ τι ὅπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἡλπίζετο. Θησαυρὸν τε γάρ φησιν ἀπὸ τύχης εὐρηκέναι τινὰ, ὅταν ἄλλου χάριν ὄρύσσων, ἄλλὰ μὴ τοῦ θησαυρὸν εὐρεῖν, θησαυρῷ περιπέσῃ · καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τύχης κεκομίσθαι τινὰ λέγουσιν, ὅταν εἴς τὴν ἀγορὰν προελθὼν ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν ἀργύριον ἔχοντι

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 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 while digging for something else, but does not find the treasure itself; instead, he falls into the treasure. They also say that someone receives silver by chance when,

περιπεσών τῷ χρεώστῃ τὸ ὄφειλόμενον λάβῃ · καὶ ὁ ἄππος δὲ αὐτομάτως τισὶ λέγεται σεσῶσθαι, ὅταν τροφῆς μὲν ἐλπίδι, ἡ ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν, ἀποφύγῃ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὸν, ἀπαντήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ φυγῇ καὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τὸ τοῖς δεσπόταις περιπεσεῖν.

going to the market, he accidentally comes across someone who has silver and receives what he owes. 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, it happens to fall into the hands of its masters.

6.9.24 | ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀν εἴη καθ' εἰμαρμένην. καὶ ἀδηλα δέ ἐστι τινα αἴτια ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ, ἢ κατά τινας ἀντιπαθείας γίνεσθαι πεπίστευται, ἀγνοούμενης τῆς αἵτιας δὲ ἦν γίνεται. ὅποια περίαπτά τινα ποιεῖν προείληπται, οὐδεμίαν εὔλογον καὶ πιθανὴν αἵτιαν τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔχοντα· ἔτι δὲ ἐπαοιδαὶ, καὶ τοιαῦταί τινες μαγγανεῖαι. τούτων γὰρ δύμολογεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀδηλος εἶναι ἡ αἵτια· διὸ καὶ ἀναιτιολόγητα λέγουσιν αὐτά.

6.9.24 | When these things are so, even these would not be by fate. There are some causes that are unclear to human reasoning, which are believed to happen due to certain oppositions, while the reasons for them remain unknown. When certain accidents are expected to happen, there is no reasonable or believable cause for them to occur. Additionally, 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 ὀπότερα ἔτυχε γινόμενα, ἢ οὐδὲ 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 ὀπότερα ἔτυχε 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 ἐξ

6.9.26 | It is said that these things can happen in such a way that even their absence has a role, as what happens becomes known. For example, moving parts of one's body, turning the neck, stretching a finger, lifting the eyelids, making a seated person stand, calming a moving person, silencing a speaking person, and one might discover countless abilities that respond to opposites, which would not happen by fate; for those that come from fate do not accept what is

είμαρμένης· τὰ γὰρ ἔξ αὐτῆς οὐ δέχεται τοῦ  
ἐν ὦ ἐστι τὸ ἑναντίον.”

6.9.27 | “Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον οὐκ εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει· ἦν  
δ’ ἀν εἰς μάτην βουλευτικὸς, εἰ ἔξ ἀνάγκης  
ἔπραττε τὰ πραττόμενα ἀλλ’ ἐναργῶς  
φαίνεται τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὃ ἄνθρωπος  
μόνος τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔχων πλέον,  
τὸ μὴ δημιώας ἐκείνοις ταῖς φαντασίαις  
ἔπεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν τῶν προσπιπτόντων  
κριτὴν τὸν λόγον· ὡς χρώμενος, εἰ μὲν  
ἔξεταζόμενα τὰ φαντασθέντα οἴα τὴν  
ἀρχὴν ἐφάνη καὶ ἐστι, συγκατατίθεται τῇ  
φαντασίᾳ, καὶ οὕτω μέτεισιν αὐτά· εἰ δὲ  
ἄλλοια φαίνεται, οὐκέτι 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 ἵδωμεν  
ἀβούλως πράττοντας, ἐπικαλοῦμεν ὡς  
ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀξιοῦμέν τε συμβούλοις  
τοῖσδε χρῆσθαι, ὡς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὅντων τῶν  
τοιούτων.’

6.9.29 | “Οτι δὲ ψεῦδος ἦν αὐτῶν ὃ περὶ  
είμαρμένης 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,  
ἐπιτιμᾶσί τε καὶ ἐπιπλήττουσι τοῖς οὐ τὰ  
προσήκοντα δρῶσιν, ὡς κατὰ προαίρεσιν

opposite to them.

6.9.27 | But even the ability to think things through is not without purpose for a person. It would be pointless to think things through if one acted only out of necessity. Clearly, among all other animals, only humans have this extra ability from nature: they do not just follow their instincts but can judge what comes to them. Using this ability, if they examine the things they imagine and find their source, they agree with their imagination and engage with it. But if something different appears, they no longer stick with that initial thought, as they analyze it with reason, because they think about these things.

6.9.28 | We think things through only about the things we can do. If we ever act without thinking, we often regret it and blame ourselves for our lack of thought. But even when we see others acting thoughtlessly, we point out their mistakes and believe they should use reason, since we ourselves are capable of such things.

6.9.29 | That the talk about fate is false is clearly shown 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 properly, as if they are making mistakes by their own choice.

ιδίαν ἀμαρτάνουσιν.

6.9.30 | ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα καταλείπουσι, δι’ ᾧ ἀξιοῦσι παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς νέους. ἐπαύσαντο δ’ ἀν τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φιλοτιμίας, εἰ προσέσχον ὅτι 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 ἔξ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην, συνίστασθαι δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον· μετὰ τού πλεῖστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τύχης, ἔτερα ὄντα καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης 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 εἰμαρμένης οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν χρησμῶδῶν θεῶν τὰς δόξας ψευδεῖς οὕσας ἀπελέγχουσαι<sup>1)</sup>) καὶ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους χρησμοὺς κυνικώτερον ἀποταθέντων, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς φιλοσόφους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς γνωρίμων ἀντειρημένων, ὡρα καὶ τῶν ἔξ ἀστρολογίας πρὸς τοὺς Χαλδαίζοντας τῶν τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην γοητείαν ὡς ἐν μέρει μαθήματος ἐπαγγελλομένων τοὺς λόγους

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 understand 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 happen by chance. These 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 by wise philosophers who know them well. Now, I will also present evidence from a man from Syria, who has reached the highest level of Chaldean knowledge. His name is Bardisanes, and he is mentioned in discussions with his companions.

έπισκεψασθαι· παραθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶνδε τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐξ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπ' ἄκρον δὲ τῆς Χαλδαικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐληλακότος. Βαρδησάνης ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ, δος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἔταιρους διαλόγοις τάδε πῃ μνημονεύεται φάναι

## Section 10

6.10.1 | “Κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται, ἀκμάζει, γεννᾷ, ἐσθίει, πίνει, κοιμᾶται, γηρᾷ, ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τοῦτο παντὸς ἄνθρώπου καὶ παντός ἀλόγου ζώου.

6.10.1 | According to nature, a person is born, grows, gives birth, eats, drinks, sleeps, ages, and dies. This is true for every human and every living creature.

6.10.2 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα 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, formed entirely by their connections, almost completely according to nature. A lion eats meat and defends itself when wronged, and for this reason, all lions eat meat and defend themselves. But lambs are herbivores and do not eat meat, and when wronged, they do not defend themselves; the same is true for every lamb.

6.10.3 | σκορπίος γῆν ἐσθίει καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας ἀδικεῖ, κέντρῳ ιοβόλῳ πλήσσων· καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ κακία πάντων σκορπίων. μύρμηξ κατὰ φύσιν οἵδε χειμῶνος παρουσίαν καὶ δι' ὅλης θερείας κάμνων ἀποτίθεται ἐαυτῷ τροφάς · καὶ ὅμοιώς πάντες μύρμηκες ἐργάζονται.

6.10.3 | A scorpion eats from the earth and harms those who have not wronged it, striking with its poisonous sting. This same wickedness is true for all scorpions. An ant knows that winter is coming by nature and works hard all summer to store food for itself; all ants work in the same way.

6.10.4 | μέλισσα μέλι γεωργεῖ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τρέφεται· καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ γεωργία πάσαις μελίσσαις. καὶ ἦν πολλὰ εἴδη ἐκθέσθαι ἡμῖν τῶν ζώων, ἄτινα τῆς φύσεως μὴ δυνάμενα ἐκστῆναι πολὺν θαυμασμὸν παρασχεῖν

6.10.4 | A bee gathers honey, which it also uses for food; this same gathering is true for all bees. There are many kinds of animals that could have amazed you, which

ύμιν ἔδύνατο,

6.10.5 | ἀλλ' αὐτάρικη ἡγησάμην ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῷα κατὰ τὴν κοινότητα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν κατὰ φύσιν δοθεῖσαν ἐκάστῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡδέως φέρεται, ἄνθρωποι δὲ μόνοι, τὸ ἔξαιρετον ἔχοντες τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτου προφερόμενον λόγον, κατὰ μὲν τὴν κοινότητα ἔπονται τῇ φύσει, ὡς προεῖπον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔξαιρετον οὐ κατὰ φύσιν πολιτεύονται.

6.10.6 | οὐδὲ γὰρ μία βρῶσις ἡ τῶν ἀπάντων · ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ 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' ἐκαστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν θέλησιν αἱρεῖται ἐαυτῷ βίον, τὸν πλησίον μὴ μιμούμενος, πλὴν ἐν οἷς βούλεται.

6.10.7 | τὸ γὰρ ἔλεύθερον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὑπόκειται δουλείᾳ, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐκῶν δουλεύσει, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἔλευθερίας αὐτοῦ ἔστι, τὸ δύνασθαι δουλεύειν ἐκόντα.

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.

nature cannot easily explain.

6.10.5 | But I thought it was enough to make my point from what is close at hand. Other animals are guided 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 mentioned before, but do not live according to nature in their unique qualities.

6.10.6 | For there is not just one kind of food for everyone; some are fed like lions, while others are fed like lambs. They do not have a single way of living, no one custom, no common law of society, and no one desire for things. Instead, each person chooses a life for themselves based on their own wishes, not imitating their neighbor, except in what they desire.

6.10.7 | For true freedom does not rely on being a slave. Even if someone chooses to be a slave, this choice is still part of their freedom—the ability to decide to be a slave.

6.10.8 | How many people, especially among the Alans, eat meat like wild animals, not tasting bread—not because they lack it, but because they do not want it? Some do not eat meat at all, like tame animals; others eat only fish; while some do not even taste fish, even if they are

οἱ μὲν ὑδροποτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ οίνοποτοῦσιν, οἵ  
δὲ σικερατίζουσι.

starving. Some drink water, others drink wine, and some drink strong liquor.

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  
ἀμινάδες καὶ μηκάδες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοιοπαθῶν  
έλαυνονται καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας οὐκ  
ἀδικοῦσι· καὶ οἵ μὲν λέγονται ἀγαθοὶ, οἱ δὲ  
κακοὶ, οἵ δὲ δίκαιοι.

6.10.9 | There is a big difference in foods and drinks among people, even in how they eat vegetables and fruits. Some, like scorpions and shields, do wrong without being wronged; others, like wild animals, defend themselves when they are wronged. Some, like wolves, grab 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. Some are called good, others bad, and some just.

6.10.10 | ὅθεν ἔστι νοεῖν μὴ πάντως κατὰ  
φύσιν ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ποίαν γὰρ  
αὐτοῦ ἐροῦμεν φύ.σιν;) 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 guided by nature. For what do we mean by 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 ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐκάστῃ χώρᾳ,  
τινὰς γεγραμμένους, τινὰς δὲ ἀγράφους· ἔξ  
ῶν διηγήσομαι, ως οἶδα καὶ ὃν μέμνημαι,  
ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀρχῆς.

6.10.11 | And next he says, "People have made different laws in each place, some written and some unwritten. From these, I will share what I know and remember, starting from the beginning of the world."

6.10.12 | νόμος ἔστι παρὰ Σήραις μηδένα  
φονεύειν, μήτε πορνεύειν μήτε κλέπτειω  
μήτε ξόναν προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ  
μεγίστῃ χώρᾳ οὐ ναὸν ἔστιν ἴδεῖν, οὐ  
γυναῖκα πορνι κήν, οὐ μοιχαλίδα

6.10.12 | There is a law among the Scythians that no one should kill, commit adultery, steal, or worship statues. In that vast land, there is no temple to see, no woman called a prostitute, no adulteress,

όνομαζομένην, ού κλέπτην ἐλκόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην, ούκ ἀνδροφόνον, ού πεφονευμένον.

no thief being taken to trial, no murderer, and no one who has been killed.

6.10.13 | οὐδενὸς γὰρ τὸ αὔτεξούσιον ἡνάγκασεν ὁ τοῦ πυριλαμπέος Ἀρεός ἀστὴρ μεσουρανῶν ἄνδρα σιδήρῳ ἀνελεῖν, ούκ Κύπρις σὺν Ἀρεὶ τυχοῦσα ἀλλοτρίᾳ γυναικὶ μιγῆναι τινα παρ' ἔκείνοις, 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, along with Ares, mix with a foreign woman among them while the star of Ares was high in the sky. 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, ούκ ἐμψύχου γεύονται, ού μεθύσκονταί ποτε, οἴνου καὶ σίκερος μὴ γευόμενοι, ού κακίᾳ τινὶ κοινωνοῦσι προσέχοντες τῷ θεῷ, τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν φονευόντων καὶ ἐταιρευόσιν καὶ μεθυσκομένων καὶ σεβομένων ξόανα, καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν καθ' εἰμαρμένην φερομένων.

6.10.14 | Among the Indians and Bactrians, there are many thousands of people called Brahmins. According to the traditions of their ancestors and their laws, they neither kill nor worship statues, do not eat living beings, and never get drunk, as they do not taste wine or strong drink. They do not take part in any wrongdoing, focusing on the god, while the other Indians kill, engage in relationships, get drunk, and worship statues. Almost everything happens according to fate.

6.10.15 | ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλίματι τῆς Ἰνδίας φυλή τις Ἰνδῶν, οἵτινες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ξένους ἀγρεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐσθίουσι· καὶ οὕτε οἱ ἀγαθοποιοὶ τῶν ἀστρων κεκωλύκασι τούτους μὴ μιαιφονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀθεμιτογαμεῖν, οὕτε οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἡνάγκασαν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας κακουργεῖν.

6.10.15 | In the same region of India, there is a tribe of Indians who hunt and sacrifice any foreigners that fall into their hands. Neither the good stars have stopped them from killing or committing unlawful marriages, nor have the bad stars forced the Brahmins to do wrong.

6.10.16 | παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμος ἦν γαμεῖν τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς καὶ τὰς μητέρας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἔκείνη καὶ ἐν τῷ κλίματι ἔκείνῳ τούτους τοὺς

6.10.16 | Among the Persians, there was a law that allowed marrying daughters, sisters, and mothers. Not only did the Persians practice these impious marriages

άνοσίους γάμους οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσι αὐτῶν τῆς Περσίδος ἔξεδήμησαν, οἵτινες καλοῦνται Μαγουσαῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀθεμιστίαν διαπράττονται, παραδιδόντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθη τοῖς τέκνοις κατὰ διαδοχήν.

in their land and region, but those who traveled outside of Persia, known as the Magi, also commit the same wrongdoing, passing down the same laws and customs to their children as an inheritance.

6.10.17 | ἐξ ᾧν είσι 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 Ἀρεος, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πάντων γενέσεσιν εὑρίσκετο.

6.10.17 | From these, many still exist in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia. Surely, Cyprus was found within the borders and homes of Cronus, where Cronus was associated with Ares, in the beginnings of all things.

6.10.18 | παρὰ Γήλοις νόμος ἐστὶ τὰς γυναῖκας γεωργεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργατικὰ πράσσειν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν οῖς ἀν βούλωνται, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, μήτε καλεῖσθαι τινα μοιχαλίδα, τῷ πάσας ἐργατικάς εἶναι, καὶ πᾶσι κοινωνεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ξένοις.

6.10.18 | Among the Gauls, there is a law that allows women to farm, build, and do all kinds of work. They can share whatever they wish 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 | καὶ οὗτε μυρίζονται Γήλισαι γυναῖκες οὕθ' ἴματια βαπτὰ φοροῦσιν, ἀνυπόδητοι δέ είσι 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 ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ πολεμικώτατοι καὶ κυνηγετικώτατοι.

6.10.19 | The women of the Gauls do not wear perfume or dyed garments; all of them go 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 brave, very warlike, and highly skilled in hunting.

6.10.20 | καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Γήλων γυναῖκες ἔλαχον ἐν Αἴγοκέρωτι ἢ ἐν Ὑδρηχόῳ κακοδαιμονοῦσαν τὴν Κύπριν, οὐδ' οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν πάντες ἔχουσιν ἐν Κριῷ σὺν Ἀρει τὴν Παφίην, ἔνθα τοὺς

6.10.20 | 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

άνδρείους καὶ σπατάλους οἱ Χαλδαῖζοντες λέγουσι.

6.10.21 | παρὰ Βάκτροις αἱ γυναικες παντὶ κόσμῳ διαφέροντι καὶ παντὶ μύρῳ χρῶνται, ὑπηρετούμεναι ὑπὸ παιδίσκων καὶ νεανίσκων μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες, προερχόμεναι μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας ἔφιπποι, κοσμοῦσαι πολλῷ χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις βαρυτίμοις τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ οὐ σωφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀδιαφόρως κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς δούλοις καὶ τοῖς ξένοις, ἀδειαν ἔχουσαι τοιαύτην, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μὴ ἐγκαλούμεναι σχεδὸν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν.

6.10.22 | καὶ οὐ πάντως ἐν πάσῃ γενέσει τῶν ἐν Βακτρίᾳ γυναικῶν μεσουρανεῖ μετὰ Διὸς καὶ Ἀρεος ἐν ἴδιοις ὅροις ἡ φιλόγελως Ἀφροδίτη. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ὀσροηνῇ οὐ μόνον αἱ μοιχαλίδες φονεύονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ ὑποπτευόμεναι ούκ 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 ἔάν τις φονεύσῃ γυναικα αύτοῦ, ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἄτεκνον, ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἄγαμον, ἢ υἱὸν, ἢ θυγατέρα, ούκ ἐγκαλεῖται ὑπό του, νόμου τοιούτου ὑπάρχοντος ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἐκείναις· παρ' Ἑλλησι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μείζονι τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβάλλονται οἱ τῶν συγγενῶν φονευταί.

6.10.24 | ἐν Ἀτροις ὁ κλέπτων τι ὄβολοῦ ἄξιον λιθάζεται, παρὰ Βάκτροις ὁ ὀλίγα κλέπτων ἐμπτύεται, παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις

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 great flair, decorating their horses with lots of gold and very valuable stones. They are not modest, but carelessly share with slaves and strangers, enjoying such freedom, and they almost have control over the men without being blamed.

6.10.22 | And not always in every generation of the women in Bactria does the laughing Aphrodite shine alongside Zeus and Ares in her own realm. But in Arabia and Osroene, not only are the adulteresses killed, but even those who are 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 victim. If someone kills his own wife, a childless brother, an unmarried sister, a son, or a daughter, he is not charged under the law that exists in those lands. However, among the Greeks and Romans, murderers of relatives face a harsher punishment.

6.10.24 | In Atropatene, a thief who steals something worth a single obol is stoned. Among the Bactrians, a thief who steals a small amount is spat upon. Among the

πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ νόμοι.

Romans, he is beaten with rods; such are their laws.

6.10.25 | ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ὄκεανοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς, ὁ λοιδορούμενος ὡς φονεὺς, ἢ ὡς κλέπτης, οὐ πάνυ ἀγανακτεῖ, ὃ δὲ ὡς ἀρσενοκοίτης λοιδορούμενος ἐσαυτὸν ἔκδικεī μέχρι καὶ φόνου· παρ' Ἔλλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἔχοντες οὐ ψέγονται.

6.10.25 | From the Euphrates River to the Ocean, in the east, a person insulted as a murderer or a thief does not get very angry. However, someone insulted as a man who sleeps with other men seeks revenge on himself, even to the point of murder. Among the Greeks, though, 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 προδήλου οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται.

6.10.26 | In the same eastern region, if those who are insulted are identified, they are killed by their brothers, fathers, or relatives, and they are not given a proper burial.

6.10.27 | παρὰ δὲ Γάλλοις οἱ 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 διάριοις Ἀρεος δύνοντα.

6.10.27 | Among the Gauls, young men marry openly, not seeing this as shameful because of their laws. It is also not possible for all those in Gaul who are insulted in this way to receive the light-bringer along with Hermes in the homes of Cronus and at the borders 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 νόμον.

6.10.28 | In Britain, many men have one wife, but in Parthia, many women have one husband, and all are sensible, following him according to the law.

6.10.29 | αἱ δὲ Ἀμαζόνες πάσαι ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους περὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἴσημερίαν ὑπερβαίνουσαι τοὺς ἴδιους ὅρους

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,

κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, ἐορτήν τινα ταύτην ἡγουμένοις· ἔξ ὅν συλλαμβάνουσαι ὑποστρέφουσι, καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐνὶ καιρῷ κυίσκουσι κατὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν γεννωμένους ἄρρενας ρίπτουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἀνατρέφουσι· πολεμικάί τέ είσι, καὶ γυμνασίων προνοούμεναι.

6.10.30 | Ἐρμῆς μετὰ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν οἴκοις Ἐρμοῦ ποιεῖ πλάστας καὶ ξωγράφους καὶ τραπεζίτας, ἐν οἴκοις δὲ Ἀφροδίτης μυρεψούς, ἢ φωνασκούς, καὶ ὑποκριτὰς ποιημάτων.

6.10.31 | καὶ παρὰ Ταηνοῖς καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ Λιβύῃ, καὶ παρὰ Μαύροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παρὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ Νομάσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔξωτέρᾳ Γερμανίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ Σαρματίᾳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Σικυθίᾳ, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρκτικῶν μερῶν τού Πόντου ἔθνεσι, καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀλανίᾳ καὶ Αλβανίᾳ καὶ Ότηνῃ καὶ Σαυνίᾳ καὶ ἐν Χρυσῇ οὐκ ἔστιν ίδεν οὐ τραπεζίτην, οὐ πλάστην, οὐ χωγράφον, οὐκ ἀρχιτέκτονα, οὐ γεωμέτρην, οὐ φώνασκον, οὐχ ὑποκριτὴν ποιημάτων ἀλλ' ἔστρηται ὁ τῆς τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐνεργείας τρόπος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης.

6.10.32 | οἱ Μῆδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς τρεφομένοις κυσὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας παραβάλλουσι, καὶ οὐ πάντες σὺν τῇ μήνῃ τὸν Ἀρεα ἐφημερινῆς γενέσεως ἐν Καρκίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆν ἔχουσιν.

6.10.33 | Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καίουσι, μεθ'

seeing this as a kind of festival. From these meetings, they become pregnant and, as nature requires, they give birth at a certain time. They abandon the male babies but raise the female ones. They are warriors and make sure to train in physical exercises.

6.10.30 | Hermes creates statues, paintings, and table decorations in the homes of Hermes, while in the homes of Aphrodite, there are makers of perfumes, singers, and performers of poems.

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, as well as throughout all of Alania, Albania, Othena, and Saunia, there is no one to be found who makes tables, statues, paintings, architects, surveyors, singers, or performers of poems. The influence of the work of Hermes and Aphrodite is missing in all this part of the world.

6.10.32 | The Medes all feed their 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, along with the moon.

6.10.33 | The Indians burn their dead, and

ῶν συγκαίουσιν ἐκούσας τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ οὐ δήπου πᾶσαι αἱ καιόμεναι ζῶσαι Ἰνδῶν γυναῖκες ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἐπὶ νυκτερινῆς γενέσεως σὺν "Ἄρει τὸν ἥλιον ἐν Λέοντι ὁρίοις" Ἀρεος.

along with them, they willingly burn the living women. And surely not all the women who are burned alive have Ares, the god of war, under the earth at night, along with the sun in the region of Leo.

6.10.34 | Γερμανῶν οὶ πλεῖστοι ἀγχονιμαίω μόρῳ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὴν ὥραν μεσολαβουμένας ὑπὸ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀρεος ἔχει.

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 | παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ πάσῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῆς γενέσεως γεννῶνται ἄνθρωποι· κρατεῖ δὲ ἐν ἐκάστῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμος καὶ ἔθος διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζει ἡ γένεσις τοὺς Σῆρας μὴ θέλοντας φονεύειν, ἢ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας κρεοφαγεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀθεμίτως μὴ γαμεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς 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 δί' ἦν περίκειται σάρκα, πῆ μὲν ὡς βούλεται, πῆ δὲ ὡς μὴ βούλεται.

6.10.35 | People are born in every nation, on every day, and in every way. In each part of humanity, law and custom hold power because of people's free will. Birth does not force the Scythians to kill against their will, 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 wish, and some not.

6.10.36 | πανταχῇ γὰρ καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει εἰσὶ πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἐρωμένοι καὶ νοσοῦντες,

6.10.36 | For everywhere and in every nation, there are rich and poor, rulers and the ruled, strong and sick, each according

έκαστος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ κλήρους.” “Ταῦτα, ὡ Βαρδησάνη, ἄκρως ἡμᾶς πέπεικε, φημὶ αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἀστρονόμοι φασὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην μεμερίσθαι εἰς ἐπτά κλίματα, καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκάστου κλίματος ἵνα τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων · καὶ τοὺς διαφόρους νόμους μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τεθεικέναι ἐαυτοῖς. ἀλλ’ ἐκάστου ἄρχοντος πλεονάζειν τὸ θέλημα ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ χώρᾳ, ὃν νόμον νενομίκασιν οἱ κρατούμενοι”

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 | “Απεκρίνατο, ούκ ἀληθής ἡ διάκρισις αὕτη, ὡ Φίλιππε. εί γὰρ καὶ διήρηται ἡ οἰκουμένη εἰς μέρη ἐπτὰ, ἀλλ’ οὖν γε ἐν μιᾷ μερίδι εὐρίσκομεν πολλὰς διαφορὰς νόμων. ούδὲ γὰρ ἐπτὰ νόμοι εἰσὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας, ούδὲ δώδεκα κατὰ τὰ ζώδια, ούδὲ τριάκοντα ἔξι κατὰ τοὺς δεκανοὺς, ἀλλὰ μυρίοι.

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 | μνημονεύειν τε ὁφείλετε ὅν προεῖπον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ κλίματι καὶ ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδῶν είσιν ἀωθρωποφάγοι Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ είσιν οἱ ἐμψύχων ἀπεχόμενοι· καὶ ὅτι οἱ Μαγουσαῖοι ούκ 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.

6.10.38 | You should remember what I have said: 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. 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 | ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη κατελέξαμεν, τά τε ὅντα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ δύσει, καὶ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἄρκτῳ, τουτέστιν ἐν διαφόροις κλίμασι, μὴ μετέχοντα Ἐρμαικῆς ἐπιστήμης.

6.10.39 | But we have also mentioned many barbarian nations, those that exist in the south and west, as well as in the east and north—in other words, in different regions—who do not share in the knowledge of Hermes.

6.10.40 | πόσοι, νομίζετε, ἄνδρες σοφοί

6.10.40 | How many wise men, do you

παρήγαγον τοὺς κακῶς κειμένους νόμους;  
πόσοι δὲ νόμοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας  
κατελύθησαν; πόσοι βασιλεῖς κρατήσαντες  
ἔθνῶν παρήγαγον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν νόμους  
καὶ ἔθεντο τοὺς ἴδιους; καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν  
ἀστέρων ἀπώλεσε τὸ ἴδιον κλίμα.

think, have created poorly made laws? How many laws have been destroyed by confusion? How many kings, ruling over nations, have established the laws before them and set their own? And none of the stars has lost its own region.

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.

6.10.41 | 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 | Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες οἱ διὰ Μώσεως  
δεξάμενοι νόμον τοὺς γεννωμένους  
ἄρρενας παῖδας ἐν τῇ ὄγδῃ ἡμέρᾳ  
αἰμάσσουσι περιτέμνοντες, οὐκ ἀστέρος  
παρουσίαν ἀναμένοντες, οὐ κλίματος  
έξουσίαν ἐντρεπόμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου  
ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἀγόμενοι ἀλλ' εἴτε ἐν  
Συρίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν, εἴτε ἐν Γαλλίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν  
Ἴταλίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ἢ ἐν Παρθίᾳ, ἢ ἀν  
ῶσι, τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν.

6.10.42 | All the Jews who accept the law through Moses circumcise male children on the eighth day. They do not wait for the appearance of a star, do not fear the authority of the region, and are not led by the law of a foreign land. Whether they are in Syria, Gaul, Italy, Greece, or Parthia, wherever they are, they do this.

6.10.43 | ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ γένεσιν· οὐ  
γὰρ δύνανται πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μίαν  
γένεσιν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἡμερῶν ἐπτὰ  
πάντες ὅπου ἀν ὕσιν ἀργοῦσιν ἐκ παντὸς  
ἔργου, καὶ οὕτε διδεύουσιν οὕτε πυρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
χρῶνται, οὕτε ἀναγκάζει η γένεσις  
Ἰουδαῖον οὐ κτίσαι οἶκον, οὐ καταλῦσαι,  
οὐκ ἐργάσασθαι, οὐ πωλῆσαι, οὐκ  
ἀγοράσαι ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ σαββάτου,  
καίτοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ γεννώντων  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ γεννωμένων καὶ νοσούντων  
καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων.

6.10.43 | This is not according to their kind, for not all Jews can belong to one kind. But for seven days, wherever they are, they rest from all work. They neither travel nor use fire. Being a Jew does not force them to build a house, tear one down, work, sell, or buy on the Sabbath, even though on the same day, Jews are being born, giving birth, getting sick, and dying.

6.10.44 | ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκέτι ἔστὶ τοῦ

6.10.44 | For this is no longer about free

αύτεξουσίου. ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὁσροηνῇ ἀπεκόπτοντο πολλοὶ τῇ Ψέᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μιᾷ ῥοπῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκ τότε οὐδεὶς ἀπεκόψατο ἐν τῇ Ὁσροηνῇ.

6.10.45 | τί δὲ ἔροῦμεν περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν αἰρέσεως, ἡς ἡμεῖς οἱ δοξασταὶ πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ἀνέστημεν κλίμασιν, ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ κλίματι, οἵτινες πολλοὶ ὄντες ἐνὶ ὀνόματι 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 ἔθῶν 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 γάρ ὁ ἔλευθερος ἡμῶν ἀνθρωπος δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται, κανὸν ἀναγκασθῆ ἀνθίσταται τοῖς ἀναγάξουσιν, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ φαινόμενος ἡμῶν δοῦλος ἀνθρωπος τῇς ὑποταγῆς ἐκφεύγειν ḥαδίως δύναται.

6.10.48 | εἰ γάρ πάντα ἐδυνάμεθα, ἡμεῖς ἀνὴμεν τὸ πᾶν, ὥστε εἰ μηδὲν ἐδυνάμεθα,

will. In Syria and Osroene, many were being circumcised by the river. At that moment, King Abgar ordered the genitals and hands of those being circumcised to be cut off. Since then, no one has been circumcised in Osroene.

6.10.45 | What shall we say about the belief of the Christians? We are many who are honored and have risen in different regions, in every nation and place, and we are all called by one name.

6.10.46 | And neither do the Christians in Parthia practice polygamy, even though they are Parthians. Nor do those in Media offer dogs to the dead, nor do the Persians marry their daughters, even though they are Persians. Nor do those in Bactria and Gela destroy marriages, nor do those in Egypt worship Apis, the dog, the goat, or the cat. But wherever they are, they are not overcome by strict laws and customs, nor are they forced by the ruling authorities to take part in the wicked practices taught by their teacher. Instead, they face sickness, poverty, suffering, and the dishonors that are commonly accepted.

6.10.47 | For just as our free person is not forced to be a slave, and if they are forced, they resist those who compel them, so too can our apparent slave easily escape from submission.

6.10.48 | For if we could do everything, we would be everything. So if we could do

ἄλλων ἡμεν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὅργανα, καὶ οὐχ  
ἐαυτῶν. Θεοῦ δ' ἐπινεύσαντος πάντα  
δυνατὰ καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστα · τῇ γὰρ ἐκείνου  
βουλήσει οὐδὲν ἀντιστῆναι δύναται. καὶ  
γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθίστασθαι, αὐτοῦ  
χρηστοῦ ὄντος, καὶ συγχωροῦντος ἐκάστῃ  
φύσει ἔχειν τὴν ἴδιότητα καὶ τὸ  
αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ θελήματος, ἀνθίσταται."

nothing, we would be the tools of others, as I said before, and not our own. But with God's will, everything is possible and unhindered, for nothing can resist His will. Even those things that seem to resist do so when He is good and allows each nature to have its own identity and free will.

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 ἐλλείποι τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα  
θεωρουμένων.

6.10.49 | So much for the Syrian. But since I have mentioned one more, I will write about this matter. While the information from outside writings is presented well, the information from the sacred writings is lacking, and we especially need this for the preparation of the Evangelical Proof. It would be good to examine these as well, so that the discussion does not leave out anything relevant to the problem.

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  
έγώ σοι τὸν ἐρμηνέα τούτων  
παραστήσομαι· σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ τοῖς κρείττοσι  
βασκαίνεις, οἰσθά που τὸν ἄνδρα, Χριστοῦ  
μὲν θιάσοις εἰσέτι δεῦρο χορεύοντα δι' ὃν  
ἀπολέλοιπε πόνων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς  
ἀγνῶτα δι' ἣν ἐπιδέδειται καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
τῶνδε μαθήματα φιλοτιμίαν. σκέψαι δ' οὖν  
ὅσα τε καὶ ὡποῖα ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν  
Ἐξηγητικοῖς θαυμάσιος Ὦριγένης περὶ τῆς  
προκειμένης ὑποθέσεως διείληφε, καὶ  
ὅπως ἐφώδευσε τὸν περὶ εἰμαρμένης  
λόγον.

6.10.50 | From this, I will clearly present these things to you. Indeed, it is not possible for you to navigate the sacred teachings that have mostly been 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 still dances among the followers of Christ, for whom he has left behind his labors, and certainly not to those outside who are unknown, for whom he has shown ambition toward 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 shed light on the discussion about fate.

## Section 11

6.11.1 | "Περὶ τοῦ εἰς σημεῖα γεγονέναι τοὺς φωστῆρας, οὐκ ἄλλους ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀστρων τυγχάνοντας, τῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἔστι διαλαβεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἐθνῶν τῶν τῆς Χριστοῦ πίστεως ἀλλοτρίων σφαλομένων εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης τόπον, τῇ τῶν καλουμένων πλανωμένων ἀστέρων ἐπιπλοκῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ζῳδιακῷ πάντων αὐτοῖς νομιζομένων συμβαίνειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν περὶ ἔκαστον ἀνθρώπον, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀλόγων ζώων, ἀλλὰ γὰρ 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.

6.11.2 | ἔπειται δὲ τοῖς ταῦτα δογματίζουσιν ἔξ δλων τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρεῖν· διόπερ καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ ψύχον, καὶ πράξεις ἀποδέκτας πάλιν τε αὖ ψεκτάς.

6.11.3 | ἄπερ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ τῆς κεκηρυγμένης τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσεως οὔχεται, καὶ ἀπειλὴ πρὸς τοὺς ημαριχότας, ὡς κολασθησομένους· τιμαί τε αὖ πρὸς τοὺς τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας καὶ μακαριότητες· ούδὲν γὰρ ἔτι τούτων εὐλόγως ἔσται γενόμενον.

6.11.4 | καὶ εἰ τὰ ἀκόλουθά τις ἐαυτῷ ἐφ' οἵ δογματίζει βλέποι, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἔσται ματαία, ἢ τε Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίᾳ ούδὲν

6.11.1 | About the lights that have come to be as signs—not just the sun, moon, and stars, which are very important to understand—not only for the nations that are strangers to the faith of Christ, but also for those who stumble into the topic of fate. This happens because of the influence of the so-called wandering stars on those believed to be in the zodiac, affecting both people on earth and each individual, perhaps even irrational animals. However, many who believe may not be controlled by human matters, and it is impossible for things to happen in any other way than as the stars fulfill their various roles.

6.11.2 | Next, for those who teach these things, it is our responsibility to reject them. Therefore, there is both praise and blame, as well as actions that are acceptable and those that deserve criticism.

6.11.3 | If this is the case, the matters of God's declared judgment are hidden, and threats are aimed at those who are disobedient, as if they will be punished. There are also honors for those who have devoted themselves to those who are better, along with blessings; for none of these will reasonably come to be anymore.

6.11.4 | And if someone considers the things that follow based on what they teach, then faith will be in vain, and the

άνύουσα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν οἰκονομία, κάματοί τε ἀποστόλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ συστῆσαι τὰς διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας·

presence of Christ will accomplish nothing. All the work done through the law and the prophets, along with the efforts of the apostles to establish the churches of God through Christ, will also be in vain.

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. οἵς ἀθέοις καὶ ἀσεβέσι τυγχάνουσι λόγοις ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τὸ τοὺς πιστεύοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἀγομένους πιστεύειν εἰς θεὸν λέγεσθαι.

6.11.5 | If Christ is under the influence of the movement of the stars, having been born into this necessity, then he would have done and suffered everything without receiving the strange powers from God, the Father of all. Instead, he would be dependent on the stars. Those who are atheists and impious follow these ideas, believing that those who are guided by the stars are said to believe in God.

6.11.6 | πυθοίμεθα δ' ἀν αὐτῶν τί ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος τοιοῦτον ἐποίει κόσμον, ἵν οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ὅντες τὰ γυναικῶν πάσχωσιν, οὐδαμῶς ἔαυτοῖς 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, ἐπιδιδόασιν ἔαυτοὺς ὡμοτάτοις καὶ σφόδρα ἀπανθρώποις πράγμασιν, ἀνδροφονίαις καὶ πειρατείαις;

6.11.6 | Should we wonder what God intends by creating such a world, where some men endure the experiences of women without being responsible for their own shame, while others, taking on the nature of wild animals, are shaped by the movement of all things? Because God has arranged creation in this way, they subject themselves to the most brutal and inhumane actions, such as murder and piracy?

6.11.7 | καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀμαρτανομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, μυρίων ὄσων τυγχανόντων, οὐστινας οἱ τῶν προϊστάμενοι προϊστάμενοι τούτων λόγων ἀπολύοντες παντὸς ἐγκλήματος τῷ θεῷ προσγράφουσι πάντων τῶν κακός καὶ ψεκτῶς πραττομένων τὴν αἴτιαν;"

6.11.7 | And what should we say about the events happening among humans and the sins they commit, with countless occurrences taking place? Those in charge of these matters blame God for all the wrong and shameful actions carried out by everyone.

6.11.8 | “Εὰν δέ τινες αύτῶν, ὡς  
άπολογούμενοι περὶ θεοῦ, ἔτερον μὲν εἶναι  
λέγωσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν, οὐδενὸς τούτων  
ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν, τῷ δὲ δημιουργῷ  
πάντων τὰ τοιαῦτα προσάπτωσι, πρῶτον  
μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ὃ βούλονται δυνήσονται  
ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ δίκαιος. πῶς γάρ ἀν  
ὅ τοσούτων κακῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πατήρ  
εὐλόγως χρηματίζοι δίκαιος;

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  
ἄστροις, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ ἄστρα 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.

6.11.10 | 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  
έλευθέρου. δῆλον γάρ ἐστι τοὺς τοιούτους  
ὅτι λόγον ἀπαιτηθέντες διδόναι αὐτοῖς  
οὐδαμῶς δυνήσονται.

6.11.11 | πρὸς δὲ τοῖς είρημένοις καὶ εύχαι  
παρέλκουσι μάτην παραλαμβανόμεναι. εἴ  
γάρ κατηνάγκασται τάδε τινὰ γενέσθαι,  
καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ποιοῦσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ παρὰ τὴν

6.11.8 | If some of them, while defending  
God, claim that the good one is separate  
and has no part in these matters, but they  
attribute such things to the creator of all,  
they cannot prove that he is just. After all,  
how could a father of so many evils be just?

6.11.9 | Secondly, they must consider what  
they will say about themselves: are they  
subject to the influence of the stars, or are  
they free? In their lives, do they have  
nothing from that source acting upon  
them? For if they claim to be under the  
stars' influence, it is clear that the stars  
have given them the ability to think this  
way. In that case, the creator would be seen  
as having influenced them through the  
movement of all things, which they do not  
want.

6.11.10 | But if they respond that they are  
outside the creator's laws concerning the  
stars, so that what they say is not left  
unproven, let them attempt to lead us to a  
stronger conclusion. They should present a  
difference between some underlying  
nature and fate, and another that is free  
from these influences. It is clear that such  
people, when asked for an explanation, will  
not be able to provide one at all.

6.11.11 | Moreover, the prayers mentioned  
are made in vain. For if certain things must  
happen and the stars cause them, then  
nothing can occur beyond their

τούτων πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐπιπλοκὴν δύναται γενέσθαι, θεὸν ἀλογίστως ἀξιοῦμεν τάδε τινὰ ἡμῖν δωρήσασθαι.

6.11.12 | καὶ τί ἐπὶ πλεῖον μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον δεῖ, παριστάντα τὸ ἀσεβὲς τοῦ κατημαξευμένου ἀβασανίστως παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περὶ εἰμαρμένης τόπου; αὐτάρκη γάρ εἰς ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα.”

6.11.13 | “Πόθεν δὲ ἔξετάζοντες τὸ ‘ἔστωσαν είς σημεῖα οἱ φωστῆρες’ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐληλύθαμεν ἐαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσωμεν. οἱ μανθάνοντες περὶ τινῶν ἀληθῆ, ἦτοι αὐτόπται τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι, ἀποφαίνονται τάδε τινὰ ὑγιῶς, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν πεπονθότων ἢ ἐνηργηκότων θεασάμενοι, ἢ ἀπαγγελλόντων τῶν οὐδαμῶς αἴτιων τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀκούσαντες τάδε τινὰ γινώσκουσιν

6.11.14 | (ὑπεξηρήσθω δὲ νῦν τοῦ λόγου τὸ δύνασθαι τοὺς δεδρακότας ἢ πεπονθότας, διηγουμένους ἢ δεδράκασιν ἢ πεπόνθασιν, ἐνάγειν είς γνῶσιν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸν μὴ παρατευχηκότα).

6.11.15 | ἔὰν οὖν ὁ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδαμῶς αἴτιου τῶν γινομένων τὸ τάδε τινὰ τοῦσδε γεγονέναι ἢ συμβήσεσθαι μὴ διακρίνῃ ὅτι οὐ πάντως ὁ διδάσκων περὶ τινος ὡς γενομένου ἢ ἐσομένου αἴτιός ἐστι τοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιόνδε τι τυγχάνειν, οἴήσεται τὸν παραστήσαντα περὶ τοῦ τάδε τινὰ γεγονέναι, ἢ τάδε τινὰ ἔσεσθαι, πεποιηκέναι ἢ ποιήσειν τὰ περὶ ὃν

interactions with one another. It is unreasonable to expect that a god would grant us anything.

6.11.12 | And what more is there to say, showing the impiety of those who are blindly convinced by many about the nature of fate? For it is enough to refer to what has already been said.

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, understand these things.

6.11.14 | Let us now set aside 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 someone who has not encountered it.

6.11.15 | If, then, the student does not recognize 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 mistaken.

διδάσκει, οίήσεται δὲ δηλονότι  
έσφαλμένως.

6.11.16 | ὡς εἴ τις ἐντυχὼν προφητικῆ  
βίβλῳ προδηλούσῃ τὰ περὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν  
προδότην νομίσαι, μαθὼν τὸ ἔσόμενον,  
δρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτελούμενον, τὴν βίβλον  
αἰτίαν εἶναι τόδε τι γεγονέναι ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ  
ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου μεμάθηκε τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Ἰούδα πραχθησόμενα ὕστερον· ἢ πάλιν μὴ  
τὴν βίβλον ὑπολάβοι εἶναι αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν  
πρῶτον γράψαντα αὐτὴν, ἢ τὸν  
ἐνεργήσαντα φέρει εἴπειν τὸν θεόν.

6.11.16 | It's like someone, upon finding a prophetic book, thinks that it clearly reveals the events about Judas the traitor. After learning about what will happen and seeing it come to pass, this person might believe that the book is the cause of what happens later, since they learned from it about what Judas will do in the future. Or, they might not think the book is the cause, but rather the first person who wrote it, or they might say that it is the one who acted, namely, God.

6.11.17 | ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα  
προφητευομένων αὐτὰὶ 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 αἰτίαν,

6.11.17 | Just as the words about the prophecies concerning Judas show that God is not the creator of Judas's betrayal, but has only revealed that He knew beforehand what would happen because of Judas's wickedness.

6.11.18 | οὕτως εἴ τις ἐμβαθύναι τῷ λόγῳ  
τοῦ προειδέναι τὰ πάντα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς  
én οῖς οἶνον ἐτύπωσε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ  
προγνώσεως τοὺς λόγους, κατανοήσαι ἀν  
ὅτι οὕτε ὁ προγνοὺς πάντως αἴτιος τῶν  
προεγνωσμένων οὕτε τὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν  
λόγων τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ προεγνωκότος  
δεξάμενα."

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 that express the foreknowledge of what has been known.

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

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

δῆλον τῷ συνιέντι ἀξίωμα δυνάμεως νοῦ θεοῦ.

6.11.20 | εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν τοῦτο παραστήσαι, πλήρεις μέν εἰσιν αἱ προφητεῖαι τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σωσάνναν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ γινώσκοντος τὰ πάντα πρὸν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, οὕτω λέγουσαν “ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης, ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὸν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, σὺ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ψευδῆ μου κατεμαρτύρησαν οὗτοί”

6.11.21 | σαφέστατα δὲ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Βασιλειῶν καὶ ὄνομα βασιλεύοντος καὶ πράξεις ἀνεγράφησαν πρὸ πλειόνων ἑτῶν τοῦ γεμέσθαι προφητεύσμενα οὕτως ‘καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἱεροβοάμ ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ὄγδῳ, ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς, κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐν γῇ Ἰούδᾳ. καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Βαιθὴλ, ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν αἷς ἐποίησεν.’ εἶτα μετ’ ὀλίγα ‘καὶ ἴδού ἀνθρωπὸς 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 νιὸς τίκτεται τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβὶδ, Ἰωσίας ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ θύσει ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τῶν ἐπιθύντων ἐπὶ σὲ, καὶ ὄστα ἀνθρώπων καύσει ἐπὶ σὲ. καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκείνῃ τέρας, λέγων, ‘τοῦτο τὸ τέρας ὃ ἐλάλησε κύριος λέγων, ἴδού τὸ θυσιαστήριον ρήγνυται, καὶ ἐκχυθήσεται ἡ πιότης ἡ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα δηλοῦται ὅτι καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔρράγη καὶ ἔξεχύθη ἡ πιότης ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατὰ τὸ τέρας ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ

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. 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." 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 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

ἄνθρωπος ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου.

sign that the man of God gave by the word of the Lord.”

6.11.22 | καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ, γενομένῳ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς αἱχμαλωσίας τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, μεθ' ἣν αἱχμαλωσίαν ὕστερόν ποτε γίνεται Κύρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς συνεργήσας τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ ναοῦ, γενομένῃ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους “Ἐσδρα, ταῦτα περὶ ὄνομαστὶ προφητεύεται οὕτω λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ, οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακοῦσαι ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἴσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω, ἀνο· ἵξω ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ θύρας, καὶ πόλεις οὐ συγκλεισθήσονται. ἐγὼ ἐμπροσθέν σου πορεύσομαι, καὶ ὅρη ὀμαλιῶ, θύρας χαλκὰς συντρίψω · καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι, ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς, ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου, θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ. ἔνεκεν τοῦ παιδός μου Ἰακὼβ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου, ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου, καὶ προσδέξομαι σε.

6.11.23 | σαφῶς γάρ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δεδίλωται ὅτι διὰ τὸν λαὸν ὃν εύηργέτησεν, ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς μὴ γινώσκοντι αὐτῷ τὴν καθ' Ἐβραίους θεοσέβειαν ἐδωρήσατο ἔθνῶν πλειόνων ἄρξαι. καὶ ἔστι ταῦτα μαθεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἑλληνῶν ληγῶν τῶν ἀναγραψάντων τὰ περὶ τὸν προφητευθέντα Κύρον.

6.11.24 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ, Βαβυλωνίων βασιλευόντων τότε, τῷ Ναβουχοδονόσορ δείκνυνται αἱ ἐσόμεναι βασιλεῖαι μετ' αὐτόν. δείκνυνται δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος, χρυσίου μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίων

6.11.22 | And in Isaiah, written long before the captivity to Babylon, after which Cyrus, the king of the Persians, later helps in rebuilding 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 break the strength of kings; I will open the doors before him, 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 treasures from dark places, hidden riches of secret places, so 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 | 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. These things can also be learned from Greek writings that have recorded what was prophesied 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 represented by a statue, with the head of gold symbolizing

ἀρχῆς ὄνομαζομένης, ἀργυρίου δὲ τῆς  
Περσῶν, χαλκοῦ δὲ τῆς Μακεδόνων,  
σιδήρου δὲ τῆς Ρωμαίων.

the Babylonian kingdom, the chest and arms of silver symbolizing the Persians, the belly and thighs of bronze symbolizing the Macedonians, and the legs of iron symbolizing the Romans.

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 Λαγὼν, οὕτω προφητεύεται καὶ ἵδον τράγος αἰγῶν ἥρχετο ἀπὸ λιβός ἐπὶ 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 Οὐβάλ, καὶ ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἴσχύος αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν φθάνοντα ἔως τοῦ κριοῦ, καὶ ἐξηγριώθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπαισε τὸν κριὸν, καὶ συνέτριψεν ἀμφότερα τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἴσχὺς τῷ κριῷ στῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἔξαιρούμενος τὸν κριὸν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν ἐμεγαλύνθη ἔως σφόδρα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴσχυσαι αὐτὸν συνετρίβη τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγα, καὶ ἀνέβη 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 τὴν δύσιν.

6.11.26 | τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητείας, οἷον τόπον γενέσεως αὐτοῦ Βηθλεὲμ, καὶ τόπον ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ Νάζαρα, καὶ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ τεράστια ἡ ἐποίησε, καὶ τίνα τρόπον

6.11.25 | And again in the same prophet, there are prophecies about Darius and Alexander, as well as the four successors of Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, and Ptolemy, who ruled Egypt and was called Lagus. It is prophesied that I saw a goat coming from the west over the face of all the earth. The goat had a horn between its eyes. It came as far as the ram that had the horns, which I saw standing by the river, and it charged at him with all its strength. I saw it reach the ram, and it became furious with him and struck the ram, breaking both of its horns. The ram had no strength to stand before him, so he threw him to the ground and trampled on him, and there was no one to rescue the ram from his power. The goat grew very strong. When it became powerful, the large horn was broken, and four other horns grew up in its place toward the four winds of heaven. From one of them came forth a single strong horn, which grew very powerful toward the south and the west.

6.11.26 | What more can be said about the prophecies concerning Christ, like his birthplace in Bethlehem, his upbringing in Nazareth, his flight into Egypt, the great miracles he performed, and how he was

ύπὸ Ἰούδα τοῦ εἰς ἀπόστολὴν κεκλημένου προεδόθη; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα σημεῖά ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προγνώσεως.

6.11.27 | ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ, ὅταν, φησὶν, ἵδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἥγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς. προεῖπε γὰρ τὸ ὑστερὸν συμβεβηκός τὸ τέλος τῆς κατασκαφῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.”

6.11.28 | “Αποδεδειγμένου 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 πάντῶν 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 ἔκάστου 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 τηρήσεων, ἡ καὶ ἕκ διασκαλίας ἀγγέλων τὴν ἴδιαν τάξιν παραβεβηκότων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐπιτριβῇ διδαξάντων περὶ τούτων τινὰ, ώήθησαν τοὺς ἀφ' ὧν τὰ σημεῖα οἴονται λαμβάνειν αἵτίους ὑπάρχειν τούτων, ἢ σημαίνειν ὁ λόγος φησι· περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ κατὰ δύναμιν

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. We should understand that the stars are arranged and move in such a way, opposite to those called wandering stars, so that signs can be recognized from the shapes of all the stars that appear around each one. People do not know this, for it is much greater than human understanding to truly grasp what happens to each star from their movement, whether they are acting or suffering. But the powers that need to know many of these things will be explained according to their ability in what follows.

6.11.29 | When people come together based on certain observations, or even from the teachings of angels, they have gone beyond their own order. While discussing these matters concerning our kind, they believe that those from whom they think the signs come must have causes for them, as the word suggests. We will discuss these things more carefully and in

έπιμελέστερον εύθέως διαληψόμεθα.

summary according to our ability.

6.11.30 | προκείσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα τὰ προβλήματα. (ά) Πῶς, προγνώστου ὅντος ἔξ αἰῶνος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τῶν ὑφ' ἐκάστου πράττεσθαι νομιζομένων, τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν σώζεται · (β') καὶ τίνα τρόπον οἱ ἀστέρες οὐκ είσὶ ποιητικὸι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σημαντικοὶ δὲ μόνον· (γ') καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωποι τὴν περὶ τούτων γνῶσιν ἀκριβῶς ἔχειν οὐ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεσιν ἀνθρώπων κρείττονι τὰ σημεῖα ἔκκειται. (δ') τίς γὰρ ἡ αἴτια τοῦ τὰ σημεῖα τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκέναι εἰς γνῶσιν τῶν δυνάμεων, τέταρτον ἔξετασθήσεται.

6.11.30 | Therefore, these questions 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) in what way are the stars not creators of what happens among humans, but only signs; (c) that people cannot have exact knowledge about these things, but the signs depend on powers greater than humans; (d) what is the reason that God has made the signs for the knowledge of the powers will be examined last.

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 προγινώσκει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀσεβὲς δόγμα ἐτόλμησαν ἀναδέξασθαι μαλλον ἢ προσέσθαι τὸ, ὡς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνδοξον 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 look at what many of the Greeks, being cautious, believed: that if God foreknows the future, then things must happen as they do, and what is in our power cannot be 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, accepting the good qualities while rejecting the bad ones.

6.11.32 | καί φασιν, εἰ ἔξ αἰῶνος ἔγνω ὁ θεὸς τόνδε τινὰ ἀδικήσειν καὶ τάδε ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἀψευδής δὲ ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ 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 ἢ ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω. εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἄλλο τι

6.11.32 | And they say, if God has known from eternity that this person will commit an injustice and do these wrongs, then God's knowledge is true. 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 he cannot do anything else but what God has known. But if he cannot do

πρᾶξαι αὐτὸν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἀδύνατον μὴ ποιήσας ψεκτός ἐστι, μάτην αἰτιώμεθα τοὺς ἀδίκους

6.11.33 | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐπέρχονται καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀμαρτήματα, εἴτα ἐκ τοῦ ἔναντίου καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα κατορθώματα· καί φασιν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ τὸν θεὸν τὰ μέλλοντα προεγνωκέναι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν σώζεσθαι.

6.11.34 | πρὸς οὓς λεκτέον ὅτι ἐπιβάλλων ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιίας, οὐδενὸς ἀναιτίως γινομένου, ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ νῷ ἔκαστον τῶν ἐσομένων ὄρῶν 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.

6.11.35 | ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις ὄρῶν τινὰ διὰ μὲν ἀμαθίαν προπετῇ, διὰ δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν ἀλογίστως ἐπιβαίνοντα ὄδοις ὄλισθηρᾶς, καὶ καταλάβοι πεσεῖσθαι ὄλισθήσαντα, οὐχὶ αἴτιος τοῦ ὄλισθου ἔκεινῷ γίνεται, οὕτω νοητέον τὸν θεὸν προεωρακότα ὀποῖος ἔσται ἔκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι καθορᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ἀμαρτήσεται τάδε, ἢ κατορθώσει τάδε.

6.11.36 | καὶ εἴ χρὴ λέγειν οὐ τὴν πρόγνωσιν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, (οὐ γὰρ ἐφάπτεται τοῦ προεγνωσμένου

anything else, then no one who cannot avoid doing wrong is blameworthy, and we blame the unjust in vain.

6.11.33 | But from the unjust and their wrongdoings, other sins also arise, and then from the opposite side, what is considered good deeds. 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 | To those who need to be addressed, it is said that when God created the world, nothing happened without a reason. He observes each future event with his mind, knowing that when one thing happens, another will follow. And if this next thing happens, then another 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 | For example, if someone sees another person acting foolishly and carelessly on a slippery road, and then that person falls, they are 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 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 influence the

ἀμαρτησομένου ὁ θεὸς, ὅταν ἀμαρτάνῃ,) ἀλλὰ παραδοξότερον μὲν, ἀληθὲς δὲ ἔροῦμεν, τὸ ἐσόμενον αἴτιον τοῦ τοιάνδε εἶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ 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 εἰσὶ, παντὶ τῷ 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 εἰ μὴ ταῦτα δηλοῦται δι’ ὃν παραθησόμεθα ḥρητῶν οὕτως ἔχοντων μηδὲ γενηθήτω οἰκτίρμων τοῖς ὄρφανοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀνθ’ ὃν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη ποιῆσαι ἔλεος· καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄνθρωπον πένητα καὶ πτωχὸν, καὶ κατανευγμένον τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ θανατῶσαι· καὶ ἡγάπησε κατάραν, καὶ ἤξει αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἡθέλησεν εὐλογίαν, καὶ μακρυνθήσεται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.”

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

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. We need to make a distinction here. If someone interprets 'it will certainly happen' to mean that what is foreseen must happen, we do not agree with that. We will not say that just because Judas was foreseen to be a traitor, it was necessary for him to become a traitor.

6.11.38 | In the prophecies about Judas, there are accusations and criticisms written against him, showing his blameworthiness. He would not be blamed 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 clearly shown by the statements we will present. Let there be no pity for his orphans, instead of showing mercy for those he did not remember. He pursued a poor and needy man, and he was deeply troubled in his heart about killing him. He loved a curse, and it will come upon him; he did not 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

συγχωροῦμεν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ  
ένδέχεται ψεύσασθαι, ένδέχεται δὲ περὶ  
τῶν ένδεχομένων γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι  
φρονῆσαι τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ  
γενέσθαι.

is not possible for god to lie, but it is possible to consider things that might happen or might not happen.

6.11.41 | σαφέστερον δὲ τοῦτο ἔροῦμεν  
οὕτως· εἴ ἐνδέχεται Ἰούδαν εἶναι  
ἀπόστολον ὁμοίως Πέτρῳ, ένδέχεται τὸν  
θεὸν νοῆσαι περὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὅτι μενεῖ  
ἀπόστολος ὁμοίως Πέτρῳ· εἴ ἐνδέχεται  
Ἰούδαν προδότην γενέσθαι, ένδέχεται τὸν  
θεὸν φρονῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι προδότης  
ἔσται.

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 consider that Judas will remain 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 | εἰ δὲ προδότης ἔσται Ἰούδας, ὁ  
θεὸς τῇ προγνώσει αὐτοῦ τῶν  
προειρημένων ένδεχομένων δύο,  
ένδεχομένου τοῦ εἶναι ἐνὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ  
ἀληθὲς προγινώσκων, προγνώσεται τὸν  
Ἰούδαν προδότην γενέσθαι· τὸ δὲ περὶ οὗ ἡ  
γνῶσις ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἐτέρως γενέσθαι· καὶ  
λέγοι ἀνὴρ γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐνδέχεται  
μὲν τόνδε τόδε ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
ἐναντίον· ένδεχομένων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων οἵδα  
ὅτι τάδε ποιήσει.

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. However, the knowledge about which could also happen differently: god's knowledge could indicate that this person might do one thing, but also the opposite. Knowing both possibilities, I understand that he will do these things.

6.11.43 | οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ, ὁ θεὸς εἴποι ἄν,  
οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τόνδε τινὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
πτῆναι, οὕτω χρησμὸν, φέρε εἰπεῖν, περὶ  
τινος διδοὺς ἐρεῖ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τόνδε  
σωφρονῆσαι· δύναμις μὲν γὰρ πάντῃ οὐκ  
ἔστι τοῦ πτῆναι οὐδαμῶς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,  
δύναμις δέ ἔστι τοῦ σωφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ  
ἀκολαστῆσαι.

6.11.43 | For just as god might say, "It is not possible for this person to fall," 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 the power to be wise and to be reckless.

6.11.44 | ὃν ἀμφοτέρων δυνάμεων  
ὑπαρχουσῶν, ὁ μὴ προσέχων λόγοις

6.11.44 | Of these two powers that exist, the one who does not pay attention to

έπιτρεπτικοῖς καὶ παιδευτικοῖς ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ χειρίστῃ· κρείττονι δὲ ὁ ζητήσας τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ βιῶσαι βεβουλημένος κατ’ αὐτό. οὐ ζητεῖ δὲ ὅδε μὲν τάληθῆ, ἐπεὶ ἐπιρρέπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδονήν· ὅδε δὲ ἔξετάζει περὶ αὐτῶν, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ λόγου προτρεπτικοῦ.

6.11.45 | πάλιν δ' αὖ ὅδε μὲν αἰρεῖται τὴν ἡδονὴν, ούχὶ 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 ἐπιτίθησι τοῖς περὶ ὧν 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 ἐαυτῶν ἐμμενοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ λέγεται “ἴσως ἀκούσονται καὶ μετανόησουσιν.”

6.11.47 | οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν ὁ θεὸς πότερον ἀκούσουσιν, ἢ οὐ, φησὶν “ἴσως ἀκούσονται καὶ μετανοήσουσιν,” ἀλλ' οἰονεὶ τὸ ἴσοστάσιον τῶν δυνάμεων γενέσθαι δεικνὺς ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων, ἵνα μὴ προκατηγγελμένη ἡ πρόγνωσις αὐτοῦ καταπεσεῖν ποιήσῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, δόξαν ἀνάγκης παριστᾶσα, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι, καὶ οἰονεὶ καὶ αὕτη αἰτία γένηται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

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 matters, influenced by common ideas and persuasive speech.

6.11.45 | Again, this person chooses pleasure, unable to look away from it and not even trying to resist. But this other person scorns pleasure, often noticing the shameful things that come with it.

6.11.46 | Indeed, the foreknowledge of god does not force those it concerns. Along with what has been mentioned, it should also be noted 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 stay 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 choices through what is said, so that his foreknowledge does not cause those who hear to fall into despair. He presents the idea of possibility, as if there is still a chance for them to turn back, and this becomes a reason for their sins.

6.11.48 | ή πάλιν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν τὸ προεγνωσμένον καλὸν δυναμένοις ἐν τῷ ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ ἀντιτείνειν πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἀρετῇ βιῶσαι αἵτια γένηται ή πρόγνωσις ἐκλύσεως, οὐκέτι εὔτόνως ισταμένοις κατὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὡς πάντως ἐσομένου τοῦ προειρημένου. καὶ οὕτω γὰρ οὗτον ἐμπόδιον γένοιτ' ἀν ή πρόγνωσις τοῦ ἐσομένου καλοῦ.

6.11.49 | πάντα γοῦν χρησίμως ὁ θεὸς τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομῶν εὐλόγως ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἑτύφλωσεν. ή γὰρ γνῶσις αὐτῶν ἀνῆκε μὲν ἡμᾶς· πότε τοῦ ἀθλεῖν κατὰ τῆς κακίας, ἐπέτρεψε δ' ἀν δόξασα κατειλῆφθαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀντιπαλαίσαντας ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ τάχιον αὐτῇ ὑποχειρίους γενέσθαι.

6.11.50 | ἄμα δὲ καὶ μαχόμενον ἐγίνετο τῷ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι τινὰτὸ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἔληλυθέναι εἰς τόνδε τινὰ, ὅτι πάντως ἔσται ἀγαθός. πρὸς οὓς γὰρ ἔχομεν καὶ σφοδρότητος καὶ τάσεως πλείονος χρεία πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι· προκαταληφθεῖσα δὲ ή γνῶσις τοῦ πάντως καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι ὑπεκλύει τὴν ἀσκησιν. διόπερ συμφερόντως οὐκ ἴσμεν οὕτε εἰ ἀγαθοὶ οὕτε εἰ πονηροὶ ἐσόμεθα.'

6.11.51 | "Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι ἀπετύφλωσεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεὸς, ζητούμενόν τι ḥρητὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐξόδου ὅρα εἰ δυνάμεθα οὕτω σαφηνίσαι τις ἐποίησε δύσκωφον καὶ κωφὸν, καὶ βλέποντα καὶ τυφλόν; οὐκ ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός; ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τυφλὸν καὶ βλέποντα πεποιηκώς ή· βλέποντα μὲν πρὸς

6.11.48 | Or again, for those who do not understand what has been foreseen, if they are able to struggle and resist evil by living virtuously, foreknowledge may become a cause of weakness. It may prevent them from standing firmly against sin, as if what has been said will definitely happen. Thus, the foreknowledge of the good that is to come could become a kind of obstacle.

6.11.49 | Indeed, god wisely arranges everything in the world for our benefit and has blinded us to what is to come. This knowledge would have kept us from fighting against evil, but it would have led us to believe we were trapped, making us less likely to resist sin and causing us to quickly become its slaves.

6.11.50 | But at the same time, while we are striving to become good and virtuous, we come to believe that what has been foreseen will certainly happen, that we will always be good. We need more strength and effort to achieve goodness and virtue. However, if we already know that everything will turn out well, it can lessen our motivation. Therefore, it is better that we do not know whether we will be good or evil.

6.11.51 | Since we have said that god has blinded us to what is to come, we are looking for a clear example from Exodus to see if we can explain how someone can be both blind and deaf, yet still able to see. Am I not the lord god? I have made both the blind and the seeing; they see what is present but are blind to what is to come.

τὰ ἑνεστηκότα, τυφλὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰ  
μέλλοντα. τὸ γάρ περὶ τοῦ δυσκῶφου καὶ  
κωφοῦ οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ  
διηγήσασθαι.

For the situation of the deaf and mute  
cannot be explained in the present time.

6.11.52 | ὅτι μέντοι γε πολλῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν  
αἴτια πλεῖστα τόν ούκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι καὶ  
ἡμεῖς ὀμολογήσομεν· ὃν μὴ γενομένων,  
λέγω δὲ τῶν ούκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ούκ ἂν τάδε τινὰ  
τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπράττετο. πράττεται δὲ τάδε  
τινὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθα τοῖσδε τοῖς  
προγενομένοις ούκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐνδεχομένου  
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προγενομένοις καὶ  
ἔτερα πρᾶξαι παρ' ἄ πράττομεν.

6.11.52 | Indeed, many of the causes that  
affect us are beyond our control, and we  
can agree on this. If those things that are  
beyond our control did not happen, then  
none of the things that are within our  
control would take place. However, some of  
the things that we can control depend on  
those things that we cannot control,  
allowing us to act differently from what we  
are currently doing.

6.11.53 | εἰ δέ τις ζητεῖ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν  
ἀπολελυμένον εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς, ὥστε μὴ  
διὰ τάδε τινὰ συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς  
αἰρεῖσθαι τάδε, ἐπιλέλησται κόσμου μέρος  
ῶν καὶ ἐμπεριεχόμενος ἀνθρώπων  
κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος.

6.11.53 | If someone seeks to have  
complete control over everything, so that  
we choose these things without  
considering certain events that have  
happened to us, they will forget that they  
are part of the world and included in  
human society and everything that  
surrounds it.

6.11.54 | μετρίως μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ  
οἴμαι δὲ 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.

6.11.54 | Therefore, I believe it has been  
shown briefly that the foreknowledge of  
god does not force everything to be  
predetermined. “But let us strive to say that  
the stars are not creative for humans at all,  
but only significant.”

6.11.55 | σαφὲς δὴ ὅτι εἰ ὅδε τις ὁ  
σχηματισμὸς τῶν ἀστέρων ποιητικὸς  
νομίζοιτο τῶνδε τινῶν τῶν γινομένων περὶ  
τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν · ἔστω γάρ περὶ τούτου νῦν  
ζητεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον·) οὐκ ἂν ὁ σήμερον,

6.11.55 | It is clear that if someone believes  
the arrangement of the stars is creative for  
certain events concerning humans, let us  
now discuss this. The arrangement that  
occurs today, we can say, cannot be thought

φέρε είπεῖν, γενόμενος σχηματισμὸς περὶ τόνδε δύναται νοεῖσθαι πεποιηκέναι τὰ παρεληλυθότα περὶ ἔτερον ἢ καὶ περὶ ἐτέρους· πᾶν γάρ 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 γάρ τόνδε τινὰ τρόπον, τὴν ὥραν 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 ἑτύγχανεν 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 οὔτωσὶ, 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 σῶμα ἢ σεσινωμένος, τὸ ἥθος 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.

to have caused what has happened to anything or anyone else; for everything that creates is older than what has been created.

6.11.56 | As for the teachings of those who promise such things, it is believed that they are older than the arrangement related to humans.

6.11.57 | For they promise, in this way, by considering 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. They also identify which star of the zodiac was rising in the east, which was setting in the west, which was at the midheaven, and which was at the lower midheaven.

6.11.58 | When they position the stars, which they believe have taken shape for them based on the time of a certain person's birth, they examine not only future events but also past events and those that occurred before the birth and the person's planting. They consider the father, what kind of person he is—whether rich or poor, healthy or sickly, of better or worse character, a landowner or landless—along with the actions he has taken. The same applies to the mother and older siblings, if they happen to exist.

6.11.59 | ἔστω δὲ ἡμὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος προσίεσθαι αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐν τόπῳ ἀληθῆ, περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὕστερον δείξομεν 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.

6.11.60 | εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον, καθ' ὃ δὴ ὅ τι εὑρίσκεται τὸ περὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ χρόνου ἀληθὲς, σαφὲς τὸ μὴ πεποιηκέναι τοὺς ἀστέρας οὔτωσὶ κινουμένους ἐν οὐρανῷ τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ γενόμενα πρὸ τοῦ οὕτως ἔχειν αὐτούς. εἴ δὲ τοῦτο, τάχα ὁ προσιέμενος ἀληθεύειν αὐτοὺς. ἐπιστήσας τοῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων λεγομένοις, ἐρεῖ. ἀληθεύειν οὐ τῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀλλὰ τῷ σημαίνειν μόνον.

6.11.61 | ἔὰν δέ τις φάσκῃ τὰ μὲν παρεληλυθότα μὴ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀλλὰ ἄλλους μὲν σχηματισμοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἐκείνων γεγέσεως αἰτίους 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 μόνον.

6.11.62 | μὴ ἔχοντες δὲ δοῦναι τὴν διαφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως συγγαταθήσονται μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς προειρήκαμεν,

6.11.59 | Let us then focus on the present and seek the truths in this matter, about which we will later show that things are not as they seem. Let us ask those who believe that the stars influence human affairs how today's arrangement could have shaped the earlier ones.

6.11.60 | For if this is impossible, then whatever is discovered about the truths of the past must clearly show that the stars do not move in the sky to make what has happened and what came before be as they are now. But if this is true, perhaps the one approaching them is speaking the truth. After considering what is said about the future, he will say: to speak the truth is not to create the stars, but only to indicate.

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 indicates, then let them show the difference: that what is understood as true comes from creators, while what is understood as merely signifying comes from the stars.

6.11.62 | If they do not understand the difference, they will wisely agree that nothing about humans comes from the stars. But as we have said before, if it is to

εί αρα, σημαίνεσθαι· ώς εί 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 γὰρ προαπεδείξαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν λυπεῖ τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν λόγον τὸ τὸν θεὸν εἰδέναι τὰ πραχθησόμενα ἐκάστῳ, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ σημεῖα, ἂ ἔταξεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ σημαίνειν, ἐμποδίζει τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ παραπλησίως βιβλίω περιέχοντι τὰ μέλλοντα προφητικῶς ὃ πᾶς ούρανὸς δύναται, οἰονεὶ βίβλος ὃν θεοῦ, περιέχειν τὰ μέλλοντα.

6.11.64 | διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν.' τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰλιγήσεται ὃ ούρανὸς ώς βιβλίον' τοὺς λόγους τοὺς περιεχομένους σημαντικοὺς τῶν ἐσομένων δηλοῖ ἀπαρτισθησομένους καὶ, ἐν' οὕτως εἴπω, πληρωθησομένους, ὥσπερ λέγονται αἱ προφητεῖαι πεπληρώσθαι τῷ ἐκβεβηκέναι.

6.11.65 | καὶ οὕτως ἔσται εἰς σημεῖα τὰ ἀστρα γεγονότα, κατὰ τὴν λέγουσαν φωνὴν 'ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα.' ὃ δὲ Ἱερεμίας ἐπιστρέψαντας ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς καὶ περιιαρῶν φόβον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις σημαίνεσθαι, τάχα δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβαωμένοις ἔκεῖθεν ἔρχεσθαι, φησὶν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθε.”

6.11.66 | “Ιδνμεν καὶ δεύτερον ἐπιχείρημα,

signify; as if no one receives 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 someone regarding our actions, so too the signs that the divine has set to indicate do not hinder our actions. Instead, 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 Joseph's prayer, what Jacob says 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 important words about what is to come, which will be completed and fulfilled, just as prophecies are said to be fulfilled when they happen.

6.11.65 | And so the stars will serve as 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 indicated, perhaps even what is believed to come from there, says, "Do not be afraid of the signs of heaven."

6.11.66 | We see a second argument about

πῶς οὐ δύνανται οἱ ἀστέρες εἶναι ποιητικοὶ, ἀλλ', εἰ ἄρα, σημαντικοί. 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 εἰπεῖν, περὶ τοῦ τόνδε πείσεσθαι τόδε καὶ τεθνήξεσθαι περιπεσόντα λησταῖς καὶ ἀναιρεθέντα φησὶ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἴδιας αὐτοῦ γενέσεως, κἄν τοῦ ἔχων ἀδελφοὺς πλείονας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν.

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.

6.11.68 | πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν τὸν τοσαύταις γενέσεσιν, ἔνα αὐτοῖς τοῦτο συγχωρηθῆ, ἐμπεριεχόμενον 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.

6.11.69 | ἡλίθιον γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν 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

how the stars cannot create, but rather, if anything, they are significant. For from many generations, it is possible to learn about one person; (we say this as an assumption, allowing that their knowledge can be understood by humans). 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 family background, even if he has the chance of having more brothers, from each of them.

6.11.67 | For they believe that each person's lineage includes a brother who will die at the hands of robbers, as well as the lineage of the father, the mother, the wife, their sons, the servants, and the closest friends, perhaps even those who will harm them.

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 seems unlikely to say that the arrangement in this person's lineage has caused these events, while in the lineages of others it has caused nothing, but only marked them.

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 this as an assumption, there could be fifty that include this person being killed. I do not understand how they can save those in Judea, almost all of whom

πάντων τοιόνδε εῖναι τὸν σχηματισμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς ὁκταήμερον αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν περιτομὴν, ἀκρωτηριαζομένους καὶ ἐλκουμένους καὶ φλεγμονῇ περιπεσουμένους καὶ τραύμασι, καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσόδῳ ιατρῶν δεομένους· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰσμαηλίταις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν τοιόνδε ὡς πάντας περιτέμνεσθαι τρισκαιδεκαετεῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἴστορηται περὶ αὐτῶν.

face 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 survival. 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 | καὶ πάλιν τῶνδε τινῶν τῶν ἐν Αἴθιοψι τοῖσδε τὰς κόγχας τῶν γονάτων περιαιρεῖρθαι καὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοὺς ἔτερους τῶν μαστῶν. πῶς γὰρ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἀστέρες τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; οἵμαι ὅτι εἴ ἐπιστήσαιμεν οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ στῆσαι δυνησόμεθά τι ἀληθὲς εἴπειν περὶ αὐτῶν.

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 believe that if we truly understood, we would not even be able to stand and say anything accurate about them.

6.11.71 | τοσούτων δὲ φερομένων ὀδῶν προγνωστικῶν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἔξωκειλαν οἴ ἀνθρωποι ἐπὶ τὸ τὴν μὲν οἰωνιστικὴν καὶ τὴν θυτικὴν μὴ λέγειν περιέχειν τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ σημαίνειν μόνον, καὶ τὴν ἀρτεροσκοπικὴν,, οὐκέτι δὲ τὴν γενεθλιαλογικήν.

6.11.71 | With so many predictive paths being offered, I do not understand how people could avoid discussing the omens and sacrifices that cause these things, but only point them out, and no longer consider natal astrology.

6.11.72 | εἰ γὰρ ἐπιγινώσκεται, (ίνα καὶ χαρισώμεθα τὸ γινώσκεσθαι,) γίνεται δὲ ἐκεῖθεν 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 ποιητικοὺς εῖναι τοὺς ἀστέρας τῶν

6.11.72 | For if it is understood (so that we may also be granted understanding), it comes from where knowledge is received. What is more likely to cause events: the stars or the omens? And what is more likely, the omens or the entrails of the sacrificed animals? And what is more from the entrails of the sacrificed animals than from the wandering stars? These points, then, will be enough for now to deny that the stars have a creative role in human

άνθρωπίνων."

6.11.73 | Ὡς τοι περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν γενεθλιαλογίαν ἀληθῶς καταλαμβάνειν εἰδέναι οὐ μόνον τὸ κατὰ πόστου δωδεκατημορίου ἐστὶν ὃ καλούμενος ἀστὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ποίας μοίρας τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ, οἵ δὲ ἀκριβέστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ τοῦ ἔξηκοστοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο φασι δεῖν ποιεῖν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πλανωμένων, ἔξετάζοντα τὴν σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς.

6.11.74 | φασὶ τοίνυν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν γενεθλιαλογίαν ἀληθῶς καταλαμβάνειν εἰδέναι οὐ μόνον τὸ κατὰ πόστου δωδεκατημορίου ἐστὶν ὃ καλούμενος ἀστὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ποίας μοίρας τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ, οἵ δὲ ἀκριβέστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ τοῦ ἔξηκοστοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο 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, ίδεῖν οὐ μόνον τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ποῖον ἢν 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 ἡμισυ δωδεκατημορίου περιεχούσης δύναται τις λαβεῖν τὸ ἔξηκοστὸν, μὴ ᔹχων τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν ὥρων, ὡστε, φέρε εἰπεῖν, εἰδέναι ὅτι γεγέννηται ὁ δεῖνα ὥρα τετάρτη καὶ ἡμίσει ὥρας, καὶ τετάρτω, ὄγδόω, καὶ ἐκκαιδεκάτω, καὶ δυοτριακοστῶ;

affairs.

6.11.73 | What we have agreed upon does not weaken the argument, since humans are able to understand the heavenly formations and the signs, and what those signs mean. Let us now examine whether this is true.

6.11.74 | Therefore, those skilled in these matters say that to truly understand what relates 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 parts 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 house.

6.11.76 | How then can someone determine the sixth house when half of the twelve houses is covered by the hour, without knowing 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, as well as at the fourth, eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-second hours?

6.11.77 | παρὰ πολὺ γάρ φασι

παραλλάττειν τὰ σημαινόμενα παρὰ τὴν  
ἀγνωσίαν οὐ τῆς 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 ἔκεινοι, παρὰ τὴν αἴτιαν 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 due to ignorance, not  
only of the entire hour but also of its  
position. In fact, for those born under the  
sign of Gemini, there is often a brief and  
immediate hour, and many variations of  
events and actions occur for them, as they  
say, regardless of the reasons for the  
relationships of the stars and the part of  
the twelve houses that is near the horizon,  
which is not recognized by those who track  
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  
ἐκλαβεῖν τὴν ὥραν. φέρεται δὴ θεώρημα  
ἀποδεικνύον τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον ὁμοίως  
τοῖς πλανωμένοις φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ δυσμῶν  
ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς 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 εὐρίσκεσθαι 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 accepted by them based on  
how they understand the hour. It is said  
that the theory shows the zodiac circle  
moving similarly 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  
conceptual house and the other being the  
visible form. They say that the results come  
not from the visible form, but from the  
conceptual zodiac, which cannot be fully  
understood.

6.11.79 | ἔστω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο

συγκεχωρημένον, τὸ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τὸ  
νοητὸν δωδεκατημόριον, ἢ δύνασθαι ἐκ  
τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ δωδεκατημορίου  
λαμβάνεσθαι τὸ ἀληθές· ἀλλὰ τὴν γε  
σύγκρασιν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένην τῶν ἐν  
τοῖσδε τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς τυγχανόντων καὶ  
αὐτοὶ ὁμολογήσουσιν οὐχ οἷοί τε σώσαι

6.11.79 | Let it also be accepted that the

conceptual zodiac can be understood, or  
that the truth can be taken from the  
sensible zodiac. However, they themselves  
will agree that the combination of those in  
these forms cannot be fully preserved, as  
the clarity is often dimmed, so to speak, by  
the weaker one, because it is

κάτα πάν, ἀμαυρουμένου τοῦ δηλουμένου, φέρε εἰπεῖν, χείρονος, ἀπὸ τοῦδε διὰ τὸ ἐπιβλέπεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἢ τοσόνδε ἀμαυρουμένου. πολλάκις πάλιν τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως τῆς τοῦ χείρονος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβλέψεως τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἐμποδιζομένης, ἐκ τοῦ ἔτερον οὐτωσὶ ἐσχηματίσθαι, χειρόνων ὄντα 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 ἡπερ 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 ἐκάστω ἔθνει ἐπαγαγεῖν."

6.11.82 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῖν οὗτος εἰς δύο τὰ μέγιστα συναιρεῖται λόγος, εἴς τε τὸ μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν χρᾶν νενομισμένους καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας, τούναντίον δὲ γόντας τινας καὶ

overshadowed by the stronger one, to such an extent that it becomes less clear. Often, the dimming of the weaker one is blocked by the sight of the stronger one, and from the other, it is shaped in this way, being significant of the weaker.

6.11.80 | And I believe that some, having arrived at certain places, have given up on understanding these matters, which are not at all left to humans. If anything, they only reach the point where it is marked.

6.11.81 | And if someone has experienced these matters, they will understand better what is in the thoughts of those who speak and those who have written than what is believed to be achievable. Indeed, Isaiah, noting that these things cannot be discovered 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 this, we learn that those who are very eager to learn about these matters cannot clearly reveal what the Lord intends to bring upon each nation.

6.11.82 | Such is the man who has been revealed. But indeed, this whole matter can be summed up 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. Instead, there are only

πλάνους καὶ ἀπατεῶνας, ἐπ' ὄλέθρῳ καὶ διαστροφῇ τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας τὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλάνην τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν περὶ εἰμαρμένης προβεβλημένους.

certain sorcerers, deceivers, and frauds, leading to the destruction and corruption of true piety towards humans, as well as other deceptions, including those concerning fate.

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 πρὸν ἀπάτη συνεχομένων, ἔξ δὲ σῆσης τε καὶ πηλίκης ἀνανεύσαντες αὐτοί τε ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἀβλεψίας τε καὶ ἀθεότητος τὴν ἵασιν τῆς μακρᾶς καὶ πολυχρονίου δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ μόνης τῆς σωτηρίου Εὐαγγελικῆς εὐράμεθα διδασκαλίας.

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 understand how the earlier deception continued. From this, both we and all human life, having turned away from ignorance and godlessness, have found healing from 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.

7.1.1 | 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 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ οὐκ ἀλόγῳ, κεκριμένῳ δὲ καὶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τῆς διεψευσμένης δόμοῦ πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων θεολογίας τὴν ἀπόλειψιν Πεποιημένοι συνέστημεν, ὡρα λοιπὸν τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιλύσασθαι, τὴν αἵτιαν ἀποδιδόντας τῆς τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν λόγων μεταποιήσεως.

7.1.2 | Since we have formed a reasoned and sensible understanding, not an irrational one, to dismiss the false teachings of both Greeks and non-Greeks, it is now time to address the second part, explaining 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  
φιλοισόφοις τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, καὶ τὰ  
ἄλλως κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς  
λυσιτελοῦντα χρείαις, παρά βαρβάρων  
έβικεν ωρήβθαι ἐπιδείζοντες· τὸ δὲ μηδέν  
πω μηδ' ὅλως παρά τισιν εύρηβθαι τῶν  
ἔθνῶν, οἷον τὸ παρ' Ἐβραίων ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν  
πεπορισμένον, ὃδε 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 helpful for common needs and political matters. At the same time, we will demonstrate that we have not taken anything at all from any of the nations, except for 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 τὸν 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 οὖσαν 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  
ἰδίοις 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 what is good and beneficial is 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 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  
ἐνσάρκον ζωῆς ἥλιον εἶναι καὶ σελήνην καὶ  
ἀστέρας ὑποτοπάβαντες, καί πως καὶ πρὸς  
τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ φωτὸς καταπλαγέντες

7.2.2 | From this, some people thought that the sun, moon, and stars were the sources of physical life. Amazed by the light, they called them the first gods, claiming they

πρώτους θεὺς ἀνηγόρευσαν, μόνους αἰτίους τῶν ὅλων εἶναι ἀποφηνάμενοι· οἵ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς καρποὺς τήν τε ὑγρὰν καὶ ξηρὰν καὶ θερμὴν ούσιαν τά τε λοιπά τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα τρεφόμενά τε καὶ πιαινόμενα τὴν ἔνσαρκον δόμιον ζωὴν τε καὶ ἡδονὴν ἔθηρᾶτο, 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 ἔθεοποίησαν· οἱ δὲ μοχθηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων γενόμενοι παραπαίγνια ἔτι μειζόνως τὸ παθητικὸν αὐτῶν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς συνηγένησαν, 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. αἴ τε γάρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν ἀπόστολον, μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν· δομοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες, ἀφέντες ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας, ἔξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὄρεξει αὐτῶν εἰς

were the only causes of everything. Others honored the fruits of the earth, both wet and dry, along with the warm essence and other parts of the world that nourish and strengthen their bodies, treating them as gods. Still, others, much earlier, openly acknowledged their passions and their goddess of pleasure, love, desire, and Aphrodite, believing 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 claimed 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 human race, 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 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, engaging in shameful acts among

άλλήλους, ἄρρεωες ἐν ἄρρεσι τὴν  
ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν  
ἀντιμισθίαν, ἥν ἔδει, τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν  
ἐαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες.

7.2.4 | ταύτῃ καὶ Ἔλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι,  
σοφοί τε καὶ ίδιωται, χαμαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
γαστέρα πεσόντες, ὡς θεῷ τῇ ἡδονῇ  
προσεκύνησαν, πρηνεῖς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
ἐρπετῶν δίκην καταβαλόντες, ἄμαχον καὶ  
ἀπαραίτητον θεὸν ταύτην ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ  
ἔστερξαν· ἐν τε ὡδαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις, ἐν τε  
θεῶν ἐορταῖς, ἐν τε ταῖς πανδήμοις θέαις,  
μόνης τῆς αἰσχρᾶς 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.  
“ἄρχῃ γάρ πορνείας ἐπίνοια είδώλων.”

7.2.5 | καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
ἔθνῶν 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,  
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

themselves and facing the consequences  
they deserve for their own deception.

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 saw her as 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 regarding the theology of other  
nations, it has taken such a form that, to put  
it briefly, the many shapes of one source of  
unclean and filthy pleasure, like a many-  
headed and many-necked hydra, have 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  
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

διεψευσμένης αύτῶν θεολογίας, διὰ τῶν συνηγμένων ἡμῖν Ελληνικῶν λογογράφων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀποδέεικται.

### Section 3

7.3.1 | Εἰ 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, ἔξ ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν συνεστώς κατεμάνθανον, ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, οὐ θεοὺς, ἔργα δὲ εἶναι θεοῦ διελογίσαντο, τὴν φύσιν τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας οὐ μόνον ἄλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀψυχον εἶναι, καθ' ὅσον ὁρώδης καὶ φθαρτὴ οὕσα τυγχάνει, συννοήσαντες, κάπειτα λογισάμενοι ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε τὴν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διάταξιν, εῦ καὶ σοφῶς ἡρμοσμένην, ἔμπλεων τε ζώων ἐμψύχων λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων ὑπάρχουσαν, αὐτόματον ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὴν αἴτιαν, οὐδέ γε τῶν ἐμψύχων τὴν ποιητικὴν ἀρχὴν ἀψυχον ὑπολαμβάνειν, οὐδὲ' ἄλογον τὴν τῶν λογικῶν δημιουργόν.

7.3.3 | ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδὲ ξύλων καὶ λίθων αὐτόματός ποτ' ἀν οίκοδομίᾳ συσταίη, οὐδέ γε ἐσθῆτος ὑφάντου δίχα συντελεσθείη, οὐδὲ πόλλεις καὶ πολιτεῖαι νόμων ἔκτὸς καὶ ἀρχοντικῆς διατάξεως, οὐδὲ ἔκτὸς

was the way of the ancient nations and their false theology, as shown to us by Greek writers and philosophers in earlier texts.

7.3.1 | If, then, the life of the ancients is clear to you, think only in your mind of 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 not 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 | 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

κυβερνήτου ναῦς, ούδὲ τὸ ρμικρότατον τέχνης ὅργανον 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 ἄλογος, τῷ καθ' ἐαυτὴν λόγῳ δίχα τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας λόγου ποτὲ καὶ ζωῆς ἀνθέξεται. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοηθέντες οἱ τῆς Ἐβραίων εὔσεβείας πατέρες, ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ καλλονῆς κτισμάτων νῷ κεκαθαρμένω καὶ ψυχῆς διαυγέσιν ὅμμασι τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν θεὸν ἔσεβάσθησαν.

## Section 4

7.4.1 | Κάπειτα μέρος οὐ μικρὸν τοῦ παντὸς σφὰς αὐτοὺς εἶναι συναισθόμενοι τὸ μέν τι αὐτῶν τίμιον εἶναι ἡγήσαντο, (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ ἀνθρώπον, 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 εἰσηγήκαντο.

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 γάρ τῶν ὄντων εἶναι ἄψυχα, οἷα λίθους καὶ ξύλα, τὰ δὲ ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως μέτοχα, οἷα τὰ ἀπὸ γῆς βλαρτήματα, τὰ δὲ αἴσθήσεως ὄρμῆς τε φανταστικῆς μεμοιραμένα, οἷα ζώων τὰ ἄλογα· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν δουλοῦσθαι, οὐ ἥωμη σώματος καὶ ίσχύν· κατηναγκασμένα, λογισμῷ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ἢ τὸ κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ

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. After thinking about these things, the fathers of Hebrew piety, with pure minds 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 an important part of the whole, they believed 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, thinking about this, they focused their attention and effort on caring for 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. Some things, like stones and wood, are lifeless, while others, like plants from the earth, share in life, and others, like 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.

γῆς ἀρχικόν τε καὶ βασιλικὸν γέρας ἄνωθεν  
παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἰτίου συγκεχωρῆσθαι  
κατειλήφασιν·)

7.4.3 | ἐνθεν δὲ οὐδέν μενοι σῶμα μὲν καὶ τὰ  
σωμάτων ἡδέα ούδέν 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.

7.4.3 | 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  
themselves, which is connected to the ruler  
of all, and the rational and thinking part of  
the soul, which is divine and  
knowledgeable, reflecting the likeness of  
the highest God. They understood this only  
through their effort and care.

7.4.4 | εἶτα μηδὲν ἄλλο τι ἐνθυμηθέντες  
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τοῦ πάντων ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦ  
θεοῦ, τέλος ἀπάσης εὐδαιμονίας τὴν αὐτοῦ  
γνῶσίν τε καὶ φιλίαν εἶναι ἀπεφήναντο, ὅτι  
καὶ αὐτῆς ζωῆς καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ  
τῶν τούτοις ἀναγκαίων μόνος αὐτὸς  
ἀνῆπται τὴν αἰτίαν.

7.4.4 | Then, thinking of nothing else as  
good except the good giver God of all good  
things, they declared that the ultimate  
source of all happiness is his knowledge  
and love, because he alone is the cause of  
life, soul, body, and everything necessary  
for them.

7.4.5 | τούτῳ δὴ οὖν σφᾶς ὅλους αὐτῷ  
σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ φέροντες ἀνατεθείκασι,  
τεθείκασι, τὸν πάντα αὐτῶν βίον ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
ἀναρτησάμενοι, καὶ μόνω προσέχειν, ἄλλω  
δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν δρωμένων ἀξιώσαντες.

7.4.5 | So, they dedicated themselves  
completely to him, offering their whole  
body and soul. 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 | οὕτω δὴ φιλόθεοι ὁμοῦ καὶ  
θεοφιλεῖς ἀναφανέντες θεραπευταί τινες  
ὄντως καὶ Ἱερεῖς τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ  
ἀπεφάνθησαν, ἥ καὶ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ  
βασιλικὸν Ἱεράτευμά τε θεοῦ καὶ ἔθνος  
ἀγιον προσαγορευθῆναι ἡξιώθησαν,  
σπέρμα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ταύτης εύσεβείας καὶ

7.4.6 | Thus, they truly appeared as lovers  
of God and friends of God, some as servants  
and priests of the Most High God. They  
were recognized as a chosen and royal  
priesthood and a holy nation, leaving a  
legacy of true piety for their descendants.

τοῖς ὄψιγόνοις αὐτῶν ἀπολελοιπότες.

7.4.7 | ἢρ' οὖν λογισμῷ σοι δοχοῦμεν τούσδε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν προτετιμηκέναι, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Φοινίκων τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίων θεῶν τῶν τε περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δυσφήμων ἀτοπημάτων τὰς παρ' Ἐβραίοις περὶ εὔσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διηγήσεις ἀποδέξασθαι;

7.4.7 | So, should we believe that these Greeks are preferred over the Phoenician and Egyptian gods, and that we should accept the stories from the Hebrews about pious men rather than the shameful actions of their gods?

## Section 5

7.5.1 | Θέα δ' οὖν ἔτι εἰς ὅσον θεοφιλοῦς ἀρετῆς προελθεῖν φασι τοὺς δηλουμένους, ἀποδεξάμενον τὸ θεῖον τῆς τε ἄλλης τοῦ βίου εὔσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τῆς τε περὶ αὐτὸν θεραπείας τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἥδη καὶ θειοτέρων χρησμῶν θεοφανειῶν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀγγελικῶν ὁπτασιῶν ἡξίου, τὰ ἐνδέοντα τῇ θνητῇ φύσει ταῖς τῶν πρακτέων ὑποθήκαις ἐπιδιορθούμενον, δογμάτων τε καὶ μαθημάτων αὐτοῖς θεοπρεπῶν τὴν γνῶσιν ἀποκαλύπτον, ὡς μηκέτι συλλογισμοῖς, μηδὲ είκασίαις, ἐκλάμψει δὲ αὐτῆς ἀληθείας φωτίζεσθαι τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν, ὥστε ἥδη θεοφορούμενους 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. By accepting the divine along with 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 be able to see the future as if it were present, and they will be able to predict what will happen to all of humanity.

7.5.2 | τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἐβραίων ἀρετῆς τὰ πολυύμνητα καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοφιλῆ περιέχει λόγια, ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ πατρίων μύθων τε καὶ λήρων προτετιμήκαμεν· οἱ μέν γε περὶ θεῶν τὰ αἰσχρότατα περιεῖχον, οἱ δὲ περὶ θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς εὔσεβεῖς διδασκαλίας.

7.5.2 | Such are the highly praised virtues of the Hebrews, which truly contain words that are beloved by God. We have preferred 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 lessons about godly men.

## Section 6

7.6.1 | Ταῦτα δὲ πάλαι πρότερον πρὶν ἦ καὶ Μωσέα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ὑποστῆναι ἔξ ἔτι μακροῦ αἰώνος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων προπάτορσιν ἐγνωρίζετο. καὶ γὰρ οὗν καὶ τοῦτο διαρθρῶσαι 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.

7.6.2 | 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.

7.6.3 | 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 ζώων διαστολὴν, ἐορτάς τε ἐτησίους, καὶ τινας σωμάτων καθαρμοὺς, ἄλλης τε μακρᾶς περιόδου κατά τινα σύμβολα θειότερον ἐπιτελουμένης. Ἐβραῖοι δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Μωσέως γενόμενοι τοῖς χρόνοις, πάσης τῆς διὰ Μωσέως νομοθεσίας ἀνεπήκοοι ὅντες, ἐλεύθερον 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

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 important to clarify this, as Judaism did not exist at that time. The Hebrews, who are mentioned, shared a common name and way of life, but the Jews did not yet exist and were not called by that name.

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 | The sacred writings teach that the Hebrews came before the Jews. The way of piety for the Jews began with the laws of Moses, who set aside a day of rest. 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 naturally, without needing the laws of their rulers, having calm souls, and they understood the true teachings about God. But after mentioning these things, it is also time to turn to the writings.

τῶνδε τοῦτον είρημένων τὸν τρόπον, ὡρα  
καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἔλθεῖν.

## 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 αὐ  
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  
δόμοιοτροπίας 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· οἱ 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 αύτοὺς,  
ἀπογόνους θεοφιλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν  
φύντας, τῆς τῶν προπατόρων εύσεβείας  
ζηλωτὰς ἀναδειχθῆναι, σπεῦσαί τε τῶν  
ἴσων τοῖς γεννήσασι παρὰ θεοῦ τυχεῖν,  
ἄλλὰ μὴ ἀποναρικῆσαι, μηδ' ἀποκνῆσαι ὡς  
ἐπ' ἀδυνάτοις τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδος  
ἐαυτοὺς ἀπογνόντας·

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 passed 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 believed it was 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 filled 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; they were the ones to whom the laws were given.

7.7.3 | Therefore, it is even more important for them, as descendants of God-loving and righteous men, to show enthusiasm for the piety of their ancestors. They should strive to receive the same blessings from God that their forefathers received, and not become lazy or give up, thinking that they cannot achieve the hope of goodness.

7.7.4 | δυνατὰ γάρ εἶναι καὶ τοῖς οίκείοις αὐτῶν προπάτορσιν ἐντελῶς κατωρθωμένα· ὃν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τοῖς τὰ θεῖα παιδευομένοις παρεδίδου, τοὺς βίους καταλέγων τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ τὴν ἴδιάζουσαν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόσι γραφής διατυπούμενος.

## Section 8

7.8.1 | Καὶ τούτων δὲ ούδὲν ἐμποδὼν 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 ἔμανθάνομεν, ὡς αὖ πάλιν τὰ Ἐλλήνων 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 ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν καὶ τὰ Ἑβραίων ἐκ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις λογίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἀποδέχεσθαι)

7.8.2 | ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ παρὰ τούτοις κατέχει λόγος, ἀνωθεν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐκ πρώτης ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἔξης διαδοχάς θεοφιλεῖς τινες ἄνδρες γεγόνασι καὶ δίκαιοι πλείους· ὃν ὁ μὲν ἥλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ.”

7.8.3 | τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὸ μηδένα πλὴν τῶν

7.7.4 | For it is possible that their own ancestors were completely successful. They also passed down examples for those learning about the divine, recounting the lives of the ancients and describing the unique virtue of each one, as if writing in a picture.

7.8.1 | And there is nothing stopping us from quickly exploring the history of these matters. Before the flood, as the writing of Moses shows, it seems necessary to look into the traditions of the Hebrews, since we have learned about the Egyptians from the Egyptians and about the Phoenicians from their own people. Similarly, we have learned about the Greeks from those among them who are knowledgeable, and about philosophers from philosophers, but not from those who know nothing about philosophy. Where else would it be fitting to learn about medicine, if not 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 | As the account among these people states, before the flood, from the first generation of humans and into the following generations, there were some men who loved God and many who were righteous. Among them, one hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.

7.8.3 | This shows that no one, except for

ἀπάντων τὸν δημιουργὸν δεσπότην ὅμοῦ καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγράψασθαι. πεπεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ποιητικῇ δυνάμει εὗ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὸ πᾶν διατεθεικέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότου δίκην, ὡς ἄν μεγάλης πόλεως, τοῦ σύμπαντος κυριεύειν, οἰκονομεῖν τε καὶ οἰκοδεσποτεῖν ὅμοῦ καὶ κύριον ὅντα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ θεόν.

everyone, 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 θεοφιλὸς 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 ὅμοῦ 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, names, 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 his soul and body.

7.8.5 | παρ' ὁ πρῶτος ἀληθὴς ἄνθρωπος χρηματίσαι παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἀναγέγραπται. κέιληται 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 ὅμοῦ 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," and his name suggests wisdom. 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 καταβεβλημένους, θῆρας μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνθρώπους ἢ Ἐβραίων ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκει γραφὴ, κυριολεκτεῖν είθισμένη τὰς προσηγορίας.

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 completely focused on their bellies and pleasures, as if they are fallen creatures. The text is used to applying these names literally.

7.8.7 | παρ' ὁ τοὺς τοιούσδε τοτὲ μὲν λύκους καὶ κύνας, τοτὲ δὲ σύας φορυτῷ

7.8.7 | For these people, they are sometimes called wolves and dogs, and at

χρωμένους καὶ χαίροντας, καὶ πάλιν  
ἐρπετὰ καὶ ὄφεις, τοῖς τῆς κακίας  
πολυτρόποις ἐμφερῶς εἴδεσι,  
προσαγορεύειν εἴωθεν.

other times pigs, dressed up and enjoying themselves. They are also compared to creeping things and snakes, resembling the many forms of wickedness. This is how they are usually referred to.

7.8.8 | εἰ δὲ καί ποτε τὸν κοινὸν καὶ πολὺν  
ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτὸ χρεών  
διασημῆναι, πάλιν οίκείᾳ καὶ προσφυεῖ  
χρωμένη προσηγορίᾳ τὸν πάντα ἄνθρωπον  
τῇ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐπωνυμίᾳ σημαίνει, ὅτι δὴ  
τοῦτο τῷ προγόνῳ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων  
προπάτορι κύριον εἶναι καὶ προσφυές  
ὄνομα, τὸν γηγενῆ δηλοῦν κατὰ τὴν εἰς  
Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν μετάληψιν μετάληψιν,  
ὑποφαίνει.

7.8.8 | If there is ever a need to refer to the common and numerous people, the whole human race is again called by the name of Adam. This shows that this name is a proper and fitting one for the ancestor and father of all humans, indicating the native people in the Greek language.

7.8.9 | ὅ γέ τοι Ἐνὼς πρῶτος θεοφιλῶν  
παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἴστόρηται, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος  
ἥλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ  
θεοῦ, τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν παριστὰς λογικὸν  
ὄντως καὶ γνωστικὸν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον  
εύσεβείας ἐπιστημονικόν· ὧν 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, as 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 study of piety. The first part is true knowledge of God, while the second part could serve as evidence 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  
μὲν ὡς οἴκετῶν δεσπότου, τὸ δ' ὡς ἔλεω καὶ  
ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη τὸ πάντων  
τρισμακάριον τέλος.

7.8.10 | For one should not neglect or place the knowledge of the divine second, but always and forever hope to call upon the name of the Lord God. This would be like a servant to a master and like a humble and good father. This would be the most blessed outcome for all.

7.8.11 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὖν ὁ παρ' Ἑβραίοις  
εἰσῆκται πρῶτος καὶ ἀληθῆς ἄνθρωπος,  
οὐχ ὁ γηγενῆς ἐπίκλην Ἀδὰμ δι' ἐντολῆς

7.8.11 | Thus, the first and true man among the Hebrews is not the earthly one named Adam, who fell from God's command

θεοῦ παράβασιν τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων  
έκπεσών λήξεως, ἀλλ' ὁ θεοφιλῶν  
πρώτιστος, ὃς ἥλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ  
ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ.

because of disobedience, but the first  
among the God-loving, who hoped to call  
upon the name of the Lord God.

7.8.12 | κρίναντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ λογισμῷ  
σώφρονι τὸ τοιόνδε ζηλοῦν ἡγαπήσαμεν,  
καὶ ἀπεδεξάμεθα ὡς λυσιτελῇ καὶ  
ἀφελιμωτάτην 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.

7.8.12 | Therefore, we have wisely decided  
to embrace this kind of teaching, and we  
have shown that the story of the word is  
useful and beneficial for us. We place our  
prayer alongside the name of the creator  
and master of all, hoping with certainty and  
goodness to call upon it.

7.8.13 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν είρημένον ἄλλος  
εὐηρέστησε τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκετο,  
ὡς φησι Μωσῆς, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ  
θεὸς δι’ ἄκραν ἀρετῆς τελείωσιν.  
δυσεύρετος γὰρ ὅ γε σοφὸς ἀληθῶς.

7.8.13 | But after the one mentioned,  
another pleased the Lord, and he was not  
found, as Moses says, because God took him  
away for the sake of perfect virtue. For  
truly, the wise one is hard to find.

7.8.14 | οὗτος δ' ἀν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῷ θεῷ τέλειος,  
ὁ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν διατριβῆς  
μετατεθειμένος. ὁ γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἀγοράς  
καὶ δικαστήρια καπηλείας τε καὶ ἐμπορίας  
γαῖ τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον μεταδιώκων,  
ἀθούμενός τε καὶ ὀθῶν, μέσος ἐν αὐτῷ  
κακίας βυθῷ καταπίνεται· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ  
ληφθεὶς καὶ τῶν τῆδε ἔκεισε  
μετατεθειμένος ἀφανῆς μὲν καὶ ἀνεύρετος  
ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ δὲ φίλος γεγονὼς, ὑπὸ  
θεοῦ εὑρηται.

7.8.14 | This one would be the perfect  
person in God, who has been removed from  
many distractions. The one who is not like  
this chases after markets and courts, as  
well as the businesses of trade and  
commerce. He is both pushed and pushing,  
and he is swallowed up in the depths of  
wickedness. But the one taken by God,  
moved from here to there, is unknown and  
not found by people. He has become a  
friend of God and is found by God.

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.

7.8.15 | This one is called Enoch by the  
Hebrews, which means “friend.” So, it  
signifies the grace of God. Therefore, we  
believe that living a life like this is truly

blessed.

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 αύχμὸς καὶ γνόφος ἀλέκτου κακίας τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατειλήφει γένος, οὕτως τε πάντων ἀνὰ στόμα θρυλούμενοι γίγαντες τὰς εἰς δεῦρο βωμένας θεομαχίας ἀθέοις καὶ δυσσεβέσιν ἔγχειρήμασιν ἀπειργάζοντο· ἥδη δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς τούτων γενέσεως αἴτιοι, εἴτε τινὸς κρείττονος μοίρας ἡ κατὰ θνητῶν φύσιν ὑπάρξαντες, εἴθ' ὀπωσοῦν κατεσκευασμένοι, τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις περιέργου διδασκαλίας ἀπάρξαντες, γοητείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κακοτρόπου μαγγανείας ἐπιτεχνήματα λέγονται παραδοῦναι τῷ βίῳ, ὥστε πάν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος μιᾶς ὑπὸ ψῆφον γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῷ δίκης.

7.8.16 | A third man, Noah, is shown to be righteous in his generation. The signs of his righteousness are these: a great drought and darkness of wickedness have taken hold of all humanity. Those called giants by everyone were involved in godless and impious acts against the divine. 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 turned to strange teachings among people, giving themselves over to sorcery and other wicked tricks. As a result, all of humanity has become one under a judgment from God.

7.8.17 | καὶ δὴ πάντων ἐνὶ νεύματι διαφθείρεσθαι μελλόντων, μόνος εἷς οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν δηλούμενος δίκαιος ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ τοῖς οίκείοις εὑρηται. πάντων δῆτα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κατακλυσμῷ διολλυμένων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς ὑδάτων ἀθρόᾳ πλημμύρᾳ τῶν προτέρων κακῶν ἀποκαθαιρομένης ὁ θεοφιλῆς σὺν παισὶν ἄμα καὶ γυναιξὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ ζώπυρον σπέρμα παραδοξότατον πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τετήρηται.

7.8.17 | And indeed, when everyone was about to be destroyed with a single nod, this one man, who is now revealed 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 gathered in a great flood, cleansing away the earlier evils. The one beloved by God, along with his children and wives, is preserved as a most remarkable seed for life after this.

7.8.18 | γένοιτο δ' ἀν καὶ οὗτος ἀρχέτυπος εἰκὼν, ζῶσα καὶ ἔμψυχος, τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοις ὑπόδειγμα τρόπον θεοφιλοῦς παρεσχημένος.

7.8.18 | May this one also be a living and breathing prototype, serving as a model for those born from him, provided in a way that is pleasing to God.

7.8.19 | Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τοιοίδε· οἵ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπ' εὔσεβείᾳ διαπρεπεῖς ἄλλοι πάλιν, ὅτι τὴν μνήμην τὰ ἱερὰ διασώζει λόγια. τούτων τις Ἱερεὺς ἀνείρηται τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ, βασιλεὺς δίκαιος τῇ Ἐβραίων προσηγορίᾳ χρηματίσας.

7.8.20 | τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν οὐδὲ εἰς σώματος περιτομῆς λόγος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν Μώσεως Ἰουδαϊκῶν παραγγελμάτων παραγγελμάτων διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ Ἰουδαίους φάναι δίκαιον, οὐδέ γε Ἕλληνας, ὅτι μηδὲ πλείους θεοὺς ὄμοιώς ἔλλησιν ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡγοῦντο. Ἐβραῖοι δ' ἀν κυριώτερον ἐπικληθεῖν, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἑβερ, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον παρὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῆς προσηγορίας.

7.8.21 | περατικοὶ γάρ τινες ἐρμηνεύονται, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ διάβασίν τε καὶ θεωρίαν στειλάμενοι. φυσικοῖς γάρ τοι λογισμοῖς καὶ νόμοις ἀγράφοις τὴν ὄρθὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς διευθύναντες πορείαν, καὶ πέραν τῶν σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πάνσοφον καὶ θεοσεβῆ βίον διαβεβηκότες ἀναγράφονται.

7.8.22 | ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἡμῖν ἄπασι καὶ ὁ βοώμενος 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 ἐβδόμῃ γενεᾷ Μωσῆς ἀναπέφηνε) πλὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ εὐσεβὴς, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, ἀνείρηται, τοῖς ἄνωθεν δεδηλωμένοις παραπλησίως.

7.8.19 | And those before the flood were like this; but those after him were again known for their piety, and the sacred writings keep their memory alive. One of these is called 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 more accurately called 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. They have guided the right path of virtue through natural reasoning and unwritten laws, and having moved beyond the pleasures of the flesh, they are noted for entering into a wise and god-fearing life.

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

earlier.

7.8.23 | λέγει δ' οὗν ἡ γραφὴ “καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.” πατέρα δὴ πολλῶν ἔθνων ὁ θεῖος χρησμὸς τοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προαγορεύει, διαρρήδην τε εὐλογηθήσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ φησι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς φυλὰς, ἄντικρυς τὰ νῦν καθ' ἡμάς συντελούμενα θεσπίζων.

7.8.24 | ἀλλ' ὅ γε Ἀβραὰμ ἑκεῖνος 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 παραδοὺς, εἴτε εἰς ἐμφανῆ σημείωσιν τῆς τῶν ἔξ αὐτοῦ παίδων πολυπληθίας, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἔχοιεν οἱ παῖδες πάτριον γνώρισμα, ἥτοι βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸν τῶν προγόνων ζῆλον, ἢ τῆς ἑκείνων ἀρετῆς ἀπολειπόμενοι, εἴτε καθ' ἐτέρας οἰασδηποτοῦν αίτιας, ἃς οὐ νῦν σχολὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν.

7.8.25 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὕν καὶ οὗτος εἰς μίμησιν ἐκκείμενος. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ἰσαὰκ τῆς πατρῷας ὄμοι 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' ἣν διδύμου γονῆς ἀποδειχθεὶς πατὴρ εἰς τοῦτο

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 states that all the nations of the earth and all the tribes will be blessed in him, directly confirming what is now being fulfilled among us.

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 was to be circumcised in the flesh, and he passed this on to his descendants. This was either as a clear sign of the many children that would come from him or so that the children would have a family mark. They could either live according to the zeal of their ancestors or fall short of their virtues, or there may be other reasons that we do not have time to discuss now.

7.8.25 | So this one is also set as an example. After him, Isaac is shown to be the heir of his 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 divine words when he married one woman for the purpose of having children. He was revealed as the father of twins, and it is said that he had an extraordinary relationship with his wife,

περιγράψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν  
διμιλίαν ὑπερβολῇ σωφροσύνης λέγεται.

7.8.26 | ένταῦθά σοι καὶ Ἰακὼβ, ὁ καὶ  
Ἰσραὴλ, εἰσήχθω, διώνυμός τις γεγονὼς  
ἀνὴρ παρὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀρετῶν  
διαλλάττουσαν προκοπήν. ὅτε μὲν οὖν  
έγγυμναζόμενος 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, δόμοῦ 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 ικληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἰακὼβ,  
ἄλλ' 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  
μεταβληθὲν σημαίνει ἀνθρωπὸν ὄρῶντα  
θεόν.

7.8.29 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὗν καὶ οὗτος ἐξ οὗ τὸ  
δωδεκάφυλον τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους  
ὑπέστη γένος. μυρία δ' ἀν λεχθείη περὶ τοῦ  
βίου τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόμου  
καρτερίας τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσκήσεως, τὰ μὲν

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 his family's virtues. When he was training in the practical ways and lives of those who strive for piety, he was called Jacob. His 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 reveals the man who sees and understands God, since the new name means a person who sees 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

πρὸς λέξιν θεωρούμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι’ ὑπονοιῶν ἀλληγορούμενα· περὶ ὐν εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, ἀτὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν οἷς ἐπραγματευσάμεθα περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαιδίας. τοιοίδε μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτοι.

7.8.30 | "Ἐχω σοι παρ' αύτοὺς καὶ ἄλλον εἰπεῖν, Ἱὼβ ὅνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρὶ, ὃν τὰ ἱερὰ μαρτυρεῖ λόγια γεγονέναι ἄνθρωπον ἀμεμπτον, ἀληθινὸν, δίκαιον, Θεοσεβῆ, ἀπεχόμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος· οὗτός γέ τοι οὐδὲν προσήκων τῷ Ἰουδαίων γένει ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εὔσεβείας κατορθώμασι μεμαρτύρηται.

7.8.31 | οἱ γε μὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβ παῖδες, τὴν πάτριον θεογνωσίαν τε καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἡγαπηκότες, τὴν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραίων φήμην ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης προΐηγον, 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 ἔξ οίκειων ἐπιβουλῆς γεγενημένον καὶ δοῦλον Αἴγυπτίου ἀνδρός.

7.8.33 | τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς ὠραιότητα καὶ βώμην σώματος αύτῷ καὶ εύμορφίαν ηύτύχητο παρίημι, εἰ καὶ τὰ λόγια κάλλους αὐτὸν ὥρᾳ πάντων διενεγκεῖν ἀναγράφει· τὰ δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς πῶς ἄν τις ἀναγράψειε, κατ' ἀξίαν τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀρετῆς τὸν ἔπαινον

be understood literally, while others are interpreted through hints and allegories. Others have spoken about these matters, but we too have discussed the many descendants 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 part of 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, raised the reputation of the Hebrews to great glory, so much so that they began to gain 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. He became a servant after being betrayed by his own family and served as a servant to an Egyptian man.

7.8.33 | As for all the other things he was fortunate in, like beauty, strength, and good looks, I will set 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

διελθεῖν προηρημένος;

7.8.34 | φύσει μὲν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι λόγος τὸ ἐλευθέριον γνώρισμα, τοῦ τε τρόπου τὸ εὔγενὲς ἐπανθοῦν τῷ προσώπῳ· τοῖς δὲ εὐσεβείας διαπρέπουσι κόσμοις διαφερόντως ἔξησκητο ἔξησκητο, ὡς ἐν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ φρονήσει τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλάμπειν, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ 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 ὄμιλίας 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 διμοῦ 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.

7.8.36 | κάπειτα αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν σώφρονι λογισμῷ τοιάδε ἐπιλογίζεται, καί φησιν “εἴ ὁ κύριός μου δι' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν γινώσκει τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ δέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ πῶς ποιήσω τὸ πονηρὸν ἥημα τὸ μέγα τοῦτο, καὶ ἀμαρτήσομαι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ;” ἐφ' οἶς οἶα νικηφόρον τοῖς ἀρετῆς

man based on his worth and virtue?

7.8.34 | By nature, he had the gift of free speech, and his noble character shone through his face. 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 the very beginning.

7.8.35 | Then, when his master's wife became obsessed with him, trying to pull him into immoral and lustful relationships, she first tried to deceive him with words. Next, she attempted 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 like a frightened and frantic beast escapes to find safety.

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

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, ὅτι μηδὲ ἦν πω τὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα θεοφιλέσι καὶ τρισμακαρίοις ἀνείληπται.

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 | Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς είρημένους Ἑβραίους, ἐπειδὴ εἰς πολυναθρωπίαν ἐπεδίδουν τὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων γένος, ἥδη τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔθνος συνεστώς ἐπλεόναζέν τε δύσημέραι καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς εύσεβοῦς ἀγωγῆς τῶν πρόπαλαι θεοφιλῶν προπατόρων κατὰ σμικρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔξησθένει καὶ ἀπημβλύνετο, τὰ δὲ τῆς παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις διατριβῆς τοσοῦτον τῆς τῶν δηλουμένων κατίσχυε πληθύος ὡς τῆς μὲν πατρίου ἀρετῆς εἰς λήθην ἐλθεῖν, τῇ δὲ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις ὁμοιοτροπίᾳ τοὺς βίους περιενεχθῆναι, ὡς κατὰ μηδὲν Αἴγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον διαφέρειν δοκεῖν.

7.8.37 | After the aforementioned Hebrews, as their descendants increased in number, the nation of the Jews also grew and multiplied day by day. The teachings of their pious ancestors began to fade and weaken among them, while the influence of living among the Egyptians became so strong that they forgot their ancestral virtues. They started to live in a way that seemed no different from the Egyptians.

7.8.38 | ἐνταῦθα δῆτα αὐτοῖς τοιοῖσδε ἀποτελεσθεῖσιν ὁ 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 ἀρμόδιον τοῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἥθεσι προβάλλεται νόμον·

7.8.38 | At that time, the God of their ancestors sent Moses as a leader and lawgiver to them, trusting in the promises made through oracles to their forefathers. Then, through him, the recorded miracles and wondrous signs were performed, establishing a law that matched the character of those who were listening.

7.8.39 | οἱ μὴ ζηλώσαντες τὴν πάτριον ἀρετὴν δι' ἀβελτερίαν, οἵα δὴ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ νενοσηλευμένοι, τὴν κατάλληλον παρελάμβανον πολιτείαν, τὰ μὲν προφανῶς ἐκ τοῦ προδήλου

7.8.39 | Those who did not strive for their ancestral virtue because of carelessness, like souls filled with passion and suffering, accepted a way of life that seemed suitable for them. Some of it was clearly laid out by

διαταττομένου Μώσεως, τὰ δὲ δι'  
ύπονοιῶν αίνιττομένου, σύμβολά τε καὶ  
σκιὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ γυμνὴν ἀλήθειαν φυλάττειν  
αὐτοῖς καὶ περιέπειν ὑποθεμένου.

Moses, while other parts were hinted at through suggestions, symbols, and shadows. However, they did not hold onto the pure truth that was being offered to them.

7.8.40 | καὶ δὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων πολίτευμα  
ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἀρξάμενον  
μέχρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ταῖς τῶν οίκείων  
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 διαθήκης, τῆς διὰ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι  
κατηγγελμένης ἢ καὶ ὡδε τέλους ἔτυχεν, ἢ  
καὶ ἀναπεφώνηται.

7.8.40 | Indeed, the way of life of the Jews began with 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, as well as 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 | Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν τῶν πρὸ Μώσεως  
Ἐβραίων βίον ἐν ὄλιγῳ διεληλύθαμεν, καὶ  
τόν γε τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς εύσεβείας  
χαρακτῆρα παρεστήσαμεν, ὥρα καὶ τὸν  
δογματικὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἀπό τε τῆς  
Μώσεως γραφῆς καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν  
προφητῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι.

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 examine 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 οίκείας 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

7.9.1 | First of all, that remarkable theologian and lawgiver, starting with the writings of his own people, established a way of life suitable for the Jews based on piety. He did not think it necessary to use common or misleading introductions to his words. Instead, he anticipated all the laws meant to guide both poets and non-poets, as well as the public and political rules

ἀπαγορευτικὸν, τάς τε δημοτελεῖς καὶ πολιτικὰς περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους συμβολαίων διατάξεις, ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίου θεολογίας δεῖν ὥστο τὴν καταρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας, οὐδὲ ἐτέραν μάθησιν οἰκείαν νόμοις εύσεβείᾳ προσήκουσιν ἡγησάμενος, ἢ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκ προπατόρων εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν θεολογίαν.

about how people should interact with one another. He believed that the foundation of his teachings should come from ancestral theology, and he did not consider any other teachings suitable for piety, except for the theology that had been passed down from his ancestors to him.

7.9.2 | ἄρχεται τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῆς τῶν προγόνων Ἐβραίων θεολογίας, οὐχ ἦ φίλον Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν ἦν ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς πλῆθος καταβάλλουσι τὴν σεβάσμιον προσηγορίαν, θεούς τε ὁραμένους 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 with God according to the ancestral theology of the Hebrew ancestors, not like the Egyptians and Phoenicians, who assigned the sacred name to many gods. They believed in visible gods, such as the heavenly bodies, as well as hidden and unseen ones, either those that come from humans or the spirits of the earth and air, as we have discussed before.

7.9.3 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων αἴτίου ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὀρατῶν δημιουργοῦ τὴν καταρχὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου πεποιημένος νομοθέτην τοῦτον εἶναι 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 everything. He established him as the king of the universe, just like a ruler of a great city.

7.9.4 | παιδεύει τοιγαροῦν ἀρχόμενος τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι μὴ μόνον τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ σμικρὸν ὕστερον διαταχθησομένων ἀνθρώποις νόμων αὐθέντην εἶναι καὶ κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ὅλων.

7.9.4 | Therefore, he teaches that he should be seen not only as the master and lord of the laws that will be given to people later, but also of everything in nature.

## Section 10

7.10.1 | Βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου παριστᾶ· νεύματι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ δυνάμει τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ούσιώσιν 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 ούρανὸν ἐστερεῶσθαι, καὶ γῆς τὸ βαρὺ καὶ στερέμνιον παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν τοῖς λεπτομερεστέροις τῶν στοιχείων θαυμασίως ἐπαιωρεῖσθαι· λόγῳ δὲ καὶ νόμῳ θείῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας 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 τάς ἑτησίους 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 οἰκείοις ἐναποκεκλεῖσθαι πελάγεσιν, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ὅρους τῶν Ἱερῶν νόμων ὑπερβαίνειν τολμᾶν, καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ούσιαν ὄμβριοις νάμασι καὶ νιφετοῖς νόμῳ θείῳ πάλιν συμμέτρως ἐπιχορηγούμενοι ἀρδομένην τὴν γῆν μυρία γένη φυτῶν τε 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' αὐτομάτω καὶ ἀλόγῳ φορῷ συνεστάναι τὸν τηλικοῦτον

7.10.1 | For he presents him as the king and lawgiver of the whole universe. By his will and power, everything has come into being, and through 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 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 the seasons complete the yearly cycles and the seasonal hours in perfect harmony with 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.

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

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.

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 | ἐνθεν 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 γῇ  
τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄπαντα, ὅσα τε ἔργα  
φύσεως εἶναι νενόμισται. ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ  
καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἱεροῖς τε νόμοις καὶ λόγοις  
δουλεύει.

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 everyone 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 | διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆναι τὸ  
ἀνθρώπειον γένος, οὐ σμικρὸν μέρος  
τύγχανον του παντος, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον  
τοῖς θείοις προσανέχειν διατάγμασι, μηδ'  
έλαττοῦσθαι τῶν κατὰ μέρος στοιχείων. γῇ  
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  
διατάξεως.

7.10.5 | Therefore, it is even more necessary for the human race, which is not a small part of everything, to closely follow the divine commands and not to be diminished in their essential 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 this command, it shows obedience to the law, not yet neglecting the divine order up to this point.

7.10.6 | οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν ούσίαν;  
φήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ “έξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα  
ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, καὶ πετεινὰ  
πετόμενα κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,”  
ἅμα λόγῳ τούργον ἀποδοῦναι, ὀρᾶσθαι τε  
εἰσέτι δεῦρο τῷ νόμῳ παρέχουσαν τὸ

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 showed that the work was done according to the law, while still demonstrating obedience to the

πειθήνιον.

command.

7.10.7 | εἴ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες, τοῦ θείου νόμου καὶ αὐτοῖς διωρισμένου τοὺς οίκείους ἀποδιδόναι δρόμους, εἶναί τε καὶ εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς, οὐ παραμελοῦσι τῆς νομοθεσίας, τίς ἀν̄ ἔτι σοι λείποιτο συγγνώμης ἀποφυγὴ, τῶν θείων κατολιγωροῦντι νομῶν;

7.10.7 | If indeed the sun, the moon, and the stars are also given their own paths by the divine law, serving 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 εὗλε καὶ τῆς οίκείας 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 ὅμοιον 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 εύσέβειαν θεοῦ, τίς τε ἡ κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον ἀνθρώπου ζωὴ. διελόμενος δῆτα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος λόγον ἐν ψυχῇ μὲν ὀρίζεται τὸν ἀληθῆ ἀνθρωπὸν, νοερᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ἀσωμάτου καὶ λογικῆς μέτοχον, ὡς ἀν̄ 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

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 human nature. 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. When examining the discussion about the soul 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 serves as a unifying force connecting the earthly being made in the image of god.

πεποιημένω συναπτικήν δύναμιν.

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 δμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ παντὸς ὑποβληθέντα δι' ἀπροσεξίαν καὶ τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς παράβασιν τῆς τριποθήτου στερηθῆναι ζωῆς.

7.10.11 | Ταῦτά τοι ὁ Μώσης ἐν προοιμίοις τῶν ιερῶν 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.

7.10.12 | 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' ὅ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονέναι ἀνωμολόγηται.

7.10.13 | ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ταῦτα εἶναι ὥετο Προπαιδεύεσθαι τοὺς μέλλοντας ιεροῖς προσανέχειν νόμοις, μνημονεύειν τε τί τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς γῆν αὖθις ἀναλυθησόμενον, καὶ τί τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κρεῖττον καὶ θεῷ ἔμφερὲς, ὅπως τε χρῆν ἐκατέρῳ τῶν είρημένων δι προσφέρεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρωπὸν, μηδέ γε αὐτὸν ἡυπαίνειν αἰσχραῖς καὶ παρανόμοις

7.10.10 | It is also said that the first man lived in the blessed paradise of god, filled with immortal and eternal goods. However, by the law of god, he was similarly subjected to the same beginnings as all things. Due to carelessness and breaking the divine command, he was deprived of the life of the threefold nature.

7.10.11 | Moses reflects in the introductions of the sacred laws, especially warning us not to neglect our own worth and how we are made similar to the divine. From this, we are also called to the immortality of the soul.

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 embodies wisdom, life, light, and truth. If someone thinks of anything beautiful and good, the human mind is an image of that original, by which it is said to have been made in the image of god.

7.10.13 | He thought it was necessary for those who are about to offer sacred laws to remember what is taken from the earth and will return to it, as well as what is greater and similar to god within us. Each person 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

πράξεσι, φέρειν δὲ διὰ παντὸς τῆς πρώτης καὶ τρισμακαρίας ἑκείνης διατριβῆς τε καὶ ζωῆς τὸν πόθον, καὶ σπεύδειν παλινδρομεῖν παλινδρομεῖν, εύχὴν ποιουμένους τῆς πρώτης καὶ τρισμακαρίου ζωῆς τε καὶ ἀξίας τυχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐνθένδε ἥδη ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκεῖσε ἀποδημίαν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλως δυνατὸν βεβήλοις καὶ μὴ κεκαθαρμένοις τῶν Ἱερῶν ἑκείνων ἐπιβαίνειν, ὃν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος δὶ’ ἀπροσεξίαν, θείας καταφρονήσας ἐντολῆς, ἀποπέπτωκεν.

and most blessed life and existence, and strive to return to it, praying to attain that first and most blessed life and worth. 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 fell away due to carelessness and despising the divine command.

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 ἀνθρώπων ἀρχῆθεν ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας.

7.10.14 | On these matters, the hierophant adds another important teaching, instructing not to doubt that there is indeed a wicked spirit present for each person—a slanderer and a hater—who has been a threat to the salvation of humanity from the very beginning.

7.10.15 | δράκοντα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ ὄφιν ὀνομάζει, μέλανά τε καὶ σκότους οίκειον, ίοῦ τε καὶ κακίας πλήρη· ὃν καὶ φησι φθόνω 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 ἢδιοιουργίας.

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 person who tries to offer themselves to god. Because of this, our ancestors fell away from a higher divine state, so it is necessary to always be alert against the wicked tricks of this 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

7.10.16 | And why should we anticipate these things? It is necessary to go through each of the writings that have been shared. Let us begin first with god, calling upon him as our helper through our savior.

έπικαλεσάμενοι.

## 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 ούδε πιθανολογίαις πιθανολογίαις, δογματικώτερον δὲ καὶ διδασκαλικώτερον ἐπιθειάζων τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι· ὑφ' οὗ 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' ὅμοιότητα, 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 ἐνιαυτοὺς, 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 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 ὄντα βουληθῆναι τὸν

7.11.1 | The beginning of theology starts from the creative 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. In this way, Moses, 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 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

θεὸν παρίστησιν, οὐ μὴν δὲ φωνῇ καὶ συλλαβαῖς φάναι αὐτὸν ἐπινοεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνακεφαλαιούμενος “αὕτη” φησὶν “ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ἣ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.”

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 | τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ καθ' Ἐβραίους θεολογία, λόγῳ 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 σωτῆρας καὶ διοικητὴν καὶ βασιλέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα, ἥλιῳ αὐτῷ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις 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.

7.11.4 | Such is the theology according to the Hebrews, teaching that all things were created by the word of god. Furthermore, it does not suggest that the whole world was left like an orphan by its father, but rather that it is always cared for by 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 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 | ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει καὶ οἴ μετὰ ταῦτα προφῆται, ἀκόλουθα καὶ αὐτοὶ θειάζοντες, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνεφώνουν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου λέγοντες προσώπου “θεὸς ἐγγίζων ἐγώ είμι, λέγει κύριος, καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸς πόρρωθεν. εἴ ποιήσει τι ἄνθρωπος ἐν κρυφαίοις, κάγῳ οὐ γνώσομαι αὐτό αὐτό; οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος,”

7.11.5 | Just as the prophets spoke without care after these things, they also declared divine truths. 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?” says the lord.

7.11.6 | τοτὲ δὲ ᾧδε πη θεολογοῦντες “τίς ἐμέτρησε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί; τίς

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

ἔστησε τὰ ὅρη 'στ' σταθμῷ καὶ τὰς νάπας  
ζυγῷ; τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς  
σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;" καὶ πάλιν "ὸ  
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 ἔξῆς "κύριος κύριος ὁ θεὸς 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 ἔξῆς "ἔξέτεινα ἔξέτεινα τὸν  
οὐρανὸν μόνος, καὶ ἐστερέωσα τὴν γῆν·  
ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς, οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ἐμοῦ."

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 everything  
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 besides  
me."

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 ἐξέτεινε  
τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ ἀνήγαγε νεφέλας ἔξ  
ἔσχάτου τῆς γῆς, ἀστραπὰς εἰς ὑετὸν  
ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔξήγαγεν ἀνέμους ἐκ  
θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ. ἐμωράνθη πᾶς  
ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γνώσεως."

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 their own knowledge.

7.11.8 | καὶ πάλιν ' ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
πνεύματός σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου  
σου ποῦ κρθῶ; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν  
οὐρανὸν, σὺ ἔκεī εἴ· ἐὰν στρώσω εἰς τὸν  
ἄδην, πάρει. εἰ ἀναλάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς  
μου κατ' ὅρθρον, καὶ κατασκηνώσαιμι εἰς  
τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ γὰρ ἔκεī ἡ  
χείρ σου ὀδηγήσει με. με."

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  
are there. If I take the wings of the morning  
and settle at the farthest part of the sea,  
even there your hand will guide me."

7.11.9 | Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τῶν μετὰ Μωσέα θεολόγων, τῶν δὴ καὶ Ἐβραίων, τυγχάνει, συνωδὴ τοῖς παλαιτάτοις προπάτορσι θεολογούντων· τῶν δέ γε πρὸ Μώσεως θεοφιλῶν καὶ τρισμακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, τῶν δὴ καὶ πρώτων Ἐβραίων, αὐτοῦ τε πρώτου πάντων Ἀβραὰμ, ὃς καὶ προπάτωρ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀνείρηται, ἀκουε.

7.11.9 | But these things, and those similar to them, are found among the theologians after Moses, who are also Hebrews, and they agree with the very ancient forefathers who spoke of God. 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, should be listened to.

7.11.10 | “εἶπε εἶπε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς βασιλέα Σοδόμων, ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον, ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.” καὶ πρὸ γε τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἰσάγεται ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ ἵερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εὐλογῶν τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν “εὐλογημένος Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, ὃς παρέδωκε τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποχειρίους σοι· καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς, ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.”

7.11.10 | Abraham said to the king of Sodom, “I raise my hand to 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 | ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ λόγος τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εἰσάγει τῷ οίκειῷ 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.”

7.11.11 | Moreover, the word introduces Abraham speaking to his servant, 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.” 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

7.11.12 | In all these things, during the theophany to Moses, when Moses was asking whom he should say is God, the

χρησμὸς ἐγώ είμι ὁ ὅν· οὕτως ἔρεῖς τοῖς  
υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ὅν ἀπέσταλκε με πρὸς  
ὑμᾶς.”

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 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μυρίων ὄσων τῆς Ἐβραίων θεολογίας ἔκκεισθω. ἢρ' 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 ὄδῷ 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 ἐξ ἀτόμων καὶ λεπτῶν σωμάτων ἀψύχων τινῶν καὶ ἀλόγων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σύστασην γεγονέναι;

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 consider to be many and fiery, stuck in the sky like nails and petals. Some say that fire is a guiding force, 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. They also say that the world is ungenerated and not 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 | 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 τῶν ὄλων θεὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν γενητῶν ἀρχῆς Ἐβραίοις πεφιλοσοφημένα.

7.11.14 | But the ideas from the writings of the Hebrews about the god of all things are briefly like this: we should also consider what the Hebrews have thought about the origin of created things in relation to the god of all.

## Section 12

7.12.1 | Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀπάντων τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι ἀπεφήνατο,  
Ἀναξιμένης δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Ἡράκλειτος τὸ πῦρ, Πυθαγόρας ἀριθμοὺς, Ἐπίκουρος ἄμα Δημοκρίτῳ σώματα ἀτομα, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα. ἴδωμεν τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὰ

7.12.1 | Thales of Miletus declared that the beginning of all things is water, Anaximenes said it is air, Heraclitus said it is fire, Pythagoras said it is numbers, and Epicurus along with Democritus said it is atoms. Empedocles spoke of the four

παρ' Εβραίοις λόγια.

7.12.2 | μετὰ τὴν ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγένητον τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ούσιαν, ἄμικτον οὗσαν καὶ ἐπέκεινα πάσης καταλήψεως, δευτέραν ούσιαν καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων πρώτην τε ὑποστᾶσαν κάκ τοῦ πρώτου αἴτιου γεγενημένην, εἰσάγουσι, λόγον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν αὐτὴν προσαγορεύοντες.

7.12.3 | τοῦτο δὲ πρῶτος διδάσκει λέγων Ἰὼβ “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.

7.12.4 | καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ δέ που ἐν ψαλμῷ δίαις, 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 ὡδέ 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.”

7.12.5 | καὶ πάλιν “κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰώνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀβύσσους γενέσθαι, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ

elements. Therefore, let us also look at the writings of the Hebrews.

7.12.2 | After the uncreated and eternal existence of the god of all things, which is not mixed with anything and is 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 | 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 | 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 | And again, “The lord created me as 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

πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶ με, ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζε τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐτίθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἥμην σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἔγὼ ἥμην ἦ προσέχαιρε καθ' ἡμέραν, ηύφραινόμην δὲ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτε ηύφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας.”

mountains were set, and before all the hills, I was brought forth. When he prepared the heavens, I was there with him, arranging things. I was his daily delight, rejoicing before him at all times, when he took pleasure in the inhabited world.”

7.12.6 | ταῦτα Σολομῶν ἐν Παροιμίαις. καὶ ταῦτα δέ πη ἔξ αὐτοῦ λέγεται τοῦ προσώπου “τί δέ ἐστιν σοφία, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο, ἀπαγγελῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψω ὑμῖν μυστήρια, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἔξιχνιάσω.” οἵς ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “ἔστι γάρ αὕτη πνεῦμα νοερὸν, ἄγιον, μονογενὲς, πολυμερὲς, λεπτὸν, εὐκίνητον, τρανὸν, ἀμόλυντον, παντοδύναμον, παντεπίσκοπον, καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων, νοερῶν, καθαρῶν, λεπτοτάτων.

7.12.6 | These things Solomon says in Proverbs. He also speaks of wisdom, asking, “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 that are intelligent, pure, and most subtle.”

7.12.7 | πάσης γάρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον σοφία, διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης είλικρινής· διὸ οὐδὲν μεμολυσμένον είς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτει. ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀιδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. 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 true outflow of the glory of the almighty; therefore, nothing impure comes near it. It is a reflection of eternal light, 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 wisely.

7.12.8 | καὶ δὴ τόνδε τὸν ἔνθεον λόγον διαφόρως ἡ θεία γραφὴ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίᾳ πεπεμμένον είσάγει. αὐτὸν δ' οὖν καὶ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ Μωσεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοφιλέσι προφήταις φῆναι ἐαυτὸν, καὶ

7.12.8 | And indeed, the divine scripture presents this inspired word in different ways, sent by the father for the salvation of humanity. It was revealed to Abraham, Moses, and the other beloved prophets, teaching many things through oracles and

χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ παιδεῦσαί τε καὶ θεσπίσαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἴστορεῖ, ὀπηνίκα θεὸν καὶ κύριον ὥφθαί τε καὶ εἰς λόγους τῶν προφητῶν ἐλθεῖν μνημονεύει.

7.12.9 | τοῦτον καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν ἀνθρώποις, οἵα νοσούντων σωτῆρα καὶ ψυχῶν ἰατρὸν πρὸς τοῦ μείζονος ἀπεσταλμένον ἀλεσταλμένον, ὡδὲ πῃ θεσπίζει ἀπέστειλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ίσατο αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.’ καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτέ φησιν Ἰως τάχους δραμεῖται ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.” ἔνθεν καὶ ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία τὸ προφητικὸν καὶ πάτριον ἀνανεουμένη δόγμα ταύτη 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 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν ὃ γέγονεν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.”

7.12.10 | εἰκότως 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 οἰκείω καὶ πρωτογόνῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ λόγῳ, κοινολογούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας τὸν θεόν ἐν οἷς γράφει καὶ εἴπεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπὸν κατ’ εἰκόνα ήμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὅμοιώσιν.”

7.12.11 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ ψαλμωδὸς ἡνίττετο, ὀπηνίκα περὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἴτίου διεξῶν “αὐτὸς” φησὶν “εἶπε, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο ἐνετείλατο,

foretelling what was to come, whenever god and lord were seen and remembered in the words of the prophets.

7.12.9 | He sent this word to all people so they could 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 people.”

7.12.10 | It is indeed fitting that the wise Moses, beginning with the creation of the world, 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 involved 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 | This is also hinted at by the psalmist when he discusses the first cause, saying, “He said, and they were created; he commanded, and they were formed.” He

καὶ ἔκτισθησαν·” ἄντικρυς τὴν τοῦ πρώτου πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον, ὡς ἀν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν υἱὸν, διάταξίν τε καὶ παρακέλευσιν ὑφιστάμενος πάντη γὰρ δήπουθεν δῆλον ὡς πᾶς ὁ λέγων τι ἐτέρῳ λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἐντελλόμενος ἐτέρῳ παρ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐντέλλεται.

directly connects the first cause to the second cause, like a father to a son, establishing both command and instruction. It is clear that anyone who speaks to another is speaking from themselves, and the one giving a command is doing so from within themselves.

7.12.12 | διαρρήδην δ’ αὖ πάλιν Μώσης ἄμφω δυοῖν μνημονεύων κυρίων, πατρὸς δηλαδὴ καὶ υἱοῦ, ὥδε πῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τιμωρίας ἴστορεῖ λέγων “καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.”

7.12.12 | Moreover, Moses again clearly mentions both lords, 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 | οἵσι συμφώνως καὶ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων ἔφησεν “εἴπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἵως ἀν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. καὶ προιὼν τὴν κρύφιον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπόρρητον αὐτοῦ γενεσιονυγίαν ἤνιξατο, φάσκων ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.”

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.’” 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 | ἔνα δὲ μὴ σοφίζεσθαι με ταῦτα νομίσῃς, ἐρμηνέα σοι τῆς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ διανοίας Ἐβραϊον ἄνδρα παραστήσω παραστήσω, τὰ οἰκεῖα πατρόθεν ἀκριβοῦντα καὶ παρὰ διδασκάλων τὸ δόγμα μεμαθηκότα μεμαθηκότα, εἰ δή σοι τοιοῦτος ὁ Φίλων. ἐπάκουσον οὖν καὶ τοῦδε, ὅπως τὰς θείας ἐρμηνεύει φωνάς·

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, to see how he interprets the divine words.

## Section 13

7.13.1 | “Διὰ τί ὡς περὶ ἐτέρου θεοῦ φησι

7.13.1 | “Why does he say that he made

τὸ ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ; παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς τουτὶ κεχρησμῷδηται. Θνητὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ πατέρᾳ τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν, ὃς ἔστιν ἐκείνου λόγος.

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 | ἔδει γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ τύπον ὑπὸ θείου λόγου χαραχθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεὸς κρείσσων ἔστιν ἡ πάσα λογικὴ φύσις· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ τινὶ ἔξαιρέτῳ καθεστῶτι ἰδέᾳ οὐδὲν θέμις ἦν γεννητὸν ἔξομοιοῦσθαι.

7.13.2 | For the rational aspect of the human soul must be shaped 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, which is in the best and most special state, it is not right for anything created to be made similar.

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 ἱεράς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἵᾳ τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος, διαδέξεται.’

7.13.3 | Let these things be taken from the first of Philo's Questions and Solutions. In his earlier work, *On Agriculture*, he refers to the first-born son of god as the word. “Indeed, the shepherd and king god leads all these things 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 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς τάδε γράφει πρὸς λέξιν ‘Τὰς Τὰς δυστροπίας οὖν εἴ τις ἀποιδράσκειν βούλεται τὰς ἐν τοῖς διαπορηθεῖσι, λεγέτω μετὰ παρρησίας ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνύλων κραταιὸν οὕτως ὡς τὸν κόσμον ἀχθοφορεῖν ισχῦσαι. λόγος δ’ ὁ ἀΐδιος θεοῦ τοῦ αἰώνιου τὸ ὄχυρώτατον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων ἔστιν.

7.13.4 | And in the second work, he again writes these things exactly: “If anyone wishes to escape the difficulties in the troubled matters, let them say boldly that nothing 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.”

7.13.5 | οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεὶς δολιχεύει τὸν φύσεως ἀγέτητον δρόμον, συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγων. δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄρρηκτον τοῦ παντὸς ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει πατήρ.

7.13.6 | εἰκότως οὖν 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 ὄλον ὠσπερ 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, κυροῦ τὸ δόγμα ως πάτριον, αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὴν τῶν ιερῶν νόμων προσφωνῶν ἐρμηνείαν, ἐν ᾧ τάδε φησί

7.13.5 | This one, positioned 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 everything made him an unbreakable bond of all.

7.13.6 | Therefore, it is not surprising that no land will be dissolved by any water that 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 sound, so that everything may be harmonized like written music, with the threats of opposites being persuaded by the joining together of the mediator who sustains.

7.13.7 | These things are by Philo. Another wise man of the Hebrews, Aristobulus, during the height of 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 γὰρ πὰν φῶς ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς. διὸ καὶ τινες είρήκασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντες τοῦ Περιπάτου λαμπτῆρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν. ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ συνεχῶς, ἀτάραχοι καταστήσονται δι' ὄλου τοῦ βίου. σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις εἶπε Σολομῶν, πρὸ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν τὸ δὲ σύμφωνόν ἐστι τῷ προειρημένῳ.”

7.14.1 | Let the same be said about wisdom: for all light comes from it. Therefore, some from the school of the Peripatetics have said that it has a special place. Those who follow it continuously will be untroubled throughout their lives. More clearly and beautifully than our ancestors, someone named Solomon said that it exists before heaven and earth; and this 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 ἀνὸ θεοπρεπέστατος, δυνάμει θεοῦ λογικῆ καὶ πανσόφῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνατιθεὶς τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως ἥ τοῖς ἀψύχοις καὶ ἀλόγοις στοιχείοις;

7.14.3 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς. σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν συστάσεως, τῶν μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν, ἐκδιδάσκουσι.

## Section 15

7.15.1 | Μετὰ τὴν ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγέννητον τοῦ θεοῦ παμβασλέως ούσιαν, τὴν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἥ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένην ἀρχὴν, πρωτότοκόν τε οὖσαν καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτὸν τε ἀπεικονισμένην διδάσκουσι.

7.15.2 | ταύτην δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενητῶν ἀπάντων πρωτεύειν, παρ' ὅ 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.

7.15.3 | τὰς δὲ μετὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δυνάμεις οὐ λεκτὰς εἶναι ἀνθρώπου φύσει, τοῦ τε πλήθους

7.14.2 | These things and similar ideas have been discussed 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 all creation rather than by lifeless and irrational elements?

7.14.3 | But such things are found 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.

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. This beginning is both the firstborn and a helper of the father's will, and it is represented in relation to him.

7.15.2 | They are accustomed to call this one the leader of all created beings, as well as the image of god, the power of god, the wisdom of god, and the word of god. Yes, indeed, they also refer to him as the chief commander of the lord's power and the angel of the great counsel.

7.15.3 | After this beginning, the intellectual and rational powers are said not to be expressible in human nature. This is

ένεκα τῆς τε κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς, πλὴν  
ὅσον ἐπιβάλλειν δυνατὸν τοῖς  
παραδείγμασιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὄρωμένων  
ἀναλογίας, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων  
καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ οὐρανοῦ ἔνδον ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ τὰ  
σύμπαντα περιειληφότος.

because of the multitude and the differences in forms, except to the extent that we can use examples from the analogy of visible things, like the sun, the moon, the stars, and indeed the whole universe contained within itself.

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.

7.15.4 | “For there is one glory of the sun,  
and another glory of the moon, and another  
glory of the stars,” says the apostle; for one  
star differs from another in glory.

7.15.5 | ταύτη πῃ τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὸν ἐν  
ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοεραῖς οὐσίαις κόσμον χρὴ  
νοεῖν, τὰ πάντα μὲν ἀθρόως 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.

7.15.5 | Therefore, in this way, one must think of the world in terms of incorporeal and intellectual beings, with everything receiving together the unspeakable and infinite power of god, the creator of all. 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 cherished by the Hebrews.

7.15.6 | τρίτης δὲ ἥδη μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν  
οὐσίαν ἐν χώρᾳ σελήνης καθισταμένης τοῦ  
ἀγίου πνεύματος, ὃ 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.

7.15.6 | 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, serving as the beginning of those that come after it. This refers to 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  
κρειττόνων δυνάμεων ἐπιχορηγεῖ, οὐ μὴν  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνει παρ' ἔτερου [του ἥ

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 draws strength from

παρὰ θεοῦ λόγου,] τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἀνωτέρῳ καὶ  
κρείττονος, δὸν δὴ δευτερεύειν ἔφαμεν τῆς  
ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ ἀγεννήτου φύσεως θεοῦ τοῦ  
παμβασιλέως· παρ' οὐδὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὁ θεὸς λόγος, καὶ ὥσπερ  
ἔξ ἀενάου πηγῆς θεότητα  
ἀναβλυστανούστης ἀρυτόμενος, τοῖς πᾶσιν  
δόμοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι,  
μᾶλλον ἀπάντων αὐτῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ  
ἔγγυτάτῳ ὅντι, ταῖς τε μετὰ τοῦτο νοεραῖς  
καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν ἀθρόως καὶ  
ἀνεπιφθόνως τῶν τοῦ οἰκείου φωτὸς  
μαρμαρυγῶν μεταδίδωσι.

another source, namely 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 | τὴν δὲ τῶν ὄλων ἀγένητον ἀρχὴν,  
ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων οὖσαν πηγὴν, θεότητός  
τε καὶ ζωῆς ὅμοιος καὶ φωτὸς καὶ πάσης  
ἀρετῆς αἴτιαν, καὶ πρώτην γε οὖσαν τῶν  
πρώτων καὶ ἀρχῶν ἀρχὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ  
ἀρχῆς καὶ πρώτου καὶ πάσης ὅλης 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.

7.15.8 | 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, going beyond every first and every clear and understandable 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 anyone else.

7.15.9 | τὰ δέν μέρει τοῖς κατὰ μέρος  
ἀξίοις διὰ τῆς τοῦ δευτέρου διακονίας τε  
καὶ μεσιτείας κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστω ἐφικτὸν  
έμπαρέχειν· ὥν. τὰ τέλεια καὶ ἄκρως ἄγια  
τῷ τρίτῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἄρχοντι δὲ καὶ  
ἡγουμένῳ τῶν μετέπειτα, διὰ τοῦ νιοῦ τὰ  
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικομιζομένῳ,  
δεδωρῆσθαι.

7.15.9 | The things that are partial are given 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 οἱ πάντες Ἐβραίων

7.15.10 | From this, all the Hebrew

θεόλογοι, μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ σοφίαν 5 τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἀγίαν δύναμιν, ἄγιον πνεῦμα προσειπόντες ἀποθεάζουσιν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἐφωτίζοντο θεοφορούμενοι.

theologians, after the god above all and after his firstborn wisdom, refer to the third and holy power as the holy spirit, by which those who are filled with god are also enlightened.

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 Ἑβραίων φασὶ λόγια καὶ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν στρατιὰς τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας μὴ ἵ αγνοεῖν. διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς λέγεσθαι “ὸ δὲ ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἀστρων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὄνόματα καλῶν.”

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 | οὕτω δὴ μετὰ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν ἐπινοούμενων ἀστρων, φωτὸς νοεροῦ δυνάμει τε καὶ ούσιᾳ διαπρεπόντων, πολλή τις καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπερινόητος διαφορὰ τυγχάνει, ἀναρίθμητά τε φῦλα καὶ γένη, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τῷ τῶν ὅλων ποιητῇ.

7.15.12 | Thus, after the first powers that are considered stars among the incorporeal beings, 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 | 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.

7.15.13 | Therefore, some theologians say that the visible beings 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 used to calling the many and the infinite “myriad” in an exaggerated way.

7.15.14 | ἄλλος δέ τις προφήτης περὶ τῆς ούσιας αὐτῶν διεξιὼν ὕδε πως τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ἀπάντων θεολογεῖ, φάσκων

7.15.14 | Another prophet, speaking about their essence, describes the creator of all, saying, “Lord, my god, how greatly you

κύριε ὁ θεός μου μου, ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθης  
σφόδρα, ἔξομοιόγησιν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν  
ἐνεδύσω, ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἴμάτιον,  
ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὥσει δέρριν· ὁ ποιῶν  
τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς  
λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.”

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 | μή τοι νομίσῃς τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν  
θνητοῦ καὶ γεώδους πυρὸς ούσιας μετέχειν  
τὰ δηλούμενα, μηδέ γε τῶν ἔξ αλόγου  
φύσεως ἀέρος πνευμάτων ἀλλ' οἶν τε  
καὶ αὐτὸν ὄνομάζουσι τὸν θεὸν, ἀσώματον  
μὲν καὶ ἄϋλον καὶ αὐτόνουν, μᾶλλον δὲ  
ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον ὄντα τὴν  
φύσιν, τροπικώτερον δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ  
πῦρ καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ προσηγορίαις  
θνηταῖς ἀκοαῖς καταλλήλοις ὄνομαζόμενον,  
ἄγγελους δῆτα καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ  
πνεύματα καὶ θείας δυνάμεις καὶ στρατιὰς  
οὐρανίους, ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἔξουσίας καὶ  
θρόνους καὶ κυριότητας, ὡς ἀν μυρίους ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μυρίοις ἀστέρας τε καὶ φωστῆρας, τὰς  
νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς ούσιας οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι  
προσειπόντες, ἄρχειν ἀπάντων καὶ  
ἐπιστατεῖν τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης φασὶν  
ἡλιον, καὶ τὸ τούτου σύζυγον ἄγιον  
πνεῦμα.

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. Instead, 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 fitting mortal terms, 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 | τὰ δὲ πάντα ἀθρόως αὐτῷ υἱῷ  
καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, νοερά τε ζῆα καὶ  
λογικὰ, 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 αἴτιῷ  
τῶν ὅλων, ὡς ἀν δημιουργῷ πάντων  
ποιητῇ τε καὶ φροντιστῇ καὶ σωτῆρι, τὸν  
πρέποντα ὕμνον καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν  
θεολογίαν ἡ θεία καὶ προφητικὴ γραφὴ  
νέμειν παρακελεύεται, φάσκουσα

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. He rules  
through all and is in all, the universal king  
and cause of everything. As the creator of  
all, the maker, caretaker, and savior, the  
divine and prophetic scripture commands  
that the fitting hymn and appropriate  
theology be offered, 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 αἰώνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ αἰώνος, 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 fade away.

7.15.18 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἐβραίων 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 ἐκεῖνον σέβοντες, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς, καὶ τὰ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀπαντα, τά τε ἐπέκεινα οὐρανοῦ σέβειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν καὶ θεολογεῖν ἐδιδάχθη· ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς 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 Ἐβραίων λόγια παραδίδωσιν ἐπισκέψασθαι. τὰς μὲν οὖν θείας δυνάμεις, νεύματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ σύμπαντι ἐφεστώσας κόσμῳ, τά τε λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα, διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν βασιλείαν, τούς τε ἱεροὺς

7.16.1 | It follows that we should also consider what the Hebrew writings say about the opposing powers. The divine powers, set in place by the father's command over the whole world, along with the ministering spirits sent to serve those who will inherit the kingdom, as well as the holy angels of god and archangels, are all

άγγελους 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·

good spiritual beings that are bright and serve the good gifts given to humans by god. They surround the universal king of all. Then, like stars in the heavens, the sun of righteousness and its holy spirit accompany him, enjoying the light they provide. 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 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 reflect its wicked way of life, rather than its original state.

7.16.3 | τὸν γοῦν κατάρξαντα τῆς  
πτώσεως, αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐτέροις τῆς τῶν  
κρειττόνων ἀποστασίας γενόμενον αἴτιον,  
ώς 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  
αὐθεκουσίου 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 completely fallen from 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 creeping creatures.

7.16.4 | ὑπόθεσιν δ' αὐτῷ φασιν οἱ θεῖοι  
λόγοι γεγονέναι τῆς ἀποπτώσεως μανίαν  
φρενῶν καὶ διανοίας ἔκστασιν, ὡδέ πως

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

όμοιοῦ 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 ἀστρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ.”

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 messages 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 | καὶ πάλιν ‘τάδε λέγει κύριος, ἀνθ’ ᾧν ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία σου, καὶ εἴπας,, θεός είμι ἐγὼ, κατοικίαν θεοῦ κατώκηκα.” καὶ αὐθις “σὺ ἀποσφράγισμα ὅμοιώσεως, καὶ στέφανος κάλλους, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγενήθης, πάντα λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι” καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

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 a delight in the paradise of God, and you were adorned with every precious stone.” And so on.

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.”

7.16.6 | You were chosen on 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 your many sins, I cast you to the ground.

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 μυρίον δέ ἔστιν ἄλλο γένος ὑπὸ τούτῳ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ἔνοχον πλημμελήμασιν, ὃ τῆς δυσσεβείας χάριν τῆς τῶν εύσεβῶν ἀποπεσὸν λήξεως, ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι φωτοειδοῦς καὶ θειοτέρας περιβολῆς τῆς

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, 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

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

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. This is not the darkness we know, but the darkness described by the divine words, which has been exchanged.

7.16.8 | ὃν βραχύ τι καὶ μικρὸν  
ἀπόσπασμα, γυμνασίου χάριν τῶν  
εύσεβείας ἀθλητῶν, ἀμφὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ<sup>τον</sup>  
σελήνην ἀέρα καταλειφθὲν, τῆς ἐν  
ἀνθρώποις πολυθέου πλάνης κατ' οὐδὲν  
ἀθεότητος διαφερούσης 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 beneath the moon. It has become a cause of the great deception among humans, which shows no difference from disbelief.

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 uses these names for 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 τιμᾶς εἰς  
ἐαυτοὺς ὑφαρπάζειν, μαντείαις τε  
πειρᾶσθαι καὶ χρησμοῖς, ὁσπερ τισὶ<sup>το</sup>  
θελγήτροις καὶ προβολίοις, τοὺς εύχερεῖς  
δελεάζειν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων  
θεὸν ἀνανεύσεως ἀποσπᾶν ἀποσπᾶν,  
κατασύρειν ἐπὶ τὸν πανώλεθρον τῆς  
δυσσεβοῦς καὶ ἀθέου δεισιδαιμονίας  
βυθόν· διὸ προτροπάδην φεύγειν αὐτῶν  
τὰς ἀπάτας μόνοις Ἐβραίοις ἄνωθεν ἔξ

7.16.10 | An example of their hatred for God is their desire to call themselves gods and to take the honors that belong to God for themselves. They try to use oracles and prophecies, like those who are charming and deceptive, to lure those who are easy to deceive. They pull people away from the true God 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

αἰῶνος ἔσπουδάζετο. διαρρήδην παιδεύουσιν ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια.

7.16.11 | νυνὶ δὲ, σὺν θεῷ φάναι, διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας πάντα τὰ πανταχόθεν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνη, δεσμῶν δαιμονικῶν ἀπηλλαγμένα, τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖ, ὃν δὴ καὶ μόνον ὑπάρχειν σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων μεμαθήκαμεν.

## Section 17

7.17.1 | Κάνταῦθα πάλιν ἡ μὲν τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ζωογονία αὐτόματον είσηγε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ζώων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν γένεσιν, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὄμοιώς φύσιν συντυχικῶς ἀπὸ γῆς προελθεῖν διαγράφουσα, κατ' ούδεν τε τὴν ἄλογον διαφέρειν τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ οὐσίας ὑποτιθεμένη.

7.17.2 | ταῦτα γοῦν ἐδήλουν αἱ προπαρατεθεῖσαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς συγγραφέων λέξεις. παῖδες δὲ πάλιν Ἐβραίων είκότως ἡμῖν προτετίμηνται, τὰ περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀνθρώπων συστάσεως παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς διειληφότες,

7.17.3 | ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ μέν τι φασὶ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ ἀθάνατον, ἀσαρκόν τε τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀσώματον, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ τυγχάνειν ἀνθρωπὸν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ ὄμοιώσιν γεγενημένον, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔργον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ τύχης οὐδ'

clearly teach that all the gods of the nations are demons.

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.

7.17.1 | Here again, the creation story of the Phoenicians and Egyptians brings forth all living things on earth, both animals and humans, as if it happens automatically. They say 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 | Indeed, the words of the writers they have presented clearly show this. The children of the Hebrews are rightly favored by us, as they have thoroughly, wisely, and truthfully addressed the topic of the first creation of humans.

7.17.3 | They say that among us, some things are divine and immortal, having a nature that is incorporeal and immaterial. This means that a true human is made in the image and likeness of God, and that he is a creation of God, not the result of chance

αύτομάτου φύσεως, αύτοῦ δὲ τοῦ τῶν  
ὅλων αἴτιου, κρίσει θείᾳ βεβουλημένου  
μηδὲ τὰ κατὰ γῆν νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς  
οὐσίας ἀμοιρεῖν, ὅπως διὰ πάντων αὐτῷ  
οὐρανίων τε καὶ αἰθερίων τῶν τε ἐπὶ γῆς  
λογικῶν καὶ τῆς αύτοῦ θειότητος  
ἀντιληπτικῶν ὁ προσήκων ὑμνος  
ἀναπέμποιτο.

or automatic nature. It is by the divine will  
of the cause of all things that he possesses  
the rational and logical essence of what  
exists on earth. This way, through all  
things—both heavenly and ethereal, as well  
as the rational beings on earth—the  
appropriate hymn of his divinity may be  
offered up.

7.17.4 | οὕτω δ' οὖν περιέχει τὰ Ἐβραίων  
λόγια "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς, ποιήσωμεν  
ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ'  
ὅμοιώσιν· 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  
ἔρμηνεύει Φίλων, ταῖς ἐκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ  
φωναῖς ἔτι καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγων

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." These things are explained by the  
Hebrew interpreter Philo, who also adds  
these words.

## Section 18

7.18.1 | "Αλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, τῆς αἰθερίου  
φύσεως τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν μοῖραν  
εἰπόντες εἶναι, συγγένειαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
πρὸς αἰθέρα συνηψαν. ὁ δὲ μέγας Μώσης  
οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς  
τὸ εἶδος ὠμοίωσεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ  
Θείου καὶ ἀοράτου πνεύματος ἐκείνου  
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", ὡστε ἀνάγκη πρὸς  
τὸν ἐκπέμποντα τὸν δεχόμενον  
ἀπεικονίζεσθαι.

7.18.1 | But some say that our mind is a  
part of the ethereal nature and connect  
humans to the ether. However, the great  
Moses did not compare the essence of the  
rational soul to anything. Instead, he said  
that it is a true sign of that divine and  
invisible spirit, marked and stamped with  
the seal of God. Its character is the eternal  
phrase, "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.

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 ὅψεις 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 ούσιας ἀναπτῆναι πάλιν αὐτοῦ νεύματι· μόνον δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζώων τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοὺς, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν 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 ούσιαν, ἥς μὴ μετεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ γῆς ζῷοις.

7.18.4 | διὸ τὰ μὲν θητεύειν καὶ χώραν οἴκετῶν παρέχειν ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ, οἴα δεσπότην καὶ ἡγεμόνα δουλοῦσθαι καὶ ὑποτάττειν τὰ ἡρῷα μὲν σώματος πολὺ κρείττονα, μείονα δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὴν νοερὰν ούσιαν στερήσει.

7.18.5 | τοῦτον μὲν οὖν κατ' εἰκόνα φασὶ

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, which is the heavens, to lift up its gaze.

7.18.3 | These things are true. Indeed, the divine scripture does not say that man was made like other animals. Some were made from the earth by a single command of the all-powerful God, while others arose from the watery substance by his will. But only among the creatures on earth, the most beloved to God, are we ourselves 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. We are the only rational, creative, critical, and law-giving beings among those on earth, capable of arts and sciences. 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 arrange for humans to serve and provide 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 | They say that this one was made in

θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὅμοίωσιν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μετά τινος διαφερούσης ὑπεροχῆς ὑποστῆναι. διὸ καὶ θεοῦ ἐννοίας εἰς φαντασίαν ἔναι, σοφίας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης 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.

the image of God and according to his likeness, with some difference in superiority. For this reason, humans can have thoughts of God and understand wisdom, justice, and all virtues. They are able to count the paths of the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the cycles of days and hours, thanks to their connection to higher things, which only humans among mortals can demonstrate.

7.18.6 | τὸ δὲ τούτῳ περιπεπλασμένον ἔξωθεν ἐτερογενὲς μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ γηγενὲς, εἴναι 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 οἷα δοῦλον, πρὸς ἀνθρωπείου βίου διακονίαν εὖ προσηγορισμένον, τὸν δ' εἴσω δεσπότην, ὡς ἀν εύγενῃ καὶ θεοῦ συγγενῇ τὴν φύσιν, ἐλευθερίοις τρόποις τιμᾶν, ἄτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πάντων αἵτιον τετιμημένον.

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, so that it can serve the needs of human life well. But the inner master, being noble and of divine nature, should be honored freely, since it is connected to the cause of all things.

7.18.7 | λέγει δ' οὗν τὰ λόγια ὡς ἄρα τὴν πρώτην ἀνθρώπου φύσιν δυνάμεσι θείαις καὶ ὅμοιώσει θεοῦ κοσμήσας ὁ παμβασιλεὺς ἀρμόδιον οἷς ἐδωρήσατο τὴν πρώτην ἀπεκλήρωσε διατριβὴν τοῦ βίου ἐν ἀγαθῶν παραδείσῳ, δείσω, χορείαις συγκαταλέξας θείαις.

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 their first dwelling in a paradise of good things and placed them among divine celebrations.

7.18.8 | καὶ τὸν μὲν τάδε ἐν ἀρχαῖς οἶα πανάγαθον αὐτῷ δεδωρῆσθαι πατέρα, τὸν δ' αὐθεκουσίω αἰρέσει τῶν κρειττόνων ἀποπεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν θνητὸν χῶρον ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι θείας ἐντολῆς

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 those who were greater, and he exchanged the mortal realm for divine commands with

όλιγωρίᾳ.

disregard.

7.18.9 | διὸ καὶ μάλιστα προσήκειν εὔσεβείας ἐν πρώτοις ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ πρώτως πλημμεληθὲν δευτέροις αἰσίοις ἐπιδιορθοῦσθαι, σπεύδειν τε ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν οίκείων ἀναδρομήν τε καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν. εἴναι γὰρ τέλος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως οὐχ ὥδε ἐπὶ γῆς εἰς φθορὰν καταστρέφον καὶ ἀπώλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖθεν ὅθεν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἀπέσφηλε.

7.18.9 | Therefore, it is especially fitting to strive for piety at the beginning, to correct the first wrongdoing with second chances, and to hurry back to the restoration of what is one's own. For the purpose of human nature is not to be destroyed and lost here on earth, but to return to the place from which the first one fell away.

7.18.10 | διὸ χρῆναι τὸ καθαρὸν αὗθις καὶ τὸ θεοείκελον ἀνακτήσασθαι τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν νοερᾶς οὐσίας, ἐφ' ḥν προθυμητέον ἀνιέναι παντὶ σθένει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὔσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελομένοις.

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, focusing on piety and virtue for everyone.

7.18.11 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως Ἐβραίοις πεφιλοσοφημένα ἄνωθεν, 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.

7.18.11 | Such ideas about human nature have been deeply studied by the Hebrews from ancient times, even before the Greeks engaged with humanity. Some young men from yesterday, having emerged from the earth, considered the thoughts of the barbarians and did not shy away from those of the Hebrews, as the discourse will soon make clear.

7.18.12 | ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν δογμάτων ἔδιον ἦν τὸ ἵνα τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴν νομίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, αὐτῆς τε τῆς ὑποκειμένης τοῖς σώμασιν οὐσίας, ἦν ὕλην προσαγορεύουσιν Ἑλληνες· τούτῳ δὲ μυρίοι βαρβάρων ὅμοι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἔξ ἐναντίας ἔστησαν, οἵ μὲν κακίας πηγὴν τὴν ὕλην εἴναι ἀποφηνάμενοι ἀγέννητόν τε ὑπάρχειν, οἵ δὲ τῇ μὲν οίκείᾳ φύσει ἄποιον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον, τῇ δὲ τοῦ

7.18.12 | But since it was unique to Hebrew teachings to see the one God as the creator of all things and to understand the substance underlying 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 that matter is formless and ugly, but that the world was shaped by the power of God.

Θεοῦ δυνάμει τὸν κόσμον αύταῖς ποιότησι προσειληφέναι, δεικτέον ὡς πολὺ κρείττον ἡ Ἐβραίων ἐπέχει δόξα, μετ' ἀποδείξεως λογικῆς παρισταμένη τῷ προβλήματι, καὶ τὸν ἑναντίον λογισμοῖς ὄρθοῖς ἀποσκευαζομένη λόγον.

It should be shown that the Hebrew view is much better, as it is supported by logical proof regarding the issue, 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 present the views of those who have accurately explained the doctrine before us, starting with Dionysius, who writes the following about the topic in the first of his works Against Sabellius.

## Section 19

7.19.1 | “Οὐδὲν 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 see matter as uncreated and submissive to God for decoration are not holy, because they believe it is changeable and subject to divine transformations.

7.19.2 | καὶ πόθεν γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ τό τε ὄμοιον καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον διασαφείτωσαν. ἐκατέρου γὰρ δεῖ τινα ἐπινοῆσαι κρείττονα, ὃ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ἐννοῆσι αἱ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. τό τε γὰρ ἀγέννητον, ὄμοιον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λεγόμενον, καὶ ἔτερον νοούμενον παρ' ἐκατέρον, πόθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο;

7.19.2 | And where do both God and matter have the similar and the different? 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, where did it come to be in them?

7.19.3 | εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀγέννητόν ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ οὐσίᾳ 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 μέν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ὁ θεὸς, πρόσεστι δὲ ἀμφοτέροις τὸ ἀγέννητον, δῆλον ὡς ἔτερόν ἐστιν ἐκατέρου, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πρεσβύτερόν τε

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—matter and God—and the uncreated is present to both, it is clear that it is different for each, and older and

καὶ ἀνωτέρω.

7.19.4 | ἀνατρεπτικὴ δὲ παντελῶς καὶ τοῦ ταῦτα συνυπάρχειν συνυπάρχειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτο ἔτερον αὐτῶν τὴν ὕλην ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐναντίας ἔξεως διαφορά.

7.19.5 | εἰπάτωσαν γὰρ τὴν αἴτιαν, δι' ἣν, ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων ἀγεννήτων, ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἀπαθής, ἄτρεπτος, ἀκίνητος, ἐργαστικός, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία παθητή, τρεπτή, ἀστατος, μεταποιουμένη.

7.19.6 | καὶ πῶς ἥρμοσαν καὶ συνέδραμον συνέδραμον; πότερον κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὕλης φύσιν ἔξοικειώσας ἐαυτὸν ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεός; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε ἄτοπον δομοίως ἀνθρώποις χρυσοχοεῖν καὶ λιθουργεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, ὅσας αἱ ὕλαι μορφοῦσθαι Λαὶ τυποῦσθαι δύνανται, χειροκυμητεῖν τὸν θεόν.

7.19.7 | εἰ δὲ οἷαν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐποίωσε τὴν ὕλην, τὸ πολύμορφον καὶ παμποίκιλον τῆς δημιουργίας ἐαυτοῦ σχῆμα καὶ τύπον ἐνσφραγιζόμενος αὐτῆμ, καὶ εὔφημος 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 πως εἶναι προσῆψε. πολὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ἡμῖν

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 explain the reason why, 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 just as strange as if humans were to work with gold and stone, and in other crafts, to shape and mold matter while trying to control 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 statement is both fitting and true, and it also supports the idea that God is ungenerated, the foundation of all things.

7.19.8 | For being ungenerated is also related to how it exists. There is indeed much to say about this, but it is not the

πρόκειται· συγκρίσει δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς  
άθεωτάτους πολυθέους εὐφημότεροι  
ούτοι." Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
Διονυσίου καὶ τῶν Ὄριγένους δὲ ἄκουε

right time for us to discuss it; compared to  
the unseen many gods, these ideas are  
more fitting. Therefore, listen to these  
teachings 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  
ὅντα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς χωρὶς  
χαλκοῦ τὸ ἵδιον 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 work without bronze, nor a carpenter  
without wood, nor a builder without  
stones—one should think about the power  
of God. If God wishes to create whatever he  
wishes, his will is neither lacking nor weak;  
he can establish whatever he desires.

7.20.2 | Ὡ γὰρ λόγῳ τὰς ποιότητας, (κατὰ  
πάντας πρόνοιαν εἰσάγοντας τῷ ἴδιῳ  
λόγῳ,) οὐκ οὕσας ως βούλεται εἰς  
διακόσμησιν τοῦ παντὸς ὑφίστησι τῇ  
ἀφάτῳ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ, τούτῳ  
τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν ούσιαν ὅσης χρήζει ἱκανή  
ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ βούλησις ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι.

7.20.2 | For by this reasoning, the  
qualities—bringing 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. According to this  
reasoning, the essence needed for his will  
to create is sufficient.

7.20.3 | ἀπορήσομεν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς οὓ  
βουλομένους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ  
ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτοῖς εὐτυχηκέναι τὸν θεὸν,  
ἀγέννητον εὐρόντα τὴν ούσιαν, ἦν εἰ μὴ τὸ  
ἀγέννητον αὐτῷ ὑποβεβληκός ἦν, οὐδὲν  
ἔργον δυνατὸς ἦν ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν οὐ  
δημιουργὸς, οὐ πατὴρ πατὴρ, οὐκ  
εὐεργέτης, 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. Instead, he 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 ούσίας τὸ τοσόνδε, ὡς διαρκέσαι τῇ τηλικούτου κόσμου ὑποστάσει; οἰονεὶ γὰρ πρόνοιά τις πρεσβυτέρα θεοῦ ἀναγκαίως τὴν ὕλην ἔσται ὑποβεβληκυῖα τῷ θεῷ, προνοούμενη τοῦ τὴν τέχνην τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ μὴ κενοπαθῆσαι, οὐκ οὕσης ούσίας, ἢ διμιλῆσαι δυνάμενος κατεκόσμησε τὸ τηλικοῦτον κόσμου κάλος.

7.20.5 | πόθεν δὲ καὶ δεκτικὴ γεγένηται πάσης ἣς βούλεται ὁ θεὸς ποιότητος, μὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐαυτῷ 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 ούσιαν τῷ θεῷ τοιαύτη γεγένηται, εἴ προνοια ἦν ὑφεστῶσα, τί ἀν πλέον πεποιήκει τοῦ αὐτομάτου;

7.20.7 | καὶ εἴ αὐτὸς, μὴ οὕσης ὕλης, ἐβούλετο κατασκευάσαι αὐτὴν, τί ἀν πλέον ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ θειότης αὐτοῦ πεποιήκει τοῦ ἔξ ἀγεννήτου ὑποστάντος ὑποστάντος; εἴ γὰρ εὑρίσκεται ταύτὸν γενόμενον ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς προνοίας, ὅπερ καὶ χωρὶς προνοίας ὑπέστη, διὰ τί οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἀθετήσομεν τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην;

7.20.8 | ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου

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, must support the matter, ensuring that the skill that exists in him does not suffer from emptiness. This is because there is no essence with which he could associate to adorn the beauty of such a world.

7.20.5 | From where has a receptacle for all the qualities that God wants come to be, if God himself did not create such a quality for himself that he would want to have?

7.20.6 | Based on our assumption, we will say these things to those who want this: if the essence has come to be such without providence supporting it to God, then if there was a providence present, what more could it have done than what happens by itself?

7.20.7 | And if he wanted to create it without any material existing, what more could 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 | For just as it is unreasonable to say

είπεν οὕτω τεχνικῶς κατεσκευασμένου τὸ χωρὶς τεχνίτου σοφοῦ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον γεγονέναι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τὴν ὕλην τοσαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην καὶ οὕτως εἴκτικὴν τῷ τεχνίτῃ λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑφεστηκέναι ἀγεννήτως ἐπ' ἵσης ἔστιν ἄλογον.

that such a well-crafted world came to be without a wise craftsman, 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 | πρὸς μέντοι γε τοὺς παραβάλλοντας ὅτι οὐδὲὶς δημιουργὸς χωρὶς ὕλης ποιεῖ λεκτέον ὅτι ἀνομοίως παραβάλλουσι. πρόνοια γὰρ παντὶ τεχνίτῃ ὑποβάλλει τὴν ὕλην ἀπὸ προτέρας τέχνης, ἡ θείας ἡ ἀνθρωπίνης, ἐρχομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκέσει πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι “ἡ δὲ γεῖ 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 ὕλης διέξειται

7.20.9 | However, for those who argue that no creator makes anything without material, they are making an inappropriate comparison. 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 now against those who, because it is said, “the earth was invisible and unformed,” think that physical nature is uncreated. That is all for this. The Hebrew Philo also discusses these matters about the material in his work on providence.

## Section 21

7.21.1 | 'Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς ούσιας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως, ἐκεῖνο λεκτέον. ἐστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ὡς μήτ' ἐνδέοι μήθ' ὑπερβάλλοι. καὶ γὰρ ἀτοπὸν ἦν ttotg μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅπότε τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὕλαις αὔταρκες σταθμήσασθαι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἴσοτητας ἀνευρηκότα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ικανοῦ.

7.21.1 | About the amount of substance, if it has indeed come to be, that should be discussed. God considered 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 without also considering the numbers, measures, and the relationships within them as sufficient.

7.21.2 | λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας ὅτι οὕτ' ἐλάττονος οὕτε πλείονος ούσιας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευὴν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀν

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

έγένετο τέλειος, ούδ' ἐν πάσι τοῖς μέρεσιν δόλοκληρος, εὐ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας ούσίας ἀπετελέσθη. πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἴδιον, πρὸν ἄρχασθαι τινος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανήν ἴδεῖν ὅλην.

have become perfect or complete in all its parts if it had been created from imperfect substance. For a wise craftsman knows to identify the sufficient material before starting any creation.

7.21.3 | ἂνθρωπος μὲν ούν κἄν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέροι, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῆ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατῶτο ἀν ἵσως περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὅλης, ὅπότε τεχνιτεύοι, τοτὲ μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονι προστιθέναι, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν ὁ δὲ πηγή τις ὧν ἐπιστημῶν ἐνδέον ἥ περιττεῦον ούδεν 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 human error. They might be misled about the amount of material when crafting, sometimes thinking they need to add less and other times thinking they need to remove excess. But a true source of knowledge would neither lack anything nor have excess, since it would use measures that are carefully prepared and praised for their accuracy.

7.21.4 | ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν ούκ ἀν φθάνοι καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν αἴτια τιθέμενος, ὡς ἄμεινον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει τινὸς ἥ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὅλαις. 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 adding or reducing materials would improve the creation. For it is the work of cleverness to come up with new ideas, but it is the work of wisdom to investigate each thing in nature.

7.21.5 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Φίλωνος τοῦτον ἔχετω τὸν τρόπον. Μαξίμῳ δὲ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατριβῆς ούκ ἀσήμω ἀνδρὶ καὶ λόγος οἴκειος συγγέγραπται ὁ Περὶ τῆς ὅλης. ἐξ οὗ μοι δοκῶ μέτρια χρησίμως παραθήσεσθαι εἰς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ προβλήματος ἔλεγχον.

7.21.5 | And let this be the way of Philo. But for Maximos, a man of Christ's teachings, a suitable work has been written about material. From this, I think I will usefully present a balanced approach for a careful examination of the problem.

## Section 22

7.22.1 | “Οτι μὲν ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν ἀγέννητα δύο ἄμα οὐδὲ σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβὼν τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πάντως ἔξ ανάγκης τὸ ἔτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεός, ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει.

7.22.2 | εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡνῶσθαί τις αύτὸν είπειν ἔθελοι, ἐν τὸ ἀγέννητον λέξει· ἐκάτερον γὰρ τούτων μέρος ἔσται τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλήλων δὲ μέρη τυγχάνοντα ούκ ἔσται ἀγέννητα δύο, ὡς οὐδὲ διάφορα μέρη κατακερματιζόμενα εἰς πολλὰ γεννητὰ, ἀλλ’ ἡ ως ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ) ἐν τι γεννητὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυμερὲς πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι φαμέν. οὕτως ἀνάγκη, εἰ μὴ κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεός, 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 ἔξετάζεσθαί τι ἀπό τινος, ούκ ὅντος ἐτέρου καθ’ ὃ ἡ διάστασις ἐκατέρου γίνεται ὅπερ οὐ μέχρι τούτου ἴσταται καὶ μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστων ὅσων.

7.22.4 | ὃν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ἀγεννήτων εἴπομεν λόγον, τοῦτον ἔξ ἀνάγκης ὅμοίως προχωρεῖν, εἰ τὰ ἀγέννητα δοθείη τρία. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐρούμην ἀν εί κεχώρισται ἀλλήλων, ἢ αὖ πάλιν ἔκαστον ἥνωται τῷ

7.22.1 | I believe you do not overlook that it is impossible for two ungenerated things to exist at the same time. Even if you seem to have added this point to the argument first, it must be said that one of them necessarily has to be different, either because God is separate from matter, or again because He is indivisible from it.

7.22.2 | If someone wants to say that they are united, they will claim 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. Instead, as the argument requires, we say that man is generated in many ways from God. Therefore, it is necessary, if God is not separate from matter, to say that He exists in the ungenerated.

7.22.3 | But if someone claims 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 at a distance from something else if there is no other thing by which the distance of each is measured. This idea does not apply only to one thing, but also to many things.

7.22.4 | For the argument we make about the two ungenerated things must also apply if three ungenerated things are considered. I would ask whether they are separated from each other, or if each one is

πλησίον.

7.22.5 | εἴ μὲν γὰρ ἡνῶσθαί τις εἰπεῖν  
έθέλοι, 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 ἵστασθαί τε μηδὲ  
μένειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάγκη, τοῦ ἐν ᾧ  
ἔστιν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως φερομένου. πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις καὶ ἐν χείροισι γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν  
εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη. εἴ γὰρ ἦν ποτὲ ἄκοσμος ἡ  
ὕλη, ἐκόσμησε δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ κρεῦττον  
τρέψαι προαιρούμενος, ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε ἐν  
ἄκοσμήτοις ἦν ὁ θεός.

7.22.8 | δικαιώως δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦτον ἐροίμην  
τὸν λόγον, πότερον ἐπλήρου τὴν ὕλην ὁ  
θεός, ἢ ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς ὕλης ἦν. εἴ μὲν οὖν  
ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς ὕλης εἰπεῖν τις ἔθέλοι τὸν  
θεὸν, πλεῖστον δοσον μικρότερον τῆς ὕλης  
λέγει, εἴ δὴ μέρος αὐτῆς ὅλον ἔχωρησεν  
αὐτὸν· εἴ δ' ἐν πάσῃ εἶναι λέγοι τῇ ὕλῃ, πῶς

united with the others.

7.22.5 | If someone wants to say that they  
are united, they will hear the same  
argument as before. But if they say 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 that fits with the ungenerated, that is,  
that neither is the god separated from  
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 understood that if we say the matter is  
in the place of the god, we must 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 must be said 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 chaos.

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  
are saying that he is much smaller than the  
matter, since if he filled a part of it, he

ταύτην ἐδημιούργει φραστέον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ  
ἡ συστολὴν τινα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγειν, ἡς  
γενομένης ἐδημιούργει ἐκεῖνο ἀφ' οὗ  
ὑπεχώρησεν, ἡ καὶ ἐαυτὸν τῇ ὕλῃ  
συνδημιουργεῖν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὑποχωρήσεως  
τόπον.

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, ὅμοίως ἔξετάζειν δεῖ πότερον ὡς  
διισταμένου αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ. καὶ ὥσπερ  
ἐν ἀέρι ζώων 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 different kinds of living things in the air, which are divided and spread out into a space for what comes to be in it, or 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, ἢν 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 had evil qualities, then we must say that the god has a place for the unformed and the evil. This does not seem right to me, and it feels 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 | "Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ὕλην ἐκ τῶν  
ὑποστάντων γενητῶν ὑπονοεῖν  
ἀγέννητον ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγες, πολὺν ἀν περὶ  
αὐτῆς ἐποιησάμην λόγον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ  
ὅτι ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν ἀγέννητον·  
ἔπει δὲ τὴν τῶν κακῶν γένεσιν αἴτιαν  
ἔφησθα εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπονοίας, διὰ  
τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξετασιν τούτων ἔρχεσθαι μοι  
δοκῶ. φανεροῦ γὰρ γενομένου τοῦ λόγου

7.22.11 | If you were to say that the matter exists as something ungenerated from the generated things, I would have a lot to say 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 examine these matters. For it is clear from the argument how evils exist and that it is not possible to say that the

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.

7.22.12 | Φήσ τοίνυν ἄποιον ὕλην συνυπάρχειν τῷ θεῷ, ἐξ ἣς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ἐδημιούργησεν. Οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.13 | οὐκοῦν εἴ ἄποιος ἐτύγχανεν ἡ ὕλη, γέγονε δὲ κόσμος πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ αἱ ποιότητες, τῶν ποιοτήτων ποιητὴς γέγονεν ὁ θεός. Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.14 | Ἐπεὶ δέ σου καὶ λέγοντος ἔμπροσθεν ἥκουον ὡς ἀδύνατον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γίνεσθεί τι, πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν 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.

7.22.15 | Εἴ μὲν οὖν μήτε ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ποιοτήτων τὰς ποιότητας ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ θεός μήτε ἐκ τῶν ούσιῶν, τῷ μηδὲ ούσιας αὐτάς εἶναι, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων αὐτάς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. ὅθεν περιττῶς ἐδόκεις μοι λέγειν ἀδύνατον εἶναι δοξάξειν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγονέναι τι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

7.22.16 | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τούτου λόγος ᾖδε

god is without a cause for evils if you suggest that the matter is something he possesses.

7.22.12 | You say, then, that there is a matter that exists alongside the god, from which he created this world. This seems correct to me.

7.22.13 | So, if the matter were separate, and the world came into being from the god, then the qualities exist in the world, and the god became the creator of those qualities. This is how it is.

7.22.14 | Since I heard you say earlier 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 that way. Is there something else that exists apart from the substances? This is how it is.

7.22.15 | If the god did not create the qualities from underlying qualities or from substances, and since they are not substances, then it must be said that they came into being from nothing by the god. Therefore, it seems to me that you are unnecessarily claiming it is impossible to believe that something came from nothing in relation to the god.

7.22.16 | But let the discussion about this

έχετω. καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωροῦμεν ἀνθρώπους ἔξ ούκ 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 ὅμοιας οὐκ ἐκ ναῶν.

continue 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 other cities, and temples not from other temples.

7.22.17 | εἰ δ', ὅτι τούτοις ούσιαι ὑπόκεινται, οἵει ἔξ 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 ἔξ ὑποκειμένης τινὸς ἐν ταῖς ούσιαις τέχνης γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἔξ ούκ οὕσης ἐν αὐταῖς γίνεται.

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 | ἀπαντήσειν δέ μοι δοκεῖς οὕτω τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι ὁ τεχνίτης ἔξ ἣς ἔχει τέχνης τὴν ἐν τῇ ούσιᾳ τέχνην ποιεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι τοῦτ' εὖ ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τινος ὑποκειμένης τέχνης γίνεται οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς οὕσαν δοῦναι τὴν τέχνην· τῶν γὰρ συμβεβηκότων ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν τότε τὸ εἶναι λαμβανόντων, ὅπόταν ἐν ούσιᾳ γίνωνται.

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 already has. But I think it is important 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 the time when it comes into being in the substance.

7.22.19 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἔσται· ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἄνθρωπος [7]. ὅθεν τὰς τέχνας ἔξ ούκ ὄντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους πεφυκέναι γίνεσθαι λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον. εἰ τοίνυν τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐδείξαμεν, πῶς οὐχὶ προσῆκε τὸν θεὸν μὴ μόνον ποιότητας ἔξ ούκ ὄντων φάναι δύνασθαι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ούσιας; τῷ γὰρ δυνατὸν φανῆναι

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 can we not say that the divine can create not only qualities from what does not exist but also

γίνεσθαί τι ἔξ ούκ ὅντων τὸ καὶ τὰς ούσιας οὕτως ἔχειν δείκνυται.

substances? For it is clear that it is possible for something to come into being from what does not exist, and that is how substances are formed.

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 εὗ ἔχειν λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.20 | Since you want to explore the origin of evils, I will focus on that topic, and I want to explain it to you briefly. Do you think that evils are substances or qualities of substances? I believe it is better to say they are qualities of substances.

7.22.21 | Ἡ δὲ ὥλη ἄποιος ἦν καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος,. Οὕτω προλαβὼν ἔξειπον τῷ λόγῳ. Οὐκοῦν εἴ τὰ κακὰ ποιότητες ὑπάρχουσιν ούσιῶν, ἢ δὲ ὥλη ἄποιος ἦν, τῶν δὲ ποιοτήτων ποιητὴν εἶπας τὸν θεὸν εἶναι, ἔσται καὶ τῶν κακῶν δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. ὅτε τοίνυν ούδ' οὕτως ἀναίτιον τῶν κακῶν δυνατὸν είπεῖν 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 formless and unshaped. So, having anticipated this, I spoke in this way. Therefore, if evils are qualities that exist in substances, and the matter was formless, and you said that the divine is the creator of qualities, then the divine must also be the creator of evils. Thus, it is not possible to say that the divine is completely innocent of evils; it seems unnecessary to connect matter to it. If you have anything to add to this, please go ahead.

7.22.22 | εἰ μὲν ἐκ φιλονεικίας ἡμῖν ἡ ζήτησις ἐγίνετο, ούκ ἀν δεύτερον περὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡξίουν ὄριζεσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ὀφελείας τὴν ἔξετασιν ποιούμεθα τῶν λόγων, ἄνωθεν περὶ τούτων ὄριζεσθαι 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 δὲ οὔτω διακεῖσθαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι· ὅθεν οἴω τρόπῳ χρώμενος νομίζεις δύνασθαι τὸ

7.22.22 | If our inquiry came from rivalry, we would not consider a second definition of evils. But since we are looking into these matters more for the sake of friendship and the benefit of 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 know that you feel the same way. Therefore, however you think you can find

άληθες εὐρεῖν, τούτῳ χρῆσαι μηδὲν δυσωπούμενος. οὐ γὰρ σεαυτὸν ὡφελήσεις μόνον χρησάμενος τῷ κρείττονι, ἀλλὰ πάντως κάμε περὶ ᾧν ἀγνοῶ.

7.22.23 | Σαφῶς παραστῆναί μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τὰ κακὰ ούσιας ὑπάρχειν τινάς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκτὸς ούσιῶν αὐτὰ ὄντα βλέπω. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὡς οὗτος, καὶ τὰ κακὰ ούσιας εἶναι λέγεις, ἀνάγκη τὸν τῆς ούσιας ἔξετάζειν λόγον. δοκεῖ σοι τὴν ούσιαν σωματικήν τινα σύστασιν εἶναι; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.24 | Ἡ δὲ σωματικὴ σύστασις αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ὑπάρχει οὐ δεομένη τινὸς, οὐ γενομένου τὸ εἶναι λήψεται; Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.25 | Δοκεῖ δέ σοι τὰ κακὰ ἐνεργείας εἶναι τινος; Οὕτω μοι φαίνεται.

7.22.26 | Αἴδεν δὲ ἐνέργειαι τότε τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνουσιν, ὅπόταν ὁ ἐνεργῶν παρῇ; Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.27 | Οὐκ ὄντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος, οὐδὲ ὅπερ ἐνεργεῖ ἔσται ποτέ; Οὐκ ἔσται.

7.22.28 | Οὔκοιν εἰ ἡ ούσια σωματική τις ἔστι σύστασις, αὕτη δὲ οὐ δεῖται τινος, ἐν ὃ γενομένη τὸ εἶναι λήψεται, τὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνέργειαι ὑπάρχουσί τινος, αἴ δὲ ἐνέργειαι δέονται τινος, ἐν ᾧ γενόμεναι τὸ εἶναι

the truth, use that method without hesitation. For by using what is better, you will not only benefit yourself but also help me with what I do not know.

7.22.23 | It seems to me that you clearly believe that evils exist in substances, as I do not see them existing outside of substances. Therefore, since you say that evils are in substances, we need to examine the nature of substances. Do you think that substance has some kind of physical composition? I think so.

7.22.24 | But the physical composition itself exists on its own and does not need anything else to exist. Is that correct?

7.22.25 | Do you think that evils are a kind of activity? That seems to be the case for me.

7.22.26 | Then activities gain existence when the one acting is present? That is how it is.

7.22.27 | If the one acting is not present, will what is being acted upon ever exist? It will not.

7.22.28 | Therefore, if existence is a type of physical composition, and this does not depend on anything else, then what comes into being will gain existence. But evils are activities that depend on something else,

λαμβάνουσιν, ούκ ἔσονται ούσιαι τὰ κακά.

and they gain existence when they come into being; evils will not be true existences.

7.22.29 | εἰ δὲ ούσιαι τὰ κακὰ, κακὸν δὲ ὁ φόνος, ούσια ἔσται ὁ φόνος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ φόνος ἐνέργεια ὑπάρχει τινὸς, ούκ ἔστιν ἄρα ούσια ὁ φόνος. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐνεργοῦντα ούσιαν εἶναι θέλεις, σύμφημι κάγω. οὗν ἄνθρωπος ὁ φονεὺς, καθ' ὃν μὲν λόγον ἄνθρωπός ἔστιν ὑπάρχει ούσια· ὁ δὲ ὃν ποιεῖ φόνος ούκ ἔστιν ούσια, ἀλλ' ἔργον τῆς ούσιας.

7.22.29 | If evils are existences, then murder would be 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. However, what he does—murder—is not an existence, but rather an act of existence.

7.22.30 | λέγομεν δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν κακὸν διὰ τὸ φονεύειν, ποτὲ δ' αὖ πάλιν διὰ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἀγαθόν. καὶ προσπλέκεται ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα τῇ ούσιᾳ ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ, ἔτινα οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῇ· οὕτε γάρ ὁ φόνος ἔστιν ἡ ούσια οὗτ' αὖ πάλιν ἡ μοιχεία οὕτε τι τῶν ὅμοιών κακῶν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὁ γραμματικὸς λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ῥήτορικῆς ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὁ ἰατρὸς, τῆς ούσιας οὗτ' ἰατρικῆς οὕσης οὕτε μὴν ῥήτορικῆς οὕτε γραμματικῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβανούσης, ἀφ' ὧν οὗτ' ὡς ὄνομάζεσθαι δοκεῖ, οὐδ' ὀπότερον αὐτῶν οὖσα, ὅμοιώς μοι φαίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι κακῶν τὴν ούσιαν ὄνομα προσλαβάνειν, οὐδ' ὀπότερον οὖσαν αὐτῶν.

7.22.30 | We say that a person can be seen as bad when he kills and good when he helps. These labels are attached to existence based on what happens to it, but they do not define 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, these names do not come from the existence of medicine, 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, no matter whether they are thought to exist.

7.22.31 | καί μοι ὅμοιώς ἐπινόησον, εἴ τινα ἔτερον ἀναπλάττεις ἐν τῷ νῷ τῶν κακῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον, ὡς κάκεῖνος, καθὸ ἐν τούτοις ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὑποβάλλει ποιεῖν τὰ κακὰ, ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς κακὸς ἔξ ὧν ποιεῖ. διὰ

7.22.31 | And similarly, think about whether you see someone else as the cause of evils for people, just as he does. Since he acts and encourages others to do evil, he is also considered bad because of his actions.

τοῦτο γὰρ κάκεῖνος κακός εἶναι λέγεται,  
ὅτι τῶν κακῶν ἔστι ποιητής. ἀ δέ τις ποιεῖ,  
οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' αὶ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ,  
ἀφ' ὧν τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ κακὸς  
λέγεσθαι λαμβάνει.

That is why he is called bad—because he creates evils. However, what someone does is not the same as who he is; rather, it is his actions that lead to him being labeled as bad.

7.22.32 | εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν εἴποιμεν ἂ  
ποιεῖ, ποιεῖ δὲ φόνους καὶ μοιχείας καὶ  
κιλοπὰς 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.

7.22.32 | For if we say that he exists because of what he does, and he commits murders, adultery, theft, and similar acts, then he will be those things. But if he is those things, and they exist only when they happen, then when they are not happening, he stops being those things. These actions occur in relation to people, and those people will be the creators of these actions, and they are the cause of both existence and non-existence.

7.22.33 | εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ φῆσ,  
ἔξ ὧν ποιεῖ τὸ κακός εἶναι ἔχει, οὐκ ἔξ ὧν  
ἔστιν ἡ ούσία. κακὸν δὲ εἴπομεν λέγεσθαι  
ἀπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τῇ ούσίᾳ, ἄτινα  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ούσία, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὁ  
ἰατρός.

7.22.33 | But if you say that these are his actions, from which he gets the name 'bad,' it is not based on what his essence is. We say that something is called bad based on what happens to its essence, which is not its true essence, just as a physician is called so because of medicine.

7.22.34 | εἰ δὲ ἔξ ὧν ἐνεργεῖ ἔκαστος  
ὑπάρχει κακός, ἀ δὲ ἐνεργεῖ ἀρχὴν τοῦ  
εἶναι λαμβάνει, ἥρξατο κάκεῖνος εἶναι  
κακός, ἥρξατο δὲ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ κακά. εἰ δὲ  
οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἔσται ἀνάρχως κακός, οὐδὲ  
ἀγέννητα τὰ κακὰ τῷ γεννητὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
εἶναι φάναι.

7.22.34 | But if each person exists as bad based on what they do, and their actions are the source of their being, then that person has begun to be bad, and they have also begun to do bad things. But if this is true, then they cannot be bad without a beginning, nor can bad things be said to exist without something that brings them into being.

7.22.35 | Τὸν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον, ὡ φίλε,  
λόγον ἱκανῶς μοι πεποιηκέναι δοκεῖς· ἔξ ὧν

7.22.35 | You seem to have made a good argument to the other person, my friend;

γὰρ προύλαβες τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκ τούτων συνάγειν ἔδοξας καλῶς. ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ, εἰ ἄποιος ἔτυγχανεν ἡ ὕλη, τῶν δὲ ποιοτήτων δημιουργὸς ὑπάρχει ὁ θεός, ποιότητες δὲ τὰ κακὰ, τῶν κακῶν ἔσται ποιητὴς ὁ θεός.

for from what you brought up in your speech, you gathered those ideas well. For truly, if matter were to exist without form, then the creator is god, and the qualities would be the bad things. So, god would be the creator of the bad things.

7.22.36 | οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος πρὸς ἑκεῖνον είρήσθω καλῶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ ψεῦδος δοκεῖ τὴν ὕλην ἄποιον εἶναι λέγειν' οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔνεστιν εἴπειν περὶ ἡστινοσοῦν οὐσίας ὡς ἔστιν ἄποιος. καὶ γὰρ ἐνῷ ἄποιον εἶναι λέγει, τὴν ποιότητα αὐτῆς μηνύει, ὅποια ἔστιν ἡ ὕλη διαγραφόμενος, δῆπερ ἔστιν ποιότητος εἶδος.

7.22.36 | Let this argument be presented well to that person. But to me, it seems wrong to say that matter is formless; for it is not possible to talk about any substance as if it is without form. For when we say that something is formless, we reveal its quality, describing what kind of matter it is, which is a type of quality.

7.22.37 | ὅθεν, εἴσοι φίλον ἔστιν, ἀνωθεν ἔχου πρὸς ἐμὲ τοῦ λόγου. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἡ ὕλη ἀνάρχως ποιότητας ἔχειν δοκεῖ. οὕτως γὰρ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀπορροίας αὐτῆς εἶναι λέγω, ἔνα τῶν κακῶν ὃ μὲν θεός ἀναίτιος ἦ, τούτων δὲ ἀπάντων ἡ ὕλη αἴτια.

7.22.37 | Therefore, if it is important to you, keep the argument above me. For to me, matter seems to have qualities without a beginning. In this way, I say that bad things come from that source; god is not responsible for any of the bad things, but matter is the cause of all of them.

7.22.38 | Τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν τὴν σὴν ἀποδέχομαι, ὡς φίλε, καί σου τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σπουδὴν ἐπαινῶ. προσῆκε γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔκαστον τῶν φιλομαθῶν μὴ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῇ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξετασιν τῶν λόγων. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ δὲ προσζητῶν παρὰ λόγον ὄρισάμενος ἀφορμὴν παρέσχε τῷ προσδιαλεγομένῳ συνάγειν ὡς ἐθέλει, τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν πείσιε, ἀλλ' εἴ τι δοκεῖ δυνατὸν εἶναι λέγεσθαι καλῶς, τοῦτο λέξει· παρ' ὃν δυοῖν θάτερον ἔσται· ἡ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὃ κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἀκούσας τέλεον ὀφεληθῆσται, ἡ τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον

7.22.38 | I appreciate your eagerness, my friend, and I commend your seriousness in your words. It is fitting that each person who loves to learn should not simply agree with what is said, but should carefully examine the arguments. For even if the one seeking a discussion gives a reason for the other person to gather as he wishes, this will not convince the listener. However, if something seems possible to be said well, he will say it. Among these two outcomes, one will be true: either he will benefit from what he hears, or he will challenge the one he is discussing with by stating what is not

έλέγξει ού τάληθη λέγοντα.

7.22.39 | Ού δοκεῖς δέ μοι δεόντως είρηκέναι τὴν ὥλην ἄνωθεν ποιότητας ἔχειν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, τίνος ἔσται ποιητὴς ὁ θεός; εἴτε γάρ οὐσίας ἐροῦμεν, προεῖναι ταύτας φαμέν· εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν ποιότητας, καὶ ταύτας ὑπάρχειν.

7.22.40 | ούκοῦν ούσίας τε οὕσης καὶ ποιοτήτων περιττὸν εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ δημιουργὸν λέγειν τὸν θεόν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἔμαυτῷ κατασκευάζειν τινὰ δόξω λόγον, ἀπόκριναι νῦν ἐρωτώμενος, τίνι τρόπῳ δημιουργὸν εἶναι φήσ τὸν θεόν; πότερον ὅτι τὰς ούσίας ἔτρεψεν εἰς τὸ μηκέθ' ὑπάρχειν ἔκείνας αἴπερ ἥσαν ποτε, ἀλλ' ἐτέρας παρ' αὐτὰς γενέσθαι, ἢ ὅτι τὰς μὲν ούσίας ἐφύλαξεν ἔκείνας αἴπερ ἥσαν πρὸ τούτου, τὰς δὲ ποιότητας ἔτρεψεν αὐτῶν;

7.22.41 | Οὕ τι μοι δοκεῖ ἀλλαγήν τινα ούσιῶν γεγονέναι καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον τοῦτο λέγειν μοι φαίνεται τροπὴν δέ τινα τῶν ποιοτήτων γεγονέναι φημὶ, καθ' ἃς δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγω τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὕσπερ εἰ τύχοι λέγειν ἐκ λίθων οίκιαν γεγονέναι, ἐφ' ᾧν οὐκ ἔστιν είπειν ὡς οὐκέτι λίθοι μένουσι τῇ ούσίᾳ, οίκια γενόμενοι οἵ λίθοι

7.22.42 | τῇ γὰρ ποιότητι τῆς σὺν θέσεως τὴν οίκιαν γεγονέναι φημὶ, τραπείσης δηλονότι τῆς προτέρας τῶν λίθων ποιότητος), οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὑπομενούσης τῆς ούσίας, τροπήν τινα τῶν ποιοτήτων αὐτῆς πεποιηκέναι, καθ' ἣν τὴν

true.

7.22.39 | You do not seem to me to have correctly said that matter has qualities without a beginning. For if this is true, what kind of creator would god be? If we are talking about substances, we say that they 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 to avoid 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, and instead made new ones from them? Or do you mean that he preserved the 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, because this seems strange to say. I believe there has been some change in qualities, and in this way, 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, just because they have become a house.

7.22.42 | For I say that the house has come into being from the quality of its arrangement, clearly changing the previous quality of the stones. In the same way, it seems to me that god has made some change in the qualities of the substance,

τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ  
γεγονέναι λέγω.

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 φῆς,  
ἀπόκριναί μοι βραχέα πυθέσθαι  
προαιρουμένω. λέγε δὴ εἰ ὅμοίως 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 bad qualities belong to substances in the same way." "I think so."

7.22.44 | Ἀνωθεν δὲ ἡσαν αὖτις ποιότητες  
αὗται ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, ἢ ἀρχὴν ἔσχον τοῦ εἶναι;  
Συνεῖναι φημι ἀγενήτως τῇ ὕλῃ ταυτασὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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 naturally connected to the matter.

7.22.45 | Οὐχὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν φῆς τροπήν τινα  
τῶν ποιοτήτων πεποιηκέναι; Τοῦτο φημι.

7.22.45 | Don't you say that there has been some change in the qualities made by god? I say this.

7.22.46 | Πότερον οὖν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ εἰς  
τὸ χεῖρον; Εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.46 | So, 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 αὖτις ποιότητες  
ὅποιαί ποτ' ἡσαν τῇ φύσει. ἢ, εἰ μὲν  
πρότερον οὐκ ἡσαν ποιότητες κακαὶ, ἐκ δὲ  
τοῦ τραπῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς πρώτας  
τοιαύτας περὶ τὴν ὕλην γεγονέναι  
ποιότητας φῆς, αἴτιος ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ὁ  
θεὸς, τρέψας τὰς οὐκ οὖσας ποιότητας  
κακὰς εἰς τὸ εἶναι κακάς.

7.22.47 | So, if the qualities of matter are bad, and god has changed them for the better, why do we need to look for the bad? The qualities did not stay the same as they were by nature. Or, if there were no bad qualities before, and if the first qualities became bad because of the change toward god, then god would be responsible for the bad, having turned the non-existent bad qualities into bad ones.

7.22.48 | ή τὰς μὲν κακὰς ποιότητας είς τὸ κρεῖττον οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τρέψαι τὸν θεὸν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς καὶ μόνας, ὅσαι ἀδιάφοροι ἐτύγχανον τῆς διακοσμήσεως ἔνεκα, πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τετράφθαι λέγεις; Οὕτως ἄνωθεν ἔσχον ἐγώ.

7.22.49 | Πῶς τοίνυν αὐτὸν τὰς τῶν φαύλων ποιότητας ὡς εἶχον καταλελοιπέναι λέγεις; πότερον δυνάμενον μὲν κάκείνας ἀνελεῖν, οὐ βουληθέντα δὲ, ή τὸ δύνασθαι μὴ ἔχοντα; εἴ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον λέξεις, οὐ βουληθέντα δὲ, αὐτὸν αἴτιον τούτων είπειν ἀνάγκη, ὅτι δυνάμενος ποιήσαι μὴ εἶναι κακὰ, συνεχώρησεν αὐτὰ μένειν ὡς ἦν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε δημιουργεῖν τὴν ὑλην ἤρξατο.

7.22.50 | εἰ γὰρ μηδ' ὅλως ἔμελεν αὐτῷ τῆς ὕλης, οὐκ ἀν αἴτιος ἦν ὃν συνεχώρει μένειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέρος μέν τι αὐτῆς ἐδημιούργει, μέρος δέ τι οὔτως εἴα, δυνάμενος κάκεῖνα τρέπειν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, αἵτιαν ὄφλισκάνειν ἄξιος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καταλιπὼν μέρος ὕλης εἶναι πονηρὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ θρῶ οὐ ἐδημιούργησε μέρους.

7.22.51 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἡδικῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, τοῦθ' ὅπερ κατεσκεύασε τῆς ὕλης μέρος ἀντιλαμβανόμενον τανῦν τῶν κακῶν. εἴ γάρ τις ἔξετάζοι ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ πράγματα, χαλεπώτερον νῦν εὐρήσει τὴν ὕλην πεπονθυῖαν τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας. πρὶν γάρ αὐτὴν διακριθῆναι τὸ μηδὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῶν κακῶν παρῆν αὐτῇ· νυνὶ δὲ ἔκαστον

7.22.48 | Or do you think that god cannot change the bad qualities for the better, but you say that the other qualities, which were indifferent for the sake of order, have been directed toward god? This is how I understand 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, then it must be said 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 stay as it was, while being able to change those qualities for the better, he seems to me to deserve blame for leaving part of the matter to be bad, which leads to the 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 it did before. Before it was separated, it did not even sense the bad qualities; but now each part of it perceives

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 ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ προσπελάζοντος κακοῦ προσλαμβάνει, καὶ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ εὔεργεσίᾳ τῆς ὥλης 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 τὴς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄρμήν· ὅπερ ἄτοπον εἶναί μοι λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ δοκεῖ.

7.22.55 | διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ταῦτ' ἔσονται θεοὶ, νικὰν κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν σὸν δυνάμενα τὸν θεὸν, εἴπερ θεὸν ἔκεινό φαμεν ὃ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔξουσίαν ἔχει;

the bad.

7.22.52 | And take the example of a human. Before it is shaped and becomes a living being through 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 linked to the worse.

7.22.53 | But if you say that god cannot remove the bad because he does not stop, then you will be claiming that god does not exist. The impossible will either be because he is weak by nature or because he is enslaved by fear of something greater.

7.22.54 | If you dare to say that god is weak by nature, it seems to me you are putting the safety of that belief at risk. But if he is overcome by fear of something greater, then the bad would be greater than god, overpowering his own will. This seems to me to be a strange thing to say about god.

7.22.55 | For why wouldn't these things be more true of gods, if they can overcome god according to your reasoning, especially if we say that god is the one who has power over everything?

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 μονοειδῆς, σύνθετος δὲ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων ούσιῶν τε καὶ κράσεων τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει \* \* \* τὸ γὰρ σύνθετον ἀπλῶν τινων μίξιν μηνύει.

7.22.57 | εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν ὕλην σύνθετον λέγειν ἐθέλοις, πάντως ἐξ ἀπλῶν τινων συντεθεῖσθαι φήσεις, εἴ δὲ ἐξ ἀπλῶν συνετέθη, ἢν ποτε καθ' ἐαυτὰ τὰ ἀπλὰ, ὡν 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, ἢν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε ἡ ὕλη οὐκ ἦν, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰ ἀπλὰ συνελθεῖν εἴ δὲ ἢν 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 θεὸς καὶ τὰ ἀπλὰ ἐξ ὧν 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 complex? The differences in what has happened lead me to examine this reasoning. For if the substance is simple and uniform, while the world is complex, made up of different essences and mixtures, then the complex shows a mixture of simple things.

7.22.57 | But if you want to say again that the substance is complex, you will surely say it is made up of simple things. If it is made up of simple things, then at one time those simple things existed on their own, from which the substance was formed, and from which it is shown to be 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, meaning 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 cannot be ungenerated.

7.22.59 | Then there will be many ungenerated things. For if god is ungenerated and the simple things from which the substance was formed, there will not be just two ungenerated things. Do you think that nothing among the existing things stands in opposition to itself? I think so.

7.22.60 | Ἀντίκειται δὲ τῷ πυρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ;  
Ἀντικεῖσθαί μοι φαίνεται. Ὄμοίως δὲ καὶ  
τῷ φωτὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ τὸ  
θερμόν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῷ ξηρῷ τὸ  
ὑγρόν; Οὕτως ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.61 | Οὐκοῦν εἴ μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτὸν  
έαυτῷ ἀντίκειται, οὐκ ἔσονται ὕλη μία,  
οὐδὲ μὴν ἐξ ὕλης μιᾶς. ὅμοιον δέ τινα  
τούτῳ λόγον πάλιν πυθέσθαι σου  
βούλομαι. δοκεῖ σοι τὰ μέρη μὴ ἀναιρετικὰ  
τυγχάνειν ἀλλήλων; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.62 | Εἶναι δὲ τῆς ὕλης 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 ὄσα 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 ὕλης μιᾶς. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὰ  
ἔσονται ὕλη τῷ μηδένι τι τῶν ὄντων αὐτὸν  
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 αὐτὸν  
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  
γοῦν ὄμοίως πλεῖστα ὄσα εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ὕλη

7.22.60 | Is water opposed to fire? It seems  
to me that it is. Similarly, darkness is  
opposed to light, cold is opposed to heat,  
and dry is opposed to wet. This is how it  
seems to me.

7.22.61 | Therefore, if nothing among the  
existing things stands against itself, there  
will not be one substance, nor will there be  
one substance formed from it. I want to ask  
you a similar question again. 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, along with the others? It is so. And  
what about this? Does it not seem to you  
that water destroys fire, light destroys  
darkness, and the other similar things? It  
seems so.

7.22.63 | Therefore, if the parts are not  
destructive of each other, there will not be  
parts of one another. And if there are not  
parts of one another, there will not be one  
substance. But also, they will not be  
substance if nothing among the existing  
things has something that destroys itself  
according to the reasoning of opposites.

7.22.64 | “For nothing is opposed to itself;  
opposites are naturally opposed to each  
other. 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.  
Many other things are the same way.  
Therefore, if there were one substance, it

μία τις ἥν, ούκ ἀν αὐτὴν αὐτῇ ἀντέκειτο. οὕτω δὲ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἔχόντων τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ὕλην δείκνυται.” Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ προδηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς, αὐτάρκη δὲ περιγραφὴν εἰληφότος τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ τὸν ὅγδοον τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς μεταβάντες, τὰ λείποντα τῷ προκειμένῳ σκέμματι, σύμμαχον ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν θεόν, ἀναπληρώσομεν

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 given, moving on to the eighth part of the Evangelical Preparation, calling upon God as an ally, we will fill in what remains for the current discussion.

## Book Eight (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ)

### Section 1

8.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τοὺς βίους τῶν παλαιῶν Ἐβραίων, τὸν 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 εύσεβεῖς αὐτῶν θεολογίας, ὃν εἰς ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἐλθεῖν ὡμολογήκαμεν, διελθών 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 μόνω τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει νενομοθετημένον.

8.1.1 | Introduction. The lives of the ancient Hebrews, especially those godly men who confirmed the truth, were connected 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 represents a second level of piety after that first stage, established only for the Jewish nation.

8.1.2 | ὡς γὰρ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν, ἦν ἀρμόδια τὰ διὰ Μώσεως, οὐδὲ δυνατὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, λέγω δὲ τοῖς πόρρω που τῆς Ἰουδαίας γῆς οἰκοῦσιν Ἕλλησί 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 of 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 followed at the right time.

8.1.3 | νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τούτου, λέγω δὲ τοῦ

8.1.3 | Now, regarding the way of life

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.

according to Moses, I will not speak in my own words, but will share 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 from each of their own proofs.

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 ἡμὰς αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅθνεῖα νομίζεσθαι κατασχεδιάζειν.

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 think of ourselves as outsiders in this matter.

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 διοίων 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.

8.1.5 | Before reaching this point, I will discuss how the words related to the Greeks were presented and what method was used to interpret the divine writings they trusted. I will explain which men were involved and what royal effort led to the changes in the Greek language. I believe it is important to make these things clear to those who encounter them, as this will be valuable for understanding the explanation of these matters in preparation for what is to come.

8.1.6 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ ὅσον οὕπω τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν βιωφελοῦς ιηρύξεως ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς εἰς πάντας ἐκλάμπειν ἀνθρώπους, λόγος τε οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἥρει τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας τὸν τε βίον τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ τὰ τῆς εύσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας αὐτῶν μαθήματα, τῇ πατρίῳ αὐτῶν φωνῇ ἐξ αἰῶνος μακροῦ κεκαλυμμένα, ἥδη ποτὲ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, οἵς τὶ τῆς θεογνωσίας

8.1.6 | Since the time when the message of our Savior was about to shine forth to all people during Roman rule, the words that spoke of him did not just happen by chance. They were based on 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 teachings were to be revealed to all nations, to whom

ἔμελλε προξενεῖσθαι, παρελθεῖν· θεὸς αὐτὸς δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος, προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἀνθεὸς τῇ προγνώσει, τὰς περὶ τοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν ἀναφανησομένου σωτῆρος, διδασκάλου τε εὔσεβείας 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 Πτολεμαίῳ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι κατὰ νοῦν ἐμβαλὼν, εἰς προπαρασκευὴν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων ὅσον οὕπω μελλούσης ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μεταλήψεως.

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 acceptance of all nations, which had not yet come.

8.1.7 | ὃν γάρ οὐκ ἀν ἄλλως ἐτύχομεν παρὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἀποκρυψάντων ἀν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγια διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φθόνον, τούτων ἐκ τῆς θεόθεν οίκονομηθείσης ἐρμηνείας ἡξιώθημεν πρὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τε συνέσει καὶ τῇ πατρίω 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 proven 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 ἴστοροῦντος 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 ἥγαγεν ὅσον ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ 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, ἐστί σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; πάντα γὰρ ἀποτέτακταί σοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ὃ δὲ Δημήτριος εἶπεν, ἐρμηνείας προσδεῖται· χαρακτῆρι γὰρ ίδιοις κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χρῶνται, καθάπερ Αἴγυπτοι τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων θέσει, καθὸ καὶ φωνὴν ίδιαν ἔχουσιν. ὑπολαμβάνονται δὲ Συριακῇ χρῆσθαι· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἔτερος τρόπος.

8.2.4 | μεταλαβὼν δὲ ἔκαστα ὃ 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 τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς πάντα γὰρ διὰ προσταγμάτων καὶ μεγάλης

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 fulfilled the king's intention as much as he could.

8.2.2 | So, while we were present, he was asked how many thousands of books there were. He replied, “More than twenty, O king; but I will work hard in a short time to gather fifty thousand more.” It has also been reported to me that the Jewish laws are worthy of being copied and should be included in your library.

8.2.3 | “Then what is stopping you from doing this?” he asked. “For everything you need has been arranged for you.” Demetrius replied, “I need translations, because 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 believed that they use Syriac, but that is not true; it is a different method.”

8.2.4 | After receiving this, the king said to write to the high priest of the Jews, so that he could complete what was mentioned earlier. He also added other matters.

8.2.5 | When these things were completed, he ordered Demetrius to publish everything about the recording of the Jewish books, for everything was managed

άκριβείας 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·

with careful 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 organized, 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:

### 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

8.3.1 | To the great king from Demetrius. Since you ordered, O king, regarding the books that were left out for the completion of the library, so that what has been lost may be gathered and receive the necessary repairs, I have made sure to mention this to you without any neglect.

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.

8.3.2 | 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 overlooked and are not marked as they should be, as those who know have pointed out. They have not received the attention of the king.

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 οἱ 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 ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

8.3.3 | It is also necessary for you to accurately record these things, because this legislation is more philosophical and complete, as it is divine. Therefore, both the writers and poets, as well as many historians, have gone far 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.

8.3.4 | ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται, βασιλεῦ, γραφήσεται πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέα ἀπόστεῖλαι 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. εὐτύχει 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 ἱκανόν τι πλῆθος.

8.3.6 | ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς χρηματοφύλακας τοῖς τεχνίταις ὃν ἀν προαιρῶνται τὴν ἐκλογὴν 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, 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. This way, after examining the agreement from the majority and obtaining an accurate interpretation, we can present it properly, both regarding 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, also mentioning the release of the captives that had taken place. He provided for the preparation of bowls, cups, a table, and libation vessels, giving fifty talents of gold and seventy talents of silver, along with a significant 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 can 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. Ἔπει τοῦ συμβαίνει πλείονας τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν κατῳκίσθαι, γενηθέντας ἀναρπάστους ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ

8.4.1 | King Ptolemy sends greetings and wishes good health to High Priest Eleazar. Since many Jews are settling in our land, having been taken from Jerusalem by the Persians during their time of control, and

Περσῶν, καθ' ὃν ἐπεκράτουν χρόνον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ συνεληλυθέναι τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αίχμαλώτους, ἀφ' ὃν καὶ πλείονας εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν σύνταγμα κατεχώρισεν ἐπὶ μείζοις μισθοφορίαις, ὅμοιώς 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, ποιὸν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς σοὶς πολίταις, ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας αίχμαλώτων ἡλευθερώκαμεν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὴν κατ' ἄξιαν ἀργυρικὴν τιμὴν, διορθούμενοι καὶ εἴ τι κακῶς ἐπράχθη διὰ τὰς τῶν ὄχλων ὄρμάς, 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 ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς ἀξίως, ἐπιλέξας ἄνδρας καλῶς βεβιωκότας, πρεσβυτέρους,

also having been brought to Egypt as captives by our ancestors, we have freed many of them for military service with better pay. We have also returned those we judged to be trustworthy, building fortifications for them so that the Egyptian nation may have fear because of this. As we take on the kingdom, we strive to be more humane to everyone, 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 actions of the crowds. We have taken care to do this with respect, dedicating it to the greatest god, who has kept our kingdom in peace and glory throughout the whole world. We have assigned the strongest young men to the army, and those who are capable and worthy of being around us and trusted in the palace we have appointed.

8.4.2 | We also want to grant you and all the Jews around the world, including 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 honor our efforts by choosing men who have lived good lives—elders with

έμπειρίαν ἔχοντας τοῦ νόμου , καὶ δυνατοὺς ἐρμηνεῦσαι, ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἔξ, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων τὸ σύμφωνον εὐρεθῇ, διὰ τὸ περὶ μειζόνων εἶναι τὴν σκέψιν. οἰόμεθα γὰρ ἐπιτελεσθέντος τούτου μεγάλην ἀτοίσεσθαι δόξαν.

experience in the law who are able to translate. Select six from each tribe so that a consensus can be reached from the majority, since this matter is very important. 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, διαλεξιμένους σοι καὶ κομίζοντας ἀπαρχὰς εἰς τὸ Ἱερὸν ἀναθημάτων καὶ εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐκατόν. γράφε δὲ καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ· κεχαρισμένος γὰρ ἔσῃ καὶ φιλίας ἄξιόν τι πράξεις· ως ἐπιτελεσθησομένων τὴν ταχίστην περὶ ὧν ἂν αἰρῇ. ἔρρωσο.' Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν ἐνδεχομένως ὁ Ἐέακαρπς οὕτως

8.4.4 | We have sent Andrew, the chief bodyguard, and Aristaios, who is 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, please write to us about anything you wish; you will receive favors and will be worthy of friendship. We will make sure this is 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 ως 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 παρανέγγνωμεν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς, ἵν εἰδῶσιν ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εύσέβειαν

8.5.1 | Eleazar, the high priest, to King Ptolemy, my true friend, greetings. I hope you are well, along with Queen Arsinoe, your sister, and the children. May they all 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 would know about 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 εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, καὶ εἰς προσαγωγὴν θυσιῶν, καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὰς ὧν ἂν προσδέηται τὸ

8.5.2 | We showed the bowls that you sent: twenty gold and thirty silver, five mixing bowls, and a table for offerings, as well as for the sacrifices and the needs of the temple. This includes one hundred talents

ιερὸν, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐκατὸν, ἃπερ ἔκόμισεν Ἀνδρέας τῶν τετιμημένων μένων παρὰ σοὶ καὶ Ἀρισταῖος, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἄξιοι κατὰ πάντα

of silver, which Andrew and Aristaios, the honored men you sent, brought. They are good and noble men, distinguished in education and worthy in every way of your leadership and justice.

8.5.3 | οἱ καὶ μετέδωκαν ἡμῖν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ, πρὸς ἂν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκόασιν ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα σοι συμφέρει, καὶ εἰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν, ὑπακουσόμεθα. τοῦτο γὰρ φιλίας καὶ ἀγαπήσεως ἐστὶ σημεῖον. μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ ἀνεπίληστα τοὺς πολίτας ἡμῶν κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους εὐεργέτηκας.

8.5.3 | They also gave us what you sent, which fits well with your needs. We will obey everything that is good for you, even if it seems unusual. This shows our friendship and love. You have greatly and consistently helped our citizens in many ways.

8.5.4 | εύθέως οὖν προσηγάγομεν ὑπὲρ σοῦ θυσίας καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν φίλων, καὶ ηὕξατο πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα σοι γένηται καθὼς προαιρῇ 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. The whole crowd prayed that everything may happen for you as you wish, 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 ἔξ, οὓς καὶ ἀπεστάλκαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, βασιλεῦ δίκαιε, προστάξας ὡς ἀνὴρ μεταγραφὴ γένηται τῶν βιβλίων, ἵνα πάλιν ἀποκατασταθῶσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς οἱ ἄνδρες. ἔρρωσο.”

8.5.5 | To ensure that the transfer of the holy law happens 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 carried out, so that the men may return to us safely. Farewell.

8.5.6 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς, πολλὰ διὰ μέσου περὶ τῆς προτεθείσης εἰπών πραγματείας, μετὰ τὴν τῶν γραφῶν ἐρμηνείαν ἐπιφέρει

8.5.6 | After this, having spoken a lot about the proposed matters, he adds the interpretation of the writings with these

αύτοῖς ῥήμασι “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 ἔστὶν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις διασκευάσει προστιθεὶς ἢ μεταφέρων τι τὸ σύνολον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν, καλῶς τοῦτο πράσσοντες, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς ἀέναα μένοντα φυλάσσηται.

words: “As these texts were read, the priests, the elders of the interpreters, those from the government, and the leaders of the people said, ‘Since it is interpreted well, piously, and accurately in every way, it is good that these things remain as they are, and that there be no changes.’ When everyone shouted in agreement with these words, they commanded that it 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 properly, 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 τετελειώσθαι. παρανεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα, καὶ λίαν ἔξεθαύμασε τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου διάνοιαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶπε, πῶς τηλικούτων κούτων πραγμάτων συντετελεσμένων ούδεις ἐπέβα βάλετο τῶν ἱστορικῶν ούδε 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 | When these things were addressed to the king, he was very pleased, for it seemed that his intention was being fulfilled safely. Everything was read to him, and he greatly admired the mind of the lawgiver. He said to Demetrius, “How is it that among such important matters, no one from the historians or poets has mentioned anything?” Demetrius replied, “Because the legislation is serious. It has come from God, and some who were affected by God, having been struck by the burden, 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 ἔστι· δι’ ὄνείρου δὲ σημανθέντος ὅτι τὰ θεῖα βούλεται περιεργασάμενος εἰς

8.5.8 | He said that he had heard from Theopompus that someone was about to interpret some of the previously explained things more uncertainly from the law. This would cause a disturbance of the mind for more than thirty days. After that, with ease, he would make peace with God, so that it would be clear to him why this was happening. Through a dream, it was shown

κοινοὺςάνθρώπους ἐκφέρειν ,  
ἀποσχόμενον οὕτως ἀποκαταστῆναι.

that the divine wanted to reveal things to ordinary people, so that he might be restored in this way.

8.5.9 | καὶ παρὰ Θεοδέκτου δὲ τοῦ τῶν τῶν τραγῳδῶν ποιητοῦ μετέλαβον ἔγὼ διότι παραφέρειν μέλλοντός τι τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ πρός τι δρᾶμα τὰς ὄψεις ἀπεγλαυκώθη, καὶ λαβὼν ὑπόνοιαν ὅτι διὰ ταύτ' αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἔξιλασάμενος σάμενος τὸν θεὸν, ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἀποκατέστη

8.5.9 | I received from Theodectes, the poet of tragedies, that he was about to bring something from what was written in the book to a certain drama. His expressions became clear, and realizing that it had happened to him for the same reason, he made peace with God. 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 mentioned earlier, regarding the matters about Demetrius, ordered that great care be taken of the books and that they be kept clean.

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 ταῦτά φησιν

8.5.11 | Let us take these things from the revealed writing. 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 Συρίας τὸ πάλαι, μυριάσι τε ἀμυθήτοις πλήθοντα, καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὕσης ίκανῆς. ,

8.6.1 | Their ancient ancestor was from the Chaldeans, and this people arose, having migrated from Egypt long ago from Syria, growing in countless numbers, and the land was not enough for them. Moreover, they

πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων  
έντεθραμμένον μεγάλως, καὶ ἄμα τοῦ. Θεοῦ  
διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔξοδον  
αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἡττον εἰς  
πόθον κατὰ δαιμονα 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 τό τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγενῆσθαι  
καὶ διαμένειν, κάπι τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν  
εἰς πολυνανδρίαν.'

were greatly inspired in their youthful thoughts, and at the same time, through visions and dreams, God was showing them a way out. They were also driven by a strong 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. From that time until now, both the nation has come to be and remains, and they have greatly increased in population.

8.6.2 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν "Ἄνήρ γε μὴν  
αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖτο τῆς τε ἔξοδου καὶ τῆς  
πορείας εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ βούλει,  
διάφορος· οὕτω καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν γόντα καὶ  
κέρκωπα λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ  
πανουργίας, ἐξ ἣς τόν γε λαὸν ἄπαντα ἐν  
ἀνυδρίᾳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ τῶν ὀδῶν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ  
ἀπορίᾳ τῶν συμπάντων οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ  
παντελές διεσώσατο, καὶ ὕσπερ ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ  
πάσῃ καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ κειμένων  
ἔθνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
ἀστασιάστους αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
μάλιστα εύπειθεῖς διεφύλαξε.

8.6.2 | And shortly after, he says, "Indeed, a man led them out and on their journey, and none of the many was different, if you wish. 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, ignorance of the roads, and complete lack of resources, but also kept them stable among themselves and very obedient to him, just as in all prosperity and in the guidance of the nations that lay between."

8.6.3 | καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὄλιγον δήπου χρόνον,  
ἄλλ' ὅσον οὐδ' οἰκίαν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃ  
συμμεῖναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθηνίας είκός  
ἐστιν. καὶ οὐ δίψος, οὐ λιμὸς, οὐ φθορὰ  
σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων,  
οὐκ ἄγνοια τῶν συμβησομένων, ἐπὶ τὸν  
γόντα ἑκεῖνον ἐπῆρε τοὺς ἔχαπατωμένους  
καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαούς.

8.6.3 | And these troubles certainly lasted a long time, but it was such that no household could share in harmony with all prosperity. There was no thirst, no hunger, no decay of bodies, no fear about what was to come, and no ignorance of what would happen that did not stir up the deceived and ruined people against that sorcerer.

8.6.4 | καίτοι τί βούλει, φῶμεν ἑκείνῳ τινὰ  
εἶναι τοσαύτην τέχνην, ἢ δεινότητα λόγων,

8.6.4 | And yet, what do you want? Are you saying that he had such skill, or a way with

ἢ σύνεσιν, ὡς τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἅπαντας 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' ἱστορίαν ἢ κατά τινα λογισμὸν περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα διεξελθεῖν

8.6.6 | πότερον γάρ ποτε βούλει 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 ὄλιγους ὑποθώμεθα, καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτοις καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἐπειτα δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τόν τε νεών οίκοδομῆσαι, καὶ τἄλλα εἰς εύσέβειαν καὶ ἀγιστείαν καταστήσασθαι;

words, or understanding, that he could control so many strange people and lead them all to destruction? For either he understood the natures of the people under him easily and with good sense about what was to come, or he thought them to be very bad while the god calmed their troubles, overseeing both the present and the future. Whatever you might think is most true about these matters, it seems to hold 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 prefer to explain these matters based on history rather than through some reasoning about what seems likely.

8.6.6 | Do you want to say whether, with the number of people still remaining, even though they were finally defeated, they were still strong and held their weapons in hand? Did they then take the land by force, defeating the Syrians and Phoenicians who were fighting in their own territory? Or should we suppose that they were completely defeated and cowardly, very few in number, lacking the means for war, yet managed to take the land from those who were willing? And then, did they immediately build the temple and set everything up for worship and holiness?

8.6.7 | δηλοῖ γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτοὺς ἀνωμοιογῆσθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς. ἔχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὃν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξαίφνης ἥλθον ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενοι.

8.6.7 | For it shows that they seemed to be most beloved by the gods and had sworn oaths even against their enemies. The enemies were there out of necessity, having suddenly come to the land as if to take it away.

8.6.8 | παρὰ τού τοῖς δ' οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πᾶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εύτυχίᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς, ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτῶν, ἢ τῆς ὀσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς· θεὶς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν ὡς ὅ τι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ, 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 we talk about their good order and obedience, or about their holiness, justice, and piety? But that man, whoever he was, who once served as their lawgiver, was so greatly admired that whatever he thought seemed wonderful to them.

8.6.9 | εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἄπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειόνων ἔτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὀπόσα, πλέον δ' οὖν ἡ δισχίλια ἔτη, μηδὲ ὥρμά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κάν μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θᾶττον ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθῆναι."

8.6.9 | Whether he himself was wise or received guidance from a spirit, he directed all of this to the god. 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 changed. Even if countless people were to die, they would rather endure that than be persuaded against his laws and customs.

8.6.10 | Ταῦτ' είπὼν ἐπιτέμνεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ἰουδαίων 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 it this way.

## Section 7

8.7.1 | "Ἄρα τι τούτων ἢ τούτοις

8.7.1 | Is there something similar to these

προσόμοιον παρ' ἔκείνοις ἔστι, 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 μοιχεύης, ἐὰν βιάσῃ παῖδα, ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε) ἀλλὰ κἀν θήλειαν ὅμοιώς ἐὰν σαυτὸν καταπορνεύῃς, ἐὰν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αἰσχρόν τι πάθης, ἢ δοκῆς, ἢ μέλλης, θάνατος ἡ ζημία.

8.7.2 | ἐὰν είς δοῦλον σῶμα, ἐὰν είς ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίζῃς, ἐὰν δεσμοῖς συνέχῃς, ἐὰν ἀπάγων πωλῆς, ἐὰν βέβηλα, ἐὰν ιερὰ παρακλέπτης, ἐὰν ἀσεβῆς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ρήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν, (Ὕλεως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων ἐννοίας γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἄξιον λέγειν,) ἀλλ' είς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἢ εὔεργέτην σαυτοῦ, θάνατος ὅμοιώς, καὶ οὗτος οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ' ὁ τυχῶν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καταλευσθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον, ὡς οὐ χείρονα ἀσεβείας πράξαντα.

8.7.3 | ἄλλα δ' αὖ πάλιν, ὀποῖά τινα, γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν, πρὸς ὕβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς 5 πρὸς εύπειθειαν δ' ἐν ἄπαστι 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' εύθὺς ἀπάντων ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι.

things among those people that seems gentle and orderly, with rules, practices, delays, honors, and again, lower honors? Not at all—everything is simple and clear. If you engage in pederasty, commit adultery, or force a child, whether male or female, do not even speak of it. Likewise, if you corrupt yourself, suffer something shameful for your age, or even think you might, the penalty is death.

8.7.2 | If you abuse a slave's body, insult a free person, hold someone in chains, sell someone who has been captured, or commit sacrilege—not only through actions but also by any words that may come up—whether against a god (may the god be merciful to us and to our thoughts about these matters, which is not even worth mentioning), or against a father, 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 they have committed a greater act of impiety.

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 make promises with words, they should not touch or lay hands on them, but should be immediately shut off from everything.

8.7.4 | μή μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν, μηδ' ἀποσυλᾶν ἐτέρων ἀναθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οίκείων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προσπεσόν τι καὶ λαθὸν αὐτὸν ῥῆμα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει εἰπόντα 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, and do not take from your own, just as I mentioned before. If someone falls and accidentally speaks a word about a dedication, they should lose everything. If they change their mind or try to correct what has been said, they should be stripped of their very being.

8.7.5 | καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἔὰν ἐπιφημίσῃ τροφὴν γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ἵερὸν εἶναι, τροφῆς ἀνέχειν ἔὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ, ἔὰν ἄρχων τῷ ὑπηκόῳ, ταύτον. καὶ ἔκλυσις δὲ ἐπιφημισθέντων ἡ μὲν τελειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦ ἵερέως ἀποφήσαντος ὑπὸ γάρ 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 serve as a priest for a woman, and he should take care of the food. If it is a father to a son, or a ruler to a servant, it is the same. 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. After this, it is also holy to show favor to the god from those who are always 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. ἃ τις παθεῖν ἔχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν· ἂ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασιάς, μηδ' ἐκ ληνοῦ, μηδ' ἔξ 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 εὔαγως 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 suffering, they should not cause 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 for no reason, 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

8.7.7 | Do not disturb a dead body during

γῆς ὅσον γε εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν προσεπιβάλλειν· μὴ θήκας, μὴ μνήματα ὀλῶς κατοιχομένων κινεῖν· μὴ δεσμὰ, μὴ κακὸν μηδὲν πλέον τῷ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν· μὴ γονὴν ἀνδρῶν ἔκτεινοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίοις καὶ ἄλλαις μηχαναῖς ἀμβλοῦν· μὴ ζῷοις ἔμπαλιν ἢ κατέδειξεν εἴτ' οὐν ὁ θεός, εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης, προσφέρεσθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δουλοῦν·

burial, and also add to the sacred ground as much as possible. Do not move tombs or memorials that are already in place. Do not bring 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 lawmaker 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 ἔκεινα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὅρα. μὴ παίδων διοικίζειν γονέας, μηδ' ἄν αἰχμαλώτους ἔχης· μὴ γυναῖκα ἀνδρὸς, κἄν νομίμως ἐωνημένος ἦς δεσπότης.

8.7.8 | Do not impose an unfair weight, do not use an excessive measure, and do not use an unjust coin. Do not reveal secrets of friends during times of conflict. What do we have to do with those offerings to the god? Consider other related matters. Do not control 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 ζῷων ἵκεσίαν, οἷα ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφευγόντων ἀναιρεῖν· μὴ εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἥττόν ἔστιν. οὐδενὸς ἄξια ταῦτά γε εἴποις ἄν· ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἔστι μέγας, καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἴτιος, καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι, c καὶ ἀραὶ κατά τε ἔξωλείας, καὶ ὁ θεός ἐπόπτης τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ τιμωρὸς ἀπανταχοῦ.

8.7.9 | These things are indeed more serious and significant, while others are small and happen by chance. Do not abandon a nest of young birds, and do not harm animals seeking refuge, especially when they are fleeing. If something like this is weaker, it is not worth mentioning. These matters are truly important, for there is a great law concerning them, and it is responsible for all care. There are serious 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 πολλὰς, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εύθὺς ἐφεξῆς

8.7.10 | And after a short time, he says, “It may happen all day, but not just for one, but for many. And these do not follow one

άλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, (καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐπτὰ, κρατοῦντος, ως καὶ είκὸς ἀεὶ, τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβήλους ἔθους,) μηδὲν ἀν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων, οὐ θαυμάζεις;

8.7.11 | ἂρ' οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκρατείας ἐστὶν. ως ἐξ ἵσου καὶ δρᾶν τι πονοῦντας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἰσχύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εἰ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος φήθη 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 αἴδοι 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 εἰ τι προσεπιφημίσαι τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις νομίζεται ' τῶν Ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ παρών, ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς Ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔξηγεῖται μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὄψιας· κάκο τοῦδε ἀπολύονται τῶν τε νόμων τῶν Ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὔσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες.

8.7.14 | ἀρά σοι οὐ δοκεῖ ταῦτα παντὸς σπουδάσματος μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ θεσμωδοὺς ἔρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, καὶ μὴ διερωτῶντες

another directly, but come in intervals (and there are seven of these, as is usual according to common customs). Would you not be amazed if you dared to break any of the commands?"

8.7.11 | Is this not about self-control for them, not just for practice? Is it as if they should act and endure equally well in their work, if 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, then they should also have a strong understanding 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 in the same place and sit together with respect and order, so that no one would be unaware of the laws.

8.7.13 | And indeed, they always come together and meet with one another, some staying silent, unless 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 evening twilight. From this, they leave with a strong understanding of the sacred laws and having devoted themselves greatly to piety.

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

ούδε καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν νόμων  
ρᾳδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅντινα αὐτῶν κινεῖς  
καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυνθάνῃ,  
προχείρως ἔχει καὶ ρᾳδίως εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀνὴρ  
γυναικὶ, καὶ παισὶ πατήρ, καὶ δούλοις  
δεσπότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους  
παραδιδόναι.

questioning themselves out of ignorance of the laws, they act carelessly. But whoever you ask about the ancestral customs 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 | καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε ἔτους τοῦ  
ἔβδομου ϋάδιον ὠσαύτως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν  
ταύτὸν ἶσως. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων  
ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἔβδόμαις 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 ἔργασίας κατεξάνθαι.

8.7.15 | And indeed, it is easy to talk about the seventh year, but perhaps not in the same way. 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. It makes a big difference to take a break and then to farm again in a new way, rather than wearing themselves out with constant work.

8.7.16 | ταυτὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἀν  
ἴδιοις συμβαῖνον εἰς ϋώμην· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς  
ὑγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινας  
ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἰατρὸὺς  
προστάττοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ  
δόμοιοειδὲς ἀεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπ' ἔργων,  
βλάπτειν ἔοικε.

8.7.16 | You would see the same thing happening with bodies when it comes to strength. 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 | σημεῖον δέ· τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν εἴ  
τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἔξεργάσεσθαι  
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ ἔβδομον 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'  
ἐποίουν, οὐδὲν ἀν θαυμαστὸν ἦν·) ἀλλὰ τὴν  
χώραν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσίν τινα καὶ ϋαστώνην,  
εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐτέραν τῆς αὖθις ἐπιμελείας καὶ  
γεωργίας, λαβεῖν.

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. They do not think they should bear the burdens alone; (and even if they did, it would not be surprising). Instead, they want some rest and ease from the land, so they can start anew with care and farming again.

8.7.18 | ἐπεὶ τί ἔκώλυε πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προεκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὸν ἔκεινων φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἀλλ', ὡσπερ ἔφην, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, προνοίᾳ, μοι δοκεῖ, τῆς χώρας, ἐκδέχονται.

8.7.19 | τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἔκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν συλλέγειν οὐδ' ἀποτίθεσθαι, μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς· ἀλλ', ἄτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἐπ' αὐτομάτου τῆς γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδοιπόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι.

8.7.20 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις σοι. τὸ γὰρ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις ἥδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς στήσαι, ταῦτα οὐκ ἀν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἵσως πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσιόλογων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκοώς περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἥντιν' ἅρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς 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 Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος, τοῦτον γράφων καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τρόπον

8.7.18 | 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, they do not expect any of these things at all, it seems to me, from the care of the land.

8.7.19 | This is a great sign of their kindness. Since they endure the work of that year, they do not think they should gather or store the crops, as if taking away from their own efforts. But because 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 | I have said enough about these things. You would not ask me to establish the law for them regarding the seventh year, since you have likely heard many times from various doctors, naturalists, and philosophers about this, which has power over all of nature and indeed over human nature. This is the teaching about the seventh year.

8.7.21 | Philo says a lot about this. Josephus shares similar ideas in his second book about the antiquity of the Jews, writing in a similar way.

## Section 8

8.8.1 | "Τίς δ' ἦν ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῆς δικαιοτάτης περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχῶν πάρεστιν ἐξ 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, allowing us to understand the laws by comparing them? For it is already time to talk about these matters.

8.8.2 | ούκοῦν ἄπειροι μὲν αἱ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἔθων καὶ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοῖς ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις διαφοραὶ, κεφαλαιωδῶς ἀνέπιοι τίς.

8.8.2 | Surely, there are countless differences in customs and laws among all people, which someone could summarize in a few main points.

8.8.3 | οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὀλίγων δυναστείαις, ἄλλοι δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἔξουσίαν τῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὃ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, 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 ὅντα τῶν αγαθῶν, ἀ κοινῇ τε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅσων ἔτυχον αὐτοὶ δεηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις· λαθεῖν δὲ τὴν ἑκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐνδίκιον οὐδὲ τι τῶν πραττομένων οὐδὲν οὕθ' ὅν ἀν τις παρ' αὐτῷ διανοηθείη.

8.8.3 | 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 clearly showed that the government is a theocracy, placing the beginning and power in God, and convincing everyone to look to Him as the source of all good things, which exist for all people and for whatever they have asked for in times of need. It is impossible to misunderstand His views, whether in actions or in anything someone might think about Him.

8.8.4 | ἄλλ' αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἀγέννητον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ἀναλλοίωτον, πάσης ἴδεας θνητῆς κάλλει διαφέροντα, φέροντα, καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώριμον, ὅποιος δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν ἔστιν ἄγνωστον.

8.8.4 | But he revealed Him as uncreated and unchanging through all time, different in beauty from all mortal ideas. He is known to us in His power, but unknown in His essence.

8.8.5 | ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὅτι μὲν ἐδιδάσκαστος] χθησαν, ἑκείνου τὰς ἀρχὰς παρασχόντος, ἐών τοι λέγειν· ὅτι δέ ἔστι

8.8.5 | The wisest among the Greeks think these things about God: that He is uncreated, as Josephus taught, who provided the foundations for this idea.

καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι σφόδρα μεμαρτυρήκασι· καὶ γάρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων' οἱ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἄπαντες οὕτω φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες.

They also strongly testify that there are things that are beautiful and fitting to the nature and greatness of God. Both Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Plato, along with the philosophers who came after him from the Stoia, all seem to have thought this way about the nature of God.

8.8.6 | ἀλλ' οὶ μὲν πρὸς ὄλίγους 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 ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γενησομένοις τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνητον.

8.8.6 | But those who philosophize among the few did not dare to reveal the truth of the doctrine, as they were caught up in popular opinions. Our lawgiver, however, provided works that were in harmony with the laws. He not only convinced those of his own time but also instilled an unchanging faith about God in those who would come after them.

8.8.7 | αἵτιον δ', ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων πολὺ διήνεγκεν. οὐ γάρ 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 συμφωνίαν.

8.8.7 | The reason is that the way of the lawgiver greatly contributed to the usefulness of everything. He did not make piety just one part of virtue; instead, he recognized and established it alongside other parts. I mean justice, temperance, endurance, and harmony among the citizens in all matters.

8.8.8 | ἄπασαι γάρ αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εὔσέβειαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναφοράν· οὐδὲν γάρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀόριστον παρέλιπεν.

8.8.8 | For all actions, activities, and words are related to our piety toward God. None of these things were left unexamined or unclear.

8.8.9 | δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἀπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἡθη κατασκευῆς, ὃν δὲ μὲν λόγω διδασκαλικός, ὃ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἡθῶν οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ τὸν

8.8.9 | There are two ways of education and forming character. One is through teaching with words, and the other is through practicing habits. Some lawmakers chose to focus on one method and left the other

ἔτερον αύτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐκάστοις ἐλόμενοι τὸν ἔτερον παρέλιπον· οἶνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Κρῆτες ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες ἢ μὲν χρὴ πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέταττον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔθίζειν ὥλιγώρουν.

behind. For example, the Spartans and Cretans educated through laws, not through words, while the Athenians and almost all other Greeks instructed what should or should not be done through laws, but they paid little attention to shaping 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 διαίτης οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων αύτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι τῶν χρησιμένων κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σιτίων ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνησάντων τῆς διαίτης, ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τοῦμπαλιν ἀναπαύσεως ὅρον ἔθηκεν αύτὸς καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ἐν' ὕσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ζῶντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτάνωμεν.

8.8.10 | Our lawgiver carefully combined both of these approaches. He did not ignore the practice of habits, nor did he let the teachings of the law be ineffective. Starting from the very beginning, he set rules about food and the household life of each person, leaving nothing to the free choice of those who follow them. He also provided guidelines about what foods to avoid and what to offer, as well as rules for sharing meals. 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 make mistakes either by choice or by ignorance.

8.8.11 | οὐδὲ γάρ τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένοις, οὐδὲ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν· ὁ δὴ πάντες ἐοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπεῖν.

8.8.11 | He did not ignore the importance of understanding ignorance, but he showed that the law is the most beautiful and necessary form of education. It was not just presented once to those who heard it, nor twice or many times, but every seventh day, after completing other tasks, he commanded that they gather to hear the law and learn it thoroughly. Indeed, it seems that all lawmakers have overlooked this.

8.8.12 | καὶ τοσοῦτον ὡς πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ζῆν νόμους ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ ἵσασιν· ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἔξαμαρτάνωσι, τότε παρ’ ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν ὅτι τὸν νόμον παραβεβήκασιν. οἱ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς διοικοῦντες δημολογοῦσι τὴν ἄγνοιαν· ἐπιστάτας γὰρ παρακαθίστανται τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας τοὺς ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχνουμένους.

8.8.13 | ἡμῶν δὲ ὃντινοῦν τις ἔλοιτο, τοὺς νόμους ἢ πάρον ἦν τις εἴποι πάντας ἢ τοῦνομα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ. τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εύθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμέ— νοῦς. καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δὲ ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

8.8.14 | "Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίκε. τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλίστην ἐν ἡθεσιν ἀνθρώπων συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ.

8.8.15 | παρ’ ἡμῖν γὰρ μόνοις οὕτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεται τοὺς ἀλλήλοις ὑπεναντίους, ὅποια πολλὰ παρ’ ἐτέροις· οὐχ 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) οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι

8.8.12 | Most people are so far from living according to their own laws that they hardly even know them. But when they make a mistake, they learn from others that they have broken the law. Those who hold the highest and most important positions among them admit their ignorance. They depend on experts who claim to have experience with the laws.

8.8.13 | If anyone among us were to choose, it would be easier for them to name all the laws than to name their own. Therefore, from the very first moment of awareness, we learn these laws as if they are engraved in our souls. While it is rare for someone to break them, it is impossible to escape punishment.

8.8.14 | This has created a wonderful unity among us. Having the same belief about the divine and not differing in our lives and customs leads to the best agreement in the character of people.

8.8.15 | For among us alone, there are no opposing views about the divine, unlike many others. It is not just the opinions of ordinary 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 take away its care for humans. In our way of life, there is no difference in practices; we all share common actions, and there is one belief

τῶν βίων ὄψεται διαφορὰν , ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μὲν ἔργα πάντων παρ' ἡμῖν, εἰς δ' ὁ λόγος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνῶν περὶ θεοῦ, πάντα λέγων ἐκεῖνον ἔφορᾶν.

8.8.16 | καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων , δτι δεῖ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τέλος ἔχειν τὴν εύσεβειαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προσφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπό τινων ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὐρετὰς ἔργ' ὡν ἡ 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 ἢν ἔτι τοῦτο μὴ φυλάττειν.

8.8.19 | τί γὰρ αὕτοῦ τις ἀν μετακινήσειν. ἡ τί κάλλιον ἔξευρεν, ἡ τί παρ' ἐτέρων ὡς ἄμεινον μετήνεγκεν; ἄρά γε τὴν ὅλην κατάστασιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος; καὶ τίς ἀν καλλίων ἡ δικαιοτέρα γένοιτο τῆς τὸν θεὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων ἡγεῖσθαι

that agrees with the law about the divine, saying that it watches over everything.

8.8.16 | And indeed, regarding the practices of life, everything else must aim for piety, and this can be heard 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 ideas, and this has come about for that reason.

8.8.17 | For others, it is considered good to cling to none of their traditions, and those who dare to break them show their great wisdom. But we, on the contrary, believe 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 | This would rightly serve as proof that the law is beautifully established. For those who do not follow this way are shown to need correction; but for us, who believe that the law was set from the beginning according to the will of the divine, it is not even pious to neglect it.

8.8.19 | For what could anyone possibly change about it? Or what better thing has been discovered, or what has been brought from others that is superior? Is it concerning the entire system of government? And who could be more

πεποιημένης, τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι δὲ κοινῇ μὲν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης, τῷ δὲ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν πεπιστευκύιας τὴν τῶν ἄλλων Ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν;

beautiful or just than one who believes that the divine is the leader of all, allowing the priests to manage the most important matters together, while the high priest holds authority over the other priests?

8.8.20 | οὓς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον ούδέ τισιν ἄλλαις προύχοντας πλεονεξίαις τὸ πρῶτον εύθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἔταξεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πειθοῦ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τούτοις τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν θεραπείαν ἐνεχείρισεν.

8.8.20 | Those who are not in power because of wealth or any other greed were placed first in honor by the lawgiver. But those who stood out from others in obedience and self-control were entrusted with the service to the divine.

8.8.21 | τοῦτο δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀκριβῆς ἐπιμέλεια· καὶ γάρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν κατεγγωσμένων οἱ Ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.”

8.8.21 | This was also the careful attention to the law and other practices. The priests were appointed as overseers of everything, judges of disputes, and enforcers of punishment for those found guilty.

8.8.22 | “Τίς ἀν οὓν ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ τιμὴ θεῶ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζουσα; παντὸς μὲν τοῦ πλήθους κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εύσέβειαν, ἔξαιρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Ἱερέων πεπιστευμένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετή ἐστι τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας οἰκονομουμένης.

8.8.22 | Who then could be a more holy leader for this? And what honor could be more fitting for the divine? When all the people are ready for piety, the care of the trusted priests is special, just as the ceremony is the guiding force for the whole community.

8.8.23 | ἂ γάρ ὄλγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι φυλάττειν οὐ δύνανται, μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος.

8.8.23 | For what others cannot keep for just a few days, focusing on mysteries and rituals, we preserve with great joy and steadfast purpose for all time.

8.8.24 | τίνες οὖν είσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ προαγορεύσεις; ἀπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι.

8.8.24 | What then are the prophecies and proclamations? They are simple and

πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται ἡ περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα, θεὸς  
ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελῆς καὶ μακάριος,  
αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ 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.

recognizable. The first speaks about the divine, saying that god holds the universe, is complete and blessed, and is self-sufficient for itself and for all. This god is 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 from us.

8.8.25 | πᾶσα μὲν ὅλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν  
τούτου, κάν γῳ πολυτελῆς, ἄτιμος· πᾶσα δὲ  
téχνη πρὸς μιμήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἀτεχνος·  
οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὕτ’ εἴδομεν οὕτ’ ἐπινοοῦμεν  
οὕτ’ εἰκάζειν ἔστιν ὅσιον.

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 unskilled. There is nothing similar that we have seen, thought of, or can imagine that is sacred.

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 ἐργασαμένων ἐπιδεθεὶς, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ  
καλὰ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἦν εὐθὺς  
γεγονότα.

8.8.26 | We see the works of that one: light, the sky, the earth, the sun, the moon, waters, the births of animals, and the growth of fruits. God made these, not with hands, not through labor, and not needing anyone to work. They came into being beautifully at once, simply because he wanted them to.

8.8.27 | τούτῳ δεῖ πάντας ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ  
θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν·  
τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος  
ὅσιώτατος.

8.8.27 | Everyone must follow this one and serve him by practicing virtue, for this is the holiest way to serve God.

8.8.28 | εἷς ναὸς ἐνὸς θεοῦ, (φίλον γὰρ ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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

8.8.28 | There is one temple of one God, for everything similar is always dear to all. This temple belongs to everyone, the common God of all. The priests serve this temple at all times; the first among them leads by lineage. This one will offer sacrifices to God with the other priests, keep the laws, settle disputes, and punish

έλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος  
ἀφέξει δίκην, ὡς εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν  
ἀσεβῶν.

8.8.29 | Θύομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ είς  
πλήρωσιν ἐαυτοῖς καὶ μέθην, (άβούλητα  
γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τάδε, καὶ πρόφασις ἀν ὕβρεως  
γένοιτο καὶ πολυτελείας) ἀλλὰ σώφρονας,  
εύτάκτους, εὔσταλεῖς, ὅπως μάλιστα  
θύοντες σωφρονῶσι. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις  
χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὕχεσθαι  
σωτηρίας, εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν· (ἐπὶ γὰρ  
κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν.) καὶ ταύτην ὁ  
προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἰδίου μάλιστα  
εἴη θεῷ κεχαρισμένος.

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 δυνάμεθα καὶ λαβόντες  
φυλάττωμεν.

8.8.31 | ἀγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις διήρηκεν ὁ  
νόμος ἀπὸ κήδους, ἀπὸ λέχους, ἀπὸ  
κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα. καὶ πολλῶν  
ἄλλων, ἃ μακρὸν ἀν εἴη νῦν γράφειν.”

8.8.32 | “Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς  
ἐκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ἡμῖν ἔστιν· ὁ δ'  
αὐτὸς ἄμα καὶ νόμος. τίνες δὲ οἱ περὶ  
γάμων νόμοι; μίξιν μόνην οἶδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν  
κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ ταύτην,  
εἴ μελλοι τέκνων ἔνεκα γίνεσθαι τὴν δὲ  
πρὸς ἄρρενα ἀρρένων ἔστύγηκε, καὶ

those who are found guilty. Anyone who does not obey him will face judgment, as if they are being disrespectful to God.

8.8.29 | We offer sacrifices not for our own satisfaction or drunkenness, for these things are foolish to God and could lead to arrogance and extravagance. Instead, we offer them wisely, in an orderly manner, and properly, so that we may sacrifice with self-control. At the sacrifices, we must first pray for the common salvation, and then for ourselves, for we are part of a community. The one who is honored should especially be grateful to God for what is their own.

8.8.30 | Let our appeal to God be through prayer and supplication, not so that he gives us good things, for he has willingly given and placed them among us all. Instead, let us be able to receive them and, once received, keep them safe.

8.8.31 | The law has set apart purity at the sacrifices from mourning, from the bed, and from relations with a woman. There are many other things as well, but it would take a long time to write about them now.

8.8.32 | This is the teaching about God and his service to us; the law is the same. But what are the laws about marriage? The law recognizes only the natural union with a woman, and this is for the purpose of having children. The union with a man is forbidden, and death is the punishment for

Θάνατος τὸ ἐπιτίμιον εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσει.

anyone who tries to engage in it.

8.8.33 | γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει μὴ προικὶ προσέχοντας, μηδὲ βιαίοις ἀρπαγαῖς, μηδ' αὖ δόλῳ καὶ δι' ἀπάτης πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ μνηστεύειν εἴτ'. παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἐπιτήδειον. γυνὴ χείρων, φησὶν, ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἄπαντα· τοιγαροῦν ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀρχηται· θεὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κράτος ἔδωκε.

8.8.33 | Marriage should not be based on a dowry, nor through forceful seizure, nor by trickery and deceit. Instead, there should be a betrothal either by the will of the giver or according to family ties. A woman is said to be lesser than 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 γήμαντα 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 applies whether he forces a virgin who is promised to another or tries to persuade a married woman.

8.8.35 | τέκνα τρέφειν ἄπαντα προσέταξε. καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀπεῖπε μήτ' ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρὲν μήτε διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ ἦν φανείη, τεκνοκτόνος ἀν εἴη ψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐλαττούσα.

8.8.35 | All children must be raised. He told women not to harm the seed or destroy it. If it becomes clear that a woman has caused the death of a child, she would lose her own soul and reduce her 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 κακοπαθεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὖ πάλιν θανάτῳ διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἀγνείας ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔταξεν.

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. The soul suffers when it is mixed with bodies, and then it is separated again by death. This is why he set rules for purity in all such matters.

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 ἴνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆψιν ἀγνοίας ἔχωσι.

8.8.38 | τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προενόησεν ὁσίας, οὐ πολυτελείαις ἐνταφίων, ούδε 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 οἴκον καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους, ἔνα πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ τοῦ δοκεῦν καθαρὸς εἶναί τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος.

8.8.39 | γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξε καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν χάριτας, ἀλλ' εἰς δὲ τοῖς ἔλλείποντα, λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι.

8.8.40 | καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς νέους φησὶν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός.

8.8.41 | κρύπτειν ούδεν ἔἄ πρὸς φίλους, οὐ γάρ εῖναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσαν· κἀν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα, τούτων ἀπόρρητα λέγειν κεκώλυκε.

8.8.37 | Indeed, he did not allow feasting and drunkenness during the upbringing of children. Instead, he set a wise foundation 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. Instead, 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 as the second most important after the honor given to the gods. He did not allow anyone to repay the kindnesses received from them, but he said that whatever is lacking will be provided.

8.8.40 | He says that young people should honor all elders, since the oldest of all is the god.

8.8.41 | He does not allow anyone to hide anything from friends, because friendship is not real if it does not trust completely. If someone has a conflict, he has forbidden

them from sharing these secrets.

8.8.42 | δικάζων εί δῶρά τις λάβοι , θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορων ἵκετην, βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν, ὑπεύθυνος. ὃ μὴ κατέθηκέ τις, οὐκ ἀναιρήσεται. τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδενὸς ἄψεται. δανείσας τόκον οὐ λήψεται. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνέχει κοινωνίαν.”

8.8.42 | When deciding if someone has received a gift, the penalty is death. If a person in need is seen, they must be helped, as it is their responsibility. What no one has given will not be taken away. No one may touch anything that belongs to others. If someone borrows, they will not charge interest. These rules and many similar ones help keep our community together.

8.8.43 | Πῶς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόνησεν ὃ νομοθέτης ἄξιον ἴδειν· φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος ὅπως μήτε τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων προαιρουμένοις.

8.8.43 | It is worth noting how the lawgiver thought about fairness towards outsiders. It will be clear that he planned very well so that we neither harm our own belongings nor envy those who choose to take part in what is ours.

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 wish to live under the same laws as us, he welcomes them kindly, not only because of their background but also because he sees their choice of life as a sign of belonging. However, he did not want those who come by chance to mix with the community.

8.8.45 | τἄλλα δὲ προείρηκεν ὡν ἡ μετάδοσίς ἔστιν ἀναγκαία· πάσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ, ὕδωρ, τροφὴν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν, ἀταφον μὴ περιορᾶν.

8.8.45 | He has mentioned other things that are necessary for sharing: to provide fire, water, and food to those in need, to keep the roads clear, and not to neglect the unburied.

8.8.46 | ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς

8.8.46 | He also decided that there should

πολεμίους κριθέντας εῖναι· ού γὰρ ἐᾶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν, ούδε κόπτειν ἥμερα δένδρα συγκεχώρηκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὕβρις ἀπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ γυναικῶν.

be fairness towards enemies. He does not allow their land to be burned, nor does he permit cutting down cultivated trees. He also forbids looting the dead in battle and has made plans for how to treat prisoners, so that they are not mistreated, especially women.

8.8.47 | ουτως δὲ πόρρωθεν ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ἐσπούδασεν ὥστε ούδε τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀφῆκε τούτων χρήσιν τὴν νενομισμένην, πᾶσαν δ' ἐτέραν ἐκώλυσεν. ἀ δ' ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἀπεῖπεν ἀνελεῖν ούδε νεοττοῖς 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 customary use of them, but he forbade any other use. When they came seeking refuge at homes, he refused to allow them to be killed. He also did not permit young animals to be taken from their parents. He urged that working animals be spared in war and not killed.

8.8.48 | "Οὕτω πανταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὖ κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τιμωρητικούς τάξας, οὐκ ἄνευ προφάσεως. ζημίᾳ γὰρ 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 establishing punishments for those who break them, and there is a good reason for this. 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 suffers harm after being tempted.

8.8.49 | ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δούλοις ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων, ἦν τις κακουργήσειν, ἢ σταθμῶν, ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλῳ γενομένης, κάν ὑφέληταί τις ἀλλότριον, κάν ὁ μὴ κατέθηκεν ἀνέληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις, ούχ οἷαι παρ' ἐτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἀδικίας, ἢ τῆς εἰς τὸν

8.8.49 | The law is also strict regarding slaves. It also addresses measures: if someone commits a crime, or if they use false weights, or if they engage in unfair dealings and deceit, there are punishments for all these actions. These punishments are harsher than those imposed by others. For injustices against parents or disrespect

Θεὸν ἀσεβείας, καν μέλλῃ τις , εύθὺς  
ἀπόλλυται.

towards the gods, if someone is about to commit such acts, they will face immediate destruction.

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 ἴσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος,) ὅτι τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασιν, καν εἰ δέοι θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, προθύμως ἀποθανεῖν, ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμέίνω 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 trusts their own conscience as a witness. (The lawgiver has prophesied this, and the god has given strong faith.) Those who protect the laws, even if they must die for them, willingly accept death. The god has granted that they may be reborn and receive a better life in return.

8.8.51 | “Ωκνουν δ’ ἀν ἐγώ νῦν ταῦτα γράφειν , εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἄπασιν ἦν φανερὸν ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἡδη τῶν ἡμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ῥῆμα φθέγξασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίως προείλοντο. καίτοι γε εἰ μὴ συμβεβήκει γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχειν , κάν φανερῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν ἔθελούσιον ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολουθίαν, ἀλλά τις ἢ 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· ἀμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παραπλήσιον εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις.

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 have such a serious opinion about the god. They might say that with such laws, they have firmly lasted for a long time. I believe everyone would be amazed at their constant changes. They neglect to write something similar about the government and laws, claiming that those who tried to create such wonderful laws are accused of taking on impossible tasks.

8.8.52 | καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπω φιλοσόφους , ὅσοι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐπραγματεύσαντο· Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, 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 εὑροι ῥᾶσαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἔγγιον συνηθείας. αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὀμολόγηκεν 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 κεκαλλιγραφημέων. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκοῦργον τεθαυμάκασι, καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄπαντες ὑμνοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔκείνου νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεκαρτέρησαν.

8.8.55 | ὁκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν ὀμολογείσθω τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς εἶναι, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις. οἴ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἔκείνων χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίους 'σαν τοῖς πλείσιν ἡ δισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας' καὶ προσέτι λογιζέσθωσαν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν χρόνον εἶχον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάντων

8.8.52 | And I will set aside the other philosophers, those who have written about such matters. However, Plato is admired among the Greeks for his serious way of life. With the power of his words and his ability to persuade, he has inspired 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 share the true opinion about the god with the madness of the crowds.

8.8.54 | But some believe that the words of Plato are empty, crafted with great skill. Most of all, they admire the lawgiver Lycurgus, and everyone praises Sparta, saying that they have thrived 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, reflecting on their own time, were more than two thousand years ahead of our government. They should also consider that as long as the Spartans had their freedom, they carefully protected their laws. However, when changes in fortune came upon them, they almost completely forgot all their laws. We, on the other hand, have faced countless changes

έξελάθοντο τῶν νόμων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τύχαις μυρίαις γεγονότες, διὰ τάς τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβολὰς, οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν δεινῶν τοὺς νόμους προύδομεν.

due to the shifts of the rulers of Asia, and even in the worst times, we did not abandon our laws.

8.8.56 | Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ Ἰώσηπος περὶ τῆς κατὰ Μωσέα Ἰουδαίων πολιτείας, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεθεῖσι νόμοις ἐπεσκιασμένης καὶ ἀλληγορικῆς θεωρίας πολλὰ ἔχων εἴπειν ἐπάρκεν ἡγοῦμαι τὰς Ἐλεαζάρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου διηγήσεις, ἀνδρῶν τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων ἀνέκαθεν, τὸν δὲ χρόνον κατὰ τοὺς Πτολεμαίων χρόνους διαπρεψάντων.

8.8.56 | These are the things that Josephus says about the government of the Jews according to Moses. As for the laws he established, which are often seen as shadowy and have many allegorical interpretations, I believe the accounts of Eleazar and Aristobulus are sufficient. One was a man from the Hebrews of ancient times, while the other was notable during the time of the Ptolemies.

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 Ἑβραϊκῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταβολῆς τὸν τρόπον ὑποτυπούμενος τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις ἀλληγορουμένης ἰδέας, τοιαύτην πεποίηται τοῦ λόγου τὴν διδασκαλίαν

8.8.57 | Eleazar, who was honored with the rank of high priest, recently showed us 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 explained the allegorical ideas found in the sacred laws. He has developed a teaching based on these ideas.

## Section 9

8.9.1 | Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι διὰ βραχέων τῶν ὑποδειχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ δι' ἡμῶν ἐπιζητηθέντα· νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιεργίαιν ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ, λέγω δὲ περί τε βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀκαθάρτων εἶναι κνωδάλων.

8.9.1 | It is worth mentioning briefly some of the things he pointed out about what we have been seeking. Many people believe there are unnecessary details in the laws. I am referring to food and drinks and what is considered unclean, such as certain plants.

8.9.2 | πυνθανομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν διὰ τί, μιᾶς

8.9.2 | When we asked why, since there is

καταβολῆς οὕσης , τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα νομίζεται πρὸς βρῶσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφήν· (δεισιδαιμόνως γάρ τὰ πλεῖστα τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν , ἐν δὲ τούτοις πάλιν δεισιδαιμόνως·) πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτως ἐνήρξατο·

one source, some things are considered unclean for eating while others are unclean just by touch, it appears that most of the laws are based on superstition. Within these, there is also a sense of superstition. He began to explain these matters in this way.

8.9.3 | Θεωρεῖς , ἔφη, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς καὶ τὰς ὄμιλίας, οἷον ἐνεργάζονται πρᾶγμα, διότι κακοῖς ὄμιλήσαντες διαστροφὰς ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ταλαίπωροι δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν εἰσίν· ἐὰν δὲ σοφοῖς καὶ φρονιμοῖς συζῶσιν, ἔξ ἀγνοίας ἐπανορθώσεως εἰς τὸν βίον ἔτυχον.

8.9.3 | “You see,” he said, “the behaviors and conversations have a certain effect. When people associate with bad company, they fall into bad habits and suffer throughout their lives. But if they live with wise and sensible people, they can improve their lives, even if they started out in ignorance.”

8.9.4 | διαστειλάμενος οὖν τὰ τῆς εὔσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης πρῶτον ὁ νομοθέτης ἡμῶν καὶ διδάξας ἔκαστα περὶ τούτων, οὐκ ἀπαγορευτικῶς μόνον, ἀλλ’ ἐνδεικτικῶς , καὶ τὰς βλάβας προδῆλους καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένας ἐπιπομπὰς τοῖς αἴτιοις.

8.9.4 | Therefore, our lawgiver first explained the matters of piety and justice, teaching each of these not only by forbidding certain actions but also by providing examples. He revealed the harms and the punishments from the gods for those who are guilty.

8.9.5 | προυπέδειξε γάρ 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 γινομένων ὑπ' ἄνθρωπων κρυφίως , ἀλλ' ὅσα ποιεῖ τις αὐτῷ φανερὰ καθέστηκε καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι.

8.9.5 | For he first demonstrated that there is only one god, and through everything, his power becomes evident. His authority fills every place, and nothing that happens on earth by people in secret escapes his notice. 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

8.9.6 | Therefore, by carefully and clearly explaining these things, he showed that even if someone thinks about doing something bad, they will not escape notice.

τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατὸν ἐνδεικνύμενος.

This is not just because of their actions, but because throughout all the laws, he reveals the power of god.

8.9.7 | ποιησάμενος οὖν τὴν καταρχὴν ταύτην, καὶ δεῖξας ὅτι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ' ἡμάς ἀνθρωποι πολλοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι ωμίζουσιν, αὐτὸὶ δυναμικώτεροι πολλῷ καθεστῶτες ὡν σέβονται ματαίως. ἀγάλματα γὰρ ποιήσαντες ἐκ λίθων ἢ ξύλων εἰκόνας φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἔξευρόντων τι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον, οἵς προσκυνοῦσι, παρὰ πόδας ἔχοντες τὴν ἀναισθησίαν.

8.9.7 | Having established this foundation, he showed that all the other people among us believe there are many gods, but they themselves are much weaker 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 remain unaware at their feet.

8.9.8 | εἴτε γὰρ κατ' ἑκεῖνό τις θείη, κατὰ τὴν ἔξεύρεσιν, παντελῶς ἀνόητον. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κτίσει λαβόντες τινὰ συνέθηκαν καὶ προσυπέδειξαν 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. They took something from creation, put it together, and claimed that their own creation is very useful, even though they did not make it themselves. Therefore, it is empty and vain to worship those like them.

8.9.9 | καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν εὐρετικώτεροι καὶ πολυμαθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρίν 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 of the past, and they would not be able to reach them by bowing down.

8.9.10 | καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ ταῦτα διαπλάσαντες καὶ μυθοποιήσαντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφώτατοι καθεστάναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολυματαίων τί δεῖ λέγειν, Αἴγυπτίων τε καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων, οἵτινες ἐπὶ θηρίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐρπετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κνωδάλων τὴν ἀπέρεισιν πεποίηνται, καὶ ταῦτα προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ

8.9.10 | And those who have shaped and created these things believe that the wisest of the Greeks have established them. What can we say about others, like the Egyptians and those nearby, who have made their gods mostly from wild animals and reptiles? They worship these creatures,

θύουσι τούτοις καὶ ζῶσι καὶ τελευτήσασι;

sacrifice to them, and live and die for them.

8.9.11 | συνθεωρήσας τοιγαροῦν ἔκαστα σοφὸς ὃν ὁ 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 strong walls, so that we would not mix with any of the other nations in any way. We remain pure in body and soul, freed from empty beliefs, honoring the one god, the powerful being throughout all creation.

8.9.12 | ὅθεν Αἴγυπτίων οἱ καθηγεμόνες ιερεῖς ἔγκεκυφότες εἰς πολλὰ καὶ μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ προσονομάζουσιν ἡμᾶς· ὁ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, εἴ 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 matters and call us by the name of god. This is not the case for others, unless someone truly honors the true god. But they are people focused on food, drink, and shelter, for their entire way of life depends on these things.

8.9.13 | τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν οὔδενὶ 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 ὀράσεως νομικῆς.

8.9.13 | But among us, none of these things are taken into account; instead, their focus is on the power of god throughout all of life. Therefore, to avoid mixing with anyone or getting caught up in foolish distractions, we have been surrounded by purity from all sides, including 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' ὃν ἀπεχόμεθα κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ οἵς

8.9.14 | For everything in the universe is arranged according to natural reason, governed by a single power. Each thing has its own deep meaning, which we avoid based on its use and with which we

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 οἵς 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 ὃν 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 ἰσχύι τῇ ἐαυτῶν, μηδ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐκ δικαιοτάτου βίου διακυβερνᾶν, ὡς τὰ τῶν προειρημένων πετεινῶν ἡμερα ζῶα τὰ φυόμενα τῶν ὄσπριών ἐπὶ γῆς δαπανᾶ καὶ οὐ καταδυναστεύει πρὸς τὴν ἐπαναίρεσιν οὕτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὕτε τῶν

interact.

8.9.15 | For the sake of an example, I will point out one or two things to you. Do not fall into the mistaken belief that Moses established these things out of curiosity about flies and cats or similar creatures. Instead, everything is arranged with seriousness for the sake of justice and for a pure examination and improvement of our ways.

8.9.16 | For all the birds that we use, everything is arranged to be tame, and they differ in cleanliness. The birds we eat include grains and legumes, such as doves, quails, partridges, and also geese and other similar ones. However, concerning the birds that are forbidden, you will find both wild and meat-eating ones, which overpower the others by their strength. Their food comes at the cost of the lives mentioned earlier, with injustice. Not only do they do this, but they also prey on lambs and kids, and they harm humans, both the dead and the living.

8.9.17 | Therefore, he established a sign through these things, labeling them as unclean. This is necessary for the soul, so that those to whom the law is directed can practice justice and not dominate anyone with their own power. They should not take anything away but should govern from a just life. Just as the tame animals of the previously mentioned birds consume the plants of the earth, they do not overpower the fallen ones or their relatives.

συγγενικῶν.

8.9.18 | διὰ τούτων οὖν παρέδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης σημειοῦσθαι τοῖς συνετοῖς εἰ̄ναι δικαίους τε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖν βίᾳ, μηδὲ τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἴσχύι· 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 ἴσχὺς τῶν ὅλων σωμάτων μετὰ ἐνεργείας ἀπέρεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄμοις ἔχει καὶ τὰ σκέλη. μετὰ διαστολῆς οὗν ἀπαντα ἐπιτελεῖν πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἀναγκάζει τῷ σημειοῦσθαι διὰ τούτων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διότι παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους διεστάλμεθα.

8.9.22 | οἱ γὰρ πλείονες τῶν λοιπῶν ἑαυτοὺς 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

8.9.18 | Through these things, the lawgiver instructed that those who are wise should be recognized as just and should not act by force or rely on their own power, believing they can dominate others.

8.9.19 | For where he did not even allow touching the previously mentioned things due to the arrangement concerning each one, how should all methods be protected to prevent them from being completely destroyed?

8.9.20 | Therefore, all the things permitted regarding these and the changes in the animals have been explained. For having two mouths and distinguishing the types of claws is a sign of differentiating each action 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 compels everything to be completed for justice, marked by these things, and also because we are set apart from all people.

8.9.22 | For most of the others, they pollute themselves by mixing in, committing great injustice, and all the places and cities respect these things. For they not only bring this to males, but also to mothers, and even pollute daughters. But we are set

μολύνουσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων  
διεστάλμεθα.

8.9.23 | περὶ ὃν δέ ἐστιν ὁ προειρημένος  
τῆς διαστολῆς τρόπος, περὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὸν  
τῆς μνήμης εἶναι κεχαρακτήρικε. πάντα  
γὰρ ὅσα διχηλεῖ καὶ μηρυκισμὸν ἀνάγει,  
σαφῶς τοῖς νοοῦσιν ἔκτιθεται τὸ τῆς  
μνήμης. ἡ γὰρ ἀναμηρύκισις οὐδὲν ἔτερον  
ἄλλ' ἡ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ συστάσεως ὑπόμνησίς  
ἐστι.

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.”

8.9.25 | κατανοούμενα γὰρ ἔνδοξα  
φαίνεται, πρῶτα μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος  
σύμπηξις καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς διοίκησις καὶ ἡ  
περὶ ἔκαστον μέρος διαστολὴ, πολλῷ δὲ  
μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων διακόσμησις,  
διανοίας ἐνέργημα, καὶ κίνησις ἀόρατος, ἡ  
τε ὄξυτης τοῦ πρὸς ἔκαστόν τι πράσσειν,  
καὶ τεχνῶν εὑρεσις, ἀπέρατον περιέχει  
τρόπον.

8.9.26 | διὸ παρακελεύεται μνείαν ἔχειν, ὡς  
συντηρεῖται τὰ προειρημένα συνεχόμενα  
Θείᾳ δυνάμει. πάντα γὰρ τόπον καὶ χρόνον  
ῶρικε, πρὸς τὸ διὰ παντὸς μνημονεύειν τοῦ  
κρατοῦντος Θεοῦ, συντηροῦντας καὶ τὰς  
ἀρχὰς καὶ μεσότητας καὶ τελευτάς.

apart from these.

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  
reveals the nature of memory to those who  
think. For chewing is nothing other than a  
reminder of life and structure.

8.9.24 | For living is believed to be  
sustained by food. Therefore, it is  
encouraged through writing, saying, “Thus  
you will remember the Lord your God, who  
has done great and wonderful things for  
you.”

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 even more  
important is the beauty 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 offers endless possibilities.

8.9.26 | Therefore, it is encouraged to keep  
remembrance, as the things mentioned  
before are maintained by divine power. For  
everything has its place and time, so that  
one may always remember the ruling God,  
who sustains the beginnings, 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.

8.9.28 | 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 ἐστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος ἡ τούτων μετάθεσις.

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 νενομοθέτηται, πρὸς δὲ ἀλήθειαν καὶ σημείωσιν ὄρθοῦ λόγου.

8.9.30 | διατάξας γὰρ ἐπὶ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀφάς ἔκαστα κελεύει μηδὲν εἰκῇ μήτε πράσσειν μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε τῇ τοῦ λόγου δυναστείᾳ συγχρωμένος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν τρέπεσθαι.

8.9.27 | For even when we start to eat and drink, it immediately tells us to use them. It has also given us a reminder from our clothing. Similarly, it has instructed us to put words on the gates and doors of cities and homes, so that we may remember God. On our hands, it clearly commands that a sign be placed, showing that every action should be done with justice, while keeping in mind our own creation, and above all, the fear of God.

8.9.28 | It commands those who are lying down, getting up, and going to reflect on the works of God, not just in words but also by observing their own movements and thoughts when they are about to sleep. Waking up is seen as something divine and beyond understanding, marking their change.

8.9.29 | It has also been shown to you the importance of reasoning about distinction and remembrance, as we have discussed the duality and the murmuring. For it is not without purpose that it has been established in the soul, but rather to lead us toward truth and to indicate correct reasoning.

8.9.30 | For it has arranged everything about food and drink and the things related to touch, it commands that nothing be done carelessly. We should neither act nor listen carelessly, nor should we be led by the

power of speech toward 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 ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ παντελῶς ἄχρηστον γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι ἀν δή ποτ' οὖν ἐπιβάλληται κακοποιεῖν.

8.9.31 | It is the same when it comes to pests. The way they act is harmful, both for weasels and mice and others like them, as has been described. They all cause corruption and harm, 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; it has a corrupt way of life that is different from what was mentioned before. It catches things through its ears and reproduces through its mouth. For this reason, its way of life is unclean for humans. 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 | Your king does well by removing such people, as we agree. But I said that I think you are talking about those who are visible, for he continually compares them to tortures and deadly pains. These are the ones I mean; being watchful leads to the ruin of people in a wicked way. 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 κεκανόνται πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ κατατέτακται

8.9.34 | And about these things, then, I want to point out to you briefly that everything is arranged for justice, and nothing is written down without purpose

διὰ τῆς γραφῆς οὐδὲ μυθωδῶς, ἀλλ' ἔνα δι'  
ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀσκῶμεν  
δικαιοσύνην πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους,  
μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ.

or in a fanciful way. Instead, we should practice justice towards all people in every part of life and in our actions, remembering the god who rules.

8.9.35 | περὶ βρωτῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν  
ἀκαθάρτων, ἐρπετῶν καὶ κνωδάλων, ὃ πᾶς  
λόγος ἀνατείνει πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναναστροφὴν δικαίαν.

8.9.35 | Concerning food, the unclean, creeping things, and insects, the whole discussion points towards justice and 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 ἡμερα  
κατασκευάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄγριον, ὅπως οἱ  
προσφέροντες τὰς θυσίας μηδὲν  
ὑπερήφανον ἔαυτοῖς συνιστορῶσι,  
σημειώσει κεχρημένοι τοῦ διατάξαντος.

8.9.36 | I thought it was good to discuss each matter. He also mentioned that for the offerings of bulls, rams, and goats, these should come from herds and flocks, using tame animals and nothing wild. This way, those who bring the sacrifices do not present anything that makes them feel proud, keeping in mind the instructions of the one who ordered it.

8.9.37 | τῆς γὰρ ἔαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τοῦ παντὸς  
τρόπου τὴν προσφορὰν ποιεῖται ὃ τὴν  
θυσίαν προσάγων. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν  
νομίζω τὰ τῆς ὄμιλίας 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 a gift from his own soul in every way. Concerning these matters, I believe it is worth discussing the issues of the community because of the seriousness of the law, which I have explained to you, Philocrates, and 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 ἰδέας  
διεστείλατο, ὡς ἀν μέλλουσι ταῖς  
ἐκδοθησομέναις περιτεύξεσθαι τῶν  
γραφῶν ἐρμηνείαις. ὃ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ  
τῆς κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τῇ  
πατρίῳ μετειληχώς, (ὅποια περὶ τῶν ἐν  
ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις φερομένων ὡς περὶ

8.9.38 | The high priest explained these things to those present, as he had interpreted the allegorical ideas in the sacred laws for the Greeks. This was so they could be ready for the interpretations of the writings that would be published. Aristobulus, who had studied the philosophy of Aristotle, also discusses these matters related to God found in the

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

## Section 10

8.10.1 | “Πλὴν ἱκανῶς είρημένων 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· ἀ τεύξεται λόγου καθήκοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀντιδοξήσει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδέν.

8.10.2 | παρακαλέσαι δέ σε βούλομαι πρὸς τὸ φυσικῶς λαμβάνειν τὰς ἐκδοχὰς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἔννοιαν περὶ θεοῦ κρατεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἐκπίπτειν εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ ἀνθρώπινον κατάστημα.

8.10.3 | πολλαχῶς γὰρ ὃ βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νομοθέτης ἡμῶν Μωσῆς, ἐφ' ἔτερων πραγμάτων λόγους ποιούμενος, λέγω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, φυσικὰς διαθέσεις ἀπαγγέλλει καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων κατασκευάς.

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,

sacred books, and it was a good time to hear this. He is the same person mentioned at the beginning of the second book of the Maccabees. In a letter to King Ptolemy, he also explains this method.

8.10.1 | However, after enough has been said about the matters at hand, you also spoke up, king, because the law among us signifies hands, arms, face, feet, and walking in the divine power. This will lead to a fitting explanation and will not contradict what we have previously stated.

8.10.2 | I want to encourage you to understand the interpretations naturally and to keep the right idea about God, without falling into a mythical or human-like view.

8.10.3 | In many ways, our lawgiver Moses wants to express different ideas, making statements about various matters. What I mean is that, based on appearances, he reveals natural conditions and the arrangements of great things.

8.10.4 | Those who can think clearly admire the wisdom about him and the divine spirit, which is why he has also been called a prophet. This includes the philosophers mentioned earlier and many other poets who have drawn great inspiration from

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 προσάψης τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ διαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκείνῳ νενοημένα.

8.10.7 | χεῖρες μὲν οὖν νοοῦνται προδήλως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κοινότερον. ὅταν γάρ δυνάμενις ἔξαποστέλλης 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 κραταιῇ 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 “ίδού χειρὶ 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 ἴσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

8.10.9 | διόπερ καλῶς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὸ

him, and that is why they are amazed.

8.10.5 | But to those who do not share in power and understanding, but only hold on to the written text, nothing truly great seems to be explained.

8.10.6 | I will start to explore each meaning as best as I can. But if I do not find the truth, do not blame the lawgiver for my lack of understanding; instead, blame me for not being able to separate what he intended.

8.10.7 | Hands are understood clearly and more commonly among us. For when you, as a king, send out your power to achieve something, we say that the king has a great hand, as those who hear are drawn to the power you possess.

8.10.8 | This is also noted 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.” Regarding the death of the animals, Moses tells Pharaoh, “Behold, the hand of the Lord will be upon your livestock and upon all that is in the fields, a great death.” Therefore, hands are seen as a sign of God's power. It is also understood that all human strength and actions are found in their hands.

8.10.9 | For this reason, the lawgiver rightly

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 ταύτὸν ὑπάρχει φυτῶν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμετάβλητα μέν ἔστι, τὰς αὐτὰς δὲν 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 ἄν 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 θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι σαλπίγγων τε φωνὰς

describes the hands as divine, saying that they are the works of God. The divine order of the world could also be rightly called great.

8.10.10 | For indeed, God is above all, and everything is under His authority, and He has established order. This causes humans to be still and unmoving. I say this: the sky has never become earth, nor has the earth become sky; the shining sun has never become the moon, nor has the moon ever become the sun again; rivers have never become the sea, nor has the sea ever become rivers.

8.10.11 | And again, the same principle applies to animals. A human will not become a beast, nor will a beast become a human. The same is true for plants and other living things; they are unchanging, yet they experience the same changes and decay.

8.10.12 | The divine order, therefore, could be called a stillness, 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. This descent is clear; and regarding these matters, one could explain it 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, because God had descended with the sound

καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἀνυποστάτως εἶναι.

of trumpets, and the fire was burning continuously.

8.10.14 | τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς πλήθους μυριάδων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκατὸν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀφηλίκων, ἐκκλησιαζομένων κυκλόθεν τοῦ ὄρους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἡμερῶν πέντε οὕσης τῆς περιόδου περὶ αὐτὸν, κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ὁράσεως πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κυκλόθεν, ὡς ἂσαν παρεμβεβληκότες, τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἔθεωρεῖτο·

8.10.14 | For among the vast crowd of myriads, there were no fewer than a hundred, not counting those who were not included, gathering all around the mountain. The period lasted for no less than five days, and everywhere they looked, they all saw the fire burning as they stood in place.

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 limited to one place; for God is everywhere. However, the power of the fire is wonderfully present, because it consumes everything. It would not have appeared to be burning continuously, consuming nothing, if it were not for the power from God that was with it.

8.10.16 | τῶν γὰρ φυομένων ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔκείνῳ ἀναλισκομένων σφοδρῶς οὐδὲν ἔξανάλωσεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔμεινε τῶν ἀπάντων ἡ χλόη πυρὸς ἄθικτος, σαλπίγγων τε φωναὶ σφοδρότερον συνηκούοντο σὺν τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀστραπῆδὸν ἐκφάνσει, μὴ προκειμένων ὄργάνων τοιούτων, μηδὲ τοῦ φωνήσαντος, ἀλλὰ θείᾳ κατασκευῇ γινομένων πάντων.

8.10.16 | For the plants growing on that mountain were being fiercely consumed, yet nothing was destroyed. The greenery of everything remained untouched, and the sounds of trumpets were heard more loudly along with the flashing appearance of the fire, even though no instruments were present and no voice was heard. Everything was happening through a divine arrangement.

8.10.17 | ὥστε σαφὲς εἶναι διὰ ταῦτα τὴν κατάβασιν τὴν θείαν γεγονέναι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς συνορῶντας ἐκφαντικῶς ἔκαστα καταλαμβάνειν, μήτε τὸ πῦρ κεκαυκός, ὡς προείρηται, μηδὲν μήτε τάς τῶν σαλπίγγων φωνὰς δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας ἦ

8.10.17 | So it is clear from these things that the divine descent has occurred, because those who were present clearly perceived everything. Neither was the fire burning, as mentioned before, nor were the sounds of the trumpets produced by

κατασκευῆς ὄργάνων γίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν  
ἄνευ 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, ἐξῆς ἀν  
εἴη καὶ τόδε ἐπισημάνασθαι, ὡς τὸ πᾶν  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος εἰς δύο τμήματα διῃρηται,  
καὶ τὴν μὲν πληθὺν ταῖς τῶν νόμων κατὰ  
τὴν ῥητὴν 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 Ιουδαίων  
γένος, ὃν τὴν τοῦ βίου ἄσκησιν καὶ τῶν  
ἔξωθεν κατεπλάγησαν μυρίοι, τῶν δ'  
οίκείων οἱ περιφανέστατοι καὶ μνήμης  
ἀλήστου τούτους ἡξίωσαν, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ  
Φίλων καὶ ἔτεροι πλείους· ὃν τὰ πολλὰ  
παρεὶς, δείγματος αὐτὸν 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 Ιουδαίων ἀπολογίας λαβὼν σύ γε  
ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα

## Section 11

8.11.1 | Μυρίους δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ  
ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἥλειψεν ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup>  
κοινωνίαν, οἱ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἐσσαῖοι,  
παρὰ τὴν ὀσιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς

human effort or the use of instruments.  
Instead, God showed His greatness through  
everything without any visible sign.

8.10.18 | This is what Aristobulus says.  
Since we have discussed the  
commandments of the sacred laws and how  
they interpret ideas, it should also be noted  
that the entire Jewish nation is divided into  
two parts. One part follows the laws  
according to their clear meaning, while the  
other part, influenced by a certain higher  
philosophy, is considered to be more  
inclined toward the many ideas found 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. Among their own, the most  
famous and unforgettable were Josephus,  
Philo, and many others. Of these, I will only  
mention the testimony of Philo regarding  
the current matter, which he has presented  
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 chosen many of  
the well-known ones for community, who  
are called Essenes, and I believe they have  
been honored for their holiness. They live

προσηγοΜθρίους ρίας ἀξιωθέντες. οίκοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις τῆς Ιουδαίας , πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πολυανθρώπους δύμίλους.

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 ἄπ' ἐλεῖ συννεωτερίζονται· τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίναντες ἥδη, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιρροῆς ἐπικιλυζόμενοι, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἀψευδῆ δὲ καὶ μόνην ὅντως ἐλευθερίαν καρπούμενοι.

8.11.4 | μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. Ἰδιον 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 ἀθρόα καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὠφέλειαν.

8.11.5 | οίκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταύτῳ, κατὰ θιάσους ἐταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι διατελοῦσιν.

8.11.6 | ἄλλ' ἔτερων ἔτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἵς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ

in many cities of Judea, as well as in many villages and large, populated groups.

8.11.2 | Their choice is not based on race, for race does not apply to 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 because of age. Instead, there are mature men who have already entered old age, no longer influenced by the desires of the body or led by passions, enjoying true and lasting freedom.

8.11.4 | Their way of life is a testament to their freedom. No one among them claims anything as their own—not a house, not a slave, not a piece of land, not livestock, or any other resources of wealth. Instead, they gather everything together and share in the benefits with everyone.

8.11.5 | They live together in groups, organized into fellowships and communal meals, and they remain dedicated to working for the common good.

8.11.6 | But others have different activities that they pursue tirelessly, not hiding, not

κρυμὸν, οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὅσα ἀέρος νεωτερίσματα προφασιζόμενοι· πρὶν δ' ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι, δυομένου μόλις ἐπανίασι χαίροντες, οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἔξεταζομένων ἀγῶσιν.

8.11.7 | ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἄττ' ἀν ἐπιτηδεύσωσιν εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ ἡδίω ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα, καὶ πολυχρονιώτερα τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσει, μὴ συναφηβῶντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ.

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.

8.11.9 | ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὃν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιον.

8.11.10 | ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὕτως διαφερόντων ἔκαστοι τὸν μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόασι τῷ χειροτονηθέντι ταμίᾳ· λαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτίκα τάπιτήδεις ὠνεῖται, καὶ παρέχει τροφὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὃν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος χρειώδης.

8.11.11 | οἵ δ' ὄμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὄμοτράπεζοι καθ' ἔκαστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσμενίζοντες, ὀλιγοδεείας ἐρασταὶ,

in secret, and not making excuses about the air or new things. Before the sun rises, they turn to their usual tasks, and when the day is nearly over, they return, happy, just like those who are tested in athletic competitions.

8.11.7 | For they believe that whatever they practice is more beneficial and more enjoyable for both the soul and body than athletic training, and that it lasts longer than what is found in competitions, without being tied to the peak of physical strength.

8.11.8 | For among them, some are farmers who are experts in planting and agriculture; others are leaders of different kinds of livestock, and some take care of bees.

8.11.9 | But others are craftsmen, making sure they do not have to suffer from any necessary needs, and they do not delay anything needed for their livelihood.

8.11.10 | From these very different people, each one receives their pay and gives it to the elected treasurer. That person then immediately buys the necessary supplies and provides plenty of food and other things needed for human life.

8.11.11 | Those who share the same table and are friends enjoy each day together, appreciating simplicity and avoiding

πολυτέλειαν ώς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος νόσον  
έκτρεπόμενοι.

8.11.12 | κοινὴ δ' οὐ τράπεζα μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἔστι. πρόκεινται γὰρ  
χειμῶνι μὲν στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δ'  
ἔξωμίδες εύτελεῖς, ως εύμαρῶς ἔξεῖναι 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,  
θεραπεύομενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις  
καὶ φροντίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβῦται κάνειν  
τύχοιεν ἄτεκνοι, καθάπερ οὐ πολύπαιδες  
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα εὔπαιδες, ἐν  
εύτυχεστάτῳ 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  
όξυδερκέστερον 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  
ἡθῇ παλεῦσαι καὶ συνεχέσι γοητείαις  
ὑπάγεσθαι.

8.11.15 | μελετήσασά γὰρ θῶπας λόγους  
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπόκρισιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σκηνῆς, ὄψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς ὅταν δελεάσῃ,  
διηπατημένων οἰα ὑπηκόων, τὸν ἡγεμόνα

excess, since it is a sickness of both the soul  
and body.

8.11.12 | They not only share a common  
table, but also their clothing. 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 everyone and is cared for by  
one.

8.11.13 | If any of them becomes ill, they  
are cared for with the common resources,  
receiving attention and care from everyone.  
The elders, even if they happen to be  
childless, just like those with few children,  
as well as those who are very fortunate to  
have many children, are used to living their  
lives in the happiest and most comfortable  
old age. They deserve such privileges and  
honor, being cared for by choice rather  
than by the necessity of nature.

8.11.14 | Furthermore, they wisely avoided  
what would most likely break up their  
community by rejecting marriage and  
practicing self-control in a different way.  
Among the Essenes, no one takes a wife  
because a woman is naturally self-loving  
and jealous, making it dangerous for a man  
to struggle with her character and face  
constant temptations.

8.11.15 | For by studying flattering words  
and other forms of deception, just like on a  
stage where sights and sounds entice, those  
who are easily led are tricked, and the

νοῦν φενακίζει.

leader's mind is misled.

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 express what had previously been hinted at with irony. With greater courage and shamelessness, they would act on those things, each of which would be 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 λεληθώς ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος.

8.11.17 | For a man who is bound by the charms of a woman or worried about the needs of children is no longer the same person. Instead, he has become a different man, unknowingly a slave rather than 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. 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 noted from the mentioned writing. 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 that is not barren, where a large portion belongs to the very numerous Jewish people.

8.12.2 | λέγονται δέ τινες παρ' αύτοῖς ὄνομα Ἐσσαῖοι, πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχιλίους, κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπῳ 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 χειροήθεις 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 εύτυχίας) 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 linked to holiness, since they are especially devoted to God. They do not sacrifice animals; instead, they aim to prepare their minds in a sacred way.

8.12.3 | These people, first of all, live in villages, avoiding the cities because of the wickedness of those involved in politics. They know from experience that it is like a destructive disease, bringing an incurable affliction to the souls.

8.12.4 | Some of them are farmers, while others practice crafts that promote peace. They benefit themselves and those around them, not hoarding silver and gold, nor acquiring large plots of land out of greed for profit. Instead, they focus on providing only what is necessary for their daily needs.

8.12.5 | For they alone, almost of all people, have become free from money and possessions. They are considered the richest, whether they have plenty or little, judging wealth by their simplicity and ease.

8.12.6 | Whether it be arrows, spears, swords, helmets, or shields, you would find no maker among them, nor any armorer or engineer, or anyone involved in war. They do not even have what could lead 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 ἔργων, είς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαὶ, καθ' ἥλικίας ἐν

nothing of trade, retail, or shipping, avoiding all opportunities for greed.

8.12.7 | There is not even one slave among them; all are free and help each other. They see their masters not only as unjust oppressors but also as disrespectful to natural law. They believe that nature has made all people equal, raising them like true brothers, not just in name, but in reality.

8.12.8 | 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, which is greater than human nature, is left to those who discuss the heavens, except for what it says about the existence of a god and the creation of everything. However, they focus very well on the ethical part, using the ancient laws, which it is impossible for a human mind to conceive without divine inspiration.

8.12.10 | They are taught these things not only at other times but especially on the seventh day. The seventh day is considered sacred, during which they leave behind other tasks to 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 what 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, self-control, 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 what is wrong, using laws and rules that are of lesser 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, shown through 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, ἥν 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; it has become common to all. For it is arranged that people live together in groups, and those

άφικνουμένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων.

coming from outside join those who are similar to 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 sitting at the same table, and this is not 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 ὠφέλειαν· 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. Instead, they place it in a common fund for those who want to use it, creating 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, allowing them to 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, similar to that of parents for their legitimate children, is shown in many ways and is abundant in all aspects of life. Philosophy, through its careful study of Greek names, shapes such individuals into athletes of virtue, presenting practices 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 from many times when rulers have risen up against the land, using different natures and choices. Some, trying to overcome the wildness of beasts, left nothing untouched

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, οὐκέτι ἔπαύσαντο·

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.

8.12.19 | ἀλλὰ γάρ οὐδεὶς οὕτε τῶν σφόδρα ὡμοθύμων οὕτε τῶν πάνυ δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων ἵσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν Ἐσσαίων ἡ Ὁσίων ὅμιλον αἴτιάσασθαι 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."

8.12.20 | 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

in their cruelty, treating their subjects like a herd of animals. Others, even while still alive, cooked them in parts, until they faced the same misfortunes under the watchful eye of human justice, and they did not stop.

8.12.18 | They have turned to another kind of evil, stirring up bitterness without remedy, speaking softly, and 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 reminders of their own wickedness and hatred, the lasting misfortunes of those who have suffered.

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 conversation, which is the clearest proof of a complete and very happy life.

8.12.20 | Let the teachings of the philosopher about the practice and way of life among the Jews be presented through these things. But the topics concerning the rest of life, which the divine laws explained to most of the entire 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 this discourse.

8.12.21 | What then is left to say about these things, or to present the agreements between the theology of the young and the piety of the ancestors, so that the discourse may be fully delivered to us in this discussion?

8.12.22 | Since the words of the inspired scripture are presented in 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 beginning of his work, 'On the Law'.

## Section 13

8.13.1 | "Τινὲς γὰρ τὸν κόσμον μᾶλλον ἥ 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.

8.13.1 | For some, marveling more at the world than at its creator, declared the uncreated and eternal to be God, greatly misrepresenting God's inactivity. They should instead be amazed at his powers as the creator and father, and not regard the moderate as unworthy.

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 ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ μὲν ἴναι δραστήριον \* \* ὃ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς ἐστιν εἱλικρινέστατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος, κρείττων ἥ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ κρείττων ἥ αὐτὸ

8.13.2 | Moses, having reached the height of philosophy and learned the most important and connected truths 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 purest, greater than knowledge, and greater than goodness and beauty itself.

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 οἱ φάσκοντες ἀγέννητον λελήθασι τὸ ὡφελιμώτατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν εἰς εὔσέβειαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, τὴν πρόνοιαν.

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 λυσιτελῆ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπορίζειν ἐπιποθεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγονὸς οἰκείωσις οὐδεμίᾳ τῷ μὴ πεποιηκότι.

8.13.3 | For what has come into being, reason chooses the father and creator 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 ἀνωφελές 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, judge, or overseer. Without such a figure, it is not right for everything to be organized and managed.

8.13.5 | ἀλλ' ὅ γε μέγας Μωσᾶς ἀλλοτριώτατον τοῦ ὀρατοῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὸ ἀγέννητον, (πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολαῖς οὐδέ ποτε κατὰ ταύτα ὁν) 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 what can be seen (for everything that can be sensed is always changing and never stays the same). He assigned the name of eternity to the invisible and intelligible, like a brother and relative, while he gave the name of creation to what can be sensed.

8.13.6 | ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁρατός τε καὶ αἰσθητὸς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἀναγκαίως ἀν εἴη καὶ γεννητὸς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τὴν

8.13.6 | Since this world is both visible and can be sensed, it must necessarily be created. Therefore, he wrote about its

γένεσιν ἀνέγραψεν αύτοῦ, 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, εἰ καὶ μακρότερα δόξειεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα τὰ πλείστα συντεμὼν ἐκθήσομαι. κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον 'τον 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, ἴσχὺς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διά τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἱρηνικωτάτην σώματος εὔμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάστης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες είσὶν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἄδοξοι, ταπεινοί;”

8.14.2 | Ταῦτα είς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα πλείω τούτων είπὼν ἔξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεὸς, ὡμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὅσα δεσπότης ἀνημέρου ἀρχῆς ἔργα ἐπιτετηδευκώς, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἡμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημένος ἡγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν

creation not from a distance, but with great seriousness, discussing divine matters.

8.13.7 | These points are about the world being created. The same man also talks about how everything is governed by providence in his work, “On Providence,” where he presents the arguments of the atheists and responds to them one by one. Even if these may seem lengthy, I will summarize the most important parts. He organizes this argument in this way.

8.14.1 | Do you really say that providence exists in such confusion and disorder of things? What is arranged in human life? Does it not seem full of chaos and burdens? 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? Additionally, they enjoy leadership, health, beauty, strength, and unrestrained pleasures, both through great wealth and through the most peaceful condition of the body. But those who love wisdom and all virtue are mostly poor, unknown, without fame, and humble?

8.14.2 | After saying these things and many others to refute the arguments, he goes on to answer the objections. God is not a tyrant who acts with cruelty and violence like a master of lawless power, but rather a king who rules gently and justly, rewarding the entire universe and world with justice.

σύμπαντα ούρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον  
βραβεύει.

8.14.3 | βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πρόσρησις  
οἴκειοτέρα πατρός. ὃ γὰρ 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.

8.14.3 | But for a king, there is no closer  
relationship than that of a father. Just as  
parents have a bond with their children, a  
king has a bond with his city, and God has a  
bond 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 | 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·

8.14.4 | Just as parents do not overlook  
their wayward sons, but instead, feeling  
pity for their misfortune, they embrace and  
care for them, believing it is the work of  
enemies to interfere with their  
wrongdoings, while they ease the faults of  
friends and relatives.

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 οἴ γονεῖς, ἥς  
εἰ σφαλεῖν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων·

8.14.5 | Often, they give more help to these  
wayward sons than to the sensible ones,  
clearly knowing that self-control offers a  
great chance for success to the sensible. But  
for those who stray, if they fail, their  
parents will face difficulties and lack the  
necessities.

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,  
ἄμα μὲν καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς  
διδοὺς, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὥλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ  
μὴ ὑπερβαίνων, ἥς ὀπαδὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ  
φιλανθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θεῖον  
περιπολεῖν οἶκον.”

8.14.6 | In the same way, God, being the  
father of reason, cares for all who have  
understanding. He also provides for those  
who live wrongly, giving them time to  
correct themselves, while staying true to  
his kind nature, from which virtue and  
kindness come, making it fitting for the  
divine to dwell within.

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 ὄσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτος, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφοσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἀν εἶναι ποτε δύνατο 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 saying, O soul, as a treasure for yourself. And do not ever believe 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 because of his beauty.

8.14.8 | Surely, if someone dismisses their own spirit, meaning their own mind, as a servant to 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, believe they are happy, trapped by the double evil of ignorance and empty reputation, they struggle against terrible things and lead unanchored souls astray, 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 human thought allows, you will gain a clearer vision of the good in relation to the truth and laugh at the things we have, which you once admired. For whenever better things are absent, the worse are honored, inheriting their place; but when the better appear, they step back, satisfied 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 ὅλῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ λειπομένῃ.

surely realize that none of the things mentioned are worthy of the good fate from the god. This is because the metals of silver and gold represent the lowest fate, lacking in the true nature of what is genuinely good and absent from everything.

8.14.11 | οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' ὅμοιον τροφῆς, ἵς ἄνευ ζῆν ἀδύνατον, εύπορίᾳ χρημάτων. μία τούτων ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμὸς, ὃ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται· θησαυροὺς γὰρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικαταλάξαιτ' ἀν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἄσμενος.

8.14.11 | For there is nothing like food, without which it is impossible to live, when compared to the abundance of money. Hunger is the clearest test of need, showing what is truly necessary and useful; for someone would gladly trade all treasures everywhere for a brief supply of food.

8.14.12 | ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία μυρίω φορᾶς ἀκατασχέτω πλήθει ῥυεῖσα κατὰ πόλεις ἀναχέηται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφῶντες ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἴστασθαι, κόρον δ' ὑβριστὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεσιν ἐπαποδύντες, ἅπασι, παρ' ὧν ἀν 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 pours into the cities in countless and uncontrolled ways, we do not think it worth our time to focus only on the good things of nature. Instead, we make greed our leader in life, believing that wealth in silver and gold will bring us profit. We are like the blind, covered in dust, no longer seeing with our minds because of our love for money, failing to realize that these are just piles of earth, surrounded by constant and unending conflict.

8.14.13 | ἐσθῆτές γε μὴν προβάτων είσιν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταί πού φασιν, ἄνθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημιουργὸν τέχνην ὑφαντῶν ἔπαινος. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ, τὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀδπαξόνενος, ἴστω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαῦλος ὡν· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον χαίρει τῷ ὅμοιῷ.

8.14.13 | Indeed, there are garments made from sheep, as the poets say, flowers, and praise for the art of weavers. But if someone thinks highly of their reputation, having accepted the approval of the unworthy, they should know that they themselves are unworthy; 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

8.14.14 | Let those who have been made pure pray to be healed in their ears, through which great diseases can afflict the soul. And let those who are born into comfort learn not to be arrogant, turning their gaze away from the countless herds of wild animals, where strength and power are found. For the most remarkable virtues can be seen in wild beasts, and these should be respected. 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 quickly, before it has fully blossomed, dimming its deceptive peak? And seeing this, among lifeless things, they admire the beautiful works of skilled artists, both in paintings and statues, as well as 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 those who are beloved by the gods, where good and beautiful things are honored according to the truth, do those who receive a fortunate nature improve their nature through study and practice, 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 while

θεραπεύοντας οἵ τὴν δέσποιναν  
ἐπιφάσκοντες ἰᾶσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ,  
ἐπειδάν τις εύτυχής νοσήσῃ, κανὸν δὲ μέγας ἦ  
βασιλεὺς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα,  
τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας,  
γραφὰς, ἄργυρον, χρυσὸν, ἄσημον,  
ἐπίσημον, ἔκπωμάτων ἡ ὑφασμάτων  
πλῆθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων ἀοίδιμον  
κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν  
φίλων ἡ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει  
θεραπείαν ἄξαντες, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων,  
ἄχρι τῆς εύνῆς ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τῶν περὶ  
αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὕθ' ὅτι κλῖναι  
λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες,  
οὕθ' ὅτι ἀσαχνοῦφεῖς ἡ λινορραφούμεναι  
στρωμναὶ, οὕθ' ὅτι ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι  
διάφοροι προσέτι δὲ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν  
χλαίνας ἀπαμφιάσαντες ἀπτονται χειρῶν  
καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζοῦντες ἀκριβοῦσι  
τοὺς παλμοὺς, εἰ σωτήριοι πολλάκις δὲ καὶ  
τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀναστείλαντες εἰ  
περιπληθής ἐσθ' ἡ γαστὴρ ἔξετάξουσιν, εἰ  
πεπυρωμένος δὲ θώραξ, εἰ ἄτακτα ἡ καρδία  
πηδᾶ· 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 αἴ κεναὶ  
δόξαι τυφλορλαστοῦδιν, εἴσω δὲ  
προσιόντας ἀπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἰ  
ὑπὸ ὄργης ἀνισοταχεῖς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν  
κεκινημένοι παλμοὶ ἀπτεσθαι καὶ γλώττης,  
εἰ τραχεῖα καὶ κακήγορος, εἰ πεπορνευκαῖα  
καὶ ἀταμίευτος ἀπτεσθαι καὶ γαστρὸς, εἰ  
ἀπλήστω σχήματι ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ  
συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ  
ἀρρεστημάτων, εἰ κεκράσθαι δοκεῖ,  
διερευνᾶν ἔκαστον, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι  
τῶν προσφόρων είς τὸ σώζειν.

pretending to heal the mistress. For when 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, and countless other things, whether from cups or fabrics, the glorious treasures of kings, and even the household crowd, along with 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, to see if they are safe. Often, they even lift the tunics to see if the stomach is swollen, if the chest is burning, or if the heart is beating wildly; and then they offer their own treatment.

8.14.18 | And the philosophers should also practice medicine, recognizing the nature of the royal soul and despising all things that are just empty opinions of blind chance. They should approach and examine the mind to see if, when angry, the pulses are uneven and moving against nature. They should check the tongue to see if it is rough and accusatory, if it has been corrupted and is unrestrained. They should examine the stomach to see if it is driven by insatiable desire. And they should look into all the passions, diseases, and conditions to understand if they seem mixed, investigating each one carefully so that

they do not miss the remedies for healing.

8.14.19 | νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔξω περιαυγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἀτε νοητὸν φῶς ἴδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λόγισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυνηθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτόν 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 εἱ̄ς Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἥ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διετέλεσαν, ἀνθρωποι μηδὲν πώποτε τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὅσα ἥ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρημάτων ἥ παρὰ βασιλέων δωρεὰς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρῆν] λαβεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἔνεκα τοῦ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν ἡγεῖσθαι, περὶ ἥν πονούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡλόγουν;

8.14.22 | τίς δ' οὐκ ἀν ἀλογήσαι νόθων ἔνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἱ̄ς δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες, ὃν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν

8.14.19 | But now, under the brightness of those outside, unable to see the true light of understanding, they wander and remain lost forever. They could not reach the king's reasoning and barely made it to the gates. 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 judge colors or musical sounds, it is the same for foolish men when it comes to the truths of good things. For these men have lost the most important part of themselves, their understanding, which is trapped in deep darkness and foolishness.

8.14.21 | Now we wonder if Socrates and other serious individuals lived in poverty, men who never engaged in making a living and did not accept great gifts from wealthy friends or kings. They considered 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 wouldn't think poorly of the illegitimate because of the care given to the legitimate? If they share in a mortal body and are filled with human troubles, living among so many unjust people, of whom it is

εὺρεῖν εὕπορον, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, τί τὴν φύσιν αἴτιώμεθα, δέον τὴν τῶν ἐπιθεμένων κακίζειν ώμότητα;

8.14.23 | καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένηντο λοιμικῷ, πάντως ὥφειλον νοσῆσαι· καταστάσεως δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ή οὐχ ἡττον, φθοροποιός ἐστιν ἡ κακία. ὡς δ' ὅπόταν ὑετοῦ μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν σοφὸν, εἰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοι, καταβρέχεσθαι, βορέου δὲ ψυχροῦ καταπνέοντος ῥίγει 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, ἔνθα φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρόν, ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαῖον.

8.14.24 | ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ' οἷς δεινοῖς ἡδίκησε καὶ ἡσέβησε, χορηγὸς ἀπήντνσε, χείρων μὲν ἡ τοῦ βίου βαρυδαιμονία· πρόσθες δ' ὡς ὑπὸ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐκολάζετο καὶ προσηλοῦτο, χρησμὸν ἐκπιπλάς, οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαυτὸν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἡωρῆσθαι δόξαντα ὑπὸ μὲν ἡλίου ἀλείφεσθαι, λούεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Δῖος. αἱ γὰρ διὰ συμβόλων αἰνιγματώδεις αὗται φάσεις, ἀδηλούμεναι τὸ πάλαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀριδηλοτάτην ἐλάμβανον πίστιν.

8.14.25 | οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἔξ ἀρχῆς βίον, ἐλελήθει πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος. ἀεὶ γὰρ φοβούμενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς ἔξεριστάμενος ὅτι εὔνους μὲν ἦν οὐδεὶς,

hard to even count, why do we blame nature when we should criticize the cruelty of those who attack?

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, evil is just as destructive. Just as when it rains, the wise person, if they live outdoors, must get wet, and when the cold north wind blows, they must feel the chill, and when summer is at its peak, they 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 occur and other nations suffer, must necessarily change their honors in response to such things.

8.14.24 | Since indeed for Polycrates, who committed terrible acts and was impious, the sponsor was present, the burden of life is worse; but as he was being held and bound by a great king, he was giving a prophecy. "I know," he said, "that not long ago I thought I was being washed by the sun and cleansed by Zeus." Ah, for through events, these puzzling statements, which have long been unclear, were gaining the clearest trust through actions.

8.14.25 | Not only at the end, but throughout all of life from the beginning, the soul hung 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 were

έχθροι δὲ πάντες δυσπραξίᾳ ἀμείλικτοι.”

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 λάθη 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.

8.14.27 | πόσων ἄρα κακῶν ὁ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ γυναικὸς. ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὥφειλε πιστεύειν, μεστὸς ἦν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ 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.

8.14.28 | ἔρασθεις γὰρ, ὡς θείου πράγματος καὶ περιμαχήτου, τυραννίδος οὕτε μένειν οὕτε ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα,

relentless enemies in their misfortune.

8.14.26 | Those who wrote the Sicilian accounts are witnesses to the unbroken and constant 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 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 through all parts of the house naked, which is not right for men to see. In addition to this, the ground along the road was to be dug out to 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 | How many troubles does the one who watches and schemes over a woman face? Should he trust anyone else, or is he filled with doubt? For it is like those who, through a steep mountain, try to understand the clear signs in the sky. They barely reach the neck they were aiming for and can neither retreat nor go down, having given up on the remaining height. They do not dare to descend, feeling dizzy at the sight of the chasms.

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. While he stayed, countless evils

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 αὐχένα καὶ τὰς ὄψεις  
έκαραδόκει τὸν οίκεῖον ὅλεθρον.

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  
ὅλεθρον.

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

overwhelmed him, and when he wanted to escape, the danger of living pressed down on him, armed not with bodies, but with thoughts against him.

8.14.29 | It also reveals the deed for which they say Dionysius served the life of the tyrants. After calling 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 realized that he could neither rise up in courage because of the tyrant nor enjoy any of the prepared dishes due to the fear he felt. Being a man who had ignored the abundant and rich pleasures, he looked up and 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 like this, unless someone wants to deceive himself. Our life is full of countless resources, yet it offers no enjoyment of anything good. It brings repeated fears and endless dangers, along with a creeping sickness and a more difficult decline, always carrying an incurable destruction."

8.14.31 | But many of those who do not examine themselves, deceived by the bright appearance, suffer the same fate as those who are caught by ugly companions. These companions hide their ugliness with clothing and gold, along with the features of the face, lacking true beauty and creating

δημιουργεῖ.

a false image in the 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 οἱ 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 acknowledge. Instead, like those who, forced by illness, let out the truest cries from their suffering, they live in a mix of punishments, both present and expected, just like livestock being fattened for sacrifice. For these animals receive great care in order to be slaughtered for a lavish feast.

8.14.33 | είσὶ δὲ οἱ 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 ῥαγείραγείσης 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 clear about money matters and have given clear judgments, for which the effort to list the details is too much. One example is enough to represent all. It is said that the sacred war in Phocis, where a law was made 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 among themselves. 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 perish in the fire at the sanctuary in Abai.

8.14.34 | ταῦτα γὰρ φιλονείκοτατον λέγειν

8.14.34 | For these matters, it is very

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."

debatable to say that they happened by chance. If some were punished at different times or in different ways, it would be reasonable to think that the randomness of fate was to blame. But when everyone was punished together at the same time and not in different ways, but by the punishments described in the laws, it makes sense to say that they fell under 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 ἀνθρωπος δικάζει καὶ θεὸς, 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 look into what is obvious, while a god goes deep into 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 think of the divine court as more truthful and wiser than our own. For that is not right. In one situation, there are many things that can lead to mistakes: misleading senses, harmful passions, and the strongest barriers of wrongdoing. But in another situation, there is nothing that deceives; instead, there is justice and truth, where everything is naturally corrected and praised.

8.14.37 | ἔπειτ', ὢ γενναῖε, μὴ νομίσῃς ἀλυσιτελές ἐπίκαιρον εἶναι τυραννίδα..

8.14.37 | Then, noble one, do not think that tyranny is without purpose. For

ούδε γάρ ή κόλασις ἀλυσιτελές, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ ὡφελιμώτερον ἢ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οῦ χάριν ἐν ἄπασι μὲν τοῖς ὄρθῶς γραφεῖσι παρείληπται νόμοις· οὶ δὲ γράψαντες ὑπὸ πάντων ἔπαινοῦνται. ὅπερ γάρ ἐν δῆμῳ τύραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.

punishment also has a purpose; it brings justice to the good, whether it is more useful or not needed at all. For this reason, all the laws that are written correctly include it. Those who write them are praised by everyone. What is tyranny in a community is punishment in the law.

8.14.38 | ἐπειδὴν οῦν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπιπολάσῃ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ θεὸς, ὥσπερ ῥεῦμα χειμάρρου τὴν φορᾶν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεῦσαι γλιχόμενος, ἵνα καθαρῇ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, ἴσχὺν καὶ κράτος δίδωσι τοῖς τὰς φύσεις ἀρχικοῖς.

8.14.38 | When a terrible lack of virtue and a scarcity of goodness seize the cities, and an abundance of foolishness overwhelms them, then the god, like a rushing stream from 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 nature.

8.14.39 | ὡμῆς γάρ δίχα ψυχῆς οὐ καθαίρεται κακία. καὶ ὅπερ 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 cannot be removed without the soul. Just as cities raise up public enemies, like murderers, traitors, and those who commit sacrilege, they do not accept the opinions of men but instead examine the usefulness of their 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 αἰτίους, ὡς ἐκ δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ψυχῆς ὑπηρετήσαντας, ἐφ' ἄπασιν, ὥσπερ τινὰς κορυφαίους, ἀξιοῦ μετέρχεσθαι. καθάπερ γάρ η τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλώσῃ, τελευταῖον αὐτὴν ἐπινέμεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἵ 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 considered worthy of punishment, like certain leaders. For just as the power of fire, when it consumes material, ultimately turns back upon itself, in the same way, those who have seized control over the masses of tyranny, when they have wasted the cities and left them empty of people, are

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  
εύδαιμονεῖν, 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  
"Ἄνεμων καὶ ὑετῶν φορὰς οὐκέπι λύμη  
τῶν πλεόντων, ὡς ἐνόμιζες, ἢ  
γεωργούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ  
παντὸς ἡμῶν γένους ὁ θεὸς εἰργάζετο.  
Ὕδασι μὲν γάρ τὴν γῆν καθαίρει, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ<sup>τ</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'

judged and destroyed for the sake of all.

8.14.41 | And why should we be surprised  
if, through tyrants, the god drives away the  
evil that has spread in cities, lands, and  
nations? For often, without relying on  
others, he himself brings about this  
destruction, sending famine, plague, or  
earthquakes, and all other divine  
punishments, by which large groups of  
people are destroyed every day, leaving a  
great part of the world desolate because of  
the neglect of virtue.

8.14.42 | Indeed, enough has been said  
about the current situation regarding  
whether any of the wicked can be happy, as  
I believe. This is where the need for  
foresight becomes most clear. But if you are  
not yet convinced, encourage the one who  
is hesitating to be brave: for both of us,  
having sought the truth together, will come  
to understand 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 just 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 life. 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 not surprising. For these are a small

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.

part, while the care is for all of humankind. Just as in the gymnasium, oil is applied for benefit, but often the 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 used to bringing 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 changes.

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.

8.14.45 | 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 gathers and stirs up clouds, along with lightning and thunder. None of these things happen by chance; rather, rain and winds are the causes of life, nourishment, and growth for those on the earth, and these are their results.

8.14.46 | οἶα, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολλάκις ἀνειμένας ποιουμένου δαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὕδατος ἐλαίω καταιονούμενοί τινες τῶν ἀρειροκάλων ροκάλων εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὃ δ' ὀλισθηρότατος 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.

8.14.46 | Just as when the gymnastic trainer often spends money on his ambitions, some of the beautiful athletes sprinkle oil on the ground instead of water, and it quickly becomes very slippery mud. But no one who thinks clearly would say that the mud and slipperiness came from the trainer's planning; rather, these things are simply a result of the abundance of the supplies.

8.14.47 | Ἱρις δὲ καὶ ἄλως καὶ ὅσα ὅμοιότροπα πάλιν ἔστιν αὐγῶν

8.14.47 | The rainbow and the halo, along with anything similar, are results of the

έγκιρναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν  
έπακολουθήματα, οὐκ 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.

rays mixing with the clouds. They are not things that come before nature, but rather events that happen alongside natural processes. However, these also provide a necessary understanding for those who are wiser, as calm weather and winds, along with fair weather and storms, can be predicted from them.

8.14.48 | τὰς κατὰ πόλιν στοὰς 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 face south, so that those walking there can be sheltered from the winter and can enjoy the breeze in the summer. There is also something else that does not follow the builder's plan. 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>τοῦ</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 can also provide some benefits at times. For example, during the midday fires, when the fire is dimmed by the rays of the sun, the smoke signals an enemy attack.

8.14.50 | οἶός 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 ἡνίξατο γενομένης  
ἐκλείψεως διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν είρημένων.

8.14.50 | Just as there is a reason for the rainbow, there is also a reason for eclipses. Eclipses follow the divine nature 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 previously mentioned eclipse.

8.14.51 | ὃ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος τῆς  
μὲν αὐτῆς ούσιας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροῖς

8.14.51 | But the circle of milk has changed from the same substance to other stars. If

μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ' εἴπερ ἔστι, μὴ ἀποκνείτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν εἰωθότες. ὡφελιμώτατον γάρ ή εὕρεσις, ἥδιστον δὲ καὶ κα αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ή ζήτησις.

there is a reason for this, let those who are used to exploring nature not be discouraged. For discovery is very useful, and the search itself is also the sweetest thing for those who love to learn.

8.14.52 | ὡσπερ οὖν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη προνοίᾳ γεγόνασιν, οὔτω καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα, κανὸν 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, everything in the sky has a purpose too. Even if we cannot understand the nature and powers of each one, let us remain calm.

8.14.53 | σεισμοί τε καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ κεραυνῶν βολαὶ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λέγεται μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστι, θεὸς γάρ οὐδενὸς αἴτιος κακοῦ τοπαράπαν) ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὐ προηγούμενα ἔργα φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπομένα μένα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καὶ τοῖς προηγουμένοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα.

8.14.53 | Earthquakes, plagues, 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. Instead, these events arise from changes in the elements, not from earlier works of nature, but as a result of necessary and preceding events.

8.14.54 | εἰ δέ τινες τῶν χαριεστέρων συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλάβης, οὐκ αἰτιατέον 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 events, the administration should not be blamed. First, if some are thought to be good among us, and they truly are, it is because the judgments of the divine are more precise than all human understanding. Second, foresight tends to focus on the most connected things in the world, just as in kingdoms and armies, regarding the cities and the camps, without caring for any of the neglected and hidden ones that may arise.

8.14.55 | λέγουσι δέ τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς

8.14.55 | Some say that, just as it is considered lawful to punish relatives in

άναιρεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κάν ταῖς λοιμώδεσι νόσοις παραπόλυνσθαί 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 εἴπειν 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 βώμης ἀλογεῖν.

8.14.57 | τοῖς δὲ τὰς φύσεις είρηνικοῖς ἔξεστιν οὐ μόνον τειχῶν ἐντὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμευομένοις, ἀποζῆν ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονωτάτας ἡμέρων ἀγέλας· ἐπειδὴ σὺς καὶ λέοντες καὶ ὅσα ὅμοιότροπα, ἐκουσίᾳ φύσει χρώμενα, μακρὰν ἄστεος ἀπελήλαται τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς.

8.14.58 | εἰ δέ τινες ὑπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας ἀοπλοὶ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ταῖς καταδύσεσι τῶν θηρίων ἀδεῶς ἐνδιαιτῶνται, τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐστοὺς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἴτιάσθωσαν, διότι φυλάξασθαι παρὸν ὠλιγώρησαν. ἥδη γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἴπποδρομίαις εἴδόν τινας εἴξαντας ἀλογιστίᾳ, οἱ, δέον ἐγκαθέζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν

cases of tyrannicide because of the severity of the punishment, in the same way, during deadly diseases, some who are not guilty may also be swept away so that others may be warned from afar. However, it is not necessary for those 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 qualities of beasts have emerged, and it should not be kept quiet, even if it is difficult to say that you have weakened the defense for the sake of training for military contests. For exercises and constant training strengthen and greatly improve the bodies, and they prepare the souls for sudden attacks from enemies, making them unthinking in their endurance of strength.

8.14.57 | For those with peaceful natures, it is possible to live safely not only within walls but also in sheltered places, without fear of attack, enjoying the most abundant days. Pigs, lions, and all similar creatures, using their natural instincts, have moved far from the city, seeking to avoid any harm from human threats.

8.14.58 | But if some, out of laziness, live unarmed and unprepared, fearlessly among the attacks of wild animals, they should not blame their nature for what happens to them, since they neglected to protect themselves. Indeed, I have seen some at horse races who, acting thoughtlessly, stood in the middle when they should have

μέσω στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τῶν  
τεθρίππων ἀνωσθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς  
κατηλοήθησαν, ἀνοίας τάπιχειρα  
εὐράμενοι."

taken their seats and watched properly.  
They were swept up by the rush of the  
horses, crushed underfoot and by the  
wheels, finding themselves in a state of  
confusion.

8.14.59 | "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη τὰ  
λεχθέντα. τῶν δ' ἐρπετῶν τὰ ιοβόλα  
γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ κατ'  
ἐπακολούθησιν, ως καὶ πρότερον εἶπον.  
ζωογονεῖται γὰρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα  
ίκμας μεταβάλῃ πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἔνια  
δὲ καὶ σῆψις ἐψύχωσεν, ως ἔλμινθας μὲν ἡ  
περὶ τροφὴν, φθεῖρας δ' ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἰδρώτων. ὅσα δ' ἔξ οίκείας ὕλης κατὰ  
φύσιν σπερματικὴν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει  
γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοιαν.

8.14.59 | Therefore, it is important to consider what has been said about these matters. The poisonous creatures did not come about by design, but rather as a result of natural processes, as I mentioned earlier. Life is created when the existing moisture changes to a warmer state. Some creatures are also brought to life through decay, like worms from food and lice from sweat. Anything that comes from its own material, having a natural seed and a prior origin, is rightly said to have a purpose.

8.14.60 | ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων  
διττοὺς λόγους ως ἐπ' ὀφελείᾳ τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὓς οὐκ ἄν  
ἐπικρυψαίμην. ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἔτερος τοιόσδε·  
πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ίατρικῶν ἔφασάν τινες τὰ  
ιοβόλα συνεργεῖν καὶ τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας  
τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ἀ δεῖ καταχρωμένους  
αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημόνως, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων  
εύπορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς  
ἔχόντων ἀπροσδοκήτω σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ μέχρι  
νῦν ἔστιν ίδεῖν τοὺς μὴ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ  
ἀμελῶς λῶς ίατρεύειν 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 opinion was this: some said that poisonous creatures can assist in many medical practices and for those who study the art, using their knowledge wisely to provide remedies, especially in cases of unexpected danger. 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 | ὁ δ' ἔτερος λόγος οὐκ ίατρικός,  
ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ως ἔοικε. τῷ γὰρ θεῷ  
ταῦτ' ἔφασκεν ηύτρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν  
ἀμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ως δτρατηγοῖς  
τηγοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ὕστριχας ἡ σίδηρον· οὐ

8.14.61 | The other opinion was not medical, but philosophical, it seems. They said that these things are meant by God to serve as punishments for those who sin, like whips or iron for leaders and

χάριν ἡρεμοῦντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον  
ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
κατακριθεῖσιν, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ  
ἀδωροδοκήτῳ δικαστηρίᾳ ἔσυντῆς  
κατέγνω θάνατον.

commanders. They do not allow calmness during other times, but instead stir up strength against those who are condemned, whose nature has judged itself to death in a 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  
όλικὸν 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 can be 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 collection of dirt and a great deal of filth, which, if one wishes to enter, has the power to carry away the smell.

8.14.63 | εἴ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες ἡμῖν  
συνδιαιτῶνται θαυμαστὸν οὔδεν· τῆς γὰρ  
τούτων θήρας ἀπεχόμεθα. σωτηρίας δὲ  
πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον,  
ἄλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυται, τῶν δὲ πρὸς  
ἀπόλαυσιν ούδεν ὁμοδίαιτον διὰ τὰς ἔξ  
ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, πλὴν παρ' οἷς ἡ τῶν  
τοιούτων χπῆδις σις ἀπηγόρευται νόμω.

8.14.63 | If swallows live with us, it is nothing surprising; for we stay 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 Ἄσκαλῶν ὄνομα· γενόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ,  
καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶν ιερὸν  
ἐστελλόμην, εὔξομενός 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 ζῶν ὑπ'  
ἀδείας ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπωρόφιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
δημοτράπεζον ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς  
ἐκεχειρίαις ἐντσυφαῖν.

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 trees 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. In this way, 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.

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 εὖλῳ, τῆς ὥφελείας,  
καίτοι βύθιος ὁν, ἐπαισθάνεται. παρ' οἷς  
μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶται πληθύνει μάλιστα, παρὰ δὲ  
τοῖς λυμαινομένοις οὐδ' ὅναρ φαίνεται· ὡς  
τῶν πλεόντων ὅπου μὲν καὶ τοὺς πάνυ  
θρασεῖς μηδ' ἄκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθίεναι  
δάκτυλον, ἀγεληδὸν ἐπιφοιτώντων ὅπου  
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄγαν δειλοὺς ἔξαλλομένους  
νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιάς.

8.14.66 | χώρα δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
γένος αὐτῶν ἔστι πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα  
σποράς καὶ γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν ἡμερος  
καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ  
ὄντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς Ἐλλάδος δ' οὐ  
κατηγορητέον ὡς λυπρὰς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ<sup>n</sup>  
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 Ἑλλάς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν  
οὐράνιον καὶ βλάστημα θεῖον  
ἡκριβωμένον, λογισμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα  
οἰκειούμενον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ δ' αἴτιον·  
λεπτότητι ἀέρος ἡ διάνοια πέφυκεν  
ἀκονᾶσθαι.

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,  
ἄτε βαπτιζομένου τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι τοῦ

8.14.65 | In Egypt, it is even more amazing  
to see. The crocodile, which is the most  
dangerous to humans and wild animals, is  
born and raised in the sacred Nile. Even  
though it lives deep in the water, it is aware  
of what is happening around it. In some  
places, it is honored and grows in number,  
but among those who are harmed, it does  
not even appear in their dreams. The  
boldest people dare to stretch out a finger,  
while the very fearful run away with their  
children.

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. Greece, however, should not be  
accused of being barren and unproductive;  
for even here, the depths of the earth are  
rich. If the land of the barbarians differs in  
its abundance of food, it has more to eat but  
provides less for those who are fed.  
Because of this, Greece alone truly  
produces humans, with a heavenly plant  
and divine growth, leading to well-formed  
knowledge. The reason for this is that the  
thinness of the air sharpens the mind.

8.14.67 | For this reason, Heraclitus says,  
"Dry light is the wisest and best soul." One  
could also show 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  
are being overwhelmed by the thoughts

λογισμοῦ.

8.14.68 | διὸ κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ἔρνη μὲν ταῖς εὐτροφίαις 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 ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ' ἡδονὴν παρακαλούστης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γάρ ἦν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν ἐκάστῳ μέρει, φύναι 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 ἐγκρατείας ἀπαξαπάντων ἀπέχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστη ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῶν είρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί, νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἵς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στεῖλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψασι τὴν χρῆσιν ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων.

8.14.71 | εἴ δὲ καὶ ῥόδα καὶ κρόκος καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία πρὸς ὑγίειαν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν γέγονεν. ἄπλετοι γάρ τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὄσμῶν ὀφελοῦσιν, εύωδίας πάντας

that come to them.

8.14.68 | For this reason, in the land of the barbarians, there are rich crops and very tall plants, but it produces the least understanding among the irrational animals. This is because the rising air has been overwhelmed 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 serious 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 push humans, who are the closest to wisdom, to seek enjoyment, as they can 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 believe that the wildness mentioned above is natural, teachers, wise individuals, and lawmakers have been established in the cities. They aim to limit the excess of desires, not allowing everyone to use everything without restraint.

8.14.71 | If roses, saffron, and other types of flowers exist for health, they are not meant for pleasure. Their powers are plentiful, and on their own, through their scents, they benefit everyone by filling

άναπιμπλᾶσαι, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ιατρικαῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων. ἔνια γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς ἐσυτῶν δυνάμεις ἀριδηλοτέρας παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζῷου γένεσιν ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ἴδιᾳ ἐκατέρου μὴ πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἄμφω συνελθόντα.

them with sweet fragrances. This is especially true in the medicinal mixtures of remedies. For some, when their own powers are combined, they provide clearer effects, just as the mixing of male and female in the generation of animals creates something that neither can produce alone when both come together.

8.14.72 | ταῦτ' ἀναγκαίως λέλεκται πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ διαπορηθέντων, ἵκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα τοῖς μὴ φιλονείκως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.  
"

8.14.72 | These things have been said out of necessity regarding the other matters you have asked about, to provide enough confidence for those who do not argue about the divine care of human affairs.

8.14.73 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δηλωθέντος ἐπετεμόμην ἀνδρὸς, δύμοῦ μὲν δεικνὺς οἶοι καὶ κατὰ τὸν νέους γεγόνασιν Ἐβραίων παῖδες, δύμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς αὐτῶν περὶ θεοῦ διαλήψεως, τά τε τῆς πρὸς τὸν προπάτορας ὁμοφωνίας ἐμφανῆ καθιστάς. ἥδη δ' ἐντεῦθεν μεταβῆναι καιρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μαρτυρίας.

8.14.73 | So, I have taken these things from what has been said about a man, showing how the children of the Hebrews have become like this among the young. I have also highlighted 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 these same matters.

## Book Nine (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΤΟΝ)

### 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 βίῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῖς

9.1.1 | And regarding the acceptance of the writings from the Hebrews, we examine them with careful thought and judgment. Since the proofs are clear, it is time to recognize that the Greeks, especially those who are most knowledgeable about the Hebrews, are not unaware of these matters. Some have confirmed the truth through the

φερομέναις ιστορικαῖς διηγήσεσιν  
άλήθειαν ἐπεμαρτύρησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς  
δογματικῆς ὄμοίως αὐτοῖς ἔφήψαντο  
θεολογίας.

historical accounts they have received,  
while others have also followed their  
theology in a similar way.

9.1.2 | πρῶτα δὲ τὰ πρῶτα παραθήσομαι,  
δεικνὺς ὅσοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων  
έπ' ὄνόματος Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἐβραίων τῆς  
τε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀδκουμένης  
φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν τῶν  
προπατόρων ιστορίας ἐμνημόνευσαν.

9.1.2 | First, I will present the basics,  
showing how many of the Greek writers  
mentioned the Jews and Hebrews, along  
with their ancient philosophy and the  
history of their ancestors.

9.1.3 | ἄρξεται δέ μοι δὲ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν βίου, ὡς ἀν̄ μάθοις ὅτι μὴ ἐκτὸς  
σώφρονος λογισμοῦ τὴν τῶν δηλουμένων  
φιλοσοφίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
προτετιμήκαμεν.

9.1.3 | But my discussion will begin with  
the lives of men, so that you may  
understand that we have valued the  
philosophy of the Greeks, which is clearly  
shown through sound reasoning.

9.1.4 | ἀκόλουθα γοῦν τοῖς  
προεξητασμένοις ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου  
συγγράμματι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡθικῆς αὐτοῖς  
ἐπιτελεῖσθαι συνασκήσεως, οὐ μόνον αἱ  
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ'  
Ἐλλησι φιλοσόφων οἱ μάλιστα διαφανεῖς  
καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς βεβοημένοι μαρτυροῦσι. καὶ  
δὴ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰ Θεοφράστου ἐν  
τοῖς Πορφυρίῳ γραφεῖσι Περὶ τῆς τῶν  
ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς κείμενα τοῦτον τὸν  
τρόπον

9.1.4 | Therefore, following what has been  
explained in the previous writing, both the  
sacred books among them and the works of  
Greek philosophers, which are very clear  
and have been confirmed by us, show that  
they also practice moral training. Indeed,  
take a moment to read the writings of  
Theophrastus in the texts of Porphyry  
about the separation of living beings, in this  
manner.

## Section 2

9.2.1 | "Καίτοι Σύρων μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὴν  
ἔξ ἀρχῆς χῆς θυσίαν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶν ὁ  
Θεόφραστος, ξωθιστούντων, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
ἡμᾶς τρόπον τις κελεύοι θύειν,  
ἀποσταίμεν ἀν τῆς πράξεως. οὐ γὰρ  
ἐστιώμεείν, νοὶ τῶν τυθέντων,

9.2.1 | And yet, Theophrastus says that the  
Jews, because of 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 those  
who are being sacrificed do not eat, but

όλοκαυτοῦντες δὲ ταῦτα νυκτὸς, καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν πολὺ μέλι καὶ οἶνον λείβοντες, ἀνήλισκον λισκον τὴν θυσίαν θᾶττον, ἔνα τοῦ δεινοῦ μηδ’ ὁ πανόπτης γένοιτο θεατής.

they burn these offerings at night, pouring 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 ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων ἡμέρας· κατὰ δὲ πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἅτε φιλόσοφοι τὸ γένος ὄντες, περὶ τοῦ θείου μὲν ἀλλήλοις λαλοῦσι, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν ἀστρων ποιοῦνται τὴν θεωρίαν, βλέποντες εἰς αὐτὰ, καὶ διὰ τῶν εύχῶν θεοκλυτοῦντες. κατήρξαντο γάρ οὗτοι πρῶτοι τῶν τε λοιπῶν ζώων καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ οὐκ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦτο πράξαντες.’

9.2.2 | And they do this while fasting on the days in between. During 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 all living beings, 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 ἴστορεῖ ὁ Πορφύριος Εἰδί τοίνυν οἱ Ἐσσαῖοι Ίουδαῖοι μὲν τὸ γένος, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον.

9.3.1 | And in the fourth part of the same discussion, Porphyry tells us about them. Therefore, the Essenes are Jews by birth, 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 ὑπεροψίᾳ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλοτρίους παῖδας ἐκλαμβάνοντες ἀπαλούς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα συγγενεῖς ἥγοῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσιν ἐαυτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, τὸν μὲν γάμον καὶ τὴν ἔξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι· καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου καὶ θαυμάσιον παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωνικὸν, οὐδ’ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν κτήσει τινὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα.

9.3.2 | They turn away from pleasures as if they were bad, but they see 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 are careful about the immoral behavior of women. They despise wealth and find their community life remarkable, and there is nothing among them that stands out in terms of possessions.

9.3.3 | νόμος γάρ τοὺς είς τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι τὴν ούσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἅπασι μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μήθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δὲ ἐκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμιγμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῖς ἅπασιν ούσίαν εἶναι.

9.3.4 | ιηλῖδα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοῦλαιον, κἄν ἀλειφθῇ τις ἄκων, σμῆχεται τὸ σῶμα· τὸ γάρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται, λευχειμονεῖν τε διὰ παντός.

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 αἰρετισταῖς ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις· καὶ οἱ πρῶτον ίδόντες εἰσίασιν ὡς πρὸς συνήθεις· διὸ οὐδὲν ἐπικομιζόμενοι ἀποδημοῦσιν ἀναλωμάτων ἔνεκα.

9.3.6 | οὕτε δὲ ἐσθῆτα οὕτε ὑποδήματα ἀμείβουσι, πρὶν διαρραγῆναι πρότερον παντάπασιν, ἢ δαπανηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ. οὔδ' ἀγοράζουσί τι, ούδὲ πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρήζοντι διδοὺς ἔκαστος τὰ παρ' ἐαυτῷ τὸ παρ' ἔκείνου χρήσιμον ἀντικομίξεται· καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀκώλυτος ἡ μετάληψις αὐτοῖς παρ' ὃν ἂν ἔθέλωσι.”

9.3.7 | “Πρός γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον ίδίως

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 everything neither the shame of poverty nor the pride of wealth is seen. The belongings of each person are mixed together, creating one shared property as if they were all brothers.

9.3.4 | They see oil as a stain, and even if someone is anointed against their will, their body becomes unclean. They believe that being moist is a bad thing, and they always try to avoid being pale.

9.3.5 | The elected leaders of the community take care of everyone's needs, and they work together without division. There is not just one city for them; instead, many people live in each place, and newcomers are welcomed as guests. When they first arrive, they are treated as if they are among friends. Because of this, they do not bring anything with them when they travel, as they do not need to spend money.

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 or sell anything; instead, each person gives what they have to those in need and receives what they need in return. Without any exchange, they share freely with anyone they choose.

9.3.7 | They show great respect for the

εύσεβεῖς. πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων,, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εύχας ὕσπερ ίκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἃς ἔκαστοι τέχνας ἵσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ἀφεῖνται, καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας ἔργασάμενοι συντόνως, ἔπειτα πάλιν εἰς ἐν ἀθροίζονται χωρίον, ζωσάμενοί τε δικεπάσμαδιν οὕτως ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασι· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγνείαν εἰς ἴδιον οἴκημα συνιάσιν, 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 ὁ μὲν σιτοποιὸς ἐν τάξει παρατίθησιν ἄρτους, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἐν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐδέσματος ἐκάστῳ. προκατεύχεται δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, ἀγνῆς οὕσης καὶ καθαρὰς, καὶ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον· ἀριστοποιησαμένοις δὲ ἐπεύχεται πάλιν, ἀρχόμενοί τε καὶ παυόμενοι γεραίρουσι τὸν θεόν.

9.3.9 | ἔπειθ' ὡς ἱερὰς καταθέμενοι τὰς ἐσθῆτας πάλιν ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπονται μέχρι δείλης. δειπνοῦσι δ' ὑποστρέψαντες στρέψαντες ὅμοίως, συγκαθεζομένων τῶν ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν αὐτοῖς παρόντες.

9.3.10 | οὕτε δὲ κραυγή ποτε τὸν οἶκον οὔτε θόρυβος μιαίνει· τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριον τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν ἔνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίνεται. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ἡ διηνεκής νῆψις καὶ τὸ μετρεῖσθαι

divine. Before they can look at the sun, they do not say anything unholy, but they offer prayers to it as if they are begging for it to rise. After this, each person is allowed to practice their skills 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 outsiders are 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 no one is 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 setting aside their sacred garments, they return to work until evening. When they come back to dine, they sit down together in the same way, and the guests join them if they happen to be present.

9.3.10 | Neither shouting nor noise ever pollutes the house. They allow their conversations to flow in an orderly manner, and the silence inside seems like a frightening mystery to those outside. The reason for this is their constant sobriety

παρ' αύτοῖς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν μέχρι κόρου."

9.3.11 | Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν οὐκ εύθὺς ἡ πάροδος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν 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 ἄγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει,

9.3.12 | παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς συμβιώσεις οὐδέπω· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσι τὸ ἥθος δοκιμάζεται, καὶ φανεῖς ἄξιος, οὕτως εἰς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐγκρίνεται.

9.3.13 | πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἄψασθαι τροφῆς, ὅρκους αύτοῖς ὅμνυσι φρικώδεις· πρῶτον μὲν εὔσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπειτα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν, καὶ μήτε κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτ' ἔξ ἐριτάυματος, 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. κāν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, μηδεπώποτε ἔχυβρίσαι εἰς τὴν ἔχουσίαν, μηδὲ ἐσθῆτι, ἢ τινὶ πλέονι κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι· τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι· χεῖρας κιλοπῆς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαρὰν φυλάξειν, καὶ μήτε κρύψειν τι τοὺς αἱρετιστὰς μήθ' ἐτέροις αὐτῶν τι μηνύσειν, κāν μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται.

and the way they measure their food and drink until they are full.

9.3.11 | For those who desire this way of life, the path is not immediate. Instead, they stay outside for a year, following the same diet, and they receive a knife, a belt, and a white garment. When they show self-control during this time, they are allowed to approach the diet more closely and receive purer water for their cleanliness.

9.3.12 | They are not yet accepted into the community. After showing endurance, their character is tested for two more years. 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. First, they will honor the divine, then they will keep justice towards people, and they will not harm anyone, either intentionally or accidentally. 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. 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 αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὄνόματα.

9.3.15 | τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ὅρκοι· οἵ δὲ ἀλόντες καὶ ἐκβληθέντες κακῷ μόρῳ φθείρονται. τοῖς γάρ ὅρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένοι οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύ νανται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγοῦντες δὲ καὶ λιμῷ διαφθειρόμενοι ἀπόλλυνται.

9.3.16 | διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀνάγκαις ἀνέλαβον, ἵκανὴν τιμωρίαν δεδωκέναι νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον.”

9.3.17 | “Τὴν δὲ σκαλίδα διδόασι τοῖς μέλλουσιν αἰρετισταῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄλλως οὐ θακεύουσιν ἢ βόθρον ὄρυξαντες εἰς βάθος ποδιαῖον, περικαλύψαντες θοίματίω, ὡς μὴ ταῖς αύγαῖς ἐνυβρίζειν τοῦ θεοῦ.

9.3.18 | τοσαύτη δ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἡ λιτότης ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ ἡ ὀλιγότης ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐβδομάδι μὴ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως, ἦν τηρεῖν εἰώθασιν εἰς ὑμνους τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν.

9.3.19 | ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ταύτης τοσαύτην πεποίηνται καρτερίαν, ὡς

9.3.14 | In addition to these, they swear not to share any of the teachings with anyone else, except as they received them. They will reject theft and will protect both the books of their group and the names of the angels.

9.3.15 | Such are the oaths. But those who are caught and expelled in a bad way are destroyed. Those bound by the oaths and the rules cannot partake of the food shared with others. By eating poorly and being consumed by hunger, they perish.

9.3.16 | Therefore, having shown mercy to many in their greatest needs, they believed they had given enough punishment for the wrongdoings, which was a torment until death.

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 and covering it with cloth, so that it does not offend the rays of the god.

9.3.18 | Such is their simplicity regarding their diet and their frugality that, on the seventh day, they do not fear being empty. They are used to keeping this time for hymns to the god and for rest.

9.3.19 | From this practice, they have gained such strength that, even when

στρεβλούμενοι μένοι καὶ λυγιζόμενοι καὶ καόμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὀδεύοντες τῶν βασανιστηρίων ὄργάνων, ἵν' ἡ βλασφημήσωσι τὸν νομοθέτην, ἢ φάγωσί τι τῶν ἀσυνήσυδέτερον οὐδέτερον ὑπομένειν.

9.3.20 | διέδειξαν δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ πρὸς ρωμαίους πολέμῳ. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαι τοὺς αἰκιζομένους, ἢ δακρῦσαι ὑπομένουσι, μειδιῶντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι, καὶ κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους προσφερόντων, εὕθυμοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἥφιεσαν, ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἢ 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, ὥμη φυσικῇ κατασρωμένας, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷον δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι.

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 ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι· σπάνιον δὲ, εἴ ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσι.

9.3.22 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος, ἐκ παλαιῶν, ὡς είκοδς, ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῇ τῶν δηλουμένων ἀνδρῶν εύσεβείᾳ τε δόμοῦ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν σπουδασθέντων αὐτῷ Περὶ τῆς τῶν

twisted, bent, and burned, and facing all kinds of torture, they either blaspheme the lawgiver or endure eating something that is neither familiar nor acceptable.

9.3.20 | They demonstrated this during the war against the Romans. They do not flatter those who are being tortured, nor do they shed tears while enduring their pain. Instead, they smile through their suffering and mock those who inflict the tortures. They freely let their souls go, as if they were being taken up again. This glory is strong among them: their bodies are perishable, and their material is not lasting, but their souls remain immortal forever. When they are released from the bonds of the flesh, as if freed from long slavery, they rejoice and are carried away.

9.3.21 | From such a way of life and their practice of truth and piety, many among them, who can foresee what is to come, are rooted in sacred books, various forms of purity, and the sayings of prophets. It is rare for them to miss the mark in their predictions.

9.3.22 | Porphyry testified about these things in the fourth book of his studies, likely based on ancient writings. He spoke of the piety and philosophy of the revealed men concerning the separation of living

έμψυχων 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 Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόλις ὄχυρὰ, 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 ᾗ 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 ὀλκήν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων φῶς ἔστιν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας. ἄγαλμα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὔδ' ἀνάθημα τοπαράπαν, ούδε φύτευμα παντελῶς, ούδὲ οἶον ἀλσῶδες, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον.

9.4.5 | διατρίβουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς

beings.

9.4.1 | Hecataeus of Abdera, a philosopher skilled in his actions, wrote a special book on the history of the Jews, where he discusses many things about them. From this, what is presented here will be sufficient for now.

9.4.2 | Indeed, among the Jews, there are many strongholds throughout the land and in the villages. However, Jerusalem is a strong city, with a perimeter of fifty stadia, where about twelve myriads of people live, and they call it Jerusalem.

9.4.3 | Here, in the center of the city, there is a stone enclosure that is about five times as long as it is wide, measuring one hundred cubits across. It has double gates. Inside, there is a square altar made of gathered stones, arranged in this way: each side measures twenty cubits, and its height is twelve cubits.

9.4.4 | Next to it, there is a large building that contains an altar and a lampstand. Both are made of gold and weigh two talents. Above them, there is an everlasting light that shines both day and night. There is no statue or offering of any kind, nor any plants, or anything like a grove, or anything similar.

9.4.5 | In it, both day and night, priests

νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας Ἱερεῖς, ἀγνείας τινάς  
ἀγνεύοντες, καὶ τοπαράπαν οἶνον οὐ  
πίνοντες ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ.”

spend their time observing certain rituals  
of purity, and they do not drink any wine at  
all in the temple.

9.4.6 | Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑποβὰς ὅτι καὶ  
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεστρατεύσαντο,  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ,  
μεμαρτύρηκεν. οἵς δ' αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖν  
φησιν ὑπ' ἄνδρὸς 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 afterward, he testified  
about his successors. He claims that he  
himself met a Jewish man during the  
campaign, and I will share this. He says:

9.4.7 | “Ἐμοῦ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρυθρὰν  
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  
man named Mosomamos accompanied me  
with the other Jewish horsemen. He was a  
strong and well-built man, 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 ἐπιτιχεῖν  
ἀξιοῦντος, ἥρώτησε διὰ τί προσμένουσι·  
δείξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὸν  
ὄρνιθα, καὶ φήσαντος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ μένῃ,  
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  
watching 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 fell silent. Then he drew his bow  
and shot the bird, killing it.

9.4.9 | ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καὶ  
τινῶν ἄλλων καὶ καταρωμένων αὐτῷ, Τί  
μαίνεσθε, ἔφη, κακαδαίμονες; εἴτα τὸν  
ὄρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, Πῶς γὰρ  
οὗτος, ἔφη, τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν οὐ  
προιδὼν, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πορείας ἡμῖν

9.4.9 | When the seer and some others  
became angry and cursed him, he said,  
“Why are you so upset, you unlucky ones?”  
Then, taking the bird in his hands, he  
added, “How could this one, not knowing  
his own safety, announce anything good

άν τι ύγιες ἀνήγγειλεν; εί γάρ ήδύνατο προγινώσκειν τὸ μέλλον, εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὐκ ἀν ἥλθε, φοβούμενος μὴ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ Μοσόμαμος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐκαταῖος.

## Section 5

9.5.1 | "Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ὕπνου 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· δόσα δὲ ἔχει τῶν ἑκείνου θαυμασιότητά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὅμοίως διελθεῖν οὐ χεῖρον. Σαφῶς δ' ἴσθι, εἶπεν, Ὑπεροχίδη, θαυμαστὸν ὄνειροις ἵσα σοι δόξω λέγειν.

9.5.3 | καὶ ὁ Ὑρεσοχίδης εὐλαβούμενος, Δι' αὐτὸ γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ ζητοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντες.

9.5.4 | Οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, κατὰ τὸ τῶν ῥητορικῶν παράγγελμα, γένος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διέλθωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπειθῶμεν τοῖς τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν διδασκάλοις.

9.5.5 | Λέγε, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης, οὕτως εἴ δοκεῖ.

about our journey? If he could foresee the future, he wouldn't 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, shares a certain account about the Jews with Aristotle the philosopher, writing something like this:

9.5.2 | "But it would take a long time to talk about many things. However, it is not worse to discuss some of the wonders and philosophy of those people. Clearly understand this," he said, "Hyperochides, I think it is wonderful to speak to you about dreams."

9.5.3 | And Hyperochides, being careful, said, "For this reason, we all want to hear this."

9.5.4 | "Well then," said Aristotle, "following the guidance of the rhetoricians, let us first discuss his type, so that we do not go against the teachers of rhetoric."

9.5.5 | "Speak," said Hyperochides, "if that seems right."

9.5.6 | Κεῖνος τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ίουδαῖος, ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας, οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσόφων· καλοῦνται δὲ, ὡς φασιν, οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς Καλανοί, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις Ίουδαῖοι, τοῦνομα λαβόντες ἄπο του τόπου. προσαγορεύεται γάρ ὁν κατοικοῦσι τόπον Ἰουδαία· τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἔστιν, Ἱερουσαλὴμ γάρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν.

9.5.7 | οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἀνθρωπος ἐπιξενούμενός τε πολλοῖς κάκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων εἰς τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ύποκαταβαίνων Ἐλληνικὸς ἦν οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τότε διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, παραβαλῶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἀνθρωπος, 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.

## Section 6

9.6.1 | Τούτου δὲ μνημονεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος Κλήμης μὴς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Στρωματεῖ, δι' ὃν ταῦτά φησι

9.6.2 | Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς εἰδέναι φησί τινα Ἰουδαῖον, ὃς Ἀριστοτέλει συνεγένετο." Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει

9.6.3 | "Νουμᾶς δὲ ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Πυθαγόρειος μὲν ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Μώσεως ὀφεληθεὶς διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ

9.5.6 | That person, then, was a Jew from Coele-Syria; these are descendants of the philosophers from India. They are called, as they say, the philosophers: among the Indians, Kalanoi, and among the Syrians, Jews, taking their name from that place. They are called Jews because they live in a region known as Judea; however, the name of their city is quite unusual, for they call it Jerusalem.

9.5.7 | This man, then, was Greek, not only in language but also in spirit, as he often visited many and came down from the higher regions to the coastal areas. While we were discussing Asia, a man approached us in those same places, meeting with us and some other scholars, trying to learn from their wisdom. Since he was acquainted with many in education, he shared more of what he knew. These things also came from Clearchus.

9.6.1 | Our Clement also mentions this man in the first Stromateis, where he speaks of these matters.

9.6.2 | "Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a certain Jew who was a contemporary of Aristotle." He also adds other remarks.

9.6.3 | Numas, the king of the Romans, was a Pythagorean. With the help of the teachings of Moses, he stopped the Romans

ζωόμορφον είκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίους κτίζειν.

from creating images of God that looked like humans or animals.

9.6.4 | ἐν γοῦν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς οἰκοδομούμενοι ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν οὔτε πλαστὸν οὔτε 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 ὑποβάς τάδε φησί

9.6.4 | In the first one hundred and seventy years, they built no temples, nor statues or paintings. Numas showed them, through secrecy, that it was not possible to express the best with words, but only with the mind. Furthermore, after this, he says the following.

9.6.5 | "Φανερώτατα δὲ Μεγασθενής 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 δὲ 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 Philometer, word for word: Plato was influenced by our laws, and it is clear that he carefully examined 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 Αἴγυπτου ἔξαγωγὴν τῶν Ἐβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας,

9.6.7 | It is explained by others before Demetrius, before the rule of Alexander and the Persians, about the departure of our citizens, the Hebrews, from Egypt, the appearance of all the events to them, the control of the land, and the explanation of

καὶ τῆς ὥλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις.

the whole law.

9.6.8 | ὥστε εὖδηλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά γέγονε γὰρ πολυμαθής· καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετεωρέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν.

9.6.8 | Therefore, it is clear that the philosopher mentioned has learned many things; for he has become very knowledgeable, just as Pythagoras took many ideas from us into his own teachings.

9.6.9 | Νουμήνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς φιλόσοφος ἀντικρυς γράφει· τί γάρ ἔστι Πλάτων' ἢ Μώσης ἀττικίζων; Ταῦτα ὁ Κλήμης,

9.6.9 | Numenius the Pythagorean philosopher writes directly: "What is Plato or Moses saying in Attic?" This is what Clement says.

## Section 7

9.7.1 | Καὶ αύτοῦ 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 εὐδοκιμοῦντα, προσφερόμενον αὐτῶν τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ δόγματα, τάς τε ἰδρύσεις συντελουμένας Πλάτωνι διμολογουμένως, δόποσας Βσαχμᾶνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Μάγοι καὶ Αἴγυπτοι διέθεντο Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶνδε.

9.7.1 | From the first book 'On the Good' by the Pythagorean philosopher, I, speaking of Numenius, will present the following: "In this, it will be necessary to say and point out that the testimonies of Plato should be set aside and connected with the words of Pythagoras. The honored nations should be called upon to offer their rituals and teachings, with the foundations being completed according to Plato, as many as the Bactrians, Jews, Magi, and Egyptians have passed down." This is what I have to say about these matters.

## Section 8

9.8.1 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ βίβλῳ Μώσεως ὁ αὐτὸς τάδε λέγων μνημονεύει "Τὰ δ' ἔξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἴγυπτοι ιερογραμματεῖς, ἄνδρες οὐδενὸς ἡττούς μαγεῦσαι κριθέντες εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων

9.8.1 | And in the third book of Moses, the same one says the following: "And after this, the Egyptian scribes, Jannes and Jambres, who were men judged to be no less than magicians, opposed the Jews as

έξελαυνομένων ἐξ Αίγυπτου.

9.8.2 | Μουσαίῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳν  
έξηγησαμένῳ, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ θεῷ  
εὕξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ, οἱ παραστῆναι  
ἀξιωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τῶν Αἴγυ-  
ττίων οὗτοι ἥσαν, τῶν τε συμφορῶν ἃς ὁ  
Μουσαῖος ἐπῆγε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, τὰς  
νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν  
δυνατοί.'

9.8.3 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ὁ Νουμήνιος καὶ τοῖς  
ὑπὸ Μώσεως ἐπιελῆ-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  
οὗτως τῶν δ' ὅπιθεν διέβαινε γένος  
θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι, γλῶσσαν μὲν  
Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες, ωκουν  
δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι, πλατέῃ παρὰ  
λίμνη, αὐχμαλέοι κεφαλὰς, τροχοκουράδες·  
αὐτάρ ὑπερθεντίππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπον  
έφρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

9.9.2 | δῆλον δ' ἔστιν ὅτι περὶ Ἰουδαίων  
αὐτῷ ταῦτ' εἴρητο ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὰ  
Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ἐλλησι Σολύμοις  
ὄνομαζομένοις ὄρεσι κεῖσθαι, πλησίον δὲ  
εἶναι τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, πλατυτάτην  
οὖσαν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ μείζονα  
πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λιμνῶν." Ταῦτα μὲν

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 as strong enough to handle 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 remarkable 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 remarkable race to be seen, speaking a Phoenician language, and they lived in the mountains of Solyma, wide by a lake, with heads captured, like wheels." 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 Lake Asphaltitis is nearby, being the widest and largest of all the lakes in Syria, according to the poet. These are indeed the things he

οῦν καὶ οὗτος.

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 cry out for understanding among the Hebrews.

9.10.2 | λέγει δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων δι' οὗ ἐκτίθεται χρησμοῦ τάδε. ἐκκειμένων δὲ ἔτι περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπάγει, οἵς προσέχειν δεῖ, ἅτε μεστοῖς οὖσι πάσης θεοσοφίας αἴπεινή μὲν ὀδὸς μακάρων, τρηχεῖά τε πολλὸν, χαλκοδέτοις τὰ πρῶτα διοιγομένη πυλεῶσιν ἀτραπιτοὶ δὲ ἔασιν ἀθέσφατοι ἐγγεγαυῖαι, ἃς πρῶτοι μερόπων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πρῆξιν ἔφηνανοι τὸ καλὸν πίνοντες ὕδωρ Νειλώτιδος αἴης· πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὀδοὺς μακάρων ἐδάησαν, Ἀσσύριοι Λυδοί τε καὶ Ἑβραίων γένος ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα. οἵς 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,’ along with what follows from these things, which the author chooses.”

9.10.3 | “Χαλκόδετος γὰρ ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁδὸς, αἴπεινή τε καὶ τραχεῖα, ἃς πολλὰς ἀτραποὺς βάρβαροι μὲν ἔξευρον, Ἔλληνες δὲ ἐπλανήθησαν, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες ἥδη καὶ διέφθειραν. τὴν δὲ εὑρεσιν Αἴγυπτοις ὁ θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις, Ἀσσύριοι γὰρ οὗτοι) Λυδοῖς τε καὶ Ἑβραίοις.

9.10.3 | For the path to the gods is made of bronze, both high and rough. Many paths have been found by the barbarians, while the Greeks have wandered off, and those in power have already destroyed them. The god testified to this 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 σοφίαν λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ

9.10.4 | Moreover, in another prophecy, Apollo says, “Only the Chaldeans have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews,

Ἐβραῖοι, αύτογένεθλον ἄνακτα  
σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς.

9.10.5 | καὶ πάλιν ἔρωτηθεὶς, τίνι λόγῳ  
πολλοὺς λέγουσιν οὐρανοὺς, ἔχρησε τάδε  
εἰς ἐν παντὶ πέλει κόσμου κύκλος, ἀλλὰ σὺν  
ἐπτάζωναισιν πεφόρηται εἰς ἀστερόεντα  
κέλευθα, ἃς δὴ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι  
βρατοιούρανίας ὄνόμηναν, ἐς ἐβδόματον  
δρόμον ἔρπειν.

9.10.6 | Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἱουδαίων 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  
ἱστορήσαντος, καὶ ὡς ὁ παρ' Ἐβραίοις  
ὄνομαζόμενος Νῶε ἐν λάρνακι ξύλου  
πεποιημένῃ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων  
διασέσωσται, Βηρωσσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος, καὶ  
Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἴγυπτιος, Νικόλαος τε  
Δαμασκηνὸς ἴστορικοὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὅπως  
τῶν αὐτῶν ἔμνημόνευσαν, Ἰώσηπος ἐν τῇ  
πρώτῃ τῆς Αρχαιολογίας τοῦτον  
παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον

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 answered,  
“In the whole universe, there is one circle,  
but it is carried with seven zones into the  
starry paths. The Chaldeans and the famous  
Brahmins named these heavenly, as they  
move in a sevenfold course.”

9.10.6 | Now, let's talk about the names of  
the Jews and Hebrews, and their long-  
standing reputation for piety and  
philosophy. As for their ancestral history,  
let those who agree share their thoughts.

9.10.7 | Moses, in his writings about the  
whole world, recorded the flood and how  
Noah, known among the Hebrews, was  
saved in a wooden ark with his family.  
Berossus the Chaldean, Jerome the  
Egyptian, and Nicholas of Damascus, all  
historical writers, mentioned the same  
events. Josephus, in the first book of his  
Antiquities, shares this account.

## 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 γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν

9.11.1 | All those who have written about  
foreign histories remember this flood and  
the ark, including Berossus the Chaldean.  
When he describes the flood, he explains it  
like this:

οὕτω που διέξεισται.

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 pieces from it. The people mostly use what is taken from it to ease their 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 ἐνενήκοστῇ καὶ ἔκτῃ βίβλῳ Ιστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν, λέγων γῶν οὕτως.

9.11.3 | Jerome the Egyptian also remembers these events; he wrote about the ancient history of the Phoenicians, along with Manasseh and many others. Nicholas of Damascus also discusses 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 ὁκεῖλαι, 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 Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, 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 share with you these words of the man from the writing of Abydenus about the same history.

9.12.2 | "Μεθ' ὁν 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 away.

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, εἴ κου γῆν ἴδοιεν τοῦ ὑδατος ἐκδῦσαν.

9.12.3 | Seisithros, having completed these tasks, immediately sailed to Armenia, and soon he was caught by the will of 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 | αἼ δὲ ἐκδεχομένου σφέας πελάγεος ἀχανέος ἀπορέουσαι ὅκη κατορμίσονται παρὰ τὸν Σείσιθρον ὅπίσω 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 pushed 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 fortunate, for indeed the mud covered the feet of the birds. The gods were hiding him from people. The ship was in Armenia, surrounded by protective wood 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 lived a long time, the Greek writers are included as witnesses to this statement, as Josephus mentions here.

9.13.2 | “Μηδεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν ἀ ζῶμεν συμβαλὼν τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδῆ

9.13.2 | Let no one, when comparing our present life and the shortness of the years we live, think that what is said about the

νομιζέτω τὰ περὶ ἑκείνων λεγόμενα, τῷ μηδὲ νῦν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμαιρόμενος μηδ' ἑκείνους εἰς ἑκεῖνο τὸ μῆκος τῆς ζωῆς ἀφῆθαι.

9.13.3 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες, καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειοτέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὕσας, εἰχότως ἔζων πλήθος τοσούτων ἔτῶν.

9.13.4 | ἔπειτα καὶ δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ δι’ εὔχρηστίαν ὃν ἐπενόουν, ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας, εἰς πλείονα ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἀπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν ἔξακοσίους ἑνιαυτούς· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὁ μέγας ἑνιαυτὸς 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 Χαλδαιικὰ συναγαγὼν καὶ Μόλος καὶ Ἐστιαῖος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἴγυπτιος Ἱερώνυμος, οἵ τε τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι, συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις· Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἔφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἴστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἔτη χίλια. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς ἀν ἐκάστοις ἥ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν.”

## Section 14

9.14.1 | Πάλιν Μωσέως περὶ τῆς τοῦ

ancients is false. No one today can extend life to that extent, nor could those people reach such a long life.

9.13.3 | For those who are beloved by the gods and created by the god himself, and because their food was suitable for a longer time, they lived many years with ease.

9.13.4 | Then, because of their virtue and usefulness, which they practiced in astrology and geometry, the god allowed them to live longer. However, it was not certain that they would not live for six hundred years; for because of these things, the great year is completed.

9.13.5 | All those who have written about ancient history, both among the Greeks and non-Greeks, support my words. Manetho, who recorded the history of the Egyptians, Berossus, who collected the Chaldean writings, and Molos and Hestiaeus, along with the Egyptian Hieronymus, who wrote about the Phoenicians, all agree with what I say. Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, along with Ephorus and Nicolaus, also mention that the ancients lived for a thousand years. Therefore, let each person consider these things as they wish.

9.14.1 | Again, regarding the construction

πύργου κατασκευῆς καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς  
γλώττης εἰς πολλὰς συνεχύθησαν θησαν  
διαλέκτους ἴστορήσαντος, ἐν τῇ λεχθείσῃ  
Περὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραφῇ ὡς μικρῷ  
πρόσθεν δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς τὰ ὅμοια  
μαρτυρεῖ λέγων ὡδε

of the tower and how many languages mixed into different dialects from one original language, the writer who discussed the Assyrians shortly before confirms this, saying:

9.14.2 | “Ἐντὶ δ’ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς πρώτους  
ἐκ γῆς ἀνασχόντας, ὥρμη τε καὶ μεγέθει  
χαυνωθέντας καὶ δὴ θεῶν  
καταφρονήσαντας ἀμείνονας εἶναι, τύρσιν  
ἥλιβατον ἀείρειν, ἵνα νῦν Βαβυλών ἔστιν·  
ἡδη τε ἀσσον εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τοὺς  
ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βωθέοντας ἀνατρέψαι περὶ  
αὐτοῖσι τὸ μηχάνημα· τοῦ δὴ τὰ ἑρείπια  
λέγεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα. τέως δὲ ὄντας  
δόμογλώσσους ἐκ θεῶν πολύθροον φωνὴν  
ἐνείκασθαι, μετὰ δὲ Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Τιτῆνι  
συστῆναι πόλεμον.

9.14.2 | Indeed, those who say that the first people, having risen from the earth, grew strong and great, and then despised the gods, are better off. They built a tower to reach the heavens, which is now known as 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 all spoke the same language and had a loud voice from the gods, but later, with Cronus and the Titans, they waged war.

9.14.3 | “Ο δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸν πύργον  
ῷκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλών καλεῖται, διὰ  
τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον  
πρῶτον ἐναργοῦς. Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν  
σύγχυσιν Βαβέλ καλοῦσι.”

9.14.3 | But the place where they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion surrounding the language that was once clear. For the Hebrews call this confusion Babel.

## Section 15

9.15.1 | “Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ  
τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται  
καὶ Σίβυλλα, λέγουσα οὕτως ‘πάντων  
δόμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον  
ῷκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν  
οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι’ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ  
θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιτέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν  
πύργον, καὶ ἴδιαν ἐκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν,  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι  
τὴν πόλιν.’ περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ  
λεγόμενον Σενναὰρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρᾳ

9.15.1 | About this tower and the different languages of the people, the Sibyl also speaks, 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, giving each person their own language. For this reason, the city came to be called Babylon. Additionally, regarding the plain called Shinar in the land of Babylon, Hestiaeus mentions that the surviving

μνημονεύει Ἐστιαῖος, λέγων οὕτως “τῶν ιερέων τοὺς διασωθέντας, τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου Δῆός ιερώματα λαβόντας, εἰς Σενναάρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐλθεῖν· σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὁμογλωσίας, τὰς συνοικίας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἔκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοῦσαν.”

## Section 16

9.16.1 | πάλιν Μώσεως τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἐβραίων προπάτορα Ἀβραάμ ἱστορίαν εἰς πλάτος ἐκθεμένου, μαρτυρεῖν τυρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἱστορικοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος λέγει διὰ τούτων

9.16.2 | “Μνημονεύει δὲ ἡμῶν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀβραάμου Βηρωσσὸς, οὐκ ὄνομάζων, λέγων δὲ οὕτως οατρὸς μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος.”

9.16.3 | Ἐκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθῆναι πλεῖόν τι πεποίβιβος ἥκει βιβλίον γάρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέλιπε. λιπε.

9.16.4 | Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως “Ἀβραάμης ἐβασίλευε Δαμάσκου, ἔπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος, Χαλδαίων λεγομένης. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἔχαναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώσυν ρας, σὺν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν λεγομένην, νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν μετώκησε, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες, περὶ ὃν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ

priests, after taking the sacred items of Enyalius (the god of war), went to Shinar in Babylon. From there, they scattered because of the different languages, creating communities everywhere, and each person took the land they encountered.

9.16.1 | Again, Moses tells the story of the Hebrew ancestor Abraham in detail. Josephus also says that he can confirm this and the accounts of other historians.

9.16.2 | Beeros mentions our father Abraham, though he does not name him. He says that after the flood, there was a righteous and great man among the Chaldeans in the tenth generation, who was knowledgeable about heavenly matters.

9.16.3 | Hecataeus is also very sure that he should be mentioned more. He wrote a book about him and left it behind.

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, known as Chaldea. After a short time, he left that place and, with his own people, moved into what was then called Canaan, now called Judea. Those who came from him grew in number, and I will tell more about them in another account.”

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 διαιρειν 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.”

9.16.5 | The name of Abraham is still honored in Damascus, and there is a village 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 share with them, enjoying their abundance and listening to their priests, who spoke about the gods. He thought it better to either follow those who were found to be superior or to guide them toward what is better, believing himself to be wiser.

9.16.6 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Καὶ συνῆν Αίγυπτίων τοῖς λογιωτάτοις, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιθανεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

9.16.6 | Then he adds, “He associated with the most learned Egyptians, and from this, both his virtue and his reputation became even more remarkable.”

9.16.7 | τῶν γὰρ Αίγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων ἔθεσι, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις ἐκφαυλιζόντων νόμιμα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἔχόντων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, συμβαλῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις, καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἴδιων, κενοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔχοντας ἀπέφαινε.

9.16.7 | For the Egyptians, who were pleased with different customs and criticized each other's laws, were unfriendly toward one another. By engaging with each of them and examining the things they said about their own matters, he showed that their words were empty and lacked truth.

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 παραδίωσι. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβραάμου παρουσίας Αίγυπτιοι τούτων εῖχον ἀμαθῶς. ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐφοίτησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, δθεν ἥλθε

9.16.8 | “Therefore, being admired by them in their gatherings as the wisest, and being a remarkable man not only for his understanding but also for his ability to persuade by speaking about whatever he attempted to teach, he offered them arithmetic and shared knowledge about astrology. Before Abraham's arrival, the Egyptians were ignorant of these subjects.

καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ’ Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

These teachings came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, from where he also brought them 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 this is Polyhistor Alexander, who was a very learned man and well-known among the Greeks for his knowledge gained through education. In his work, 'On the Jews,' he recounts the story of 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 constructed the tower that is being described.

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, ἦν 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 refer to as the city of Ur; it is translated as a city of the Chaldeans. In the thirteenth generation, Abraham was born, surpassing everyone in nobility and wisdom. He was the one who discovered astrology and Chaldean knowledge, and he was motivated by his devotion 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 ways 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 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 food from the young men to give back to the captives. He was also welcomed by a city called Aryarix, which is translated as “the mountain of the Most High.”

9.17.6 | παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Μελχισεδὲκ 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 entire household and settled there. He also allowed the king of the Egyptians to marry his wife, saying 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 explained further that he could not be with her as a relative and 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 understood that she was Abraham's wife and returned her to her husband.

9.17.8 | συζήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν Ἡλιούπολει τοῖς Αἴγυπτίων ἱερεῦσι 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 εὕρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὑρηκέναι πρῶτον τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἴγυπτίους.

discovered these things and traced the discovery back to Enoch, saying that he was the first to find astrology, not the Egyptians.

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.”

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, whom 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 the angels of god, and in this way, we also come to know.

## Section 18

9.18.1 | “Ἄρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ίουδαιοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ίουδαίους ὄνομάζεσθαι Ἐρμιοὺθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν Ίουδαῖοι· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἐβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου. τοῦτον δέ φησι πανοικίᾳ ἔλθειν 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 εὔδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας.

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 because of Abraham. He says that he came to Egypt with his whole family to the Egyptian king Pharao and 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 prosperity of the land.

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,

9.18.2 | In the unowned writings, we find that Abraham spoke of the giants, who lived in Babylon and were destroyed by the gods because of their wickedness. One of

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 φρησιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν περιλειφθέντα ἄνθρωπον μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἔξελαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων· 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 ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκειν· λαβόντα δὲ δύο γυναῖκας, τὴν μὲν ἐντοπίαν, συγγενῆ, τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτίαν, θεράπαιναν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αἴγυπτίας γεννῆσαι υἱὸνς ιβ', οὓς δὴ εἰς Ἀραβίαν ἀπαλλαγέντας διελέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ πρώτους βασιλεῦσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων· ὅθεν ἔως καθ' ἡμὰς δώδεκα εῖναι βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων ὄμωνύμους ἐκείνοις.

9.19.3 | ἐκ δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἵνα, ὃν Ἐλληνιστὶ Γέλωτα ὄνομασθῆναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀβραὰμ γήρα τελευτῆσαι, Γέλωτος δὲ καὶ γυναικός ἐγχωρίου υἱὸνς ἔνδεκα γενέσθαι, καὶ

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 went 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 arrived at the mountainous and deserted region of Syria.

9.19.2 | After three generations, Abraham was born, and he is understood to be a beloved son of his father. He became wise and sought out the wilderness. He took two wives: one was local and related to him, and the other was an Egyptian servant. From the Egyptian wife, he had twelve sons, who went to Arabia and settled the land, becoming the first kings of the locals. Therefore, even to this day, there are twelve kings of the Arabs who share the same name as those.

9.19.3 | From his 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. From Joseph came the

δωδέκατον Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τρίτον  
Μωσῆν.”

9.19.4 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ὁῖς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφερει λέγων Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ προστάξαι Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν δλοκαρπῶσαι αύτῷ. τὸν δὲ ἀναγαγόντα τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος πυρὰν νῆσαι καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι τὸν Ἰσαὰκ· 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 κλυτοηχὲς ὑπέρτερον ἄμματι δεσμῶν παμφαὲς πλήμμυρε, μεγαυχήτοισι λογισμοῖς, θειοφιλή θέληγητρα. λιπόντι γὰρ ἀγλαὸν ἔρκος αίνοι φύτων, ἔκκαυμα βριήπυος αἴνετὸς ἵσχων, ἀθάνατον ποίησεν ἐήν φάτιν, ἐξ ὅτ' ἐκείνου ἕκγονος αίνογόνοιο πολύμνιον ἔλλαχε κῦδος, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ὁῖς μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπιφέρει ἄρτι χερὸς θηκτοῖο ξιφηφόρον ἐντύνοντο ζλήμματι, καὶ σφαράγγιο 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 Ἀφρήν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν αύτὴν, καὶ οἱ νίωνοι

third, Moses.

9.19.4 | Polyhistor says this and adds other details. Not long after, God commanded Abraham to offer his son Isaac as a whole burnt offering. Abraham 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 took the boy off the fire and offered the ram.

9.20.1 | Philo also talks about this in the first of his works about Jerusalem. He says that a great crowd 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. 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. Shortly after, he mentions how, just as someone was about to draw a sword, he was stopped, and instead, he offered a ram with horns in his hands.

9.20.2 | These things indeed come from the previously mentioned writing of Polyhistor. Josephus also mentions in the first book of his Antiquities that it is said this man campaigned in Africa and took control of Libya. His sons, settling there, named the

αύτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔκεινου ὄνόματος μάτος Ἀφρικὰ προσηγόρευσαν.

9.20.3 | μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἄλεξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ λέγων οὕτως· Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὡς προφήτης, ὃ καὶ Μαλχάς, ἴστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μώσης ἴστόρηκεν ὡς νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκ Χεττούρας Ἀβραάμω ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί· λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὄνόλεγεται μάτα, ὄνομάζων τρεῖς, Ἀφέρ, Ἀσοὺρ, Ἀφραν.

9.20.4 | καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσούρ μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο, Ἀφρα τε καὶ Ἀφέρ, πόλιν τε Ἀφράν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικὰ ὄνομασθῆναι. τούτους δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι τεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον γῆμαντα δὲ τὴν Ἀφρά θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἶη Διόδωρον. τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σοφωνᾶν, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σοφάς λέγεσθαι.” Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις τοσαντα παρακείσθω.

## Section 21

9.21.1 | Ἀπίωμεν δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυΐστορα “Δημήτριός φησι τὸν Ἱακὼβ 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.

land after him, calling it Africa.

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 of Afran and the land called Africa. These men were said to have campaigned with Hercules in Libya, and Hercules, after marrying 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 noted briefly.

9.21.1 | Let us return again to Polyhistor. Demetrius says that Jacob, having lived for eighty-five years, fled to Harran in Mesopotamia. He was sent by his parents because of the secret hatred against his brother Esau, since their father seemed to bless Esau. This was also so that he might take a wife from there.

9.21.2 | ἀφορμῆσαι οὖν τὸν Ἰακὼβ εἰς  
Χαρρὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, τὸν μὲν πατέρα  
καταλιπόντα Ἰσαὰκ ἑτῶν ἑκατὸν  
τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ, αὐτὸν δὲ ὄντα ἑτῶν  
ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτά

9.21.3 | διατρίψαντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐπτὰ  
ἕτη λαβάν τοῦ μητρώου δύο θυγατέρας  
γῆμαι, Λείαν καὶ Ῥαχὴλ, ὄντα ἑτῶν  
όγδοηκοντα τεσσάρων· καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν  
ἐπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις αὐτῷ παιδία ιβ· ὥρδόῳ  
μὲν ἔτει μηνὶ δεκάτῳ Ἄρουβίν· καὶ τῷ ἔτει δὲ  
τῷ ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ ὥρδόῳ Συμεών· καὶ τῷ ἔτει  
δὲ τῷ δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἔκτῳ Λευίν· τῷ δὲ  
ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ τετάρτῳ Ἰούδαν. Ῥαχὴλ  
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<sup>τ</sup>  
Λείας Γάδ ὄνομασθῆναι· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου  
ἔτερον τεκεῖν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν  
προσαγορευθῆναι ὑπὸ Λείας Ἀσήρ.

9.21.4 | καὶ Λείαν πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν μήλων  
τῶν μανδραγόρου, ἢ Ἄρουβίν εἰσενεγκεῖν  
παρὰ Ῥαχὴλ, 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.

9.21.5 | καὶ πάλιν Λείαν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ  
ἔτει μηνὶ δεκάτῳ υἱὸν ἄλλον τεκεῖν, ὡς  
ὄνομα Ζαβουλῶν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ  
τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ ὥρδόῳ  
τεκεῖν υἱὸν ὄνομα Δάν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ῥαχὴλ

9.21.2 | Therefore, Jacob set out for Harran  
in Mesopotamia, leaving behind his father  
Isaac, who was one hundred thirty-seven  
years old, while Jacob himself was seventy-  
seven.

9.21.3 | After spending seven years there,  
Jacob married two daughters, Leah and  
Rachel, when he was eighty-four years old.  
During 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, who had no children,  
envied her sister and gave her maid-servant  
Bilhah to Jacob. At that time, Bilhah bore  
Naphtali in the eleventh year, in the fifth  
month. In the twelfth year, in the second  
month, she had another son, whom Leah  
named Gad. In the same year and month,  
Leah also had another son, whom she  
named Asher.

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 had a son in the  
twelfth year, in the third month. In that  
same year, in the twelfth month, Leah had  
another son, whom she named Issachar.

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

λαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ὃ καὶ Λείαν τεκεῖν θυγατέρα Δεῖναν, καὶ τεκεῖν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεγάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ ὄγδοῳ υἱὸν, ὃν ὄνομασθῆναι Ἰωσὴφ, ὡστε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ ἔτεσι τοῖς παρὰ λαβὰν δώδεκα παιδία.

9.21.6 | θέλοντα δὲ τὸν Ιακὼβ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰς Χαναὰν ἀπίεναι, ἀξιωθέντα ὑπὸ λαβὰν ἀλλα ἵτη ἔξ μεῖναι, ὡστε τὰ πάντα αὐτὸν μεῖναι ἐν Χαρρὰν παρὰ λαβὰν ἕτη εἴκοσι.

9.21.7 | πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Χαναὰν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ παλαῖσαι, καὶ ἀψασθαι 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' Ισραὴλ ὄνομασθήσεσθαι.

9.21.8 | καὶ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς Χαναὰν γῆς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν Σικίμων, ἔχοντα παιδία ῥουβὶν ἑτῶν ιβ' μηνῶν δυοῖν, Συμεῶνα ἑτῶν ία μηνῶν τεσσάρων, Λευὶν ἑτῶν δέκα μηνῶν ἔξ, Ιούσαν ἑτῶν θ' μηνῶν ὀκτώ, Νεφθαλείμ ἑτῶν ὀκτώ μηνῶν δέκα, Γὰδ ἑτῶν ὀκτώ μηνῶν δέκα, Ἀσὴρ ἑτῶν ὀκτώ, Ισσαχᾶρ ἑτῶν ὀκτώ, Ζαβουλῶν ἑτῶν ἐπτὰ μηνῶν δυοῖν, Δεῖναν ἑτῶν ἔξ μηνῶν τεσσάρων, Ἰωσὴφ ἑτῶν ἔξ μηνῶν τεσσάρων.

9.21.9 | παροικῆσαι δὲ Ισραὴλ παρὰ Ἐμμὼρ ἕτη δέκα, καὶ φθαρῆναι τὴν Ισραὴλ

became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter named Dinah. In the eighth month of the fourteenth year, she had a son named Joseph. So, during 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 on his way to Canaan, an angel of God wrestled with him and touched the socket of Jacob's hip, causing it to go out of joint. Because of this, he did not eat the tendon that is on the hip joint. The angel told 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 near Hamor for ten years. Dinah, the daughter of Israel, was

θυγατέρα Δεῖναν ὑπὸ Συχὲμ τοῦ Ἐμμώρ  
υἱοῦ, ἐτῶν οὕσαν δεκαεξ μηνῶν τεσσάρων.  
έξαλλομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἰσραὴλ υἱοὺς,  
Συμεῶνα μὲν ὄντα ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἐνὸς μηνῶν  
τεσσάρων, Λευὶν δὲ ἐτῶν εἴκοσι μηνῶν ἔξ,  
ἀποκτεῖναι τόν τε Ἐμμώρ καὶ Συχὲμ τὸν  
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρσενας διὰ  
τὴν Δεῖνας φθοράν· Ἰακὼβ δὲ τότε εἶναι  
ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἑπτά.

harmed by Shechem, the son of Hamor, and she was sixteen years and four months old. The sons of Israel were angry: Simeon was twenty-one years and four months old, and Levi was twenty-six years old. They killed both Hamor and his son Shechem, along with all the men, because of what had happened 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,  
ἄλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐλθεῖν  
εἰς Χαφραθὰ, ἐνθεν παραγενέσθαι  
εἰς Εφραθὰ, ἦν εἶναι Βηθλεὲμ, καὶ γεννῆσαι  
αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Βενιαμὶν, καὶ τελευτήσαι Ραχὴλ,  
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 Rachel gave birth to Benjamin. Rachel died while 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 ἐτῶν  
δεκαεπτὰ, καὶ πραθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς  
Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μεῖναι ἔτη  
δεκατρία, ὥστ' εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐτῶν  
τριάκοντα, Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα, ἐν  
ῷ καὶ τελευτῆσαι τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἔτει ἐνὶ<sup>τούτῳ</sup>  
ἔμπροσθεν, ἐτῶν ὄντα ἑκατὸν ὄγδοήκοντα.

9.21.11 | From there, Jacob went to Mamre, which is Hebron, to his father Isaac. At that time, Joseph was seventeen years old, and he was sold into Egypt, where he stayed in prison for thirteen years, making him thirty years old. Jacob was one hundred ten years old, and during that time, Isaac died one year earlier, at the age of one hundred eighty.

9.21.12 | κρίναντα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν  
Ἰωσὴφ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἄρξαι Αἴγυπτου ἔτη  
ἐπτὰ, ἐν οἷς καὶ συνοικῆσαι Ἀσενέθ,  
Πεντεφρὴ τοῦ Ἡλιούπολεως ἱερέως  
θυγατρὶ, καὶ γεννῆσαι Μανασσῆν καὶ  
Ἐφραϊμ· καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπιγενέσθαι ἔτη β'.

9.21.12 | When the king judged Joseph, the dreams began in Egypt and lasted for seven years. During this time, he married Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of Heliopolis, and they had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. Then a famine came that lasted for five years.

9.21.13 | τὸν δὲ Ἰωσὴφ ἔτη ἐννέα

9.21.13 | Joseph was successful for nine

εύτυχήσαντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ πέμψαι, διὰ τὸ ποιμένα αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἶναι· ἐπονείσιστον δὲ Αἴγυπτίοις εἶναι τὸ ποιμαίνειν· ὅτι δὲ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν δεδηλωκέναι. ἐλθόντων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν φάναι αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν κληθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρωτῶνται τί διαπράσσονται, λέγειν κτηνοτρόφους αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

years without sending word to his father because he was a shepherd along with his brothers. The Egyptians greatly disliked shepherds. For this reason, he did not send to let his father know. When his relatives came, they told them that if they were called by the king and asked what they did, they should 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, δσας 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 kept two for himself. This made a total of seven, the same number as the sons from Leah.

9.21.15 | ὠσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰς στολὰς δοῦναι ἐκάστω διπλᾶς, τῷ δὲ Βενιαμὶν πέντε καὶ τριακοσίους χρυσοῦς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δὲ ἀποστεῖλαι κατὰ ταύτα, ὥστε τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς εἶναι ἵσον.

9.21.15 | Likewise, he gave each of them 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 in wealth.

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 ἐξήκοντα, Ἰακὼβ ἐτῶν ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα, γίνεσθαι τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν σιέ.

9.21.16 | They lived in the land of Canaan, where Abraham was chosen from among 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. In total, they lived in the land of Canaan for one hundred sixty years.

9.21.17 | καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει λιμοῦ οὕσης ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ἰακὼβ, ὅντα ἑτῶν ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα, 'Ρουβὶν ἑτῶν μέ, Συμεῶνα ἑτῶν μδ', Λευὶν ἑτῶν μγ', Ἰούδαν ἑτῶν μβ' μηνῶν τριῶν, Ἀσὴρ ἑτῶν μ' μηνῶν ὀκτώ, Νεφθαλεὶμ ἑτῶν μὰ μηνῶν 'ζ, Γὰδ ἑτῶν μὰ μηνῶν γ', Ζαβουλῶν ἑτῶν μ', Δεῖναν ἑτῶν 'λθ', Βενιαμὶν ἑτῶν ιη.

9.21.17 | In the third year of the famine in Egypt, Jacob went to Egypt when he was 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 Ἄδαμ ἵως τοῦ είσελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ συγγενεῖς ἔτη ιγχκδ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἵως τῆς Ἰακὼβ παρουσίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἵτη ἔτη 'ἀφ' οῦ δὲ ἐκλεγῆναι γῆναι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Χαρρᾶν εἰς Χαναὰν ἔως εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς περὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐλθεῖν ἔτη σιέ.

9.21.18 | Joseph was said to be thirty years old in Egypt. From Adam to the time Joseph's relatives 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 among the nations and moved from Haran to Canaan until those around Jacob came to Egypt, there were sixty years.

9.21.19 | Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐκ Χαρρᾶν 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 Ἰακὼβ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, εὐλογήσαντα τοὺς Ἰωσήφ υἱὸὺς, ὅντα ἑτῶν ρμζ', καταλιπόντα Ἰωσήφ ἑτῶν νζ'. Λευὶν δὲ γενόμενον ἑτῶν ρλζ' τελευτῆσαι, Κλάθ δὲ ὅντα ἑτῶν μ' γεννῆσαι Ἀμρὰμ, δὸν ἑτῶν εἶναι ιδ' ἐν ὡς 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

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 died when he was one hundred thirty-seven years old, and Klath had Amram when he was sixty years old. Amram was thirty-three years old when Joseph died in Egypt at one hundred ten years old. Klath died when he was one hundred sixty years old. Amram took a wife, the daughter of his uncle, Jochebed, and when he was thirty-

Μωσῆν τὸν Ἀμράμ ὅντα ἑτῶν οή, καὶ γενόμενον Ἀμράμ ἑτῶν ρλς' τελευτῆσαι." Ταῦτά μοι κείσθω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυἱστορος γραφῆς. ἔξῆς δ' ἐπισυνήφθω καὶ τάδε

three years old, he had Aaron and Moses. Moses was born when Amram was 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 γάρ καὶ κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν κεῖσθαι δ' αὐτήν φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἰουδαίων οὕτως, ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔνη ἀγαθή τε καὶ αἴγινόμος καὶ ὑδρηλή, ούδε μὲν ἔσκεν ὀδός δολιχὴ πόλιν εἰσαφικέσθαι ἀγρόθεν· ούδε ποτε δρία λαχνήνεντα πονεῦσιν. ἔξ αυτῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι δύ' οὔρεα φαίνεται ἐρυμνὰ, ποίης τε πλήθοντα καὶ ὕλης· τῶν δὲ μεσηγὺνάτραπιτὸς τέτμηται, ἀραιὴ, [αύλῶπις] ἐν δ' ἐτέρῳ θιὴδ' ἵερῃ Σικίμων καταφαίνεται, ἵερὸν ἄστυ, νέρθεν ὑπὸ βίζη δεδμημένον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος λισσόν τὸν 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 describes its location 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 at the base of the mountains, 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 γάρ Ἐμμώρ υἱὸν γεννῆσαι Συχέμ. φησὶ δὲ ἐνθένδε, ξένε, ποιμενόθι πόλιν ἥλυθ' Ἱακώβευρεῖαν Σικίμων· ἐπὶ δ' ἀνδράσι τοῖσιν ἔτησιν ἀρχὸς Ἐμώρ σὸν 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 | εἴτα περὶ Ἱακώβ καὶ τὴν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν αύτοῦ παρουσίαν, καὶ τὸν τῶν δύο γυναικῶν γάμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν τὴν ἐκ

9.22.3 | Then he speaks about Jacob and his journey to Mesopotamia, his marriages to two wives, the birth of his children, and the journey from Mesopotamia to Sikima. He

Μεσοποταμίας ἐπὶ τὰ Σίκιμα, εἰς δ' Ἰακώβ  
Συρίην κτηνοτρόφον ἵκτο, καὶ εύρὺρέθρον  
Εύφρηταο λίπεν ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος  
· ἥλυθε γὰρ κάκεῖθι λιπῶν δριμεῖαν  
ἐνιπήναύτοκασιγνήτοιο · πρόφρων  
ὑπέδεκτο δόμονδελαβὰν, ὃς οἱ ἔην μὲν  
ἀνεψιδος, ἀλλὰ τότ' οἰοζῆνασσεν 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, ἢ οἱ ἔην  
προγενεστέρη. οὐδέ μιν ἔμπησξελλαθεν, ἀλλ'  
ἐνόησε κακορραφίην, καὶ ἔδεκτοπαῖδ'  
ἐτέρην, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἐμίγη σὺν δημαίμοσιν  
ῆσι. τῷ δ' υἱεῖς 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  
Ἰακώβ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Σίκιμα πρὸς Ἐμμώρ·  
τὸν δ' ὑποδέξασθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ μέρος τι τῆς  
χώραις δοῦναι. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν Ἰαχώβ  
γεωμορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔνδεκα τὸν  
ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ποιμαίνειν, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα  
Δείναν 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 ἴδοντα ἔρασθῆναι  
αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀρπάσαντα ὡς ἔαυτὸν  
διακομίσαι καὶ φθεῖραι αὐτήν.

9.22.5 | αὐθις δὲ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐλθόντα  
πρὸς τὸν Ἰακώβ αἴτεῖν αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμου  
κοινωνίαν· τὸν δὲ οὐ φάναι δώσειν, πρὶν ἂν  
ἡ πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὰ Σίκιμα  
περιτεμνομένους Ιουδαίσαι· τὸν δὲ Ἐμμώρ  
φάναι πείσειν αὐτούς. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ

says, "Jacob came to the land of Syria,  
where there is a wide river, the flowing  
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 the marriage 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 difficult  
situation and accepted another child, and  
both were mixed with their relatives. From  
him, eleven sons were 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 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 hurt her.

9.22.5 | Then Sychem came back with his  
father to ask Jacob for Dinah's 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 explained that they

δεῖν περιτέμνεσθαι τέμνεσθαι αύτοὺς ὁ  
Ἰακώβ

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.

9.22.7 | εἶτα ὑποβάς περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς, ὃς  
ποθ' ἐῆς πάτρης ἔξήγαγε δῖον  
Ἄβραὰμ, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν κέλετ' ἀνέρα  
παντὶ σὺν οἴκωσάρκ' ἀποσυλῆσαι πόσθης  
ἄπο, καὶ β' ἐτέλεσσεν ἀστεμφὲς δὲ  
τέτυκται, ἐπεὶ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔξειπε.

9.22.8 | ποσευθέτος πορευθέντος οὖν εἰς  
τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Ἐμμώρ καὶ τοὺς  
ὑποτασσομένους παρακαλοῦντος  
περιτέμνεσθαι, ἔνα τῶν Ἰακώβ 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 μ  
λόγιον προφερόμενον τὸν θεὸν ἀνελεῖν  
φάμενον τοῖς Ἀβραὰμ ἀπογόνοις δέκα ἔθνη  
δῶσειν.

9.22.9 | φησὶ δὲ οὕτως ὁ Συμεὼν πρὸς τὸν  
Λευὶν εὐ γάρ ἐγὼ μῦθόν γε πεπυσμένος εἰμὶ<sup>1</sup>  
θεοῖο· δώσειν γάρ ποτ' ἔφησε δέκ' ἔθνεα  
παισὶν Ἀβραάμ. τὸν δὲ θεὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον  
τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλεῖν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν Σικίμοις  
ἀσεβεῖς εῖναι. φησὶ δέ βλάπτε θεὸς Σικίμων  
οἰκήτορας, οὐ γάρ ἔτιονείς αὐτοὺς ὅστις κε

needed to be circumcised.

9.22.6 | For this is not right for the  
Hebrews to bring in husbands from outside  
to their home. Instead, anyone who wishes  
to marry must be from the same family.

9.22.7 | Then, when talking about  
circumcision, he mentioned that it was  
Abraham, the glorious one, who first  
brought it from his homeland. He 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 said it.

9.22.8 | So, when he went directly 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 quietly. After realizing this, he  
shared his plan with his brother Levi.  
Taking him along, they encouraged each  
other to carry out the plan, saying that god  
would give the descendants of Abraham ten  
nations.

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

μόλη κακός, ούδε μὲν ἐσθλός· ούδε δίκας  
έδίκαζον ἀνὰ πτόλιν ούδε θέμιστας· λογία  
δ' ὠρώρει τοῖσιν μεμελημένα ἔργα.

them is good or bad. They did not deliver 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,  
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐμμώρ καὶ τὸν Συχὲμ φονεῦσαι.

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 killed Hemmor and Sychem.

9.22.11 | λέγει δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἀυτῶν οὕτως ὡς τότε δὴ Συμεὼν μὲν μώρῳρουσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, πλῆξε τέ οἱ κεφαλὴν, δειρήν δ' ἔλεν ἐν χερὶ λαιῆ, λεῖψε δ' ἔτι σπαίρουσαν, ἐπεὶ πόνος ἄλλος ὥρωρει. τόφρα δὲ καὶ Λευὶν μένος ἀσχετος ἐλλαβε χαίτηγοιύνων ἀπτόμενον Συχὲμ, ἀσπετα μαργήναντα. ἥλασε δὲ κληῆδα μέσην· δῦ δὲ ξίφος ὁξὺσπλάγχνα διὰ στέρνων, λίπε δὲ ψυχὴ δέμας εύθυνς. 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.

9.22.11 | It describes 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 bleeding, since another struggle was coming. Meanwhile, Levi took hold of Sychem's chin, pulling his hair hard. He drove a sword into his chest, and his soul left his body immediately. The other brothers, hearing about what they had done, joined in to help, sacked the city, and brought their sister back home along with the captives.

## Section 23

9.23.1 | Τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἔξης περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Πολυίστορος γραφῆς ἐπισυνήφθω "Ἄρτάπανος 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 δεθῆναι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτὸν

9.23.1 | These things and what follows 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 his 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

διακομίσαι· τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἐντυγχανόμενον ποιῆσαι· εἶναι γάρ τοὺς τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεῖς ἀπογόνους Ἰσραὴλ, υἱοὺς 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 Αἴγυπτίων γεωμορούντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαιρετὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐλασσónων ὑπὸ τῶν κσεισσόνων σόνων ἀδικουμένων, τοῦτον πρῶτον τὴν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὅροις διασημήνασθαι, καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωργήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι, καίτινας τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ιερεῦσιν ἀποκληρώσαι.

9.23.3 | τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μέτρα εὑρεῖν, καὶ μεγάλως αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαπηθῆναι. γῆμαι δ' αὐτὸν 'Ηλιουπολίτου ιερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἔξ ἥς γεννῆσαι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὕπαρξιν, 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 ιερὸν κατασκευάσαι τοὺς Ἐσμιούθ ὄνομαζοαένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τελευτῆσαι τόν τε Ἰωσὴφ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἴγυπτίων. τὸν οὖν Ἰωσὴφ κρατοῦντα τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὸν ἐτῶν ἐπτὰ σῖτον, γενόμενον κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἀπλετον, παραθέσθαι, καὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτου δεσπότην γενέσθαι.'

brothers of Isaac."

9.23.2 | When he arrived in Egypt and was appointed by the king, he became the governor of the entire land. Before this, the Egyptians were farming carelessly because the land was not divided, and the smaller farmers were being mistreated 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 great deal of wealth, and they settled in the city of Caisan, while the number of Syrians grew 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 Egypt died. During the seven years that Joseph ruled Egypt, there was an abundance of grain, and he became the ruler 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 ἔξης. 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. 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 γῆμαντα Βασσάραν ἐν Ἐδώμ γεννῆσαι Ἰώβ· κατοικεῖν δὲ τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Αύσιτιδι χώρᾳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας.

9.25.1 | Listen to what is said about Job. Aristeas states 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. He owned seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred pairs of oxen, and five hundred female donkeys. He also had plenty of 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, robbers took away his donkeys and oxen. Then, fire fell from the sky and burned up the sheep along with the shepherds. Not long after, robbers took away the camels as well. Then, his children died when the house collapsed. On the same day, his body was

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 Βαραχήλ 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 | “Ἄρταπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ιουδαίων, Ἀβραὰμ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αύτοῦ Μεμψασθενώθ, ὄμοιώς δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἴγυπτίων, τὴν δυναστείαν παραλαβεῖν τὸν υἱὸν αύτοῦ Παλμανώθην.

covered with sores.

9.25.4 | “While he was in this bad condition, Eliphaz the Temanite, king of the Manites, Baldad the Shuhite, a tyrant, Zophar the Naamathite, a king, and Elihu the Barachel the Buzite came to visit him. They urged him to stay strong in his faith and to face his troubles bravely. God admired his courage, 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 presents many things again. Eupolemus says that Moses was the first to become wise and to give letters to the Jews. He received these letters from the Phoenicians, and the Greeks received them from the Phoenicians as well. Moses was also 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 set up a temple there, and then he constructed the temple in Heliopolis.”

9.27.3 | “He had a daughter named Merrin, whom he was engaged to a certain Kenefre, who ruled over the lands around Memphis. 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 shared many useful things with 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 make sure that Kenefre's rule would be secure. Before this, the crowds were unruly, sometimes being driven out and sometimes being made kings, often the same people, but sometimes different ones.”

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.

9.27.6 | “Because of these things, Moses was loved by the crowds and honored by the priests with the title of Hermes, because of his interpretation of the sacred writings.”

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 ḥαδίως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσθένειαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι.

9.27.7 | “Seeing the goodness of Moses, Kenefre became jealous of him and looked for a way to kill him for some good reason. One day, when the Ethiopians were marching against Egypt, Kenefre found a chance 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 the soldiers were weak against the enemies.”

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.

9.27.8 | “When Moses arrived in 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 and were well-known for their bravery in battles. He mentioned that the people of Heliopolis had been fighting this war for ten years.”

9.27.9 | τοὺς οὖν 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.

9.27.9 | “So, those around Moses, because of the size of the army, decided to build a city in that place and to establish the ibis there, since this bird destroys the creatures that harm people. They named it the city of Hermes.”

9.27.10 | οὕτω δὴ τοὺς Αἴθιοπας, καίπερ ὅντας πολεμίους, στέρξαι τὸν Μώϋσον ὥστε καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν τῶν αἰδοίων παρ'

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. This was true not only for them but for all the priests as well."

9.27.11 | τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν, λυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου, λόγω μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποδέξασθαι, ἔργω δὲ ἐπιβουλεύειν. παρελόμενον γοῦν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄχλους τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς Αἴθιοπίας πέμψαι προφυλακῆς χάριν, τοῖς δὲ προστάξαι τὸν ἐν Δίος πόλει ναὸν ἔξ οπτῆς πλίνθου κατεσκευασμένον καθαιρεῖν, ἔτερον δὲ λίθινον κατασκευάσαι τὸ πλησίον ὄρος λατομήσαντας' τάξαι 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. As he was passing by, they sent some of the crowds to the borders of Ethiopia for protection, while ordering 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 construction."

9.27.12 | τὸν δὲ ἐλθόντα μετὰ Μωϋσού εἰς Μέμφιν πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἔστιν εὕχρηστον 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 Μωϋσού κελεύειν ἔκεī φέροντας θάπτειν, κατακρύπτειν θέλοντα τὰ τοῦ Μωϋσού ἐπινοήματα.

9.27.12 | "When he arrived in Memphis with Moses, he asked him if there was anything else that could be useful for people. Moses replied that there was a breed of cattle, as they help to plow the land. Then Kenefren, referring to a bull as Apis, ordered the crowds to build a temple for it. He also commanded them to bring the animals dedicated by Moses there to bury them, wanting to hide the ideas of Moses."

9.27.13 | ἀποξενωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ὀρκωμοτῆσαι τοὺς φίλους μὴ ἔξαγγελαι τῷ Μωϋσῷ τὴν ἐπισυνισταμένην αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας αὐτόν.

9.27.13 | "After the Egyptians had exiled him, they made his friends swear not to tell Moses about the plot that was being formed against him and to support those who wanted to 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 favored by him. The one who was insulted promised to get back at them when the

λαβόντα καιρόν.

9.27.15 | ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς  
Μέρριδος τελευτησάσης ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν  
Χενεφρὴν τῷ τε Μωῦσῳ καὶ τῷ Χανεθώθῃ  
τὸ σῶμα διακομίσαντας εἰς τοὺς ὑπέρ  
Αἴγυπτον τόπους θάψαι, ὑπολαβόντα τὸν  
Μώυσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χανεθώθ  
ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι.

9.27.16 | πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν  
ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ Μωῦσῷ 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 ἡ  
τὴν Ἰσιν.

9.27.17 | Ἀάρωνα δὲ τὸν τοῦ Μωῦσου  
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  
Μωῦσου τὴν φυγὴν ἐνεδρεύειν ὡς  
ἀναιρήσοντα· ἴδοντα δὲ ἐρχόμενον  
σπάσασθαι τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ  
Μώυσον 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

time 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, thinking that Moses would be killed by Chanephoth."

9.27.16 | "While they were on their way, 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 just as much as Isis."

9.27.17 | "Aaron, the brother of Moses, learned about the plot and advised his brother to escape to Arabia. After he was convinced, he crossed the Nile from Memphis and made his way to Arabia."

9.27.18 | "Chanephoth learned about Moses' escape and set an ambush to kill him. When he saw Moses approaching, he drew his sword against him. But Moses, having anticipated this, grabbed 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 Ῥαγουῆλον 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 Ῥαγουῆλον διακωλύοντα στρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀραψὶ προστάξαι ληστεύειν τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

the area. Raguel wanted to lead an army against the Egyptians and hoped to bring Moses along, planning to secure power for his daughter and son-in-law. But Moses was hesitant, thinking about his own people. Raguel, however, insisted that he 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 ὄντες ἐπίσημοι κολάζωνται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

9.27.20 | "At the same time, Chenephren, the first man to wear elephant tusks, got into trouble because he ordered the Jews to wear tunics and not 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 αἰφνιδίως φρησὸν 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 end the people's suffering. While he was praying, suddenly fire appeared from the ground and burned, even though there was no wood or any other kind of fuel 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 διαγγῦναι 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 replied that he was ordered by the ruler of the land 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 οὖς εἰπεῖν, 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 | εἰπεῖν 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, while mocking him.”

9.27.25 | “When Moses leaned in to speak in his ear, the king suddenly fell silent. After Moses held him, he came back to life.”

9.27.26 | “After writing down the name, they sealed it on a tablet. The priests, feeling troubled, were losing their lives because of what was written on it.”

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 got scared, he grabbed its tail and turned it back into a staff.”

9.27.28 | προελθόντα δὲ μικρὸν τὸν Νεῖλον τῇ ἡράβδῳ 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.

9.27.28 | “After going a little further, he struck the Nile with the staff, and the river became very full, flooding 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 suffer from thirst.”

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 ἡράβδῳ πατάξαντα τὸ ὕδωρ συστεῦλαι τὸ ῥεῦμα.

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 make the flow stop.”

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.

9.27.30 | “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, with the help of some magicians and sorcerers, they created a dragon and changed the river.”

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 ἡράβδῳ ζῷόν τι πτηνὸν ἀνεῖναι λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους, πάντα τε ἔξελκωθῆναι τὰ σώματα. τῶν δὲ ἱατρῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς κάμυνοντας, οὕτω πάλιν ἀνέσεως τυχεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

9.27.31 | “When the king was troubled by what had happened, he punished the Jews with all kinds of punishments and torture. But Moses, seeing this, performed other signs. He struck the ground with the staff, causing a bird-like creature to rise up and harm the Egyptians, affecting all their bodies. Since the doctors could not heal the sick, the Jews were able to find relief once more.”

9.27.32 | πάλιν τε τὸν Μώϋσον βάτραχον διὰ τῆς ἡράβδου ἀνεῖναι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

9.27.32 | “Again, Moses raised a frog with the staff, and along with it, locusts and

άκριδας καὶ σκνίφας. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους τὴν ῥάβδον ἀνατιθέναι εἰς πᾶν ἱερὸν, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν εἶναι Ἰσιν, παιομένην δὲ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τὰ τέρατα ἀνεῖναι.

gnats. Because of this, the Egyptians lifted the staff in every temple, including to Isis, since the land belonged to her. They were being harmed by the creatures that had been raised with the staff.”

9.27.33 | τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι ἀφρονουμένου τὸν Μώϋσον χάλαζάν τε καὶ σεισμοὺς διὰ νυκτὸς ἀποτελέσαι, ὡστε 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 acting foolishly, Moses caused hail and earthquakes to happen at night. 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 ’ τοὺς δὲ χρησαμένους παρὰ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα, 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 come upon the king, he allowed the Jews to go. Those who had been used by the Egyptians received many valuables, a good amount of clothing, and a great deal of wealth. After crossing the rivers in Arabia, they traveled far enough 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 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 ὅδατος, 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 the water was divided, allowing

ξηρᾶς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι.

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 ἐρήμῳ διατριψαι, 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 ὄντα ὄγδοήκοντα ἐννέα.

## 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 Ἐζεκιὴλος ὁ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητὴς, ἀνωθεν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Ἰακὼβ παραγενομένων εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς Ἰωσῆφ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως, τὸν Μώϋσον παρεισάγων λέγοντα ἀφ' οὗ δ' Ἰακὼβ γῆν λιπῶν Χαναναίανκατῆλθ' ἔχων Αἴγυπτον ἐπτάκις δέκαψυχὰς σὺν αὐτῷ, κάπεγέννησεν πολὺν λαὸν κακῶς πράσσοντα καὶ τεθλιψμένον, ἐς ἄχρι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον κακούμενον κακῶν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναστείας χερός. Ιδών γὰρ ἡμῶν γένναν ἄλις ηὔξημένην δόλον καθ' ἡμῶν πολὺν ἐμηχανήσατο βασιλεὺς Φαραὼ, τοὺς μὲν ἐν πλινθεύμασινοί κοδομίας τε βάρεσιν αἰκίζων βροτοὺς, πόλεις τ' ἐπύργου, σφῶν ἔκατι δυσμόρων. ἐπειτα κηρύσσει μὲν Ἐβραίων γένειτάρσενικὰ ρίπτειν ποταμὸν ἐς βαθύρροον. ἐνταῦθα μήτηρ ἡ τεκοῦσ'

the people to travel on dry ground."

9.27.37 | "It is said that while the Egyptians were chasing 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 and looked similar to snow. It is also said that Moses became tall, with red hair, gray hair, and a long beard, and that he remained this way for eighty-nine years."

9.28.1 | "About how Moses was hidden by his mother in the marsh and found and raised by the king's daughter, Ezekiel, the poet of tragedies, also tells. He begins the story with 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 people. He gave birth to a large nation that was suffering and oppressed, up until this time, being harmed by men and the power of rulers. Seeing our people 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, my mother hid me for three months, as she said. When she could no longer hide me, she placed me in a basket and set me among the reeds by the

ἔκρυπτέ μετρεῖς μῆνας, ὡς ἔφασκεν. οὐ λαθοῦσα δὲ πεξέθηκε, 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· ἰδοῦσα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ λαβοῦσ· ἀνείλετο, ἔγνω δ' Ἐβραῖον ὅντα· καὶ λέγει τάδε· Μαριὰμ ἀδελφὴ προσδραμοῦσα βασιλίδι, θέλεις τροφόν σοι παιδὶ τῷδ' εὔρω ταχὺέκ 'Ἐβραίων·' ἢ δ' ἐπέσπευσεν κόρην· μολοῦσα δ' εἶπε μητρὶ, καὶ παρῆν ταχὺαύτῃ τε μήτηρ κἄλαβέν μ' ἐς ἀγκάλας· εἴπεν δὲ θυγάτηρ βασιλέως 'τοῦτον, γύναι, τρόφευε, κάγω μισθὸν ἀποδώσω σέθεν· ὅνομα δὲ Μωσῆν ὀνόμαζε, τοῦ χάριν γράς ἀνεῖλε ποταμίας ἀπ' ἥρονος· τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁ Ἐζεκιῆλος ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεισάγων λέγοντα ἐνὶ δὲ καιρὸς νηπίων παρῆλθε μοι, ἤγεν με μήτηρ βασιλίδος πρὸς δώματα, ἄπαντα μυθεύσασα, καὶ λέξασά μοι γένος πατρῶον καὶ θεοῦ δωρήματα. ἔως μὲν οὖν τὸν παιδὸς εἶχομεν χρόνον, τροφαῖσι βασιλικαῖσι καὶ παιδεύμασιν ἄπανθ' ὑπισχνεῖθ', ὡς ἀπὸ σπλάγχνων ἐῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήρης κόλπος ἡμερῶν παρῆν, ἔξηλθον οἴκων βασιλικῶν, πρὸς ἔργα γάρ θυμός μ' ἄνωγε καὶ τέχνασμα βασιλέως·) δὸρῶ δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρας ἐν χειρῶν νόμω, τὸν μὲν γεγῶθ' Ἐβραῖον, ὃν δ' Αἴγυπτιον. ἴδων δ' ἐρήμους καὶ παρόντα μηδένα ερρυσάμην ἀδελφὸν, ὃν δ' ἔκτειν· ἔγω, ἔκρυψα δ' ἄμμῳ τοῦτον, ὥστε μὴ εἰσιδεῖν ἕτερόν τιν' ἡμάς κάποιγμνῶσαι φόνον. τῇ 'παύριον δὲ πάλιν ἴδων ἄνδρας δύο, μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς συγγενεῖς, πατουμένους, λέγω 'τί τύπτεις ἀσθενέστερον σέθεν·' ὃ δ' εἶπεν 'ἡμῖν τίς σ' ἀπέστειλεν κριτὴν, ἦ πιστάτην ἐνταῦθα; μὴ κτενεῖς σύ με, ὥσπερ τὸν ἔχθες ἄνδρα; ' καὶ δείσας ἔγω ἔλεξα 'πῶς ἐγένετο συμφανὲς τόδε; ' καὶ πάντα βασιλεῖ ταῦτ' ἀπήγγειλεν

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. 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 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?' 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, Sepphora said, 'The whole land of Libya is ruled, stranger, by tribes of various kinds, black men from Ethiopia. But there is one ruler of the land, a tyrant and a single

ταχύ·ζητεῖ δὲ Φαραὼ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν λαβεῖν·έγὼ δ' ἀκούσας ἐκποδῶν μεθίσταμαι, καὶ νῦν πλανῶμαι γῆν ἐπ' ἄλλοτέρων. εἴτα περὶ τῶν τοῦ 'Ραγουὴλ θυγατέρων οὕτως ἐπιβάλλει, δὸρῶ δὲ ταύτας ἐπτὰ παρθένους τινάς. ἔρωτήσαντός τε αὐτὰς τίνες εἴησαν αἱ παρθένοι φησὶν ἡ Σεπφώρα Λιβύη μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα κλήζεται, ξένε, οἰκοῦσι 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. εἴτα περὶ τοῦ ποτισμοῦ τῶν θρεμμάτων διελθὼν περὶ τοῦ τῆς Σεπφώρας ἐπιβάλλει γάμου, δι' ἀμοιβαίων παρεισάγων τόν τε Χοὺμ καὶ τὴν Σεπφώραν λέγοντας, Σ. ὅμως κατειπεῖν χρή σε, Σεπφώρα, τάδε. Χ. ξένω 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 ὅμοιώς τῷ τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον γράψαντι ἴστόρησε· φυγεῖν μέντοι γε τὸν Μωσῆν εἰς Μαδιὰν, καὶ συνοικῆσαι ἐκεῖ τῇ Ἰοθόρῳ θυγατρὶ Σεπφώρᾳ, ἣν εἶναι, ὅσα στοχάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνομάτων, τῶν γενομένων ἐκ Χεττούρας, τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένους, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεζὰν τοῦ γενομένου Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ Χεττούρας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεζὰν γενέσθαι Δαδάν, ἐκ δὲ Δαδάν γουὴλ, ἐκ δὲ 'Ραγουὴλ Ἰοθόρ καὶ Ἀβὰβ,, ἐκ δὲ τον Ἰοθόρ Σεπφώραν, ἣν γήμαι Μωσῆν.

9.29.2 | καὶ τὰς γενεὰς δὲ συμφωνεῖν· τὸν γὰρ Μωσῆν εἶναι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἔβδομον, τὴν δὲ Σεπφώραν ἕκτην. συνοικουντος γὰρ ἥδη

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 Jethro's daughter, Sepphora. It is said that she comes from the line of Keturah, the family of Abraham, through Jezer, who was born to Abraham by Keturah. 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: Moses is said to be the seventh from Abraham, and Sepphora the sixth. When Isaac was

τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, ἀφ' οὗ Μωσῆν εῖναι, γῆμαι Ἀβραὰμ τὴν Χεττούραν ὄντα ἑτῶν ρημ., καὶ γεννῆσαι Ἰσαὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς δεύτερον· τὸν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ, ὄντα ἑτῶν ἑκατὸν, γεννῆσαι. ὥστε μὲν ἑτῶν ὕστερον γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰσαὰρ, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Σεπφώραν γεγενεαλογῆσθαι.

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 γάρ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπὶ κατοικίαν πέμψαι· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἄαρὼν καὶ Μαριὰμ εἴπειν ἐν Ἀσηρώθ Μωσῆν Αἰθιοπίδα 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. It is said that Abraham sent his children to the east to settle there. For this reason, Aaron and Miriam also said that Moses married a woman from Ethiopia."

9.29.4 | λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Ἐζεκιῆλος 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 οὐτῷ πως

9.29.4 | "Ezekiel also speaks about these things in the Exodus, mentioning the dream that Moses saw, which is different from that of his father-in-law. Moses himself says this out of mutual respect for 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 μοιένευσε, κάγὼ πρόσθεν ἐστάθην θρόνου. σκῆπτρον δέ μοι παρέδωκε, κείς θρόνον μέγανεῖπεν καθῆσθαι· βασιλικὸν δ' ἔδωκέ μοιδιάδημα, καύτὸς ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται. • ἔγὼ δ' ἐσεῖδον γῆν ἄπασαν ἔγκυκλον, κανερθε γαίας καξύπερθεν οὐρανοῦ, καί μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρὸς γούνατα ἔπιπτ', ἔγὼ δὲ πάντας ἡριθμησάμην, κάμοι παρῆγεν ὡς παρεμβολὴ βροτῶν. εἴτ' ἐμφοβήθεις

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 set apart 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 it seemed to me like a camp of people."

έξανίσταμ' ἔξ ũπνου.

Then, feeling afraid, I woke up from my sleep."

9.29.6 | ο δὲ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄνειρον ἐπικρίνει οὕτως ὡς ξένε, καλόν σοι τοῦτ' ἐσήμηνεν θεός· ζώιον δ' ὅταν σοι ταῦτα συμβαίνῃ ποτέ. ἄρα γε μέγαν τιν' ἔξαναστήσεις θρόνον, καύτὸς βραβεύσεις καὶ καθηγήσῃ βροτῶν. τὸ δ' εἰσθεᾶσθαι γῆν ὅλην τ' οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὰ ὑπένερθεν χύπερ οὐρανὸν θεοῦ, ὅψει τά τ' ὄντα τά τε προτοῦ τά θ' ὕστερον.

9.29.6 | "But his father-in-law interprets the dream like this: 'O stranger, this is what God has shown you: when these things happen to you, will you raise up a great throne? Will you yourself judge and lead people? You will see the whole inhabited earth, as well as what is beneath and above the sky, and you will see both what exists now and what will come later.'"

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 ἐκ βάτου τόδε, τεράστιόν τε καὶ βροτοῖς ἀπιστίᾳ; ἄφνω βάτος μὲν καίεται πολλῷ πυρὶ, αὐτοῦ δὲ χλωρὸν πᾶν μένει τὸ βλαστάνον. τί δή; προελθὼν ὅψομαι τεράστιον μέγιστον • οὐ γὰρ πίστιν ἀνθρώποις φέρει.

9.29.7 | "About the burning bush and his mission to Pharaoh, he again mentions Moses speaking with God. Moses says, 'Why is this sign from the bush for me, so amazing and unbelievable to people? The bush is burning with a great fire, but the green part stays alive. Why is that? If I go closer, I will see something very great; for it does not inspire faith in humans.'"

9.29.8 | εἶτα ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσομιλεῖ ἐπίσχες, 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· ἐμῶν· ἴδειν γὰρ ὅψιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀμήχανον θνητὸν γεγῶτα, τῶν λόγων δ' ἔξεστί σοι ἐμῶν ἀκούειν, τῶν ἔκατ' ἐλήλυθα. ἔγὼ θεὸς σῶν, ὃν λέγεις, γεννητόρων, Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβου τρίτου. μνησθεὶς δ' ἔκείνων καὶ ἔτι ἐμῶν δωρημάτων πάρειμι σῶσαι λαὸν Ἐβραίων ἐμὸν, ἴδων κάκωσιν καὶ πόνον δούλων ἐμῶν. ἀλλ' ἔρπε καὶ σήμαινε τοῖς

9.29.8 | "Then 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 to all the Hebrews together, and then to the

έμοις 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, ἴσχνόφωνος, ὥστε  
μὴ λόγους ἐμοὺς γενέσθαι βασιλέως  
ἐναντίον.

9.29.10 | εἴτα πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ  
ἀποκρίνεται Αάρωνα πέμψον σὸν  
κασίγνητον ταχὺ, ὃ 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 εἴρηκε,  
Θ. τί δ' ἐν χεροῖν σοῦν τοῦτ' ἔχεις; λέξον  
τάχος. Μ. ῥάβδον τετραπόδων καὶ βροτῶν  
κολάστριαν. Θ. ῥῆψον πρὸς οὓδας,  
κάποχώρησον ταχύ. δράκων γάρ ἔσται  
φοβερὸς, ὥστε θαυμάσαι. Μ. ἴδού βέβληται  
δέσποιθ', ἔλεως γενοῦ· ὡς φοβερὸς, ὡς  
πέλωρος· οἴκτειρον σύ με, πέφρικ' ἵδων,  
μέλη δὲ σώματος τρέμει. Θ. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς,  
χεῖρα δ' ἔκτείνας Μεούραν, πάλιν δὲ  
ῥάβδος ἔσσεθ' ὕσπερ ἦν. ἐνθες δὲ χείρ εἰς  
κόλπον, ἔξενεγκέ τε. ἴδού τὸ ταχθὲν,  
γέγονεν ὡσπερεὶ χιών. ἐνθες πάλιν δ' εἰς  
κόλπον, ἔσται δ' ὕσπερ ην."

king, what I have commanded, so that you  
may lead my people out of the land."

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 God answers him, 'Send  
your brother Aaron quickly, and he will tell  
the king all the things I have spoken to you.  
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 said, 'What do you have in your hands?  
Speak quickly.' Moses replied, 'A staff for  
herding animals and a tool for punishing  
people.' God said, 'Throw it to the ground  
and step back quickly. It will become a  
frightening serpent, and you will be  
amazed.' Moses said, 'Look, I have thrown  
it! Lord, be merciful to me; it is so  
frightening and huge. Have pity on me, for  
my body trembles at the sight.' God said,  
'Do not be afraid; stretch out your hand to  
it. The staff will return to its original form.'  
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 ὥρᾳ 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 ἔλκη πικρά. κυνόμυια δ' ἥξει, καὶ βροτοὺς Αἴγυπτιών πολλοὺς κακώσει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔσται πάλιν λοιμὸς, θανοῦνται δ' οἵς ἔνεστι καρδίασκληρά· πικρανῶ δ' οὐρανόν· 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' ἀποκτενῶ 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. λέξεις δὲ λαῶ 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' ὅχλον. 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 a few things in between, 'This is what Ezekiel says in the Exodus, speaking about the signs and bringing in God: "With this staff, you will do all these terrible 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 painful sores among the people. The dog-fly will come and harm many Egyptians. After this, there will be a plague, and those with hard hearts will die. The sky will rain down hail with fire, and many people will be killed. 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 extra 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 them, 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, silver, and clothing, so that they will repay the people for what they have done. When you enter your own land, just as you fled from Egypt, you will eat unleavened bread

τοσαύτας ήμέρας ἔτος κάταάζυμ' ἔδεσθε,  
καὶ θεῷ λατρεύσετε, τὰ πρωτότευκτα ζῷα  
θύοντες θεῷ, ὅσ' ἀν τέκωσι παρθένοι  
πρώτως τέκνατάρσενικά, διανοίγοντα  
μήτρας μητέρων.

9.29.13 | καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης  
έօρτῆς φησὶν ἐπεξεργαζόνενον  
ἀκριβέστερον εἰρηκέναι ἀωδρῶν Ἐβραίων  
τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς λαβώνκατὰ συγγενείας  
πρόβατα καὶ μόσκους βιῶνάμωμα 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' ἔօρτήν δεσπότη  
τηρήσετε, ἔφθ' ἡμέρας ἄζυμα· κού  
βρωθήσεται ξύμη. κακῶν γάρ τῶνδ'  
ἀραλλαγήσεται, καὶ τοῦδε μηνὸς ἔξοδον  
διδῆ θεός· ἀρκή δὲ μηνῶν καὶ κρόνων οὗτος  
πέλει."

9.29.14 | πάλιν μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει "Φηδὶ<sup>ν</sup>  
δὲ καὶ Ἐξεκιῆλος ἐν τῷ δράματι τῷ  
ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐξαγωγὴ, παρεισάγων  
ἄγγελον λέγοντα τήν τε τῶν Ἐβραίων  
διάθεσιν καὶ τήν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων φθορὰν  
οὕτως ὡς γάρ σὺν ὄχλῳ τῷδ' ἀφώρμησεν  
δόμων βασιλευς Φαραὼ μυρίων ὅπλων  
μέτα, ἵππου τε τάσης καρμάτων  
τετραόρων, καὶ προστάταισι καὶ

for seven days, and you will serve God,  
sacrificing the firstborn animals, as many  
as the young women bear first."

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. They 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 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

παραστάταις ομοῦ, ἦν φρικτὸς ἀνδρῶν  
έκτεταγμένων ὄχλος. πεζοὶ μὲν ἐν μέσοισι  
καὶ φαλαγγικοὶ διεκδρομὰς ἔχοντες  
ἄρμασιν τόπους· ἵππεῖς δ' ἔταξε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ  
εύωνύμωνέκ δεξιῶν δὲ ράντας Αἴγυπτου  
δτρατοῦ. τὸν πάντας δ' ἀριθμὸν ἡρόμην  
ἔγω στρατοῦ· μυριάδες ἥσαν ἐκατὸν  
τύανδρου μεώ. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἐβραίων οὐμὸς  
ἥντησεν στρατὸς, οἱ μὲν παρ' ἀκτὴν  
πλησίον βεβλημένοιέρυθρὰς θαλάσσης  
ἥσαν ἡθροισμένοι· οἱ μὲν τέκνοισι νηπίοις  
δίδουν βορὰν, δμοῦ τε καὶ δάμαρσιν,  
ἔμπονοι κόπω· κτήνη τε πολλὰ, καὶ δόμων  
ἀποσκευὴ, αὐτοὶ δ' ἄνοπλοι πάντες εἰς  
μάχην χέρας· δόντες ἡμᾶς ἡλάλαξαν  
ἐνδακρυνφωνὴν, πρὸς αἴθέρα τ' ἔταθησαν  
ἀθρόοι, θεὸν πατρῶον. 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. καὶ τις  
έξαιφνης μέγας τοῦλος νεφώδης ἐστάθη  
πρὸ γῆς μέγας, παρεμβολῆς ἡμῶν τε  
χέβραίων μέσος. κατέπειθ' ὁ κείνων ἡγεμῶν  
Μώσης, λαβὼν ἥραβδον θεοῦ, τῇ δὴ πρὶν  
Αἴγυπτῷ κακάσημεῖα καὶ τεράστι'  
έξεμήσατο 'ἐτυψ' ἐρυθρᾶς νῶτα κασχίσεν  
μέσον βάθος θαλάσσης· οἱ δὲ  
σύμπαντες ὠρουσαν ὥκεῖς ἀλμυρᾶς δι'  
ἀτραποῦ. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὡχόμεσθα  
συντόμως κατ' ἔχνος αὐτῶν· νυκτὸς  
εἰσεκύρσαμεν βοηδρομοῦντες· ἀρμάτων δ'  
ἄφνωούκ ἐστρέφοντο, δέσμιοι δ' ὡς  
ἥρμοσαν. ἀπ' οὔρανοῦ δὲ φρέγγος ὡς πυρὸς  
μέγα ὥφθη τι ἡμῖν· ὡς μὲν εἰκάζειν,  
παρὴν αὐτοῖς ἀρωγὸς ὁ θεός. ὡς δ' ἡδη  
πέραν ἥσαν θαλάσσης, κῦμα δ' ἐρροίβδει  
μέγα σύνεγγυς ἡμῶν· καί τις ἡλάλαξ  
ἰδὼν, φεύγωμεν οἴκοι πρόσθεν ὑψίστου

were in the middle, and the cavalry were 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 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, 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."

χέρας·οῖς μὲν γάρ ἐστ' ἀρωγὸς, ἡμῖν δ'  
ἀθλίοις δλεθρον ἔρδει· καὶ συνεκλύσθη  
πόροςέρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ στρατὸν  
διώλεσε.”

9.29.15 | καὶ πάλιν μετ' ὄλιγα ”Ἐκεῖθεν  
ῆλθον ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὡς αὐτός τε ὁ  
Δημήτριος λέγει καὶ συμφώνως τούτῳ ἡ  
ἰερὰ βίβλος. μὴ ἔχοντα δὲ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖ γλυκὺν  
ἄλλὰ πικρὸν, τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντος ξύλον τι  
ἔμβαλεν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν, καὶ γενέσθαι γλυκὺν  
τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐλεὶμ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ  
εὐρεῖν ἐκεῖ δῶδεκα 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 δῶδεκα 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.  
They did not have 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 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, οἶον  
εὔρομεντόπον πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇδέ γ' εύαεῖ  
νάπῃ.ἔστιν γάρ, ὡς που καὶ σὺ τυγχάνεις  
ὅρων,έκει. τόθεν δὲ φέγγος ἔξέλαμψέ  
νιν,κατ' εὐφρόνην σημεῖον ὡς στῦλος  
πυρός.ἔνταῦθα λειμῶν' εὔρομεν  
κατάσκιον,ὑγράς τε λιβάδας· δαψιλῆς  
χῶρος βαθὺς,πηγὰς ἀφύσσων δῶδεκ' ἐκ  
μιᾶς πέτρας ·στελέχη δ' ἐρυμνὰ πολλὰ  
φοινίκων πέλειέγκαρπα, δεκάκις ἐπτὰ, καὶ  
ἐπίρρυτοςπέφυκε χλοίη θρέμμασιν  
χορτάσματα. εἴτα ὑποβὰς περὶ τοῦ  
φανέντος ὄρνεου διεξέρχεται ἔτερον δὲ  
πρὸς τοῖσδ' εἴδομεν ζῶν ξένον,θαυμαστὸν,  
οἶον οὐδέπω ὥρακέ τις διπλοῦν γάρ ἦν τὸ  
μῆκος ἀετοῦ σχεδὸν,πτεροῖσι ποικίλοισιν  
ἡδὲ χρώμασι.στῆθος μὲν αὐτοῦ πορφυροῦν  
ἐφαίνετο,σκέλη δὲ μιλτόχρωτα, καὶ κατ'  
αὐχένακροκωτίνοις μαλλοῖσιν  
εύτρεπίζετο.κάρα δὲ κοττοῖς ἡμέροις  
παρεμφερὲς,καὶ μηλίνη μὲν τῇ κόρῃ

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 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 bright 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

προσέβλεπεκύιλω· κόρη δὲ κόκκος ώς  
έφαίνετο· φωνὴν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν  
έκπρεπεστάτην. βασικλεὺς δὲ πάντων  
όρνέων ἐφαίνετο, ως ἡν νοῆσαι. πάντα γὰρ  
τὰ πτήν' ὅμοῦ πισθεν αὐτοῦ δειλιῶντ'  
ἐπέσυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ πρόσθεν, ταῦρος ως  
γαυρούμενος, ἔβαινε κραυτνὸν βῆμα  
βαστάζων ποδός.' καὶ μετὰ βραχέα  
"Επιζητεῖν δέ τινα πῶς οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ὅπλα  
ἔσχον ἀνοπλοι ἔξελθόντες. ἐφασαν γὰρ  
τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν ἔξελθόντας καὶ  
θυσιάσαντας πάλιν ἀνακάμψειν. φαίνεται  
οὖν τοὺς μὴ κατακλυσθέντας τοῖς ἑκείνων  
ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι.'

## Section 30

9.30.1 | "Εύπόλεμος δέ φησιν ἐν τινι περὶ  
τῆς Ἡλίου προφητείας Μωσῆν  
προφητεῦσαι ἔτη μ'. εἴτα Ἰησοῦν, τὸν τοῦ  
Ναυῆς υἱὸν, ἔτη λ· βιῶσαι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτη ι πρὸς  
τοῖς ρ, πῆξαί τε τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν ἐν Σηλοῦ.

9.30.2 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προφήτην γενέσθαι  
Σαμουήλ. εἴτα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει ὑπὸ  
Σαμουήλ Σαοῦλον βασιλέα αἵρεθῆναι,  
ἄρξαντα δὲ ἔτη κα τελευτῆσαι.

9.30.3 | εἴτα Δαβὶδ τὸν τούτου υἱὸν  
δυναστεῦσαι, ὃν 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  
Ἴτουραίους καὶ Ναβαταίους καὶ  
Ναβδαίους.

had the most beautiful 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, he said, '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, Samuel  
chose Saul to be king, and he ruled for  
several years before he died."

9.30.3 | "Then David, his son, became  
powerful. He defeated the Syrians who  
lived near 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 the  
Nabdaean people."

9.30.4 | αὖθις δὲ ἐπιστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Σούρωνα βασιλέα Τυροῦ καὶ Φοινίκης, οὓς καὶ ἀναγκάσαι φόρους Ἰουδαίοις ὑποτελεῖν· πρός τε Οὐαφρῆν τὸν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέα φιλίαν συνθέσθαι.

9.30.5 | βουλόμενόν τε τὸν Δαβὶδ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἵερὸν τῷ θεῷ ἀξιοῦν τὸν θεὸν τόπον αὐτῷ δείξαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελον αὐτῷ ὄφθηναι ἐστῶτα ἐπάνω τοῦ τόπου, οὗ τὸν βωμὸν ἴδρυσθαι ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις, καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν μὴ ἴδρυσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν, διὰ τὸ αἷματι ἀνθρωπίνῳ πεφύρθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη πεπολεμηκέναι.

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.

9.30.7 | ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ πλοῖα ναυπηγήσασθαι ἐν Ἀιλάνοις πόλει τῆς Ἰαραβίας, καὶ πέμψαι μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ούρφην νῆσον, κειμένην ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, μέταλλα χρυσικὰ ἔχουσαν· καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειθεν μετακομίσαι τοὺς μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

9.30.8 | βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ ἔτη μ' Σολομῶνι τῷ υἱῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοῦναι, ὅντι ἔτῶν ιβ., ἐνώπιον Ἡλεὶ 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,

9.30.4 | “Again, he waged war against Suron, 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 Egypt.”

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 spot where the altar would be built in Jerusalem. The angel commanded him not to build the temple because he had shed human blood and had fought for many years.”

9.30.6 | “His name was Dyanathan. He was instructed to allow his son to 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 | “When David heard this, he ordered ships to be built in the city of Ailana in Arabia. He also sent miners to the island of Orphe, which is located in the Red Sea, to gather gold and bring it back to Judah.”

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 then died, and Solomon

Σολομῶνα δὲ βασιλεύειν, καὶ γράψαι πρὸς Οὐαφρῆν τὸν Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν.”

## Section 31

9.31.1 | “Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Οὐαφρῆ βασιλεῖ Αἴγυπτου φίλω πατρικῷ χαίρειν. Γίνονται με παρειληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, καὶ ἐπιτεταχότος βούτιοι οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν ἅμα δέ σοι γράψαι ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τῶν παρὰ σου λαῶν, οἱ παραστήσονται μοι μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι πάντα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν, καθότι ἐπιτέτακται.”

## Section 32

9.32.1 | “Βασιλεὺς Οὐαφρῆς Σολομῶνι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ χαίρειν. Αμα τῷ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν παρὰ σου ἐπιστολὴν σφόδρα δρᾶ ἔχάρην, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἡμέραν ἥγανον ἐγώ τε καὶ ἡ δύναμις 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 ὄκτω, ὧν 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 ίδίαν, ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας γενόμενοι.

became king. He wrote a signed letter to the king of Egypt, Wafrē.”

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 you will send to help me until everything is completed as needed, as it has been commanded.”

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, along with all my people, celebrated the day you received the kingdom from a good and trusted man, chosen by such a God. Regarding what you wrote about the people from my land, I have sent you eight thousand men, and I have also included the details about them. From the Sebriithite law, I sent thousands; from the Mendisians and Sebennytus, two thousand; and from Busiris, Leontopolis, and Athribis, one thousand each. Please take care of their needs and everything else so that they are well organized and can return to their homes as needed.”

## 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, ὃς 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 χορηγηθήσεται 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 you will send to 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, with one measure being ten artabas. I have also requested thousands of measures of wine, with one measure of wine being 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, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ὃς εἶλετο 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 praised God for you receiving the kingdom."

9.34.2 | περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφεις μοι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπέσταλκά σοι Τυρίων καὶ Φοινίκων ὄκτακισμυρίους, καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονά σοι ἀπέσταλκα ἄνθρωπον Τύριον, ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας, ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς

9.34.2 | "Regarding what you wrote to me about the people from our land, I have sent you eighty thousand Tyrians and Phoenicians. I have also sent you a master builder, a man from Tyre, from the mother

τῆς Δαβίδ. ὑπὲρ ὃν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσῃς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων, καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονίαν, ὑφηγήσεται σοι καὶ ποιήσει.

9.34.3 | περὶ δὲ τῶν δεόντων καί 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 Ἰόππην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πεζῇ εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἄρξασθαι οἴκοδομεῖν τὸ ιερὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅντα ἔτῶν ιγ' ἔργαζεσθαι 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 οίκοδομῆς καὶ τῶν θεμελίων πηχῶν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προστάξαι Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην τοῦ Θεοῦ.

9.34.5 | οἴκοδομεῖν δὲ ἐναλλάξ δόμον λίθινον καὶ ἔνδεσμον κυπαρίσσινον, πελεκίνοις χαλκοῖς ταλαντιαίοις καταλαμβάνοντας τοὺς β δόμους. οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν οίκοδομήσαντα ξυλῶσαι ἔξωθεν κεδρίνοις ξύλοις καὶ κυπαρισσίνοις, ὡστε τὴν λιθίνην οίκοδομὴν μὴ φαίνεσθαι· χρυσᾶσαί τε τὸν ναὸν ἔσωθεν χωννύντα πλινθία χρυσᾶ πενταπήχη, καὶ προστιθέναι προσηλοῦντα ἥλοις ἀργυροῖς, ταλαντιαίοις

of Judah, from the tribe of David. For anything you may ask him about all things under heaven, he will guide you and carry it out.”

9.34.3 | “Regarding the things needed and the children being sent to you, it would be good for you to write to the local governors, so that what is needed can be provided.”

9.34.4 | “Then Solomon, with his father's friends on the mountain of Lebanon along with the Sidonians and Tyrians, brought the timber that his father had prepared by sea to Joppa. From there, he traveled on foot to Jerusalem. He began to build the temple of God when he was thirteen years old. He had the nations mentioned earlier work on the project, 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, which was sixty cubits long and twenty cubits wide, while the width of the building and the foundations was ten cubits. This was as Nathan, the prophet of God, had commanded him.”

9.34.5 | “He built the house using alternating stone and cedar wood, with bronze tools that weighed talents to shape the stones. After completing the structure, he covered the outside with cedar and cypress wood, so that the stone would not be visible. Inside, he covered the temple with gold bricks that were five handbreadths thick and added silver nails that weighed talents to hold it together.

τὴν ὄλκὴν, μαστοειδέσι τὸν ἡυθυμὸν,  
τέσσαρι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν.

9.34.6 | οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν χρυσῶσαι ἀπὸ  
ἐδάφους ἔως τῆς ὁροφῆς, τό τε ὄρόφωμα  
ποιῆσαι ἐκ φατνωμάτων χρυσῶν, τὸ δὲ  
δῶμα ποιῆσαι χαλκοῦ ἀπὸ κεραμίδων  
χαλκῶν, χαλκὸν χωνεύσαντα, καὶ τοῦτον  
καταχέαντα. ποιῆσαι δὲ δύο στύλους  
χαλκοῦ, καὶ καταχρυσῶσαι αὐτοὺς  
χρυσίῳ ἀδόλῳ, δακτύλῳ τὸ πάχος.

9.34.7 | εἶναι δὲ τοὺς στύλους τῷ ναῷ  
ἰσομεγέθεις, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κύκλῳ ἔκαστον  
κίονα πηχῶν δέκα· στῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ  
οἴκου δὲν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, δὲν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων.  
ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς, δέκα  
τάλαντα ἐκάστην στῆν ὄλκὴν ἀγούσας,  
ὑπόδειγμα λαβόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Μώσεως ἐν τῇ  
σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τεθεῖσαν.

9.34.8 | στῆσαι δὲ ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τοῦ  
σηκοῦ τὰς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὰς δὲ ἐξ  
εὐωνύμων. ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λύχνου 'ς  
χρυσοῦς δὲ, 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  
ὕψος πηχῶν ἐ. ποιῆσαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
στεφάνην πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἔξω  
ὑπερέχουσαν πῆχυν ἔνα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς

The craftsmanship was masterful, and  
there were four of these nails."

9.34.6 | "Thus, he covered everything in  
gold from the floor to the ceiling, creating  
the ceiling from golden panels. He made the  
room with bronze tiles, melting the bronze  
and pouring it. He also made two bronze  
pillars and covered them with pure gold,  
with the thickness being the width of a  
finger."

9.34.7 | "The pillars in the temple were the  
same size, each 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,  
following the design that Moses had used in  
the tabernacle of the testimony."

9.34.8 | "He placed the lampstands on  
either 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 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,  
with a height of 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

ἱερεῖς τούς τε πόδας προσκλύζεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας νίπτεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας· ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς βάσεις τοῦ λουτῆρος τορευτὰς χωνευτὰς δώδεκα, καὶ τῷ ὑψει ἀνδρομήκεις, καὶ στῆσαι ἐξ ὑστέρου μέρους ὑπὸ τὸν λουτῆρα, ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

9.34.10 | ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ βάσιν χαλκῆν τῷ ὑψει πηγῶν δυοῖν, κατὰ τὸν λουτῆρα, ἐν ἐφεστήκῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅταν προσεύχηται, ὅπως ὀπτάνηται τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. οἴκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον πηγῶν κε ἐπὶ πήχεις κ', τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηγῶν ιβ.

9.34.11 | ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ δακτυλίους δύο χαλκοῦς λυσιδωτοὺς, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηχανημάτων ὑπερεχόντων τῷ ὑψει 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 μολύνῃ τοῖς ἀποπατήμασι τὸ ἱερόν.

9.34.12 | περιβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν πόλιν τείχεσι καὶ πύργοις καὶ τάφροις· οἴκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ βασίλεια ἐαυτῷ.

9.34.13 | προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνάκτορον πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὸν Σολομῶνος, ὑστερὸν δὲ παρεφθαρμένως τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄνομασθῆναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φερωνύμως Ἱεροσόλυμα

made twelve bronze bases for the basin, and they were tall. 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, where 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 structures higher than the temple, twenty cubits tall, and they shaded the entire sanctuary. He attached nets to each bell, with four hundred bronze clappers. He made all the nets to create noise with the clappers and to scare away the birds, so they would not settle on the sanctuary or nest in the doorways and colonnades, making 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. Later, when the city was damaged, it was named Jerusalem. The Greeks famously referred to it as

λέγεσθαι.

Jerusalem.”

9.34.14 | συντελέσαντα δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τειχίσαντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σηλὼμ, 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 completing 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 had 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, just 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 υἱ' ιείς 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 ὀκτακισχίλια πεντήκοντα.

9.34.16 | “And he offered to God a sacrifice of many animals: two thousand sheep and three thousand five hundred bulls. The total amount of gold used for the two pillars and the temple was ten thousand talents, while the silver for the nails and the other work was one thousand two hundred thirty-two talents. The bronze used for the columns, the basin, and the porch amounted to 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 ἐλαίου μετρητὰς μυρίους, φοινικοβαλάνων ἀρτάβας χιλίας, μέλιτος δὲ ἀγγεῖα ἐκατὸν, καὶ ἀρώματα πέμψαι·

9.34.17 | “And he sent away Solomon, the Egyptians, and the Phoenicians, giving each ten gold shekels, since a talent was worth 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 ζῷον ὀλοσώματον κατασκευάσαι, καὶ ἔλυτρον τῷ ἀνδριάντι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα περιθεῖναι.

9.34.20 | ποιῆσαι δέ φησιν ὁ Εύπόλεμος τὸν Σολομῶνα καὶ ἀσπίδας χρυσᾶς χιλίας, ὃν ἐκάστην πεντακοσίων εἶναι χρυσῶν. βιῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη πεντήκοντα δύο, ὃν 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

9.34.18 | "And he sent the golden column to Suron in Tyre, the one that is located in the temple of Zeus in Tyre."

9.34.19 | "Theophilus says that Solomon sent the leftover gold to the king of Tyre. He made a statue of the king's daughter, a full-body image, and he placed a covering over 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, ruling in peace for forty of those years."

9.35.1 | "Timokhares says that in the writings about Antioch, Jerusalem has a perimeter of five hundred stadia and is hard to capture, surrounded by cliffs on all sides. The whole city is flooded with water, so even the gardens are watered by the flowing waters from the city. However, 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 site. Some parts of the wall

τόπου· ώκοδομῆσθαι δὲ τινὰ μὲν μέρη τοῦ  
τείχους ἀπὸ λίθου ξεστοῦ, τὰ δὲ πλείονα  
ἀπὸ χάλικος· καὶ ἔχειν τὴν περίμετρον τὴν  
πόλιν σταδίων καὶ, ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ πηγὴν ἐν  
τῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ δαψιλές ἀναβλύζουσαν.”

## 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 θέρευ  
πληροῦσθαι. λέγει δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ οὕτως  
νηχόμενος δ' ἐφύπερθε τὸ θαμβηέστατον  
ἄλλοι δέρκηθρον σὺν ἀοιδᾷ μεγιστούχῳ  
λοετροῖς βρέυματος ἐμπίπλησι βαθὺν ὥδον  
έξανιείσης, καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

9.37.2 | οἵς πάλιν ὑποβάς περὶ τῆς  
πληρώσεως ἐπιλέγει ὥδη μα γάρ  
ὑψιφάεννον, ἐν ὑετίοις νιφετοῖσινέμενον,  
πολυγηθὲς, ὑπὲρ πύργοισιν  
ὅροισιστρωφᾶται, καὶ ξηρὰ πέδω  
κεκονιμένα, κρήνηστηλεφαῇ δείκνυσιν  
ὑπέρτατα θάμβεα λαῶν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις  
άκολουθα.

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' ἂλλα τούτοις ἔπεται.” Τοσαῦτα  
μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
Πολυίστορος.

## Section 38

9.38.1 | Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ  
ὑδάτων καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταῖος ἐν τῷ γραφέντι

are built from smooth stone, while most are made from gravel. The perimeter of the city is twenty-seven stadia, and there is also a spring in the area with plenty of flowing water.”

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 describes it like this: ‘Flowing above is the most amazing sight, with songs of great beauty filling the deep stream that flows out.’”

9.37.2 | “Again, he adds about the filling: ‘For the high-flowing stream, during the rainy and snowy season, is abundant, flowing over the towers of the mountains. It reveals the dry ground covered with dust and shows the distant wonders of the people.’”

9.37.3 | “Then he continues about the spring of the high priest and its outflow like this: ‘Deeply do the water-bearing pipes pour out through the ground,’ along with whatever else follows. This is what comes from Alexander the Polyhistor.”

9.38.1 | “About the waters in Jerusalem, Aristaios also writes in his book On the

αύτῷ βιβλίῳ Περὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ιουδαίων νόμου ταῦτα ἴστορεῖ

Interpretation of the Jewish Law, sharing these details."

9.38.2 | "Ο δὲ οἶκος ἀποβλέπει πρὸς ἡῶ, τὰ δ' ὄπισθια 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 ἐορτῶν ἡμέρας.

9.38.2 | "But the house faces east, while its back looks west. The entire ground is paved with stones, and it has vines in the areas where the waters flow, due to the mixture of blood from the sacrifices; for many thousands of animals are brought during the festival days."

9.38.3 | Ὅδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ὡς ἀν 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 ἔσυνταῖς συναπτόντων τῶν ὅρευμάτων· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μεμολιβδῶσθαι κατ' ἐδάφους 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 beneath the ground, within a circle of five stadia around the foundation of the temple. From these, countless pipes connect to each area, 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 formed."

## Section 39

9.39.1 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας τοῦ Πολυίστορος μνήμην πεποιημένου, ἡμᾶς ἀποσιωπῆσαι ταύτην πάντων ἀν εἴη παραλογώτατον. κείσθω τοίνυν καὶ αὕτη

9.39.1 | "Given these things, and remembering the prophecy of Jeremiah the Multitude of Stories, it would be very unreasonable for us to stay silent about this. Let this also be mentioned."

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; regarding this, the prophet Jeremiah prophesied. He was sent by god to confront the Jews who were sacrificing to the golden idol named

είδώλω χρυσῷ, ὃ εἶναι ὄνομα Βάαλ.

Baal."

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.

9.39.3 | "He revealed to them their future misfortune. While Jehoiakim was still alive, he would be burned. He also said that these wooden items would be turned into food by the Babylonians, and they would dig the canals of the Tigris and Euphrates that had been taken captive."

9.39.4 | τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα ἀκούσαντα Ναβουχοδονόσορ πὰ ψὸ τοῦ Ιερεμίου προμαντευθέντα παρακαλέσαι Ἀστιβάρην τὸν Μῆδῶν βασιλέα συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ.

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 his campaign."

9.39.5 | παραλαβόντα δὲ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Μῆδους, καὶ συναγαγόντα πεζῶν μὲν ὁκτωκαίδεκα, 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."

9.39.5 | "After gathering the Babylonians and Medes, he assembled eighteen thousand foot soldiers, twelve thousand cavalry, and a thousand chariots. First, he destroyed Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews living in Gilead. Then he captured Jerusalem and took the Jewish king Jehoiakim prisoner. He collected the gold, silver, and bronze from the temple to send to Babylon, except for the holy items and the tablets inside it. These he seized from Jeremiah."

## 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

9.40.1 | "It is also important to include 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,

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  
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.

making it part of his kingdom once again.”

9.40.2 | “At this time, Nebopolassar, his father, became ill in the city of Babylon. After ruling for many years, he changed his way of life. Soon after, Nebuchadnezzar learned of his father's death. He took care of affairs in Egypt and the surrounding areas, 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 way of life, having ruled for 23 years. Then 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 was married to 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. However, 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 Ναβοννήδω 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 man named Nabonidus, who was from Babylon and belonged to 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 Κύρος ἐκ τῆς Πέρσεως μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν βασιλείαν ἄπασαν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.

9.40.7 | "During his reign, the walls of the Babylonian city were constructed with baked bricks and asphalt. In the 17th year of his rule, Cyrus came from Persia with a large army and, after conquering the rest of the kingdom, he marched toward Babylon."

9.40.8 | αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡσσηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς, συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιπηνῶν πόλιν.

9.40.8 | "But Nabonidus, noticing Cyrus's attack, went out to meet him with his army and prepared 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 | Κύρος 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 captured Babylon, he ordered the outer city walls to be destroyed because the city seemed very strong and difficult to take. He then focused on Borsippa, planning to lay siege to Nabonidus."

9.40.10 | τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς

9.40.10 | "But since Nabonidus did not withstand the siege and surrendered himself, Cyrus acted kindly and gave him a place to live in Carmania, sending him away

οίκητήριον αύτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἔξεπεμψεν ἐκ 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 γάρ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ναὸν ἡρήμωσε, καὶ ἦν ἀφανῆς ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντήκοντα. δευτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει, τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων, δεκάτῳ πάλιν τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἐτελέσθη.” Ταῦτα δὲ 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 ἐπὶ 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 κατασχεθείη θεῷ 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 | ἔχει Πέρσης ἡμίονος, τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν· ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην. οὗ δὴ

from Babylon. Thus, Nabonidus spent the rest of his life in that land.”

9.40.11 | “These things match the truth found in our books. It is written that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and it remained hidden for fifty years. Then, 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 the following: ‘Megasthenes says that Nebuchadnezzar became stronger than Hercules and campaigned in both Libya and Iberia. After conquering these lands, he settled some of the people to the right of the Pontus.’”

9.41.2 | “Later, it is said that he went up to the royal palace of the Chaldeans. 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 powerless 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

συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον αὔχημα. ώς εἴθε μιν, πρόσθεν ἡ δοῦναι τοὺς πολιήτας, Χάρυβδίν τινα ἡ θάλασσαν εἰς δεξαμενὴν ἀϊστῶσαι πρόριζον· ἡ μιν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς στραφέντα φέρεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, ἵνα οὕτε ἄστεα οὕτε 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.

9.41.4 | ὁ μὲν θεοπίσας παραχρῆμα ἡφάνιστο· ὁ δέ οἱ παῖς Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος ἐβασίλευε. τὸν δ' ὁ κηδεστής ἀποκτείνας Ἱγλισάρης λείπει παῖδα Λαβασσοάρασκον. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος βιαίω μόρῳ, Ναβαννίδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν. τὸν δὲ Κύρος, ἐλὼν Βαβυλῶνα, Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίῃ δωρέεται.”

9.41.5 | Καὶ περὶ τοῦ κτίσαι δὲ τὸν Ναβοθιχοδονόσορ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ὁ αὐτὸς ταῦτα γράφει “Λέγεται Λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλεομένην. Βῆλον δέ σφεα παῦσαι, χώρην ὥην ἐκάστω ἀπονείμαντα, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τείχει περιβαλεῖν τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ίκνευμένῳ ἀφανισθῆναι.

9.41.6 | τειχίσαι δὲ αὖθις Ναβουχοδονόσορον τὸ μέχρι τῆς Μακεδονίων ἀρχῆς διαμεῖναν ἐόν χαλκόπυλον. Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει

9.41.7 | “Ναβουχοδονόσορος δὲ

of their Assyrian pride. Oh, if only it could be sent away before it enslaves the citizens, 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 for men, but wild beasts roam and birds fly, and only in rocks and ravines can they be caught. May I reach this goal before being struck down.”

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 named Nabannidochus as king, but he had no connection to them. Then Cyrus, after taking Babylon, was given the rule of Carmania.”

9.41.5 | “And about the founding of Babylon by Nabuchodonosor, he writes this: ‘It is said that everything began from water, called the sea. And Bel stopped them, giving each a place and surrounding Babylon with walls; but in time, it would disappear.’”

9.41.6 | “Then again, Nabuchodonosor built walls that lasted until the time of the Macedonians, and they were made of bronze. He also adds other details.”

9.41.7 | “Nabuchodonosor, after taking over

διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν Βαβυλῶνα μὲν ἔτείχισε τριπλῷ περιβόλῳ ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρῃσι, τὸν τε Ἀρμακάλην ποταμὸν ἔξήγαγεν, ἔοντα κέρας Εύφρητεω, 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.

the rule, built Babylon with a triple wall in fifteen days. He also redirected the river Armachales, which is a branch of the Euphrates, and the river Acrakanon. Above the city of Sippar, he dug a ditch that 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 | ἐπετείχισε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν, καὶ Τερηδόνα πόλιν ἔκτισεν κατὰ τὰς Ἀράβων εἰσβολάς· τά τε βασιλήια δένδροις ἥσκησε, κρεμαστοὺς παραδείσους ὄνομάσας.”

9.41.8 | “He also built a harbor by the Red Sea and founded the city of Teridona to defend against the invasions of the Arabs. He created royal gardens with trees, calling them ‘hanging gardens.’”

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, ἀπηθαδίσατο εἰπὼν, οὐχ αὕτη ἔστι Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἦν ἐγώ ὁ κοκόμησα εἰς οἴκον 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.”

9.41.9 | “And let these things come 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?’ While he was still speaking, the destruction that was to come upon him happened.”

## Section 42

9.42.1 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτάρκως περὶ τῶνδε. προσκείσθω δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίων Ἀρχαιότητος Ἰωσήπου, ἔνθα μυρίων συγγραφέων αὐτολεξεὶ παραθεὶς φωνὰς ταῦτα ἐπιλέγει

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 quotes 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. οἵσις συγγινώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν 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 ancient history, along with many Greek writers. Also, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Eumelus, Comon, Zopyrion, and many others (for I have not come across all their books) have remembered to mention us."

9.42.3 | "Most of the men mentioned have made mistakes about the truth of the original events because they did not have access to our sacred books. However, they all agree on ancient history, which is what I intend to discuss now. Demetrius of Phalerum, Philo the Elder, and Eupolemus, on the other hand, did not stray far from the truth. They are worth considering, for they did not follow our writings with complete accuracy."

9.42.4 | "These things are also found in Josephus. Anyone interested in the words about the ancient history of the Jews would find many agreements with the testimonies presented. There is also a large group of witnesses, both old and new writers, who support the same view. We leave their voices, considering the balance of their arguments, 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 Ἑλληνας 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 Hebrew philosophy with Greek philosophy? With what reasoning have we accepted the sacred books from these men? We should not ignore the Greeks, but rather remember them by name and be amazed by their lives, as they have provided a great account of both the royal capital and their other history. Let us examine this, for not only have these writings earned remembrance, but some among them 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 Ἑλλήνων 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 remarkable Greeks gathered the knowledge of the barbarians, including geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy, medicine, and even the basic elements of grammar, along with countless other useful skills and practices. I will present these now.

10.1.3 | ὡσπερ οὖν τὴν περὶ πλειόνων θεῶν  
δόξαν, τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ  
προσέτι τὰς ἴστορίας καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς περὶ  
θεῶν διηγήσεις, τῶν τε μύθων τὰς  
ἄλληγορους μένας φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὴν  
λοιπὴν δεισιδαίμονα πλάνην, παρὰ  
βαρβάρων εἰλῆφθαι αὐτοῖς φθάσας ὁ  
λόγος ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπηνίκα τὰ πάντα τοὺς  
Ἑλληνας, γῆν πολλὴν πλανηθέντας, οὐκ

10.1.3 | Just as the beliefs 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 traveled through much land, not without effort,

άταλαιπώρως μὲν, ἐξ ἑράνου δὲ τῶν παρὰ  
βαρβάροις μαθημάτων, τὴν οἰκείαν  
ὑποστήσασθαι θεολογίαν ἔφωράσαμεν·

gathered the teachings from the  
barbarians, we established our own  
theology.

10.1.4 | ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ εύσεβείας ἐνὸς τοῦ  
ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ, τά τε περὶ τῶν μάλιστα  
ζητουμένων εἰς ψυχῆς ὡφέλειαν  
δογμάτων, ἂ δὴ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα γένοιτ  
ἄν τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγων, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν  
εἴεν ἀν ἡ παρὰ μόνων Ἐβραίων  
πεπορισμένοι, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν  
ἀποδειχθήσεται.

10.1.4 | But regarding 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 closely 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 | 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'  
Ἐλλάδα, καὶ φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς  
ἔξητασμένα, ζηλοῦν προειλόμεθα.

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. Still, we certainly  
seek after those teachings that have great  
fame in Greece and have been examined  
through the studies of philosophers.

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.

10.1.6 | 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 their great reputation  
overshadows those who are similar.

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

10.1.7 | It is not surprising if we say that  
the teachings among the Hebrews could  
have been influenced by them, since not  
only do the other subjects come from the  
Egyptians and Chaldeans, but even now

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 δόμοῦ καὶ διανοίας καὶ ὅλας λόγων συντάξεις ὑποκλέψας, ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείοις 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 ἔκτῳ Στρωματεῖ τὴν περὶ τούτου σύστασιν εἰς πλάτος ἀπηγόρουνε. 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 περισυγασθεῖσαν, καθ' ὃ σημαινόμενον διήκειν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν κλοπὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκδεχόμενοι, εἴ μὴ ἐπαχθὲς είπεῖν, ἀπεδείξαμεν, φέρε μάρτυρας τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτῶν παραστήσωμεν Ἐλληνας.

10.2.2 | οἱ γὰρ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὕτως ἄντικρυς παρ' ἀλλήλων ὑφαιρούμενοι βεβαιοῦσι μὲν τὸ κλέπται εἶναι, σφετερίζεσθαι δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἄκοντες τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀλήθειαν εἰς

they still compete with each other, taking away each other's honor in their writings.

10.1.8 | Indeed, each of them has borrowed words, thoughts, and the entire 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 accuse each other of stealing in their writings.

10.1.9 | Now, since we have started this, it is necessary first of all to examine 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 clearly revealed to us through writings, we have shown how they accept the theft of truth, unless it is too 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, yet they still secretly share the truth from us with their own kind. For if they do not even

τοὺς ὄμοιφύλους λάθρα διαδείκνυνται. εἰ γὰρ μηδὲ ἔαυτῶν, σχολῇ γ' ἀν τῶν ήμετέρων ἀφέξονται.

10.2.3 | καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σιωπήσομαι δόγματα, αὐτῶν διμολογούντων ἐγγράφως τῶν τὰς αἱρέσεις διανενμημένων, ὡς μὴ ἀχάριτοι εὐρεθεῖν, παρὰ Σωκράτους εἰληφέναι τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων ὄλιγοις δὲ τῶν καθωμιλημένων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εύδοκίμων ἀνδρῶν χρησάμενος μαρτυρίοις, τὸ κλεπτικὸν διελέγχας αὐτῶν εἴδος, διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις καταχρώμενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξῆς τρέψομαι.”

10.2.4 | Ταῦθ' ὡς ἐν προοιμίοις φήσας τοὺς ἑλέγχους ἔξῆς ἐπάγει, παντοίαις κεχρημένοις ἀποδείξει, καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς ποιητὰς τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὄμοιών κειλοφέναι διὰ παραθέσεως τῶν ἐκάστου φωνῶν εύθύνει.

10.2.5 | εἶθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα. “Ως μηδὲ ἄμοιρον τήν τε φιλοσοφίαν τήν τε ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν ḥητορικὴν τοῦ ὄμοιού ἑλέγχου περιίδωμεν, καὶ τούτων ὄλιγα παραθέσθαι εὔλογον.”

10.2.6 | Εῖτ' ἀκολούθως Ὁρφέως, Ἡρακλείτου, Πλάτωνς, τωνος, Πυθαγόρου, Ἡροδότου, Θεοπόμπου, Θουκυδίδου, κυδίδου, Δημοσθένους, Αίσχίνου, Λυσίου, Ισοκράτους, μυρίων ἄλλων παρατίθησιν, ὃν περιττὸν ἐμὲ καταλέγειν τὰς φωνὰς, προκειμένης τῆς τάνδρος γραφῆς, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τοὺς ἑλέγχους τῶν είρημένων ταῦτα

keep what is their own, they would still freely take from what belongs to us.

10.2.3 | And I will remain silent about the teachings of philosophy, since they themselves agree that their beliefs are recorded, so that they are not seen as ungrateful. The most important teachings were taken from Socrates. Using the testimonies of a few respected men among the Greeks, I will examine the nature of their theft, drawing on examples from different times, and I will turn to what comes next.

10.2.4 | Having said these things in the introduction, he now presents the arguments that follow, using various kinds of evidence. He also shows that the first poets borrowed from their peers 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 makes sense to present a few examples of these.”

10.2.6 | Then he continues with Orpheus, Heraclitus, Plato, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Theopompus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, Isocrates, and many others. It is not necessary for me to list their voices, since their writings are available, in which he repeats these ideas after the arguments of those mentioned.

## 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 παραξράσαντες ἐφωράθησαν, ὡς δειχθήσονται, αύτοτελῶς δὲ τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἵδια 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 εὑρεσιν 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, Ἑλληνικῇ μυθολογίᾳ τερατευόμενοι.

10.2.10 | καὶ δὴ πευσόμεθα παρ' αύτῶν ἥτοι ἀληθῆ ταῦτά ἔστιν, ἢ ιστοροῦσιν, ἢ ψευδῆ. Ψευδῆ μὲν ούκ ἀν φήσαιεν· οὐ γάρ ἀν καταψηφίσαιντο ἐστῶν ἐκόντες τὴν μεγίστην εὐήθειαν, τὸ ψευδῆ συγγράφειν ἀληθῆ δ' εἶναι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅμολογήσαιεν.

10.2.7 | Therefore, the ideas of Greek borrowing are enough to serve as a clear example for those who can see. However, it is not just the thoughts and words that have been taken and mixed together, as will be shown. They have also claimed others' works as if they were their own, just like Eugammons of Cyrene took the entire book 'On the Thesprotians' from Musaeus.

10.2.8 | Again, after presenting many proofs for his argument, he concludes with these words: "Life will slip away from me if I try to examine each case, arguing against the selfish borrowing of Greek ideas, and how they claim the discovery of the best teachings that they have taken from us."

10.2.9 | Now, they are not only taking teachings from the barbarians, but they are also imitating what comes from us. Through divine power from above, they act strangely in their return to us, while they are preoccupied with Greek mythology.

10.2.10 | So, we will ask them whether the 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 lies. 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 ἐπιδεδειγμένα; 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 everyone, some with commands, others with threats, and there are those whom he guides 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 Αἴακοῦ εὔχῃ.

10.2.12 | But the Greeks, once suffering from a long drought that ruined Greece and caused a lack of crops, said that those who were left came as supplicants to Delphi and asked the Pythia how they could be freed from their terrible situation. 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 οἴκτεῖραι 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 and calling upon the common father, the god, he prayed for him to have pity on Greece, which was suffering greatly.

10.2.14 | ἄμα δὲ εύχομένου 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 Αἴακοῦ γεωργηθεῖσα εύχαις.

10.2.14 | While he was praying, a sudden thunderclap sounded, and the air around was filled with it. Then heavy and continuous rains fell, filling the entire land. Because of 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 sent thunder and rain on the day of harvest. Do you see that the one who sends rain on both the righteous and the unrighteous through the powers that be is one God?” And the following things.

10.2.16 | Τούτοις μυρία συνάψας ὁ Κλήμης κλέπτας γεγονέναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀναμφιλέκτοις ἐλέγχοις κατεφώρασεν. εἰ δέ σοι μὴ πιστὸς οὗτος, ἄτε τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βάρβαρον ὅμοίως ἡμῖν προτετιμηκώς φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ δὴ ἔάσθω, καίπερ οὐκ, οίκειαις 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 philosophy of the barbarians over that of the Greeks, let him be, even though he does not use familiar words but speaks to 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 teachings of the lover of learning.

### Section 3

10.3.1 | “Τὰ Πλατώνεια ἐστιῶν ἡμάς Λογγῖνος Ἀθήνησι κέκληκεν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Νικαγόραν τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ Μαῖωρα, Ἀπολλώνιόν τε τὸν γραμματκὸν, καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν γεωμέτρην, Προσήνην τε τὸν περιπατητικὸν καὶ τὸν Στωϊκὸν Καλλιέτην.

10.3.1 | “The Platonic gatherings have invited us, Longinus, to Athens, along with many others, including Nicagoras the sophist, Maior, Apollonius the grammarian, Demetrius the geometer, Prosenes the Peripatetic, and Callietes the Stoic.”

10.3.2 | μεθ' ὃν ἔβδομος αύτὸς κατακλινεὶς, τοῦ δείπνου προκόπτοντος, καὶ 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 γάρ αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοπόμπου προυτίθει, ὁ δὲ Καύστριος κλέπτην ἀπεκάλει.

10.3.2 | “While I was lying down as the seventh at the dinner, I heard some discussion about Ephorus among the others. Let us hear, he said, what the commotion is about Ephorus. The ones discussing were Caustrius and Maximus; one was presenting Ephorus and Theopompus, while the other called Caustrius a thief.”

10.3.3 | καὶ τί γὰρ Ἐφόρου ἕδιον, ἔφη, ἐκ τῶν Δαιμάχου καὶ Καλλισθένους καὶ Ἀναξιμένους αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους;

10.3.3 | “And what is special about Ephorus, he said, compared to Daimachus, Callisthenes, and Anaximenes, when he has rewritten all three thousand lines in his own words?”

10.3.4 | πρὸς ὃν ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀπολλώνιος ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ ἔγνως ὅτι καὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον, ὃν σὺ προτιμᾷς, 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' αὐτὸς παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς.

10.3.4 | “To this, the grammarian Apollonius replied, ‘You do not know that even Theopompos, whom you prefer, has left behind this same flaw. In the eleventh work about Philip, translated from Isocrates, the Areopagite, he has changed those names, saying that neither good nor evil happens to people by itself, along with 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, μεταθεὶς 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 in the contest about Mausolus, the teacher. He has woven a web of matters, changing what belongs 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 ἴστορηκότος, εἰπόντος 's ὡς διψήσας ποτὲ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ καὶ ἐκ τινος ψέατος ἀνιμήσας καὶ πιῶν προεῖπεν Λας εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμὸς, καὶ ἔτερά τινα τούτοις ἐπαγα:ών ἐπιλέγει,

10.3.6 | “For in Tripolis, about Pythagoras the philosopher, it is said that once, while thirsty in Metapontum, he was stirred by some falsehood, drank, and predicted that there would be an earthquake on the third day. He also added some other things to this.”

10.3.7 | ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦ Ἀνδρῶνος περὶ Πυθαγόρου ἴστορηκότος πάντα ὑφείλετο Θεόπομπος. εἴ μψ περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων, τάχα ἂν καὶ ἔτεροι ἡπίσΜντο.περὶ αὐτοῦ,

10.3.7 | “Therefore, Theopompos took away all the things that Andron told about Pythagoras. If he were speaking about Pythagoras, perhaps others would have

καὶ ἔλεγον, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς είπών νῦν δὲ τὴν κλοπὴν δήλην πεποίηκεν ἡ τοῦ ὀνόμαψι; μετάθεσις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἔτερον δ' ὄνομα μετενήνοχε' Φερεκύδην γένος τὸν Σύριον πεποίηκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα.

also heard about him and said: having said these things himself, he has clearly committed theft of the name. For he has changed the names while using the same ideas; he has made it seem as if these things were spoken by Pherecydes the Syrian."

10.3.8 | οὐ μόγον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει. τό τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς προρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀνδρωιος ῥηθὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ εἰρῆσθαι φησιν 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 locations. For Theopomitus claims that the prediction about the earthquake in Metapontum, which was spoken by Andron, is said to have been made in Syria. He also says that the story about the ship did not come from Megara in Sicily, but was said to have been seen from Samos. Additionally, he has moved the capture of Sybaris to Messene."

10.3.9 | ἵνα δί τι δοκῇ λέγειν περιττὸν, καὶ τοῦ ξένου προστέθεικε τούνομα, Περίλαον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέλέγων. κάγω, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐντυγχάνων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτὸν 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, claiming that he is called Perilaus. Nicagoras says that, while encountering many works of Xenophon, he has found that much of Xenophon has been altered, and what is troubling is that these changes are for the worse."

10.3.10 | τὰ γοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον συνόδου δι' Απολλοφρ ἄνους τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐνσπόνδους διαλέξεις, ἃς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ξενοφῶν ἀνέγραψε πάνυ χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῖν, εἰς τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταθείς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἀργά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄπρακτα.

10.3.10 | "At least the details about the meeting between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus, as told by Apollophanes of Cyzicus, and the conversations they had with each other, which Xenophon wrote about very charmingly and fittingly in the fourth book, have been moved by Theopomitus into the eleventh book of the Greeks, where he has made them dull, lifeless, and ineffective."

10.3.11 | λόγου γάρ δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν ἔξεργασίαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ ἐπιδείνυσθαι σπουδάζων βραδὺν καὶ μέλλων καὶ ἀναβαλλομένω ἔοικώς φαίνεται, κμ· τὸ ἔμψυχον καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὸ Ξενοφῶντος διαφθείρω7.

10.3.11 | “For he seems slow and hesitant, trying to add strength to his words and to show off because of the theft, as if he is delaying and putting things off. He ruins the lively and active nature of Xenophon.”

10.3.12 | ’Ταῦτ’ είπόντος τοῦ Νικαγόρου ὁ Ἀπολ ώῶνιος, Καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, ἔφη, εἰ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἐφόρου τὸ τῆς κλοπῆς πάθος ἥψατο, ἀργοτέρῳ οὐτῶς ἀνδρῶν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μένανδρος τῆς ἀρροστίας ταύτης ἐπλήσθη, ὃν ἡρέμα μὲν ἥλεγχε διὰ τι ἄγαν αὐτὸν φιλεῖν Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς παραλλήλοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἀφ’ ὃν ἔκλεψεν αλογαῖς; Λατīνος δὲ ἔξ βιβλίοις, ἂν ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ἴδιων Μενάνδρου, τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ’τον κλοπῶν ἔξεφηνε·

10.3.12 | “When Nicagoras said this, Apollonius replied, ‘And why should we be surprised if Theopompus and Ephorus were affected by the passion for theft, being such slow men? Even Menander was filled with this kind of sickness, whom Aristophanes gently criticized for loving him too much in his comparisons and in what he stole without reason. The Latin writer, in six books titled About Menander's Non-Personal Works, revealed the extent of his thefts.’”

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, τὸν Οίωοιώνιστήν, μεταγράψαι φησὶ τὸν Μένανδρον εἰς τὸν Δεισιδαίμονα.

10.3.13 | “Just as the Alexandrian Phlostratus wrote a work about the theft of Sophocles, Caecilius, as if he had discovered something great, claims that he translated the entire play of Antiphanes, the Oionian, into Menander's *Deisidaimon*.”

10.3.14 | ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς κλέπτας ἔδοξεν, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως, ὑμῖν, φησὶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀγαγεῖν, μηνύω καύτὸς Ὑπερείδην τὸν καλὸν πολλὰ παρὰ Δημοσθένους κεικλοφότα ἐν τε τῷ πρὸς Διώγδαν λόγῳ κάν τῷ περὶ τῶν Εύβούλου δωρεῶν.

10.3.14 | “But when it seemed to the thieves—though I don't know how—he says to you that they brought him into the center, 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 | καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἔτερος παρὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μετέθηκε πρόδηλον· συγχρονούντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἡμῶν μὲν ἀν εἴη ἔρλον, φησὶν, τοῦ Απολλώνιε, ἐκ τῶν χρόνων ἀνιχνεῦσαι τὸν κλέπτην'. ἐγὼ 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."

10.3.16 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησί "Καὶ τί ὑμῖν λέγω ὡς τὰ Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα Ἐλλανίκου ἐκ τῶν Προδότου καὶ Δαμάστου συνήκται; ἢ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πολλὰ Ἔκαταίου τοῦ Μιλησίου κατὰ λέξιν μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Περιηγήσεως, βραχέα παραποίησας, τὰ τοῦ φοίνικος ὄρνέου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποταμίου ἵππου καὶ τῆς θήρας τῶν κροκοδείλων; ;

10.3.17 | ἢ ὡς τὰ περὶ βασάνων είρημένα παρ' Ἰσαίῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Κύλωνος κιλήρου καὶ παρὰ Ἰσοκράτει ἐν τῷ Τραπεζιτικῷ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ὀνήτορος ἔξούλης σχεδὸν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εἴρηται; ἢ ὡς Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ κατὰ Κλεομέδοντος αἰκίας πολλὰ μετενήνοχεν αὐτοῖς ὄνόμασιν ἐκ τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας;

10.3.18 | ἢ Ἡσιόδου οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληίζετ' ἄμεινοντῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὗτε κακῆς οὐ βίγιον ἄλλο, ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν Σιμωνίδης ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ

10.3.15 | "And it is clear that one has taken from the other. While they were contemporaries, he says, 'It would be possible for us to trace the thief, Apollonius, through the times.' But I suspect that Hyperides is the one who was taken from. Since it is unclear which one it is, I admire Demosthenes if he improved what he received from Hyperides. But I blame Hyperides if he twisted what he received from Demosthenes for the worse."

10.3.16 | "And after a short while, he says, 'What can I tell you about how the barbarian laws are gathered from Hellanicus, Prodotus, and Damastus? Or how Herodotus, in the second book, has brought over many things word for word from Hecataeus of Miletus, making slight changes, about the bird of the phoenix, the river horse, and the hunting of crocodiles?'"

10.3.17 | "Or how the things said about tortures are mentioned by Isaeus in the speech about the lot of Cylon, by Isocrates in the work on the Table, and by Demosthenes in the speech against Onetor, almost in the same words? Or how Deinarchus, in the first speech against Cleomedon, has used many names from Demosthenes in the speech against Conon?"

10.3.18 | "Or from Hesiod: 'For no man takes anything better from a good woman, but from a bad one, he does not take anything worse.' Simonides has taken this

μετηνεγκε λαβών ούτως γυναικός ούδὲν χρῆμ' ἀνὴρ ληίζεται ἀμεινον ἐσθλῆς, ούδὲ δίγιον κακῆς. Εύριπίδης δὲ ἐν Μελανίππῃ τῇ δεσμώτιδι τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον ούδὲν γίνεται γυναικός, ἐσθλῆς δ' ούδὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πέφυκ' ἄμεινον· διαφέρουσι δ' αἱ φύσεις.

idea in the eleventh, saying: 'No man takes anything better from a good woman, nor anything worse from a 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 εἰπόντος γυναῖκές ἔσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν, Θεοδέκτης ἐν Ἀλκμαίωνι φησι σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος, ὡς ούδὲν ἔστιν 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· ἡ 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.' He not only takes the idea from this, but also uses the same words. He wants it to sound more like a proverb, as if it is said by many, rather than appearing to come from the one who originally said it."

10.3.20 | ὁ δ' Ἀντίμαχος τὰ Ὁμήρου κλέπτων παραδιορθοῖ. Ὁμήρου γὰρ είπρντος "Ιδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀντίμαχος λέγει "Ιδεώ θ' ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων ἦν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Λυκόφρων ἐπαινεῖ τὴν μετάθεσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτῆς ἐστηριγμένου τοῦ στίχου.

10.3.20 | "But Antimachus takes 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.' Lycophron praises this change, saying that it strengthens the line."

10.3.21 | τὸ γὰρ τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης σιγῶ, Ὁμήρου κωμῳδηθέντος ὑπὸ Κρατίνου διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι ἐν τῷ τὸν δ' ἀπα|ειβόμενο, δπερ οὔτω πεπατημένον οὐκ ὕκνησεν Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεῖναι.

10.3.21 | "For when it is said, 'the lord Diomedes spoke in reply,' I remain silent, since Cratinus made fun of it for being too wordy in 'the lord Diomedes speaking in reply.' Antimachus did not hesitate to change it, even though it was so poorly used."

10.3.22 | τοῦ δὲ λαῶν οῖσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦν, Ὁμηρικοῦ ὄντος, καὶ πάλιν

10.3.22 | "But 'he ruled over the people, and the father was gentle' comes from

άλλαχοῦ που λεγομένου, οὶ δ' ἐπεὶ  
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας, ὁ  
Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεὶς ἡμιστίχια πεποίηκε  
λαῶν οἷσιν ἄνασσον ἔκαρτύνοντο  
φάλαγγας.

Homer and is mentioned again somewhere else. When it says, ‘they strengthened the phalanx from both sides,’ Antimachus changed it and made it half a line: ‘they strengthened the phalanx of the people.’”

10.3.23 | ἀλλ' ἔνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κλοπῆς  
ἄλλους αἴτιώμενος κλέπτης ἀλῶ, τοὺς  
πραγματευσαμένους τὰ περὶ τούτοις  
μηνύσω. Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἔστι δύο Περὶ τῆς  
Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς, Ἀλκαῖος δὲ, ὁ τῶν  
λοιδόρων ίάμβῶν καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων  
ποιητής, παρῷδηκε ‘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.”

10.3.23 | “But I will not be a thief myself,  
accusing others of theft; I will reveal those  
who have dealt with these matters.  
Lysimachus has two works 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  
Pollio 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 learned.”

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 ἐօρτὴν σήμερον  
πανηγυρίζομεν, πολλοῖς καταχρῆται τῶν  
πρὸ αὐτοῦ, αἰδοῦμαι γὰρ τῷ τῆς κλοπῆς  
ὄνόματι ἐπὶ τούτου χρῆσθαι, οὐκέτι  
κατειλήφατε.

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  
caught him.’”

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 ἀν τις ἐφώρασε τοῦ φιλοσόφου  
κλοπάς, ἐγὼ δ' οὖν, ἢ κατὰ τύχην  
περιπέπτωκα, Πρωταγόρου τὸν Περὶ τοῦ  
ὄντος ἀναγινώσκων λόγον, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ

10.3.25 | “What are you saying?” said  
Calliates. “I am not just speaking,” he  
replies, “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 theft. But I  
happened to be reading Protagoras’ work  
about being, and I find him using such

ὅν εἰσάγοντας τοιαύταις αὐτὸν εὐρίσκω χρώμενον ἀπαντήσεσιν· ἐσπούδασα γὰρ αὐταῖς λέξεις τὰ ḥηθέντα μνημονεύειν.” Καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν διὰ πλειόνων τίθησι τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

expressions against those who introduce the one being. I have made an effort to remember the things said in those words.” After saying this, he presents more evidence.

10.3.26 | ἀλλ’ ὅποιος μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραζέων ὁ τρόπος, ὅτι τε ούδε τοῦ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἔφεισαντο ἐλέγχου, ἀρκεῦν ἀπὸ μυρίων ἡγοῦμαι τὰ είρημένα. μένα. ἔτι δὲ εἰς προπαρασκευὴν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν λόγων ἐπιρρείσης εἰς Ἕλληνας ὡφελείας εῦ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαίως καθόλου πᾶσαν ἀποδεῖξαι τὴν βωμένην Ἑλλήνων παιδείαν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τά τε πρῶτα αὐτῶν μαθήματα, καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀπὸ βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς συμπεφορημένα, ὡς ἀν μηκέθ’ ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμφοιτό τις αὐτῶν, ὅτι δὴ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις εύσέβειάν 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 hold back from criticism? I think what has been said is enough from countless examples. Furthermore, to prepare for the benefits that flow from the Hebrew words into the Greek language, it seems good and necessary to me to fully demonstrate the praised education and philosophy of the Greeks, their first teachings, and the serious knowledge of logic that they have received from the barbarians. This way, 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 | “Οτι μὴ ἄνευ λόγου σώφρονος δεύτερα θέθέμενοι τὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας τὴν παρ’ Ἐβραίοις θεολογίαν προτετιμήκαμεν γνοίης ἀν, μαθῶν ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ δὴ μάλιστα ὥρθότερον φιλοσοφίας ἀψάμενοι, καί τι πλέον καὶ μεῖζον τῆς πανδήμου περὶ θεῶν ἀκοῆς διανοιθέντες, οὐδέτερα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις προκεκυρωμένων 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 understand if you learned that even among the Greeks, those who grasped philosophy most correctly and thought of 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 | οἶ μὲν γὰρ ἀλληνάλλως ποικίλαις ψευδοδοξίαις ἀπαχθέντες εἰς βυθὸν

10.4.2 | For some, having been led into a deep pit of empty talk by various false

άδολεσχίας περιετράπησαν, οἱ δέ γε ποσῶς εὐγνώμονι λογισμῷ κεχρημένοι, ἐν οἷς τῆς τάληθοῦς ἔφήψαντο καταλήψεως, ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἐβραίων κοινωνοὶ πεφήνασι διδασκαλίας.

beliefs, have turned away. But others, using more thoughtful reasoning, have grasped the truth. In this way, they have shared in the teachings of the Hebrews.

10.4.3 | είκὸς 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 Ἐβραίων μόνον, οὐδέ γε Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ^ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων 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 include not just the Hebrews, the Phoenicians, and the Egyptians, but even the ancient Greeks themselves.

10.4.4 | οῖς τὰ μὲν ἐκ Φοινίκης Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγήνορος ^ τὰ δ' ἐξ Αἴγυπτου περὶ θεῶν, ἢ καί ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ^ μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς, ξοάνων τε ἰδρύσεις, καὶ ὕμνους, ώδάς τε καὶ ἐπωδὰς, ἦτοι Θράκιος Ὀρφεὺς, ἢ καί τις ἔτερος 'ἢ βάρβαρος, τῆς πλάνης ἀρχηγοὶ γενόμενοι, συνεστήωχντο· τούτων γὰρ οὐδένας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀν δύολογήσαιεν Ελληνες παλαιοτέρους είδέναι.

10.4.4 | Some things come from Phoenicia, like Cadmus, the son of Agenor, and others come 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 about them.

10.4.5 | πρῶτον γοῦν ἀπάντῶν Ὀρφέα, εἶτα δὲ Λίνον, κάπειτα Μουσαῖον, ἀμφὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενομένους ἢ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡκμακέναι φασίν. ἀλλὰ κατά γε τούτους πλέον οὐδὲν τῆς Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων πολυπλανοῦς θεολογίας παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐποιεύετο.

10.4.5 | First of all, they mention Orpheus, then Linus, and after that Musaeus, saying that they appeared around the time of the Trojan War or shortly before it. But according to these accounts, 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

10.4.6 | And indeed, among the other nations, in all the regions and cities, the same things and similar ones were

ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια παρεφυλάττετο. πολὺς γοῦν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς περὶ θεῶν ἔκρατει λόγος· νεώ τε περικαλλεῖς, παντοίοις ἀγάλμασι καὶ ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμημένοι, παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔξήσκηντο· ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ξόανα παντοίας ὑλῆς εἰς πᾶσαν θνητῶν ζῷων ἰδέαν τετυπωμένα φιλοκάλως ἔξείργαστο.

carefully preserved in sacred places and mysteries. Certainly, the well-known teachings about the gods held great power everywhere. Beautiful temples, decorated with various statues and offerings, were built all around. 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 ἦν καὶ ἄφθονος παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι περιουσίᾳ. σεμνός γε μήν τις καὶ μέγας θεὸς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαφερόντως τὸ τηνικάδε μάλιστα ἦν ἀκμάζων, ὁ Πύθιος καὶ ὁ Κλάριος καὶ ὁ Δωδωναῖος· εἴτα δὲ Ἀμφιάρεως καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίος ἄλλος ἐπιρρέων χρησμῶδῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητῶν τε καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν ὅχλος.

10.4.7 | And indeed, there was a great abundance of oracles everywhere. A certain revered and powerful god was especially honored among the Greeks, namely the Pythian, Clarian, and Dodonian gods. Then there were also Amphiaraus and Amphilius, along with countless other seers who were more numerous than poets and rhapsodes.

10.4.8 | ὃν μακροῖς ποθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις Ἑλληνας παρελθοῦσα φιλοσοφία, μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων παρὰ τοῖς προπάτορσιν εὐροῦσα, 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 praised by all, which were divine and beneficial. However, it focused on works that were excessive and unhelpful.

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 συνάγοουσά τε καὶ ἐρανιζομένη, ὅ τι ποτὲ παρ' ἐκάστοις εὔροι τῶν ἔθνῶν.

10.4.9 | Therefore, these things were set aside once again, as they could not help in finding what was necessary and true. The foreign and barbaric ideas, 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 γὰρ οῦν μόνα τὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεολογίας λείποντα κατεμάνθανε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν τὰς βιωφελεστάτας. συνομολογοῦσί γε τοις Ἑλληνες αὐτοὶ, μετά γε Ὀρφέα Λίνον τε καὶ Μουσαῖον, οἵ δὴ πάντων μάλιστα θεολόγων παλαιότατοί τε καὶ πρῶτοι κατῆρξαν αὐτοῖς τῆς πολυθέους πλάνης, τοὺς ἐπτὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθῆναι, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐπονομάσαι σοφούς. ἀμφὶ Κύρον δὲ οὕδε τὸν Περσῶν ἥκμασαν βασιλέα.

10.4.11 | οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητῶν οἱ πάντων ὑστατοί προεφήτευον, τῶν μὲν Τρωϊκῶν ὑστερον ἔτεσι πλέον ἡ ἐξακοσίοις, τῆς δὲ Μώσεως ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡ χιλίοις πεντακοσίοις γενόμενοι. τοῦτο δέ σοι τὰς τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὰς μικρὸν ὑστερον διιόντι καταφανὲς ἔσται.

10.4.12 | ἐνταῦθά που νέοι τῷ χρόνῳ οἵ ἐπτὰ γενόμενοι σοφοὶ ἐπὶ κατορθώσει μνημονεύονται ἀγωγῆς τῆς ἡθικωτέρας, ὃν πλέον οὐδὲν τῶν βιωμένων ἀποφθεγμάτων μνημονεύεται. ὡψὲ δέ τι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς χρόνοις ὑποβεβηκότες, οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλόσοφοι διαπρέψαι μνημονεύονται.

10.4.13 | ὃν Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος Φερεκύδου γνώριμος, τὸ “φιλοσοφίαν” ἀνευρὼν ὄνομα, ὡς μέν τινες, Σάμιος, ὡς δ' ἔτεροί φασι, Τυρρηνὸς ἦν τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν Σύριον ἢ Τύριον εἶναι λέγουσιν· ὥστε σε βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑλληνα γεγονέναι

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 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 known as the wise. Around this time, Cyrus, the king of the Persians, was thriving.

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 look through the records of the years.

10.4.12 | At this time, seven wise men are remembered for their achievements in moral guidance, but nothing of their loud sayings is mentioned anymore. Later on, as time passed, the philosophers among the Greeks are noted for their accomplishments.

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

όμοιογενή τὸν πρῶτον τῶν φιλοσόφων,  
ἀνὰ στόμα πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀδόμενον.

the first of the philosophers was a  
foreigner, not a Greek, as sung by the voices  
of all the Greeks.

10.4.14 | καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην δὲ Σύριον  
ἀναγράφουσιν, ὃ μαθητεῦσαι τὸν  
Πυθαγόραν φασίν. οὐ μόνω δὲ τούτῳ  
συγγενέσθαι ὁ Πυθαγόρας λέγεται,  
διατρῆψαι 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 γάρ ὁ δηλούμενος τὰ παρ'  
ἐκάστοις σοφά πολυπραγμοῦν ἐπῆλθε  
Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
Περσῶν, τοῖς τε μάγοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι  
μαθητεύμενος· ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις  
Βραχμάνων ἴστόρηται· 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 οὔδεν,  
πενέᾳ σοφίας καὶ ἀπορίᾳ συνοικούντων·

10.4.15 | But indeed, he who is said to have  
learned wise things from each group  
traveled to Babylon, Egypt, and all of  
Persia, studying with the Magi and the  
priests. It is said that he also learned from  
the Brahmins, who are Indian philosophers.  
From some of them, he learned astrology,  
from others geometry, and from others  
arithmetic and music, gathering knowledge  
from different sources. However, he had  
nothing from the wise Greeks, living in a  
lack of wisdom and confusion.

10.4.16 | ἔμπαλιν δ' οὖν τῶν ἔξωθεν αύτῷ  
πεπορισμένων αἴτιος αὐτὸς τῆς μαθήσεως  
κατέστη τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

10.4.16 | Therefore, he himself became the  
reason for the knowledge that the Greeks  
gained from outside sources.

10.4.17 | Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόρας τοιοῦτος.  
πρώτη δ' ἐκ τῆς τούτου διαδοχῆς ἡ  
κληθεῖσα Ἰταλικὴ φιλοσοφία συνέστη, τῆς  
ἐπωνυμίας ἐκ τῆς κατὰ Ἰταλίαν διατριβῆς  
ἀξιωθεῖσα· μεθ' ἣν ἡ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ τοῦ τῶν  
ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐνὸς Ἰωνικὴ  
προσαγορευθεῖσα· κάπειτα ἡ Ἐλεατικὴ,

10.4.17 | Thus, this is Pythagoras. The first  
philosophy that came from his teachings is  
called Italic philosophy, named for the  
study in Italy. After this, Ionian philosophy  
emerged, named after Thales, one of the  
seven wise men. Then came Eleatic  
philosophy, named after Xenophanes of

Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον πατέρα  
ἐπιγραψαμένη.

Colophon.

10.4.18 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς τινες  
ἰστοροῦσι, Φοῖνιξ ἦν, ὡς δέ τινες  
ὑπειλήφασι, Μίλησιος· Αἴγυπτίων δὲ καὶ  
οὗτος λέγεται τοῖς προφήταις  
συμβεβληκέναι.

10.4.19 | Σόλωνα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπτὰ  
σοφῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ λόγος Ἀθηναίοις  
νομοθετῆσαι, Αἴγυπτίοις ὅμοιώς φησὶν ὁ  
Πλάτων' προσεσχηκέναι, ὅπερίκα πάλιν  
ῷκουν Ἐβραῖοι τὴν Αἴγυπτον. εἰσάγει γοῦν  
αὐτὸν ἐν Τιμαίῳ πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου  
παιδεύομενον, ἐν οἷς φησιν ὁ Αἴγυπτιος  
πρὸς αὐτὸν “ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων Ἐλληνες ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
παῖδες ἔστε, γέρων δὲ Ἐλλήνων οὐδὲ εῖς,  
οὐδέ ἔστι παρ' ὑμῖν χρόνῳ πολιὸν μάθημα.”

10.4.18 | But Thales, as some historians say, was a Phoenician, while others believe he was from Miletus. He is also said to have had connections with the Egyptian prophets.

10.4.20 | καὶ οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πλάτων' τοῖς ἐν  
Ἴταλίᾳ 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, εὐ  
μοι δοκεῖ ποιῶν, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα  
ἔμπορεύεσθαι εἰς φιλοσοφίαν παρὰ τῶν  
βαρβάρων εύγνωμόνως 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 learning from their philosophy. He often shares many of his own ideas with the foreigners, and I think he does this well, acknowledging that some of the best ideas in philosophy come from them.

10.4.21 | ἀκοῦσαι δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ πολλαχοῦ  
μὲν πάρεστιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν  
Ἐπινομίδι, Σύρων ὄμοῦ καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ὥδε  
πη μνημονεύοντος “Τούτου δὲ αἴτιος ὁ  
πρῶτος ταῦτα κατιδών, βάρβαρος ὢν.

10.4.21 | You can hear many things from him in various places, especially in the Epinomis, where he mentions both the Syrians and the Egyptians, saying, “The first cause of this was a foreigner who saw it.

παλαιός γάρ δὴ τόπος ἔθρεψε τοὺς πρώτους ταῦτα ἐννοήσαντας διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας, ἣν Αἴγυπτός τε Συρία θ' ἱκανῶς κέκτηται. ὅθεν καὶ πανταχόσε καὶ δεῦρο ἔξηκει, βεβασανισένα χρόνω μυριετεῖ τε καὶ ἀπείρω.

Indeed, an ancient land 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, even here, after being tested for a long time and in countless ways."

10.4.22 | Καὶ ὑποβὰς ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Λάβωμεν δὴ ὡς ὅ τι περ Ἔλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργάζονται."

10.4.22 | And moving on from there, he adds, "Let us accept this as true: whatever the Greeks receive from the foreigners, they improve it in the end."

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' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων πλείστην γῆν ἐπεπλανησάμην, ἴστορέων τὰ μῆκιστα, καὶ ἀέρας τε καὶ γαίας πλείστας εἶδον, καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν πλείστων ἐπήκουσα, καὶ γραμμέων συνθέσιος μετ' ἀποδείξεως ούδεις κώ με παρήλλαξεν, οὕτε Αίγυπτίων οἵ καλεόμενοι Ἀρπεδονάπται, οἵς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔτεα ὄγδωκοντα ἐπὶ ξένης ἐγενήθην."

10.4.23 | These are the words of Plato. Democritus is also said to have created ethical teachings based on the Babylonians even earlier. Somewhere, boasting about himself, he says, "I have traveled the greatest lands of men concerning myself, exploring the longest histories. I have seen the finest skies and lands, and I have listened to many wise men. No one has changed my writings with proof, neither the Egyptians, whom they call the Arpedonapti, among whom I lived for eighty years in a foreign land."

10.4.24 | Ἐπῆλθε γάρ καὶ οὗτος Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ τὴν Πέρσιδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον, τοῖς τε Αίγυπτίοις καὶ τοῖς ιερεῦσι μαθητεύων.

10.4.24 | For this person also traveled to Babylon, Persia, and Egypt, studying with the Egyptians and the priests.

10.4.25 | τί δ' εἴ σοι καταλέγοιμι Ἡράκλειτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνων, δι' ὃν ἀπελέγχεται ἡ παρ' Ἔλλησι πολιτεία τὸν μακρὸν αἰῶνα πτωχεύουσα καὶ γυμνὴ παντὸς μαθήματος ἀπολειφθεῖσα;

10.4.25 | What if I were to mention Heraclitus and the other Greeks, who show that the Greek city-state has been poor and lacking in all knowledge for a long time?

10.4.26 | ίεροῖς μὲν οὖν θεῶν, ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ ἀφιδρύμασι, μαντείαις τε καὶ χρησμοῖς, καὶ τῷ πολλῷ τύφῳ τῶν λαοπλάνων δαιμόνων ἐκαλλωπίζετο, σοφίας δὲ ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαθήματος βιωφελοῦς εἰς τὸ παντελές ἔχήρευεν.

10.4.26 | Indeed, it was decorated with the sacred things of the gods, including statues and offerings, prophecies and oracles, and the great ignorance of the deceiving spirits. However, it completely lacked true wisdom and useful knowledge.

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 ἀναγκαίου τινὸς ἐπιτήδευσιν συνήργει· ἀλώμενοι δὲ ὡδες κάκεῖσε καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπαντα περιτρέχοντες ἄλλοτροις πτίλοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐφαίδρυνον κατὰ τὸν μῆθον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἥδη τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοσοφίαν ἐξ ἑράνου συστῆναι.

10.4.27 | They did not find anything useful in good words, and even the remarkable Pythian offered them no help in philosophy, nor did any other god assist them in any necessary practice. Instead, as they wandered here and there, running around their whole lives, they were said to be supported by foreign wings according to the myth, so that they had to piece together all of philosophy from begging.

10.4.28 | ἄλλα γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων ἀποματόμενοι 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.

10.4.28 | They learned different subjects from different people: they got geometry from the Egyptians, astrology from the Chaldeans, and other things from others. However, they found nothing good from the Hebrews.

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.

10.4.29 | This was the knowledge of the god of all things and the understanding of the local gods, which the speech will reveal shortly.

10.4.30 | τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐπισημαίνεται, ὡς οὐ μόνης ἐστέρηντο τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεολογίας οἵ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν

10.4.30 | At this point, it is noted that those who faced this were not only missing the true theology of the ancient Greeks, but also the useful subjects of philosophy. They

φιλοσοφίᾳ λυσιτελούντων μαθημάτων, καὶ οὐδὲ μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

lacked not just these, but also the common and political practices.

10.4.31 | ἡγοῦμαι 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, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, βάρβαρον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς προτετιμηκέναι φιλοσοφίας.

10.4.31 | I believe this sign should be included as proof of the purpose at hand, especially if it is necessary to explain why we should not unreasonably accept the theology of the Hebrews and the philosophy that they themselves say is inferior to the Greek.

10.4.32 | εἴ γοῦν ὄφθεῖν αύτοὶ πολὺ πρότερον τὰ πάντα παρὰ βαρβάρων ἐσκευωρημένοι, μηδὲν δὲ μηδ’ ὅλως παρὰ τῶν οίκείων θεῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ὀφελημένοι, 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 ἔπαινεῖν, ὅτι τὸ κρεῖττον ἀγαπήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μόνον ἀληθὲς εὐρόντες καὶ ἀπειληφότες τοῦ ψεύδους ἀνεχωρήσαμεν, οὕτε εἰς ἄθεον λογισμὸν τοῖς σοφοῖς Ἑλλήνων ὅμοίως περιτραπέντες, οὕτε πάλιν τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς παραπλησίως φιλοσόφοις ἀμαμίξ τὴν πλάνην τὴν πολύθεον τῇ γνώσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ φύραντες, οὐδέ γε τὸ ψεῦδος ἄμα τῷ ἀληθεῖ συγχέαντες;

10.4.32 | If they had indeed seen everything prepared by the barbarians long before and gained nothing at all from their own gods in philosophy, but instead justly blamed their gods, with some even preferring 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 | ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα, ἔκεινα δέ μοι πρῶτον δίελθε, δι’ ὃν Ἕλληνες τὰ πάντα σεσυληκέναι βαρβάρους, οὐ μόνα τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς καὶ βιωφελεῖς εὐρέσεις ἀπελέγχονται.

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 just the philosophical teachings but also the common and useful discoveries.

## Section 5

10.5.1 | Πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν ὃ τὰ κοινὰ γράμματα, αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχεῖα, Ἐλλησιν εἰσηγησάμενος Κάδμος, τὸ γένος Φοῖνιξ ἦν, δθεν καὶ Φοινικήια τὰ γράμματά τινες τῶν παλαιόν ἐπικεκλήκασιν.

10.5.2 | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σύρους γράμματα ἐπινοήσαι πρώτους λέγουσι. Σύροι δ' ἀν εἴεν καὶ Ἐβραῖοι τὴν γείτονα Φοινίκης καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Φοινίκην, μετέπειτα δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Παλαιστίνην ὀνομαζομένην, οἰκήσαντες, ὃν καὶ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀλλοτρία φαίνεται ἡ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν γραμμάτων φωνή.

10.5.3 | ἔκαστον γοῦν τόν στοιχείων παρ' αὐτοῖς κατά τινος σημαντικῆς διανοίας τὴν προσηγορίαν φέρει, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔνεστιν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι διὸ καὶ μάλιστα μὴ ὄντα ἴδια Ἐλλήνων ὄμοιογεῖται.

10.5.4 | ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' Ἐβραίοις στοιχεῖα δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὃν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστιν "Αλφ", ὃ μεταληφθὲν φθὲν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν λέγοιτ' ἀν μάθησις· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Βήθ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται οὕκου· τὸ τρίτον Γίμελ, ὃ ἔστι πλήρωσις· τὸ τέταρτον Δέλθ, ὃ σημαίνει δέλτων· τὸ πέμπτον Ή, ὃ ἔστιν αὔτη. ὁμοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἀπαρτίζει τοιαύτην τινὰ διάνοιαν, μάθησις οὕκου, πλήρωσις δέλτων αὔτη.

10.5.5 | εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτά ἔστι στοιχεῖον ἔκτον, λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ούαῦ, ὃ ἔστιν

10.5.1 | First of all, Cadmus introduced the common letters, which are indeed the first 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 | Some 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. The sounds of the Greek letters seem to be most closely related to these people.

10.5.3 | Each of their letters has a specific meaningful name, which cannot be found among the Greeks. Therefore, it is widely accepted that these letters are not originally Greek.

10.5.4 | There are a total of twenty-two letters among the Hebrews. The first is Aleph, which, when translated into Greek, 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

έν αύτῇ ἔπειτα Ζαΐ, ὁ ἔστι ζῆς μεθ' ὁ Ἡθός, ὁ  
ἔστιν ὁ ζῶν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ὅλον, ἐν αύτῃ ζῆς ὁ ζῶν.

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, ὁ ἔστι καλή· ἔπειτα Ἰώθ, ὁ  
ἐρμηνεύεται ἀρχή· δικοῦ τὰ δύο καλὴ ἀρχή.  
ἐπὶ τούτοις Χάφ, ὁ ἔστιν ὅμως· ἔπειτα  
Λὰβδ, ὁ ἔστι μάθε· τὸ ὅλον 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.” Together, they mean “yet learning.”

10.5.7 | μετὰ ταῦτα τρισκαιδέκατον  
στοιχεῖον ἔστι τὸ Μήμ', ὁ ἔστιν ἔξ αὐτῶν·  
ἔπειτα Νοῦν, ὁ ἔστιν αἰωνία. εἴτα Σάμχ, ὁ  
ἐρμηνεύεται βοήθεια, ἐν ᾧ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔξ  
αὐτῶν αἰωνία 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 comes from them.

10.5.8 | ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ Ἀϊν, ὁ μεταληφθὲν  
σημαίνει πηγὴν, ἡ ὄφθαλμόν· ἔπειτα τὸ Φῆ  
στόμα. εἴθ' ἔξῆς τὸ Σάδη δικαιοσύνη· ὃν ἡ  
διάνοια ἔστι, πηγὴ, ἡ καὶ ὄφθαλμός, 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, we understand that there is a spring or an eye, and a mouth of righteousness.

10.5.9 | μετὰ ταῦτα στοιχεῖον ἔστι Κώφ, ὁ  
ἐρμηνεύεται κλῆσις· ἔπειτα Ρής, ὁ ἔστι  
κεφαλή. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Σὲν, ὅπερ ἔστιν  
όδόντες· ἐπὶ πάσι τὸ κβ' στοιχεῖον καλεῖται  
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ δηλοῖ σημεῖα. ἔχοι δ' ἀνὴ<sup>τ</sup>  
διάνοια, κλῆσις κεφαλῆς καὶ ὄδόντων  
σημεῖα.

10.5.9 | After these is the letter Qoph, which means “calling.” Next is Resh, which means “head.” Then comes Shin, which means “teeth.” Additionally, the twenty-second letter is called “which shows signs.” We can understand this as a calling of the head and signs of the teeth.

10.5.10 | καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἐβραίοις τοιάδε τίς

10.5.10 | And among the Hebrews, this is

έστιν ἡ τῶν στοιχείων μετάφρασις καὶ ἐρμηνεία, λόγου διάνοιαν ἀπαρτίζουσα τῇ τῶν στοιχείων μαθήσει τε καὶ ἐπαγγελίᾳ προσήκουσαν. τὸ δόμιον δ' οὐκ ἀν εύροις παρ' Ἑλλησιν, ὅθεν, ὡς ἔφην, ὁμολογεῖν ἀνάγκη μὴ ὅντα οίκεια Ἑλλήνων, παραπεποιημένα δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φωνῆς.

the translation and explanation of the letters, which provides understanding related to the study and promise of the letters. However, you would not find the same among the Greeks. As I mentioned, it is necessary to agree that these do not belong to the Greeks, but are instead created from a foreign language.

10.5.11 | καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς δὲ ἐλέγχεται τῆς καθ' ἔκαστον στοιχεῖον ἐπωνυμίας. τί γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλφ' τὸ Ἀλφα 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, we examine the naming of each letter. 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 Ἑλλήνων οίκειας εἶναι τὰς τοιάσδε φωνάς Ἰεραίων ἄρα 5 παρ' οἵς καὶ σημαῖνόν τι ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυται. παρὰ δὲ τούτοις πρώτοις ἀρχάμενα προηλθεν εἴς τε ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλληνας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι περὶ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων είρήσθω. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεως ἐφαψάμενος 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 one shows some meaning. From these, it first spread 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 | "Ιατρικὴν δὲ Απιν Αἴγυπτιον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀσκληπιὸν αύξησαι τὴν τέχνην ιστοροῦσιν. "Ατλας δὲ ὁ Λίβυς πρῶτος ναῦν ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλευσε.

10.6.1 | They say that Apis brought Egyptian medicine, and after that, Asclepius improved the practice. And Atlas the Libyan was the first to build a ship and sail the sea.

10.6.2 | καὶ ἀστρολογίαν δὲ πρῶτοι εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἔξήνεγκαν Αἴγυπτοι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κᾶρας τὴν δι'

10.6.2 | The Egyptians were the first to introduce astrology to people, and the Chaldeans did the same. The Carians claim

άστέρων πρόγνωσιν ἐπινενοηκέναι λέγουσι. πτήσεις δὲ ὄρνιθων παρεφύλαξαν πρῶτοι Φρύγες.

that they invented the knowledge of predictions through the stars. The Phrygians were the first to observe the flights of birds.

10.6.3 | καὶ θυτικὴν ἡκρίβωσαν Τοῦσκοι, Ἰταλίας γείτονες. Ἰσαυροὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀραβες ἔξεπόνησαν τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει. Τελμησεῖς τὴν δι' ὄνείρων μαντικήν.

10.6.3 | The Tusci, neighbors of Italy, perfected divination. The Isaurians and Arabs developed the art of interpreting omens, just as the Telmessians practiced 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 ἐν ιεροῖς γυναιξὶ μίσγεσθαι ἐκώλυσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ιερὰ είσιέναι ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀλούτους ἐνομοθέτησαν.

10.6.4 | The Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet, and the Phrygians invented the flute; for the Phrygians were associated with 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 participating in sacred places and made laws that women should not enter the temples during their monthly periods.

10.6.5 | γεωμετρίας τε αὖ εὑρεταὶ οἱ αὐτ' οἱ γεγόνασι. Κέλμις τε καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δάκτυλοι πρῶτοι ἐν Κύπρῳ σίδηρον εὗρον. Δέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὗρε χαλκοῦ κρᾶσιν, ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος, Σκύθης.

10.6.5 | The inventors of geometry are those who came from there. Kelmis and Damnamenes, from the Idaians, were the first to find iron in Cyprus. Another Idaian, Delas, discovered the mixture of bronze, as Hesiod, a Scythian, says.

10.6.6 | ναὶ μὴν Θρᾷκες πρῶτοι τὴν καλουμένην ἄρπην εὗρον, ἔστι δὲ μάχαιρα καμπύλη, καὶ πρῶτοι πέλταις ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχρήσαντο. ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυροὶ 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 known as the pelta. They also say that the Tuscans invented sculpture; this man, Hitanos, was the first to make a shield.

10.6.7 | Κάδμος γάρ ὁ Φοῖνιξ λιθοτομίαν τε  
έξεῦρε καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸ  
Πάγγαιον ὅρος ἐπενόησεν. ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο  
ἔθνος Καππαδόκιι πρῶτοι εὗρον τὴν  
νάβλαν καλουμένην, ὃν τρόπον κοὶ τὸ  
δίχορδον Ἀσσύριοι.

10.6.7 | Cadmus, the Phoenician,  
discovered stone cutting and invented gold  
mining around Mount Pangaion. Another  
nation, the Cappadocians, were the 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  
όσπορος αὐτόχθων. Μήδειά τε, ἡ Αίγτου ή  
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  
hair dye.

10.6.9 | ἄλλὰ καὶ Νώροπες ἔθνος δ' ἔστι  
Παιονικὸν, νῦν δὲ Νωρικὸν καλοῦνται)  
κατειργάσαντο χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον  
ἐκάθηραν πρῶτοι. Ἄμυκός τε ὁ Βεβρύκων  
βασιλεὺς ἴμάντας πυκτικοὺς εὗρε.

10.6.9 | But the Noropes, a Paeonian people  
(now called Noric), were also the first to  
work with bronze and refine iron. Amykos,  
the king of the Bebrycians, discovered  
strong straps.

10.6.10 | περὶ τε μουσικὴν "Ολυμπος ὁ  
Μυσὸς τὴν Λύδιον ἀρμονίαν  
ἐφιλοτέχνησεν· οἵ τε Τρωγλοδύται  
καλούμενοι σαμβύκην εὗρον, ὅργανον  
μουσικόν.

10.6.10 | Regarding music, Olympus the  
Mysian created the Lydian harmony. The  
Troglodytes, as they are called, discovered  
the sambuke, a musical instrument.

10.6.11 | φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πλαγίαν σύριγγα  
Σάτυρον εὑρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα· τρίχορδον δὲ  
όμοιώς 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 ὄντα τοῖς  
προειρημένοις χώρας· καὶ τὴν Δώριον  
Θάμυριν ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Θρᾶκα.

10.6.11 | They say that the Phrygian  
invented the side flute. Hyagnis, who was  
also Phrygian, created both the three-  
stringed instrument and the diatonic  
harmony. Olympus the Phrygian invented  
rhythms, just as Marsyas, who was from the  
same region, created Phrygian harmony,  
mixed Phrygian, and mixed Lydian.  
Thamyris, the Thracian, invented the Doric

style.

10.6.12 | Πέρσας τε πρώτους ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπήνην καὶ κλίνην καὶ ὑποπόδιον ἐργάσασθαι τούς τε Σιδωνίους τρίκροτον ναῦν κατασκευάσαι. Σικελοί τε οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πρῶτοι φόρμιγγα εὗρον οὐ πολὺ τῆς κιθάρας λειπομένην καὶ κρόταλα ἐπενόησαν.

10.6.13 | ἐπί τε Σεμιράμεως βασιλίδος Ἀσσυρίων τὰ βύσσινα ἴμάτια εὑρῆσθαι ἱστοροῦσι. καὶ πρώτην ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι "Ατοσσαν, τὴν Περσῶν βασιλεύσασαν, φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος.

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 ἱστόρησαν παρεθέμην δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλιγα εἰς σύστασιν τῆς παρὰ βαρβάροις εὐρετικῆς καὶ βιωφελοῦς φύσεως, παρ' Ἑλληνες τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὡφέληνται."

10.6.15 | Ταῦτα ὥρμασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης ἐν Στρωματεῦσι. τοῖς δ' είρημένοις δοκῶ μοι εῦ ἔχειν ἐπισυνάψαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἐβραίου γραφῆς, ἥν 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 είρημένων ἀκριβῆ καὶ

10.6.12 | We first learned that the Persians invented the cart, the couch, and the footstool, and that the Sidonians built the three-banked ship. The Sicilians, who live near Italy, were the first to discover the lyre, which is not much different from the guitar, and they invented the castanets.

10.6.13 | They say that during the reign of Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians, silk garments were invented. Hellanicus also says that Atossa, who ruled the Persians, was the first to create written letters.

10.6.14 | So, Skammos from Mytilene, Theophrastus from Eresus, Kydippus from Mantinea, as well as Antiphanes, Aristodemus, and Aristotle, along with Philostefanos and Straton the Peripatetic, wrote about these topics in their works on inventions. I have included a few of their thoughts on the useful and beneficial nature of inventions among the barbarians, which the Greeks benefit from.

10.6.15 | Clement mentions these things in the Stromateis. I believe it is good to add what comes from the writings of Josephus the Hebrew, who wrote in two books about the history of the Jews, discussing how the Greeks became new and how they benefited from the barbarians. These writings also seem to support a clear and certain understanding of the topics mentioned. So, pay attention to what he

βεβαίαν πίστωσιν. ἄκουε τοίνυν οἷα καὶ  
οὗτος γράφει πρὸς λέξιν

writes next.

## Section 7

10.7.1 | Πρῶτον οὖν ἐπέρχεται μοι πάνυ θαυμάζειν τοὺς οἰόμενους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων ἔργων μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν.

10.7.1 | First of all, I am amazed that those who believe they should only focus on the ancient works of the Greeks and seek the truth from them do not trust us or other people.

10.7.2 | πᾶν γὰρ ἔγὼ τούναντίον ὁρῶ συμβεβηκός, εἴ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαίαις δόξαις ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαντα νέα καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρώην, ὡς ἂν 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 ἱστορίας ἐπιμέλεια.

10.7.2 | For I see things quite differently, if one should not follow empty opinions but instead seek what is just from them. 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. The most recent of all is their attention to writing histories.

10.7.3 | τὰ μέντοι παρ' Αἴγυπτοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν—έῶ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν—αύτοὶ δῆπουθεν ὅμοιογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ μονιμωτάτην ἔχειν τῆς μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν.

10.7.3 | However, the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phoenicians—let us now include ourselves among them—certainly agree that they have the oldest and most enduring tradition of memory.

10.7.4 | καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἀπαντες οἰκοῦσιν 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

10.7.4 | For they all live in places that are least affected by the decay of their surroundings, and they have made great efforts to ensure that nothing done among them is forgotten. Instead, it is always recorded in public records by the wisest

σοφωτάτων ἀεὶ καθιεροῦσθαι.

among them.

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 ἄρχειν ἔκαστος τὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν·

10.7.5 | But the region around Greece has been affected by countless losses, erasing the memory of past events. Constantly creating new lives, each person believed they were starting fresh from themselves.

10.7.6 | ὥψὲ δὲ καὶ μόλις ἔγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων. οἰγοῦν ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἴναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν.

10.7.6 | Later, they barely understood the nature of writing. Wanting to claim the oldest use of it, they proudly sought to learn from the Phoenicians and Cadmus.

10.7.7 | οὐ μὴν ούδ' ἀπ' ἔκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτο τις ἀν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν, οὕτ' ἐν ιεροῖς οὕτ' 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.

10.7.7 | 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 questioning about whether they used writing. It is more accurate to say that they did not know how to use the letters that exist today.

10.7.8 | ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ούδεν δημολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὄμηρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερος φαίνεται γενόμενος. καί φασιν ούδε τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνίας,

10.7.8 | Overall, among the Greeks, no written work of Homer is found that is older. His work 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 compiled from the letters. Because of this, there are many disagreements within it.

10.7.9 | οἱ μέντοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ' αὐτοῖς,

10.7.9 | Those who tried to write histories among them—specifically, those about

λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον 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.

Cadmus the Milesian and the Argive Acusilaus, and any others who are said to have existed after them—appeared shortly before the Persian invasion of Greece.

10.7.10 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὅμοιογοῦσιν Αἴγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὀλίγα συγγράψαι· καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ' ἔκείνων γεγράφθαι."

10.7.10 | But also, those who first studied the heavens and the divine among the Greeks, like Pherecydes the Syrian, Pythagoras, and Thales, all agree that they were students of the Egyptians and Chaldeans and wrote very little. 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 | "Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τάρχαῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ή τίς οὐ παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι ῥᾳδίως δτὶ μηδὲ ἐν εἰδότες βεβαίως συνέγραφον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἴκαζον;

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 those same writers would easily learn that they did not write with certainty about even one thing, but instead guessed about matters based on their own opinions?

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, δσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάω περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, δσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος ἡ τίνα τρόπον "Ἐφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, "Ἐφορον δὲ Τιμαῖος, καὶ Τιμαῖον οἱ μετ' ἔκεινον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες.

10.7.12 | Indeed, they criticize each other through their books and do not hesitate to say the opposite about the same subjects. But I would be curious to teach those who know more than I do about how much Hellenicus has reported to Acusilaus regarding genealogies, how Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, or how Ephorus shows that Hellenicus mostly lies, while Timaios and those who came after him, along with everyone else, agree about Herodotus.

10.7.13 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τιμαῖος συμφωνεῖν ἡξίωσεν, ούδ' αὖ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἴ τάς Ἀτθίδας συγγεγραφότες, ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἵ τὰ περὶ Ἀργὸς ἴστοροῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἥκολουθήκασι.

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 δοκιμώτατοι διαπεφωνήκασι; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς ψευδόμενος ὑπό τινων κατηγορεῖται, καίτοι δοκῶν ἀκριβεστάτην καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἴστορίαν συγγράφειν.”

10.7.15 | “Αἴτιαι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης διαφωνίας πολλαὶ μὲν ἵσως ἄν καὶ ἔτεραι τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν ἀναφανεῖν, φανεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ δυσὶ ταῖς ἐκτεθησομέναις αἴτιαις τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἀνατίθημι.

10.7.16 | καὶ προτέραν ἔρω τὴν κυριωτέραν εἶναί 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 ἔχουσίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφειν παρέσχεν.

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, ούδὲν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκεται γενόμενον ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων

10.7.13 | But neither did Timaios believe that those discussing Antiochus and Philistus, or Callias, agreed on Sicilian matters, nor did those who wrote about the Athenians agree on Athenian stories, or those who wrote about Argos agree with each other on Argolic matters.

10.7.14 | And what can 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 during it? Many accuse Thucydides of lying, even though he believes he is writing the most accurate history.

10.7.15 | The reasons for such disagreement might be many and varied for those who wish to explore them, but I will highlight that the two reasons I will explain hold the greatest weight.

10.7.16 | And I will first mention what seems to me to be the most important. The fact that, from the beginning, the Greeks did not take the effort to create public records about what each group did especially led to both confusion and the ability to lie for those who later wanted to write about the past.

10.7.17 | For not only did the other Greeks neglect the records, but even the Athenians themselves, who claim to be native and take pride in their education, show no evidence of such records. They say that the oldest public writings are the laws about

άρχαιοτάτους εῖναί φασι τοὺς ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
Δράκοντος αύτοῖς περὶ τῶν φονικῶν  
γραφέντας νόμους, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς  
Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου  
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, ἡ 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  
ἔκείνην αἴτιαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν  
δόρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
ἐσπούδασαν — καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρον  
αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα — λόγων δὲ  
δύναμιν ἐπεδείκνυντο· καὶ καθ' ὄντινα  
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, εὔδοκιμήσειν ἐν  
τούτῳ νομίζοντες.

10.7.21 | ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον  
ἰστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι. τῆς μὲν  
γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἔστι τεκμήριον ἰστορίας, εἴ  
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄπαντες τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ  
λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν· οἱ δὲ, εἴ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ

murder written by Draco, which were  
created shortly before the tyranny of  
Peisistratus.

10.7.18 | For what can one say about the  
Arcadians who boast of their ancientness?  
These people hardly even learned to read  
and write afterward.

10.7.19 | Since there was no public record  
meant to teach those who wanted to learn  
and to challenge those who lied, there was  
a lot of disagreement among the writers.

10.7.20 | But a second reason should be  
added to this. Those who rushed to write  
did not care about the truth — even though  
this is always an easy task for them — but  
instead focused on the power of their  
words. In whatever way they thought  
others would praise them, they adjusted  
their approach: some turned to storytelling,  
some praised the cities or the kings for  
favor, while others chose to criticize the  
actions or the writings, believing that they  
would gain approval this way.

10.7.21 | Overall, they act in a way that is  
completely opposite to history. True  
history has proof when everyone speaks  
and writes the same things about the same  
events. However, those who do not write

γράψειαν ἑτέροις, οὕτως ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὶ φαίνεσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι.”

the same things as others believe they appear to be the most truthful of all.

10.7.22 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος. εἴη δ' ἀν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπισφράγισμα καὶ ἡ Διοδώρου μαρτυρία, ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ Βιβλιοθήκης παραθήσομαι, οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς λέξιν

10.7.22 | Josephus said a great deal. The testimony of Diodorus could serve as a confirmation of what has been said, which I will present from the first of the collected Library, as it appears in the text.

## Section 8

10.8.1 | “Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων ῥητέον ὅσοι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι 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 ancient Egypt, as they took part in the laws and education here.

10.8.2 | οἵ γάρ ιερεῖς τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ἴστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς βίβλοις παραβαλεῖν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς Ὁρφέα τε καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Μελάμποδα καὶ Δαίδαλον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὅμηρόν τε τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ἔτι δὲ Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον· ἐλθεῖν δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν τὸν Σάμιον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν Εὔδοξον, ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ Οίνοπίδην τὸν Χῖον.

10.8.2 | The priests of the Egyptians tell from the records in the sacred books that they compare themselves to Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus, and Daedalus, as well as to Homer the poet, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon the Athenian, and Plato the philosopher. They also include Pythagoras the Samian, 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 ἡ κατασκευασμάτων ὄμωνύμους προσηγορίας. ἔκ τε τῆς ἐκάστῳ ζηλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέρουσι, συνιστάντες ἐξ Αἴγυπτου μετενηνοχέναι πάντα δι' ὃν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔθαυμάσθησαν.

10.8.3 | They show signs of all these, some as images and others as places or similar names. They also provide evidence from each person's respected education, claiming that everything admired by the Greeks has come from Egypt.

10.8.4 | Ὁρφέα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν τελετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πλάνην ὄργιαζόμενα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν'Αἰδου μυθοποίιαν παρ' Αἴγυπτίων ἀπενέγκασθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὁσιρίδος τελετὴν τῇ Διονύσου τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος ὁμοιοτάτην ὑπάρχειν, τῶν ὄνομάτων μόνων ἐνηλλαγμένων· τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν Ἀΐδου τιμωρίας, καὶ τὸν τῶν εὔσεβῶν λειμῶνας, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδωλοποίιας ἀναπεπλασμένας παρεισαγαγεῖν, μιμησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον.

10.8.5 | τὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομπὸν Ἐρμῆν, κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμιμον παρ' Αἴγυπτοις, ἀναγαγόντα τοῦ Ἀπιδος τὸ σῶμα μέχρι τινὸς παραδιδόναι τῷ περικειμένῳ τὴν τοῦ Κερβέρου προτομήν. τοῦ δὲ Ὁρφέως τοῦτο καταδεῖξαντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν Ὄμηρον ἀκολούθως τούτῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, Ἐρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἔξεκαλεῖτο ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων· ἔχε δὲ βάθδον μετὰ χερσίν.'

10.8.6 | Εἶτα πάλιν προβάς 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 ἱστορίαν.

10.8.7 | τὸν δὲ Δαίδαλον λέγουσιν ἀπομιμήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου πλοκὴν, τοῦ διαμένοντος μὲν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν

10.8.4 | For Orpheus, most of the secret rituals and the rites about his own journey, as well as the myths of those in Hades, are said to have come from the Egyptians. 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 present the punishments for the wicked in Hades and the rewards for the pious, along with many forms of idol worship that have been created, imitating the burial practices in Egypt.

10.8.5 | For the guide of souls, Hermes, according to the ancient customs of the Egyptians, is said to take the body of Apis and deliver it to a certain place near the statue of Cerberus. Orpheus showed this to the Greeks, saying that Homer described Hermes as the one who calls the souls of heroic men, and he held a staff in his hands.

10.8.6 | Then again, he continues by saying that they claim Melampus brought from Egypt the rituals believed to be performed for Dionysus among the Greeks, as well as the myths about Cronus, those about the Titanomachy, and the entire history concerning the sufferings of the gods.

10.8.7 | They say that Daedalus copied the design of the labyrinth, which still exists today. Some claim it was built by Minos,

καιροῦ, οίκοδομηθέντος δὲ, ὡς μέν τινές φασιν, ὑπὸ Μένδητος, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μάρου τοῦ βασιλέως, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς Μίνω βασιλείας· τόν τε ἀυθμὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνδριάντων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου κατασκευασθεῖσι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

while others say it was built by King Mars, many years before Minos's reign. They also say that the style of the ancient statues in Egypt is the same as those created by Daedalus among the Greeks.

10.8.8 | τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον πρόπυλον ἐν Μέμφει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου Δαίδαλον ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι, καὶ θαυμασθέντα τυχεῖν εἰκόνος ξυλίνης κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν, ταῖς ἴδαις χερσὶ δεδημιουργημένης· πέρας δὲ, διὰ τὴν εύφυΐαν 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.

10.8.8 | 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 temple mentioned earlier. Because of his skill, he gained great fame and received many equal honors. Even now, there is still a temple on one of the islands near Memphis that is dedicated to Daedalus and is honored by the locals.

10.8.9 | τῆς δ' Ὁμήρου παρουσίας ἄλλα τε σημεῖα φέρουσι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς Ἐλένης γενομένην παρὰ Μενελάῳ Τηλεμάχῳ φαρμακείαν καὶ λήθην τῶν συμβεβηκότων κακῶν.

10.8.9 | Besides the presence of Homer, they mention other signs, especially the potion that Helen gave to Menelaus and Telemachus, which caused them to forget the troubles they had experienced.

10.8.10 | τὸ γὰρ νηπενθὲς φάρμακον, ὃ λαβεῖν φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἐλένην ἐκ τῶν Αἴγυπτιων παρὰ τῆς Πολυδάμνης, τῆς Θῶνος γυναικὸς, ἀκριβῶς ἔξητακὼς φαίνεται.

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 explained in detail.

10.8.11 | ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ γυναικας χρῆσθαι τῇ προειρημένῃ δυνάμει λέγουσι, καὶ παρὰ μόναις ταῖς Διοσπολίτισιν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ὄργης καὶ λύπης φάρμακον εὑρῆσθαι φασι· τὰς

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 that have been found since ancient times.

δὲ Θήβας καὶ Διόσπολιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν· τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὄνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χρυσῆν ἐκ παλαιὰς παραδόσεως· καὶ πεδίον εἶναι· καλούμενον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης περὶ τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Μώμεμφιν.

They claim that Thebes and Diospolis have the same things, and that Aphrodite is called "Golden" by the locals based on an old tradition. There is also a plain called "Golden Aphrodite" near the city known as Momemphis.

10.8.12 | τά τε περὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Πρᾶν μυθολογούμενα περὶ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τὴν εἰς Αἴθιοπίαν ἐκδημίαν ἔκειθεν αὐτὸν μετενεγκεῖν. κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Δῖος περαιωῦσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς πάλιν ἐπιστρέψειν, ὡς ἐξ Αἴθιοπίας τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος. τὴν τε συνουσίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων, ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν ναῶν ἀνακομιζομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ὅρος ἄνθεσι παντοίοις ὑπὸ τῶν ιερέων κατεστεμένον.'

10.8.12 | The myths about Zeus and the goddess Prā are told regarding their union and his journey to Ethiopia to bring her back. 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 decorated with all kinds of flowers by the priests.

10.8.13 | Καὶ Λυκοῦργον δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σόλωνα πολλὰ τῶν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου νομίμων εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν κατατάξαι νομοθεσίας, Πυθαγόραν τε τὰ κατὰ τὸν ιερὸν λόγον, καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν θεωρήματα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν εἰς πᾶν ζῷον τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολὴν μαθεῖν παρ' Αἴγυπτίων.

10.8.13 | Lycurgus, Plato, and Solon took many laws from Egypt and included them in their own legal systems. Pythagoras learned about the sacred teachings, the principles of geometry, and the matters concerning numbers. He 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 διατρῆψαι πέντε καὶ πολλὰ διδαχθῆναι τῶν κατὰ ἀστρολογίαν· τὸν τε Οίνοπίδην ὁμοίως συνδιατρίψαντα τοῖς ιερεῦσι καὶ ἀστρολόγοις μαθεῖν ἄλλα τε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἡλιακὸν 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. He noted that it has a tilted path, while the other stars move in the opposite direction.

10.8.15 | παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὔδοξον ἀστρολογήσαντα παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκδόντα τυχεῖν ἀξιολόγου δόξης.

10.8.16 | πάντων δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν τοὺς μάλιστα διωνομασμένους διατετριφέναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, Τηλεκλέα καὶ Θεόδωρον, τοὺς Ὀρίκου μὲν υἱοὺς, κατασκευάσαντας δὲ τοῖς Σαμίοις τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ξόανον."

10.8.17 | Τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ὡδέ πως ἀποδειγμένος ἐνταῦθά μοι εἴληφέτω τέλος. οὐ δεῖ δὴ λοιπὸν ἀλογίας ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖν, εἰ 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.

10.8.18 | ὃν τοὺς χρόνους, καθ' οὓς ἥκμασαν Μωσῆς τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μωσέα προφῆται, εῦ ἄν ἔχοι διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄν εἴη ἐν τι τῶν μάλιστα συνεκτικώτατων τῇ προκειμένῃ πραγματείᾳ, τὸ μέλλοντας τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι λογίων ἐφάπτεσθαι προδιαλαβεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αὐτῶν, ἵν', εἰ φανεῖεν τοῖς Ἐβραίων προφήταις τε καὶ θεολόγοις οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὄμοδοξοῦντες, μηκέτ' ἀμφιβάλλοις τίνας ἦν εἰκός τὰ παρὰ τίνων ἀναλέξασθαι, πότερα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τὰ τῶν νέων, Ἐβραίους τε τὰ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ βαρβάρους τὰ φιλοσόφων, ὃν ούδε τῆς

10.8.15 | In a similar way, Eudoxus studied astrology with them and gained many valuable insights that earned him great respect among the Greeks.

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 created the statue of Apollo Pythios for the people of Samos.

10.8.17 | Thus much also comes from Diodorus. But let this account be considered complete here. We should not be accused of foolishness anymore if we have truly sought genuine piety, like the wise Greeks and the philosophers among them, even if they are called barbarians, such as the Hebrew barbarians.

10.8.18 | During the times when Moses and the prophets after him thrived, it would be helpful to explore this, as it is one of the most important parts of our current discussion. This is to consider what the wise men might say about their ancient origins. 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, whom they might not even understand in their

γλώσσης είκος ἐπαΐειν· ἡ, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον είκος, τοὺς νέους τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τοὺς τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔθνῶν περιειργασμένους "Ἐλληνας καὶ τὰ Ἑβραίων μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι, ἀρχῆθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβεβλημένα.

own language. Or, which seems more likely, the younger from the older, and that the Greeks, who have engaged with many different cultures, would not be unaware of the Hebrew language, which has transformed 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, ἀφῶν αὐτίκα μάλα σμικρὰ ἄττα παραθήσομαι.

10.9.1 | Many others have carefully written about the ancient origins of Moses and the prophets who followed him. From these writings, I will now present a few brief points.

10.9.2 | κάγὼ δὲ καινοτέραν παρὰ τοὺς είρημένους ὁδεύσας ταύτῃ χρήσομαι τῇ μεθόδῳ. συντρεχόντων ὁμολογουμένως τῶν χρόνων Αύγουστου Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος 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 ἔθελοι τὸν τῶν ἑτῶν ἀριθμὸν, προιών ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω χρόνους, τοὺς μέχρι Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσεως τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεώ, ἡ γέγονε μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, εὔροι ἄν ἀπὸ Τιβερίου ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Δαρείου ἔτη φμῆ.

10.9.2 | I will use a different method here than those mentioned earlier. If someone wants to calculate the number of years from the time of Augustus, the Roman emperor, to 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 took place after the Jewish nation returned from Babylon, they would find that there are 58 years from Tiberius to the second year of Darius.

10.9.3 | Δαρείου μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ξένης Ὀλυμπιάδος καταντᾶ, Τιβερίου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κατὰ τὸ δέκατην ἔτη σὰ

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 Empire.

‘Ολυμπιάδος συμπίπτει.

10.9.4 | γίνονται τοίνυν αἱ μεταξὺ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσοῦ καὶ Τιβερίου τοῦ Ἀρμαίων βασιλέως Ὁλυμπιάδες ρλζ', αἱ συνάγουσι χρόνον ἑτῶν φμή, τετραετίας τῇ Ὁλυμπιάδι λογιζομένης.

10.9.5 | ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Δαρείου τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν ὑπῆρχε τῆς ἔρημίας τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεώ, καθὼς τὰ τῆς ἴστορίας ἴστορίας παρίστησι, κάντεῦθεν πάλιν ἀνατρεχόντων ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου ρείου ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὁλυμπιάδα ἔτη συνάγοιτ' ἀν σνς', ‘Ολυμπιάδες 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 Ἡσαίας καὶ Ὁσηὲ, ὅσοι τε τούτοις γεγόνασι σύγχρονοι, ὡστ' εἶναι τὴν πρώτην καθ' Ἐλληνας Ὁλυμπιάδα σύνδρομον Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τοῖς τούτῳ συγχρόνοις.

10.9.6 | πάλιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὁλυμπιάδος 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 ἑτῶν υη· ὡστ' εἶναι τὴν Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν κατὰ τοὺς Λαβδῶν τοῦ

10.9.4 | Therefore, there are 13 Olympiads between Darius the Persian and Tiberius the Roman emperor, 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, it 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 find a total of 70 years, which equals 17 Olympiads. Therefore, 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, as well as all those who lived at the same time, the first Olympiad according to the Greeks would coincide with the time of the prophet Isaiah and his contemporaries.

10.9.6 | Again, from the first Olympiad to the years before the fall of Ilium, there are a total of 58 years, as the records of the Greeks indicate.

10.9.7 | 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, there are a total of 58 years. Therefore, the fall of Ilium would have occurred during the time of Labdacus,

κριτοῦ χρόνους, ἐπτὰ ἔτεσι πρότερον ἡ Σαμψών ἄρξαι Ἐβραίων, δὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατον γενέσθαι φασὶν, ἐοικότα τῷ βιωμένῳ παρ' Ἑλλησιν Ἡρακλεῖ.

10.9.8 | καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω βαδίζων, σαυτῷ τε συναγαγῶν ἀριθμὸν ἑτῶν υ', εὑροις 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 γὰρ μετὰ Κέκροπα ὃ κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμὸς, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις, Ἐριχθονίου τε γένεσις, Κόρης τε ἀρπαγὴ, καὶ Δήμητρος μυστήρια, Ἐλευσινῶν ἔδρυσις, Τριπτολέμου γεωργία, Εύρώπης ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπαγὴ, Απόλλωνος 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 ἀν 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 ἥξεις τὸν Ἀσσύριον, δὸν πρῶτον φασιν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας πλὴν Ἰνδῶν κεκρατηκέναι· οὗ Νίνος ἐπώνυμος πόλις, ἡ Νινευὴ παρ' Ἐβραίοις ὀνόμασται, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. Νίνου δὲ γυνὴ καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας Σεμίραμις· ὥστ'

seven years before Samson began to rule the Hebrews, who is said to have become strong in body, much like Heracles among the Greeks.

10.9.8 | From here, if you move forward and add up a total of 58 years, 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, 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 later 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 during the time of Cecrops. From Moses, if you go 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 is said to be 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 time Zoroaster the magician ruled in Bactria. Ninus' wife and successor to the kingdom was Semiramis; thus, this is

είναι τὸν Ἀβραάμ κατὰ τούτους.

how Abraham fits into the timeline.

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, δὶς 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 ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πιστώσασθαι.

10.9.11 | These things are clearly arranged in the Chronicles that have been written for us. Now, regarding the evidence of Moses' ancientness, I will use the testimony of the most hostile and aggressive sources against both the Hebrews and us. I refer to the philosopher among us, who, filled with hatred toward 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 our enemies, I believe we can trust the promise.

10.9.12 | γράφει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῆς ὁ Πορφύριος ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε “Ιστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθεστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὄνόμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συμφωνότατα, Σαγχωνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἱληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως Θεοῦ Ἰευὼ, δὶς Ἀβελβαλῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίων τὴν ίστορίαν ἀναθεὶς, ὑπ' ἐκείνου 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 ιεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν συναγαγών καὶ συγγράψας, ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονε τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος.”

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, noting that both their places and their names agree 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 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πορφύριος. δεῖ δὴ συλλογίσασθαι τὰ προκείμενα ὥδε πως. εἴπερ ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ μακρῷ πρόσθεν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὄμοιογεῖται, εἴη ἀν καὶ ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων τῶν Τρωϊκῶν παλαίτερος.

10.9.13 | This is what Porphyrius says. Therefore, we must think about the earlier points in this way. If Sanchuniathon lived during the time of Semiramis, who is believed to have lived 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 ὄντες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως πλησιάζειν χρόνοις εἴρηνται, ούδε αὐτοὶ κατὰ Μωσέα γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τοῖς ἔκεινου χρόνοις πλησιάζοντες· ως τοσοῦτον πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τὸν Μωσέα τοῦ Σαγχωνιάθωνος ὀπόσον ἀν οὗτος λείπηται τῶν αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων, οἵ Μωσεῖ πλησιάζειν ὡμοιογήθησαν.

10.9.14 | But he is said to have taken the records from others who were older than he was. These sources, being even older than he, are said to be nearly from the time of Moses, not having existed during Moses' time, but being close to it. Therefore, Moses would be older than Sanchuniathon by as much as this one is younger than 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 είπειν· διόπερ τοῦτό μοι δοκῶ παρήσειν. δοὺς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔκεινον τὸν Σαγχωνιάθωνα Μωσέα γεγονέναι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὥδε τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐφοδεύσω.

10.9.15 | But it is hard to say how many years Moses was likely older than those mentioned. For this reason, I think I will set this matter aside. However, if I say that Sanchuniathon lived after Moses, and not before, I will support this point.

10.9.16 | εἴπερ ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων ἔγνωρίζετο, 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 from 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

10.9.17 | But our account shows that Abraham came before this, while the

τοῦ φιλοσόφου παλαιίτερον τὸν Μωσέα συνίστησιν. ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὀκτακοσίοις ὅλοις ἔτεσι δείκνυται προγενομένη. καὶ Μωσῆς ἄρα ἔσται τοσούτοις τὰ Τρωϊκὰ προάγων κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον.

philosopher places Moses much earlier. Semiramis is said to have been born 800 years before the Trojan War. Therefore, according to the philosopher, Moses would be earlier than the Trojan War by that many years.

10.9.18 | πρῶτος δὲ βασιλεύει Ἀργείων "Ιναχος, οὕπω τότε Ἀθηναίων οὔτε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχοντων. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἀργείων ἥγεῖται κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον μετὰ Σεμίραμιν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα, ν' καὶ ρ' ὕστερον ἔτεσιν αὐτῆς τε καὶ Μωσέως, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπίσημον γεγονός ίστορεῖται 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 believed to be from the Hebrews.

10.9.19 | εἴτ' αὖτις πάλιν τριακοσίοις ἔτῶν ἄλλοις κατώτερον χρόνοις, ἥδη που πλέον ἡ ὑπέρ τῶν ὅλων συμπληρουμένων ἀπό Σεμιράμεως, πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύει Κέκροψ ὁ βιώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτόχθων, "Αργους ἥγουμένου Τριόπα, δῆς 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 considered a native by them. Triopas was the leader of Argos, and he was the seventh king after the first Argive, Inachus.

10.9.20 | μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ὁ ἐπὶ Ὄγυγου μνημονεύεται κατακλυσμὸς, πρῶτος τε Ἀπις ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ θεὸς ὠνομάσθη, καὶ Ἰὼ θυγάτηρ Τινάχου, ἦν "Ισιν Αἴγυπτιοι μετονομάσαντες σέβουσι, Προμηθεύς τε καὶ Ἀτλας ἔγνωρίζοντο.

10.9.20 | Between these events, the flood associated with Ogyges is mentioned, and the first god named Apis was worshiped in Egypt. Io, the daughter of Inachus, was honored by the Egyptians under the name Isis. Prometheus and Atlas were also acknowledged.

10.9.21 | ἀπὸ δὲ Κέκροπος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἄλλα συνάγεται μικρῷ δέοντα ἔτη ὑ, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι θαυμάσια μυθολογεῖται, ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος

10.9.21 | From Cecrops to the fall of Ilium, there are just under 800 years, during which many amazing stories are told among the Greeks. These include the flood

κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος  
ἔμπρησμὸς, πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς, φθορῶν γῆς  
κατὰ τόπους γεγενημένων.

during Deucalion's time and the fire caused by Phaethon, along with many destructions of the earth in different places.

10.9.22 | πρῶτος δὲ Κέκροψ λέγεται Ζῆνα  
κειληκέναι τὸν θεὸν, μὴ πρότερον οὕτω  
παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὀνομασμένον· ἔπειτα  
βωμὸν παρ' Αθηναίοις ἴδρυσαι πρῶτος, καὶ  
πάλιν πρῶτος Αθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα στήσασθαι,  
ὡς οὐδὲ 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 build an altar for the Athenians and the first to set up a statue of Athena, since there were none of these from ancient times.

10.9.23 | μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον καὶ οἱ παρ'  
Ἐλλησι θεοὶ πάντες γενεαλογοῦνται. παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις δὲ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ  
ἐβασίλευον καὶ οὗ μετὰ Μωσέα διέλαμπον  
προφῆται· ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἐπὶ  
τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν συνάγεσθαι πλέον ἡ ἔτη  
ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν 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 the prophets who came after Moses were also important. Thus, everything is gathered from Moses to the fall of Ilium, which is more than 800 years according to the testimony of 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  
οἱ ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ  
τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα φιλοσόφους  
ἀνομάσθησαν, ἐγγύς που μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ  
ἔτεσιν ἐπτακοσίοις.

10.9.24 | Much of what we know about the Trojan War comes from later sources than what Homer and Hesiod wrote and those they mentioned. Just yesterday and the day before, around the 50th Olympiad, the philosophers associated with Pythagoras and Democritus were named, nearly 700 years after the events of the Trojan War.

10.9.25 | προτερεῖν ἄρα Μωσῆς καὶ οἱ μετ'  
αὐτὸν Ἐβραίων προφῆται συνίστανται τῶν  
παρ' Ἐλλησι φιλοσόφων χιλίοις  
πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ  
δηλωθέντος ἀνδρὸς ὄμολογίαν.

10.9.25 | Therefore, Moses and the Hebrew prophets who came after him are placed 1,500 years earlier than the philosophers among the Greeks, according to the agreement of the man mentioned.

10.9.26 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐπιτόμως.  
σκέψασθαι δὲ καιρὸς καὶ τὰς τῶν πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως  
ἀποδείξεις. γεγόνασι δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγιοι  
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 ἀρχαιολογία,  
πλουσίᾳ καὶ ποικίλῃ κατασκευῇ  
κεχρημένοι τῆς ἀποδείξεως.

10.9.27 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔκ τινων  
ὅμολογουμένων 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 Αἴγυπτιών  
ἀναγράψασι συνεχρήσαντο· ὅμοι 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.

10.9.28 | εἴθ' ἔκαστος οίκείαις μεθόδοις τὴν  
τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων κατασκευὴν  
πεποιημένος σύμφωνον καὶ  
ὅμολογουμένην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν  
εἰσηνέγκαντο. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς αὐτῶν  
ἡγησάμην δεῖν παραχωρῆσαι φωναῖς τὸν  
παρόντα λόγον, δπως ὅμοι τῶν οίκείων μὴ  
ἀποστεροῖντο καρπῶν οἱ τῶν λόγων  
πατέρες, καὶ διὰ πλειόνων μαρτύρων, ἄλλὰ  
μὴ δι' ἐνὸς, ὅμοι ἡ σύστασις τῆς ἀληθείας  
ἀναμφίλεκτον λάβοι τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν.

10.9.26 | We have briefly mentioned these things. Now it is time to consider the evidence from those who came before us on the same topic. Indeed, there have been learned men among us, equal to anyone in education, who have also discussed divine matters. They have clearly explained the current topic based on what the Hebrews have presented, using rich and varied evidence from archaeology.

10.9.27 | Some have calculated the dates based on certain agreed-upon histories, while others have supported their claims with older writings. Some used Greek sources, while others included those from the Phoenicians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians. Together, they gathered both Greek and foreign accounts, as well as those from the Hebrews, and compared them with all histories. They examined events that occurred around the same times.

10.9.28 | Then each person, using their own methods, presented a proof that was consistent and agreed upon. For this reason, I thought it best to let their voices be part of the current discussion, so that the authors of these accounts would not be deprived of their contributions. With many witnesses, not just one, the gathering of truth would surely receive confirmation.

## Section 10

10.10.1 | “Μέχρι μὲν τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς ἴστορηται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων συγκεχυμένων καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸ τοῦ συμφωνούντων· αὗτὴ δὲ ἡ κρίβωνται πολλοῖς, τῷ μὴ ἐκ πλείστου διαδτήματος, διὰ τετραετίας δὲ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

10.10.2 | οὗ δὴ χάριν τὰς ἐνδοξοτάτας • καὶ μυθώδεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἴστορίας μέχρι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπιδραμοῦμαι· τὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα συζεύξας κατὰ χρόνον ἐκάστας, εἴ τινες ἐπίσημοι, ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς τὰς Ἐβραικὰς, ἔξιστορῶν μὲν τὰ Ἐβραίων, ἐφαπτόμενος δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐφαρμόσω τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· λαβόμενος μιᾶς πράξεως Ἐβραικῆς ὄμοχρόνου πράξει ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἴστορηθείσῃ, καὶ ταύτης ἔχόμενος, ἀφαιρῶν τε καὶ προστιθεὶς, τίς τε Ἑλλην, ἢ Πέρσης, ἢ καὶ δοτισοῦν τῇ Ἐβραίων συνεχρόνισεν, ἐπισημειούμενος, ἵσως ἀν του σκοποῦ τύχοιμι.

10.10.3 | “Ἐβραίων Ἐβραίων μὲν οὗν ἡ μετοικία ἐπισημοτάτη, αίχμαλωτισθέντων ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, παρέτεινεν ἔτη ὁ, καθὰ προεφήτευσεν Ἱερεμίας. τοῦ δὴ Ναβουχοδονόσορ μνημονεύει Βηρωσσός ὁ Βαβυλώνιος.

10.10.4 | μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅ τῆς αίχμαλωσίας λωσίας ἔτη Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἥχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν

10.10.1 | Up until the Olympiads, nothing precise is recorded for the Greeks, as everything is mixed together and not agreed upon among themselves before that time. However, many things are accurately known, not from much effort, but because the Greeks made their records every four years.

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 from there, 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 | Therefore, the most notable exile of the Hebrews was when they were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, which lasted for many years, as Jeremiah had prophesied. This is mentioned by Berossus the Babylonian.

10.10.4 | After the years of exile, Cyrus became king of the Persians, during which the new Olympiad began. This can be found

Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἴστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἵς ἐμέλησεν Ὄλυμπιάδων ἄπασι γὰρ συνσυνεφώνησέν ὁ χρόνος.

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 discussed the Olympiads. For time has confirmed all these accounts.

10.10.5 | Κῦρος δ' οὗν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὄλυμπιάδος ωέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, διὰ Ζοροβάβελ, καθ' ὃν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ἰωσεδέκ, τὴν πρώτην καὶ μερικὴν ἀπόπεμψιν ἐποιήσατο τοῦ λαοῦ, πληρωθείσης τῆς ἐβδομηκονταετίας, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἔσδρᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἴστορηται.

10.10.5 | In the first year of Cyrus's reign, which was also the first year of the 70th Olympiad, Zerubbabel and Jesus, the son of Josedek, led the first partial return of the people after the 70 years had been fulfilled, as recorded in Ezra among the Hebrews.

10.10.6 | αἱ μὲν οὖν ἴστορίαι συντρέχουσι Κύρου τε βασιλείας καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας τέλους, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς Ὄλυμπιάδας οὕτως εἰς ἡμάς εὐρεθήσεται συμφωνήσαντα· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπόμενοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἴστορίας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀλλήλαις ἔφαρμόσομεν.

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 our accounts. Following these, we will connect the other histories in the same manner.

10.10.7 | τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων ὥδε πως τῆς Ἀττικῆς χρονογραφίας ἀριθμουμένης, ἀπὸ Ὡγύγου τοῦ παρ' ἑκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος, ἐφ' οὐ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμὸς, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς' Ακουσίλαος ἴστορεῖ, μέχρι πρώτης Ὄλυμπιάδος, δόποθεν Ελληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάλεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἔξῆς δειχθήσεται.

10.10.7 | Before these events, according to the timeline of Attica, starting from Ogyges, who was believed to be a native, the great and first flood occurred in Attica while Phoroneus was king of the Argives, as Acusilaus records. Up 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 | ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἴστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος δὲ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἵ τε τὰ Συρία Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλός, καὶ ὁ τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς

10.10.8 | For these matters, the historians of the Athenians, including Hellanicus and Philochorus, who wrote about Attica, as well as Castor and Thallos from Syria, and

Βιβλιοθήκας, Ἀλέξανδρός ξανδρός τε ὁ  
Πολυΐστωρ, οἵτινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τῶν  
Ἀττικῶν ἀπάντων. εἴ τις οὖν ἐν τοῖς χιλίοις  
εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἐπίσημος ἱστορία τυγχάνει,  
κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐκλεγήσεται.”

Diodorus, who wrote the Libraries, and Alexander the Polyhistor, are the ones who mentioned our history and all of Attica most accurately. If there is any significant history within those 1,020 years, it will be selected based on its usefulness.

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'  
Αἰγύπτου τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ Μώσεως ἔξιδον  
γεγενῆσθαι, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

10.10.9 | And after a short while, 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 exodus of the people from Egypt with Moses, in this way.”

10.10.10 | ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὄλυμπιάδα τὴν  
προειρημένην ἀπὸ Ὡγύγου ἔτη δειχθήσεται  
Θήσεται ἀκ· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης  
Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς νε' ἔτος πρῶτον,  
τουτέστιν ἐπὶ Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος  
πρῶτον, ὅπερ ἦν αίχμαλωσίας τέλος, ἵτη  
σίζ'. ἀπὸ Ὡγυγον τοίνυν ἐπὶ Κῦρον ἵτη  
ασλζ'. εἰ δ' ἀναφέροι τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος  
ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς αίχμαλωσίας ασλξ' ἔτη,  
κατὰ ἀνάλυσιν εὐρίσκεται ταύτον  
διάστημα ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ἀπὸ  
Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μώσεως ἔξιδου Ισραὴλ,  
ὅσον 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, the years will be shown. From the first Olympiad to the 15th year, which is the first year of Cyrus's reign and marks the end of the captivity, there are 15 years. So, from Ogyges to Cyrus, there are also 15 years. If someone calculates from the end of the captivity, there are 15 years, and by counting, the same period is found from the first year of Israel's exit from Egypt through Moses, just as there are 15 years 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  
ἔξῃλθε Μώσης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου· καὶ ὡς οὐκ  
ἄπιστον τότε ταῦτα συμβῆναι δείκνυμεν  
οὖτως.

10.10.11 | And after other things, “And so many years before Ogyges,” during that time, Moses came out of Egypt. We show that it is not unbelievable that these events happened then.

10.10.12 | ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξοδου Μώσεως ἐπὶ Κῦρον, δις ὃς ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ τὴν αἱχμαλωσίαν, ἔτη ασλξ'. Μωσέως γάρ ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τεσσαράκοντα· Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μετ' ἑκεῖνον ἡγησαμένου ἔτη κε' πρεσβυτέρων ἔτη λ' τῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦν Κριτῶν· τῶν τε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν Κριτῶν περιεχομένων ἔτη'. Ιερέων δὲ "Ἡλει καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἔτη οἵ". τῶν δὲ ἔξης βασιλέων Ἐβραίων ἔτη τετρακόσια οἵ. τῆς δ' αἱχμαλωσίας ἐβδομήκοντα, ης τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος ἦν Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος πρωτον, 'τον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν.

10.10.12 | From the time of Moses's exit to Cyrus, who reigned after the captivity, there are 15 years. There are 40 years remaining for Moses; with Joshua leading after him, there are 25 years of the elders following Joshua, and the years mentioned in the book of Judges are included. The years of the priests Eli and Samuel add up to 20. The years of the subsequent kings of the Hebrews total 450. The captivity lasted 70 years, the last of which was the first year of Cyrus's reign, as we have mentioned before.

10.10.13 | ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἔτη ἄκ, εἴπερ ἐπὶ πεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης ἔτος πρῶτον ἔτη ασλξ'· κάν τοις 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. The Greek records also support this timeline.

10.10.14 | μετὰ δὲ "Ογυγον, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ πολλὴν φθορὰν, ἀβασίλευτος ἔμεινεν ἡ νῦν Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρπθ'. τὸν γάρ μετὰ "Ογυγον Ἀκταῖον ἡ ἡ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὄνομάτων, οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόζορος."

10.10.14 | After Ogyges, due to 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 and the names that were created did not even exist.

10.10.15 | Καὶ αὖθις "Απὸ Ὁγύγου τοίνυν ἐπὶ Κῦρον, δόποσα 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 "Απιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως μοῖρα τοῦ Αίγυπτίων στρατοῦ ἔξεπεσεν Αίγυπτου, οἷ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλουμένῃ Συρίᾳ οὐ πόρρω Ἀραβίας ὥκησαν, αύτοὶ δηλονότι οἱ

10.10.15 | And again, from Ogyges to Cyrus, the years from Moses to that same time are 800. Some Greeks also say that Moses lived during those same years. Polemon, in the first of the Greek histories, mentions that at the time of Apis, the Egyptian army left Egypt. Those who lived in the land called Palestine, which is not far from Arabia, were clearly those who came after Moses.

μετὰ Μωσέως.

10.10.16 | Άπιων δὲ ὁ Ποσειδωνίου, περιεργότατος γραμματικῶν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησι κατὰ "Ιναχὸν Ἀργους βασιλέα, Ἀμώσιος Αἴγυπτίων 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' Ἀβραάμ.

10.10.18 | Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος τὰ Αἴγυπτίων ἀνέκαθεν ἴστορῶν ἄπασι τούτοις συντρέχει· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπίσημος ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ τῶν χρόνων παραλλαγή.

10.10.19 | σημειωτέον δὲ ὡς ὅ τι ποτὲ ἔξαιρετον "Ἐλλησι δι' ἀρχαιότητα μυθεύεται, μετὰ Μωσέα τοῦθ' εὐρίσκεται, κατακλυσμοί τε καὶ ἐκπυρώσεις, Προμηθεὺς, Ἰὼ, Εύρώπη, Σπαρτοὶ, Κόρης ἀρπαγὴ, μυστήρια, νομοθεσίαι, Διονύσου πράξεις, Περσεὺς, ἀθλοὶ Ἡράκλειοι, Ἀργοναῦται, Κένταυροι, Μινώταυρος, τὰ περὶ Ἱλιον, Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος, Ιώνων ἀποικία, καὶ Ὄλυμπιάδες.

10.10.20 | ἔδοξε δή μοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς βασιλείας τὸν προειρημένον ἐκτιθέναι

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, while Amos was ruling as king of the Egyptians, the Jews separated, with Moses leading them.

10.10.17 | Herodotus also mentions this separation, and Amos in the second. In a certain way, he counts the Jews among those who are circumcised, and he refers to the Assyrians in Palestine, perhaps because of Abraham.

10.10.18 | Ptolemy of Mendes covers all these histories of the Egyptians, so that there is not even a significant difference in the timeline.

10.10.19 | It should be noted that anything considered special to the Greeks because of its ancient origins can be found with Moses: floods and fires, 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

χρόνον, παρατιθέναι μέλλοντι ταῖς  
Ἐβραϊκαῖς ἱστορίαις τὰς Ἑλληνικάς.  
ἔξεσται γάρ τῷ βουλομένῳ, παρ' ἐμοῦ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν κομιζομένῳ, λογίζεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
δομοίως ἐμοί.

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 just as I do.

10.10.21 | “Ούκοῦν τῶν χιλίων καὶ εἴκοσιν  
έτῶν, τῶν μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ  
Μωσέως τε καὶ Ὄγυγου ἐκκειμένων,  
πρώτῳ μὲν ἔτει τὸ Πάσχα καὶ τῶν Ἐβραίων  
ἔξιδος ἡ ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ  
ἐπὶ Ὄγυγου γίνεται καταικλυσμός’ καὶ κατὰ  
λόγον.

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, we have Passover and the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, while in Attica, the flood happens during the time of Ogyges, according to the account.

10.10.22 | τῶν γὰρ Αἴγυπτίων ὄργῃ θεοῦ  
χαλάζαις τε καὶ χειμῶσι μαστιζομένων  
είκος ἦν μέρη τινὰ συμπάσχειν τῆς γῆς, ὅτι  
Ἀθηναίους τῶν αὐτῶν Αἴγυπτίοις  
ἀπολαύειν είκος ἦν, ἀποίκους ἐκείνων  
ὑπονοουμένους, ὡς φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐν  
τῷ Τρικαράνῳ Θεόπομπος.

10.10.22 | For the Egyptians, who were punished by the wrath of God with hail and storms, it is likely that some parts of the land also suffered. It seems reasonable that the Athenians shared the same land as the Egyptians, suggesting that they were colonies of theirs, as others have said, including Theopompus in Trikaranos.

10.10.23 | ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνος  
παραλέλειπται, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἔξαίρετον  
“Ἐλλησιν ἴστόρηται. μετὰ δὲ τέσσαρα καὶ  
ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη ἦν Προμηθεὺς, ὡς τινες, ὃς  
πλάσσειν ἀνθρώπους ἐμυθεύετο· σοφὸς  
γὰρ ὅν εἰς παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν  
ἰδιωτείας μετέπλαττε.” Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ  
Ἀφρικανός. μεταβῶμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐφ' ἔτερον.

10.10.23 | But the time in between is left out, during which nothing remarkable is recorded about the Greeks. After ninety-four years, there was Prometheus, as some say, who claimed to create humans. Being wise, he transformed them from their extreme ignorance into knowledge. 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' Ἔλλησιν

10.11.1 | Now I think it is fitting to present our philosophy as older than the practices of the Greeks. Our boundaries will be

έπιτηδευμάτων. ὅροι δ' ἡμῖν κείσονται  
Μώσης καὶ Ὅμηρος. τῷ γὰρ ἐκάτερον  
αὐτῶν εἶναι παλαίτατον, καὶ τὸν μὲν  
ποιητῶν καὶ ἱστορικῶν εἶναι πρεσβύτατον,  
τὸν δὲ πάσης σοφίας βαρβάρου ἀρχηγὸν,  
καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν νῦν εἰς σύγκρισιν  
παραλαμβανέσθωσαν.

Moses and Homer. 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 outsiders. Let us now consider them for comparison.

10.11.2 | εὐρήσομεν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῆς  
Ἐλλήνων παιδείας τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων εὐρέσεως ἀνώτερα·  
μάρτυράς τε οὐ τοὺς οἴκοι παραλήψομαι,  
βοηθοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον Ἐλλησι καταχρήσομαι.  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγνωμον, ὅτι μηδ’ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν  
παραδεκτὸν· τὸ δὲ, ἂν ἀποδεικνύηται,  
θαυμαστὸν, ὅπόταν ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων  
ὅπλων ἀντερείδων ἀνυπόπτους καθ’ ὑμῶν  
τοὺς ἐλέγχους παραλαμβάνω.

10.11.2 | For we will find that not only is the education of the Greeks inferior to ours, but also that the discovery of letters is greater. I will not take witnesses from my own country, but I will rather use the Greeks as support. The unknown is not accepted by you; however, if it can be proven, it is remarkable whenever I present your arguments against you without suspicion using your own tools.

10.11.3 | περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὅμηρου ποιήσεως  
γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ’ ὃν  
ἡκμασε προηρεύνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν  
Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγῖνος κατὰ Καμβύσην  
γεγονὼς, καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος, καὶ  
Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Ἡρόδοτός τε  
Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς, καὶ Διονύσιος Ὁλύνθιος·  
μετὰ δὲ ἐκείνους Ἔφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος, καὶ  
Φιλόχορος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, Μεγακλείδης τε καὶ  
Χαμαιλέων οἱ περιπατητικοί· ἐπειτα  
γραμματικοί, Ζηνόδοτος, Ἀριστοφάνης,  
Καλλίμοχος, Κράτης, Ἐρατοσθένης,  
Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀπολλόδωρος.

10.11.3 | For regarding the nature and time of Homer's poetry, the oldest scholars have investigated: Theagenes of Rhegium during the time of Cambyses, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Antimachus of Colophon, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Dionysius of Olynthus. After them came Ephorus of Cyme, Philochorus of Athens, and Megacles and Chamaileon, who were followers of the Peripatetic school. Then there were the grammarians: Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus.

10.11.4 | τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν περὶ Κράτητα  
πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθύδου φασὶν αὐτὸν  
ἡκμακέναι, μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἐνδοτέρω τῶν  
όγδοήκοντα ἔτῶν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν  
Ἐρατοσθένην μετὰ ἐκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς

10.11.4 | Some say that Crates flourished before the Heraclids, within eighty years after the Trojan War. Others say that Eratosthenes lived a hundred years after the fall of Ilium. Those who discuss

Ίλιου ἀλώσεως· οὶ 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 ὄγδοοικοντα· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν, ὃ γένοιτ' ἀν τῶν ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι διακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα· τινὲς δὲ πρὸ τῶν Ὄλυμπιάδων ἔφασαν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις· ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπῆγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον εἰπόντες· ὃ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἥκμασε περὶ Ὄλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ είκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδὸν, ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις.

10.11.5 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν χρόνων τοῦ προειρημένου ποιητοῦ, λέγω δὴ Ὅμηρου, στάσεως τε καὶ τῶν εἰπόντων τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσυμφωνίας τοῖς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἔξετάζειν δυναμένοις αὐταρκῶς ἡμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίω είρήσθω. δυνατὸν γάρ παντὶ ψευδεῖς ἀποφαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς λόγους δόξας. παρ' οἵς γάρ ἀσυνάρητός ἔστιν ἡ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴ, παρὰ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθεύειν δύναται.

10.11.6 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα “Πλὴν Ὅμηρος ἔστω μὴ μόνον ὕστερος τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔκεινον αὐτὸν ὑπελήφθω γεγονέναι τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα συνεστρατεῦσθαι, καν βούληται τις, καὶ πρὶν τῶν στοιχείων τὴν εὔρεσιν γεγονέναι φανήσεται γάρ ὃ προειρημένος Μώσης αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰλιακῆς ἀλώσεως πρεσβύτερος πάνυ

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 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 around the same time as Archilochus. Archilochus flourished during the twenty-third Olympic Games, five hundred years after the Iliad.

10.11.5 | And about the times of the poet mentioned earlier, I mean Homer, let's say that those who talk about him have disagreements. Those who can examine the details accurately can do so on their own. Anyone can state falsehoods and opinions about the words. Where the recording of times is unclear, it is not possible for the truths of history to be accurate.

10.11.6 | And briefly, let's say 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 with Agamemnon. If anyone wishes, they can say that he existed before the discovery of the elements. For the mentioned Moses will seem to be much older than many years

πολλοῖς ἔτεσι, τῆς δὲ γεγονούσας Ἰλίου κτίσεως καὶ τοῦ Τρωός καὶ Δαρδάνου λίαν ἀρχαιότερος.

10.11.7 | ἀποδείξεως δὲ ἔνεκα μάρτυσι χρήσομαι Χαλδαίοις, Φοίνιξιν, Αἴγυπτίοις. καὶ τί μοι λέγειν πλείονα; χρὴ γὰρ τὸν πείθειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον συντομωτέρας ποιεῖσθαι τάς περὶ τὸν πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας διηγήσεις.

10.11.8 | Βηρωσσὸς ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βίλου, κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενος, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετὰ Σέλευκον τρίτῳ τὴν Χαλδαίων ιστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκτιθέμενος ἀφηγεῖται τινος αὐτῶν ὄνομα Ναβουχοδονόσορ,, τοῦ συστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Φοίνικας καὶ Ίουδαίους, ἅτινα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς προφητῶν ἴσμεν κεκηρυγμένα, γεγονότα μὲν πολὺ τῆς Μώσεως ἡλικίας κατώτερα, πρὸ δὲ τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα.

10.11.9 | Βηρωσσὸς δέ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ Ἰκανώτατος· καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον Ἰόβας, ὃς Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων· γράφων παρὰ βηρωσσοῦ φησι μεμαθηκέναι τὴν ιστορίαν εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῷ βίβλοι Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων δύο.”

10.11.10 | “Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ Φοινίκων οὖτως ἔχει. γεγόνασι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄνδρες τρεῖς, Θεόδοτος, Ψυικράτης, Μῶχος. τούτων τὰς βίβλους είς Ἑλληνίδα κατέταξε φωνὴν Λαῖτος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς

after the fall of Ilium, but he is even 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. What more should I say? It is necessary for the one who promises to persuade to keep the accounts about the matters short for the listeners.

10.11.8 | A man from Babylon named Berossus, a priest of Bel among them, wrote the history of the Chaldeans in three books for Antiochus, who came after Seleucus, during the time of Alexander. He also tells of the deeds of the kings, mentioning one 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 | Berossus is a very capable man. A proof of this is Iobas, who, while writing about the Assyrians, says that he learned history from Berossus. He has two books about the Assyrians.

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 in detail about the lives of the philosophers.

πραγματευσάμενος.

10.11.11 | ἐν δὴ ταῖς τῶν προειρημένων ιστορίαις δηλοῦται κατά τινα τῶν βασιλέων Εύρωπης ἀρπαγὴ γεγονέναι, Μενελάου τε εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην ἄφιξις, καὶ τὰ περὶ Εἴραμον, ὅστις Σολομῶν τῷ Ίουδαίων βασιλεῖ πρὸς γάμον δοὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ξύλων παντοδαπῶν ὕλην εἰς τὴν τοῦ νεώ κατασκευὴν ἔδωρήσατο.

10.11.12 | καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποίησατο. τοῦ δὲ Είραμου ὁ χρόνος ἥδη που τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς ἐγγίζει· Σολομῶν δὲ ὁ κατ' Εἴραμον πολὺ κατώτερός ἐστι τῆς Μώσεως ἡλικίας.”

10.11.13 | “Αἴγυπτίων δ’ εἰσὶν 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 βασιλέᾳ γεγονέναι Ίουδαίοις φησὶ τὴν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου πορείαν εἰς ἄπερ ἥθελον χωρία, Μώσεως ἡγουμένου.

10.11.14 | λέγει δὲ οὕτως: ὁ δὲ Ἀμωσὶς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν Ἰναχὸν τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ἀνὴρ δοκιμώτατος, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν (πέντε δέ εἰσιν αὐτῷ γραφαί) πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, φησὶ δ’ ὅτι κατέσκαψε τὴν Αὔαριν Ἀμωσὶς, κατὰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος Ἰναχὸν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις

10.11.11 | In the histories of those mentioned, it is shown that some kings of Europe were captured, including the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia. There is also the story about Hiram, who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, the king of the Jews, and provided all kinds of wood for the building of the temple.

10.11.12 | And Menander of Pergamon also made a record about the same events. The time of Hiram is already close to the time of the Iliad; however, Solomon, according to Hiram, is much later than the age of Moses.

10.11.13 | There are accurate records of the times of the Egyptians. 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 desired was led by Moses.

10.11.14 | It says this: Amos became king after Inachus. After him, Apion the grammarian, a highly respected man, in the fourth of the Egyptian writings (there are five in total) mentions many other things, but he also states that Amos dug up Avaris, becoming Inachus according to the Argives, as recorded in the Chronicles by Ptolemy of

άνέγραψεν δὲ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος.

10.11.15 | ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου χρόνος ἄχρι τῆς  
Ίλιου ἀλώσεως ἀποπληροῦ γενεὰς εἴκοσι.  
καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν  
τρόπον."

10.11.16 | "Γεγόνασιν Ἀργείων βασιλεῖς  
οἱδε, Ἰνάχος, Φορωνεὺς, Ἄπις, Ἀργεῖος,  
Κρίασσος, Φορβᾶς, Τριόπας, Κρότωπός,  
Σθενέλαιος, Δαναὸς, Λυγκεὺς, Ἀβας,  
Προῖτος, Ἀκρίσιος, Περσεὺς, Εύρυσθεὺς,  
Ἀτρεὺς, Θυέστης, Ἀγαμέμνων, οὗ κατὰ τὸ  
όκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Ἰλιον  
ἐάλω.

10.11.17 | καὶ χρὴ τὸν νουνεχῆ συνιέναι  
μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ὅτι κατὰ τὴν  
Ἐλλήνων παράδοσιν οὐδὲ ἱστορίας τις ἡν  
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγραφή. Κάδμος γάρ ὁ τὰ  
στοιχεῖα τοῖς προειρημένοις παραδοὺς  
μετὰ πολλὰς γενεὰς τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπέβη.

10.11.18 | μετὰ δὲ Ἰνάχον ὑπὸ Φορωνέως  
μόλις τοῦ θηριώδους βίου καὶ νομάδος  
περιγραφὴ γέγονε, μετεκοσμήθησάν τε οἱ  
ἄνθρωποι. διόπερ εἰ κατὰ Ἰνάχον πέφηνεν  
οἱ Μώσης γεγονὼς, πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν  
Ίλιακῶν ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις.

10.11.19 | ἀποδείνυται δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχον  
ἀπό τε τῆς τῶν Ἀττικῶν βασιλέων  
διοδοχῆς, Μακεδονικῶν τε καὶ  
Πτολεμαϊκῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀντιοχικῶν. ὅθεν  
εἴ μετὰ τὸν Ἰνάχον αἱ διαφανέσταται  
πράξεις παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἐγράφησάν τε καὶ

Mendes.

10.11.15 | But the time from Inachus to the  
fall of Ilium covers twenty generations.  
This is how he proves it.

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, and  
Agamemnon, who captured Ilium in the  
eighteenth year of his reign.

10.11.17 | It is important for the wise to  
understand clearly that, according to Greek  
tradition, there was no historical record  
among them. For Cadmus, who brought the  
letters, arrived in Boeotia after many  
generations.

10.11.18 | After Inachus, under Phoroneus,  
a description of wild life and nomads barely  
emerged, and people changed. Therefore, if  
the flood occurred during the time of  
Inachus, it is four hundred years older than  
the years of Ilium.

10.11.19 | This is shown to be true from the  
succession of the kings of Attica, as well as  
from the Macedonian, Ptolemaic, and  
Antiochene lines. Therefore, if after Inachus  
the most significant events were recorded  
and are known among the Greeks, it is clear

γινώσκονται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ μετὰ Μωσέα.

that this also occurred after Moses.

10.11.20 | κατὰ μὲν γὰρ Φορωνέα τὸν μετ' Ἰναχὸν μνημονεύεται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὁγυγός, ἐφ' οὗ κατακλυσμὸς ὁ πρῶτος, κατὰ δὲ Φόρβαντα Ἀκταῖος, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ δὲ Τριόπαν Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ Ἄτλας καὶ ὁ διφυὴς Κέκροψ καὶ ἡ Ἰώ·

10.11.20 | According to Phoroneus, after Inachus, the Athenians mention Ogyges, during whose time the first flood occurred. According to Forbantes, there is Actaeus, from whom the land of Actaea in Attica gets its name. According to Triopas, there are Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas, the two-natured Cecrops, and Io.

10.11.21 | κατὰ δὲ Κρότωπόν ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἔκπύρωσις καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία· κατὰ δὲ Σθενέλαον ἡ τε Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεία καὶ ἡ εἰς Πελοπόννησον Δαναοῦ παρουσία καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ 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, the founding of Dardania by Dardanus, and 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, Μίνωάς τε βασιλεία·

10.11.22 | According to Lynceus, there is the abduction of the Maiden and the establishment of the sanctuary in Eleusis, the agriculture of Triptolemus, the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and the kingdom of Minos.

10.11.23 | κατὰ δὲ Προῖτον ὁ Εύμόλπου πρὸς Αθηναίους πόλεμος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀκρίσιον Πέλοπος ἀπὸ Φρυγίας διάβασις, καὶ Ἱωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ, αἱ τε Περσέως πράξεις· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείαν Ἰλιον ἔάλω·

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, the second Cecrops, and the deeds of Perseus. According to the reign of Agamemnon, Troy was captured.

10.11.24 | “Ούκοῦν πέφηνεν ὁ Μωσῆς ἀπό

10.11.24 | “Therefore, Moses is clearly the

γε τῶν προειρημένων πρεσβύτατος ἡρώων, πόλεων, δαιμόνων. καὶ χρὴ τῷ πρεσβεύοντι κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν πιστεύειν μᾶλλον ἥπερ τοῖς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀρυσαμένοις, "Ἐλλησιν οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν τάκείνου δόγματα.

10.11.25 | πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ κατ' αύτοὺς σοφισταὶ κεχρημένοι περιεργίᾳ, οἱ δσα παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Μωσέα καὶ τῶν ὄμοιώς αὐτῷ φιλοσοφούντων ἔγνωσαν παραχαράττειν ἐπειράθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα τι λέγειν ἕδιον νομισθῶσι, δεύτερον δ' ὅπως τὰ δσα μὴ συνίεσαν, διά τινος ἐπιπλάστου ῥήτολογίας παρακαλύπτοντες, ὡς μυθολογίαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραβραβεύσωσι.

10.11.26 | "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείας, ἱστορίας τε τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους, δσα τε είρήκασιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι 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 ούχ Ὁμέρου μόνον πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν ὁ Μωσῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων, Λίνου, Φιλάμμονος, Θαμύριδος, Ἀμφίονος, Ὄρφέως, 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 Ισατιδος, Δρυμῶνός τε καὶ Εὔκλου τοῦ Κυπρίου, καὶ Ὥρου τοῦ

oldest of the heroes, cities, and spirits mentioned earlier. It is important to trust the elder based on age more than those who have drawn from the source, not relying on their understanding of those teachings."

10.11.25 | For many of the sophists who follow them, driven by curiosity, have tried to twist what they learned from Moses and those who think like him. First, they want to be seen as saying something original, and second, they try to hide their misunderstandings with false rhetoric, as if they could misrepresent the truth of mythology.

10.11.26 | Regarding our government and the history based on our laws, as well as everything that the learned among the Greeks have said, it will be revealed who has been mentioned and how many there are in relation to those who speak about God.

10.11.27 | But now, it must be made clear with complete accuracy that Moses is not only older than Homer, but also older than the writers who came before him: Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Amphion, Orpheus, Musaeus, Demodocus, Phemios, the Sibyl, Epimenides of Crete, who traveled to Sparta, Aristaeus of Proconnesus, the one who wrote about the Arimaspians, Asbolus the Centaur, Isatidus, Drymon, Eucus of Cyprus, Horus of Samos, and Pronapides of Athens.

Σαμίου, καὶ Προναπίδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου.

10.11.28 | Λίνος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος, ὃ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς μιᾶς τῶν Τρωϊκῶν προγενέστερος πέφηνε γενεᾶ. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι φανερὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Τληπολέμου, τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Ἰλιον.

10.11.29 | Ορφεὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἡρακλεῖ γέγονεν· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπεισφερόμενά φασιν ὑπὸ Ὄνομακρίτου 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 ἀπείργει. Δημόδοκός τε καὶ Φήμιος κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον γεγόνασι· διέτριψον γὰρ ὃ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν, ὃ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξι, καὶ ὃ Θάμυρις καὶ ὃ Φιλάμμιων οὐ πολὺ τούτων είσιν 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, ὃ πάσης προύχειν νομισθείς σοφίας ἀγχινοίας τε

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 Troy.

10.11.29 | Orpheus was born around the same time as Heracles. Additionally, it is said that the works about him were organized 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, who lived two generations before the Trojans, keeps us from learning more about the scholars. Demodocus and Phemios were born during the Trojan War; one stayed with the suitors, while the other was with the Phaeacians. Thamyris and Philammon are not much older than them.

10.11.31 | Regarding each topic, including their times and records, I believe we have written with great accuracy. Now, let us also finish what is still needed up to the present. I will also provide evidence about the wise men who are thought to be such.

10.11.32 | Minos, who is thought to be the greatest in wisdom and lawgiving, was

καὶ νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ Λυγκέως τοῦ μετὰ Δαναὸν βασιλεύσαντος γέγονεν, ἐνδεκάτῃ γενεᾶς μετὰ Ἰναχον. Λυκοῦργος δὲ, πολὺ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου γεννηθεὶς ἀλωσιν, πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν νομοθετεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

born during the reign of Lynceus, who ruled after Danaus, in the eleventh generation after Inachus. Lycurgus, born long after the fall of Ilium, established laws for the Spartans a hundred years before the Olympic Games.

10.11.33 | Δράκων δὲ περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην εὐρίσκεται γεγονώς· Σόλων δὲ περὶ μῆνας· Πυθαγόρας κατὰ τὴν ἔξηκοστὴν δευτέραν. τὰς δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδας ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσιν ἀπεδείξαμεν γεγονυίας τετρακοσίοις ἐ.

10.11.33 | Draco is said to have lived around the thirtieth and ninth Olympic years; Solon around the fifty-ninth; and Pythagoras in the second year of the sixtieth. We have shown that the Olympic years occurred 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 γὰρ 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 discuss the age of the seven wise men. The oldest of those mentioned, Thales, was born around the fiftieth Olympic year, and what follows after him has been told to us briefly.

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 ἄτινα νῦν κηρύττειν ἐπαγγέλλομαι. γινώσκων δὲ λοιπὸν τίς ὁ θεὸς καὶ τίς ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ποίησις ἔτοιμον ἐμαυτὸν 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 share. 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 | “Εϊρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς Τατιανῷ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς “Ἐλληνας, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐξηγητικῶν. ἀπαιτεῖ δ' ὅμως τὸ ὑπόμνημα καὶ ἡμὰς ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον είρημένα.

10.12.2 | Ἀπίων τοίνυν ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὁ Πλειστονίκης ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν ἱστοριῶν, καίτοι φιλαπεχθήμόνως πρὸς Εβραίους διακείμενος, ἄτε Αἴγυπτιος τὸ γένος, ὡς καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων συντάξασθαι βιβλίον, Ἀμώσιος τοῦ Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέως μεμνημένος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πράξεων, μάρτυρα παρατίθεται Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενδήσιον.

10.12.3 | καὶ τὰ τῆς λέξεως αὐτοῦ ὥδε ἔχει “Κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Άούαριν Ἀμωσίς,, κατὰ τὸν 3ο Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος Ἰναχὸν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος.

10.12.4 | ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ἱερεὺς μὲν ἦν, τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέων πράξεις ἐν τρισὶν ὄλαις ἐκθέμενος βίβλοις κατὰ Ἀμωσίν φησιν Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα Μώσεως ἡγουμένου γεγονέναι Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου πορείαν, ἐξ ὧν συνῶπται κατὰ Ἰναχὸν ἡκμακέναι τὸν Μωσέα.

10.12.5 | παλαίτερα δὲ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν μνημονεύεσθαι τὰ Ἀργολικὰ, τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου λέγω, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις διδάσκει.

10.12.1 | It has been said about these things accurately by Tatian in his work “To the Greeks,” and it has also been mentioned by Cassian in the first of the Explanations. However, the summary requires us to also discuss what has been said about the place.

10.12.2 | Apion the grammarian, who was called Pleistonikos, wrote in his history of the Egyptians. Although he was hostile toward the Jews because he was of Egyptian descent, he wrote a book about the Jews. He mentioned Amosis, the king of the Egyptians, and the events 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 complete 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 thrived according to Inachos.

10.12.5 | Earlier than the Greek records, meaning the Argive ones from Inachos, Dionysius of Halicarnassus teaches in his Chronicles.

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 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 μᾶζη πλείους διαριθμοῦνται, ἔτη δὲ, ὡς ἔπος είπεῖν, Ὡ 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 ὄγδοου δυναστείας τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἡ Μώσεως κατὰ Ἀμωσιν τὸν Αἴγυπτιον καὶ κατὰ Ἰναχὸν τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐξ Αἴγυπτου κίνησις.

10.12.9 | ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ μὲν Φορωνέα τὸν μετ' Ἰναχὸν ὁ ἐπὶ Ὀγύγου 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

10.12.6 | Of these, the Attic records are younger by forty generations, coming from Cecrops, who was indeed both dual-born and native, as Tatian says exactly. The Arcadian records are nine generations from Pelasgus; he is also said to be native.

10.12.7 | Of these, the Phthian records are younger by two generations from Deucalion. In the time of the Trojan War, there are twenty generations or more counted from Inachos, and the years, so to speak, are also numerous.

10.12.8 | But if Ctesias says that the Assyrians are older than the Greeks by many years, this will be evident in the second and four-hundredth year of Assyrian rule. In the second and thirtieth year of Belus's rule, the movement of Moses against Amosis the Egyptian and against Inachos the Argive from Egypt takes place.

10.12.9 | In Greece, according to Phoroneus, after Inachos, there was the flood that occurred in Ogygia and the kingdom in Sicyon. The first king was Aegialeus, followed by Europos, then the Telchines, and finally the kingdom of Crete in Crete.

10.12.10 | Acusilaus says that Phoroneus was the first of men. Because of this, the poet of the Phoronis also calls him the

ἴφη πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

father of mortal men.

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 Νιόβης καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν."

10.12.11 | From here, Plato, following Acusilaus in the Timaeus, writes, "Once, wanting to lead them into discussions about ancient matters, he tries to talk about the very oldest things in the city, concerning Phoroneus, who was said to be the first, Niobe, and what happened after the flood."

10.12.12 | κατὰ δὲ Φόρβαντα Ἀκταῖος, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττική· κατὰ δὲ Τριόπαν Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἄτλας καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ ὁ διψυής 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 "Ομηρος) τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς.

10.12.12 | According to Phorbas, Actaeus is the one from whom Attica is named. According to Triopas, there are Prometheus, Atlas, Epimetheus, the two-natured Cecrops, and Io. According to Crotopus, there was the burning caused by Phaethon and the flood during Deucalion's time. According to Sthenelaus, there are both the kingdom of the Amphictyons and the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnese, as well as the founding of Dardania by Dardanus, who 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, Μίνωός τε βασιλείᾳ· κατὰ δὲ Προῖτον ὁ Εύμολπος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀκρίσιον Πέλοπος ἀπὸ Φρυγίας διάβασις καὶ Ἱωνος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ, αἱ τε Πέρσεως καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις, Ὁρφεύς τε καὶ Μουσαῖος·

10.12.13 | The journey from Crete to Phoenicia. According to Lynkeus, there is the abduction of the girl, the establishment of the sanctuary in Eleusis, the agriculture of Triptolemus, the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and the kingdom of Minos. According to Proetus, there is the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians. According to Acrisius, there is the crossing of Pelops from Phrygia and the arrival of Ion in Athens, the second Cecrops, and the deeds of Perseus and Dionysus, as well as Orpheus and Musaeus.

10.12.14 | κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὄκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείας "Ιλιον ἐάλω, Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησι τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ ἐπὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος '

10.12.15 | Ἄγις δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ μηνὸς Πανέμου ὡγδόῃ φθίνοντος· Ἐλλάνικος δωδεκάτῃ Θαργηλιῶνος, καὶ τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀττικὰ συγγραψαμένων ὡγδόῃ φθίνοντας τος, βασιλεύοντος τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος Μενεσθέως, πληθυούσης σελήνης· νὺξ μὲν ἔην φησὶν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκὼς) μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνα·

10.12.16 | ἔτεροι δὲ Σκιροφοριῶνος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Θησεὺς δὲ Ἡρακλέους ζηλωτὴς ὧν πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μιᾶ γενεᾶ· τοῦ γοῦν Τληπολέμου, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Ἡρακλέους, Ὁμηρος μέμνηται ἐπὶ "Ιλιον στρατεύσαντος.

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.

10.12.18 | ἀπὸ δὲ Διονύσου ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἰάσονα ἀριστεῖς, τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀργοὶ πλεύσαντας, συνάγεται ἔτη ξγ'.'

10.12.14 | In the eighteenth year of Agamemnon's reign, Ilium was captured during the first year of Demophon, who was the king in Athens, on the second day of the month Thargelion, which was the tenth day, as Dionysius the Argive says.

10.12.15 | Agis and Derkyllus on the eighth day of the third month of Panemus, during the waning moon. Hellanicus says it was the twelfth of Thargelion, and some of those who wrote about Attica say it was the eighth of the waning moon, during the last year of Menestheus, when the moon was full. "It was night," says the one who wrote the Little Iliad, "but the bright moon was rising."

10.12.16 | Others on the same day of Skirrophorion. Theseus, being a follower of Heracles, is one generation older than the Trojans; at least, he is older than Telephus, who was the son of Heracles. Homer mentions him when he was fighting against Ilium.

10.12.17 | Therefore, Moses shows that the deification of Dionysus took 34 years. If indeed the deification of Perseus is said to have happened in the thirty-second year, as Apollodorus mentions in his Chronicles.

10.12.18 | From Dionysus to Heracles and the heroes around Jason, those who sailed in the Argo, it is noted that there are 37

Ἄσκληπιός τε καὶ Διόσκουροι συνέπλεον αύτοῖς, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ρόδιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς.

10.12.19 | ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργείῳ βασιλείᾳς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους αύτοῦ καὶ Ἄσκληπιοῦ ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη συνάγεται λη̄ κατὰ τὸν χρονογράφον Ἀπολλόδωρον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη νγ̄. ἐνταῦθά που καὶ ἡ Ἰλίου κατάληψις.

10.12.20 | εἰ δὲ χρὴ πείθεσθαι καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, ἀκούσωμεν αύτοῦ 'Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἐρμῆν, κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων, ἵερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσσα. Καδμείῃ δ' ἄρα οἱ Σεμέλη τέκε φαίδιμον 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 Ἰσιδι ἐβδόμῃ γενεᾷ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου.

10.12.22 | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν Ἰώ φασι, διὰ τὸ ιέναι αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς πλανωμένην. ταύτην δὲ Ἰστρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Αίγυπτίων ἀποικίας Προμηθέως θυγατέρα φησί. Προμηθεὺς δὲ κατὰ Τριόπαν, ἐβδόμῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ Μωσέα· ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἀνθρωπογονίας ὁ Μώσης.

years. Asclepius and the Dioscuri also sailed with them, as the Rhodian Apollonius testifies in the Argonautica.

10.12.19 | From the reign of Heracles in Argos to the deification of Heracles himself and Asclepius, it is noted 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 occurs.

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, who is in the seventh generation from Inachus, lives at the same time as him.

10.12.22 | Some 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. According to Triopas, Prometheus is in the seventh generation after Moses; so even before the creation of humans according to the Greeks, there was Moses.

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 ύστερον Μώσεως γενεᾶ.

10.12.24 | Ἀπις τε ὁ Ἀργους βασιλεὺς Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστίππος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρκαδικῶν τοῦτον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐπονομασθῆναι φησι Σάραπιν, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι δὲν Αἴγυπτιοι σέβουσι.

10.12.25 | Νυμφόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἐν τρίτῳ Νομίμων Ἀσίας τὸν Ἀπιν τὸν ταῦρον τελευτήσαντα καὶ ταριχευθέντα εἰς σορὸν ἀποτεθεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ τιμωμένου δαίμονος, κάντεῦθεν Σορόαπιν κιληθῆναι καὶ Σάραπιν ύστερον. Ἀπις δὲ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου.

10.12.26 | ναὶ μὴν ἡ Λητὼ κατὰ Τίτυδον γίνεται ἡ Λητὼ γάρ ἥλικησε Διός κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.

10.12.27 | Τίτυδος 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 ἥλικίαν. καν τις ἡμῖν λέγῃ

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 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. From there, he was called Sorapis and later Sarapis. Apis is the third generation from Inachus.

10.12.26 | Yes, indeed, Leto is with Tityus, for Leto pulled 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." 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. If someone tells us that

Φημονόην πρώτην χρησιμωδῆσαι Ἀκρισίω,  
ἄλλ' ἵστω γε ὅτι μετὰ Φημονόην ἔτεσιν  
ὕστερον καὶ οἱ περὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον  
καὶ Λίνον τὸν Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλον.

Phemonoe was the first to prophesy to Acrisius, let it be known that 27 years later, those associated with Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus, the teacher of Heracles, came after Phemonoe.

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 σοφοὶ,  
οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην καὶ  
Πυθαγόραν τὸν μέγαν κάτω που περὶ τὰς  
Ὀλυμπιάδας γενόμενοι, ὡς παρεστήσαμεν.

10.12.29 | Homer and Hesiod are much younger than the Iliad. After them, the lawgivers among the Greeks are even younger, including Lycurgus, Solon, and the seven sages, as well as those associated with the Syrian Phercydes and the great Pythagoras, who appeared around the time of 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 whom are recognized by the Greeks, not only those called wise and poets, Moses is shown to us as the oldest.

10.12.31 | Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλήμης. ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ  
πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσπουδάσθη καὶ αὐτοῖς  
Ἑβραίων παισὶν ἡ προκειμένη πραγματεία,  
καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι καὶ τὰ τούτων συνιδεῖν.  
χρήσομαι δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ταῖς Φλαυίου  
Ἰωσήπου φωναῖς

10.12.31 | These ideas also come from Clement. But since this work was studied before our time and also by the Hebrew children, it would be good to consider their views. Instead, I will use the words of Flavius Josephus.

## Section 13

10.13.1 | ἾΑρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν  
παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν  
οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τάκείνων·  
Μάνεθως δὲ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς  
Ἐλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλος  
ἔστι, γέγραφε γάρ Ελλάδι φωνῇ τὴν  
πάτριον ἴστορίαν, ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν, ὡς  
φησιν αὐτὸς, μεταφράσας, δις καὶ πολλὰ  
τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν

10.13.1 | I will first begin with the writings from the Egyptians. Now, it is not possible to present their works. However, Manetho, an Egyptian man who embraced Greek education, clearly wrote the native history in Greek, translating from the sacred texts, as he himself states. He also corrects many of Herodotus's claims about the Egyptians due to misunderstandings. This Manetho

ύπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον' οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ  
Μάνεθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αίγυπτιακῶν  
ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει ' παραθήσομαι δὲ  
τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἔκεινον  
παραγαγών μάρτυρα.

writes these things about us in the second book of the Egyptians. I will share his words, just as he himself presented them as evidence.

10.13.2 | ... "τοῦ Τιμαῖος ὄνομα. ἐπὶ τούτου  
οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ἀντέπνευσε, καὶ  
παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν  
ἀνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι  
καταθαρρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν  
ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ ἥρδιως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην  
κατὰ κράτος εἷλον. Καὶ ἐπιλέγει μετὰ  
βραχέα

10.13.2 | ... the name of Timaios. About this, I do not know how the god inspired him. Strangely, people from the eastern regions, having gained confidence, marched into the land and easily took it by force. And he concludes shortly afterward.

10.13.3 | "Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν  
ἔθνος Ὑκ[ουσ]σώς· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς  
ποιμένες. τὸ γὰρ "Ὑκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν  
βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ [Ούσ]σώς ποιμήν  
ἐστι, καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον,  
καὶ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται  
Ὕκ[ουσ]σώς.

10.13.3 | The entire nation was called Hyksos; this means "shepherd kings." In the sacred language, "Hyks" means "king," and "Ossos" means "shepherd." In everyday speech, it also means "shepherds," and that is how it becomes "Hyksos."

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  
Ὕκ[ουσσώς] Αίγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἄκ  
δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ἥρτῶς μηνύει.

10.13.4 | But some say that they are Arabs. In another text, the name Hyksos does not refer to kings; instead, it suggests that they are captive shepherds. The term Hyksos in Egyptian clearly indicates captives.

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 Αίγυπτου

10.13.5 | 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.'

φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς 'φ' ία .

10.13.6 | μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαίδος 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 ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν περίμετρον· Αὔαρις ὄνομα τῷ τόπῳ.

10.13.7 | τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μάνεθως ἄπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἴσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τήν τε κτῆσιν ἄπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὄχυρῷ καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἐαυτῶν.

10.13.8 | τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμούθωσεως υἱὸν Θμούθωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ὡκτώ 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 ὄμολογίαις πανοικείᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων, οὐκ ἐλάσσους μυριάδων ὄντας εἰκοσιτεσσάρων,, ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν διοδοιπορῆσαι,

10.13.10 | φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων

10.13.6 | After this, he says that the kings from Thebes and the rest of Egypt revolted against the shepherds, leading to a great and long-lasting war. Under the king named Misphragmuthosis, the shepherds were defeated. They were driven out from the rest of Egypt and were confined to a place with many fields; this place is called Auaris.

10.13.7 | Manetho says that he surrounded the shepherds with a large and strong wall, so they could keep all their possessions safe and protect their land.

10.13.8 | The son of Misphragmuthosis, Thmuthosis, tried to capture them by laying siege with an army of forty-eight thousand men surrounding the walls. But when he gave up the siege, he made agreements so they could leave Egypt safely wherever they wished.

10.13.9 | They, along with their families and possessions, numbered no fewer than twenty-four thousand and traveled from the desert of Egypt through Syria.

10.13.10 | Fearing the power of the

δυναστείαν, τότε γάρ έκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλούμενῃ πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους, τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν, Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὄνομάσαι.”

Assyrians, who were then ruling Asia, they built a city called Judea, which was large enough for so many thousands of people, and named it Jerusalem.

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 συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἑνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπώκησαν ἡ Δαναὸν εἰς “Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι· καίτοι τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἄργεῖον νομίζουσι.

10.13.11 | After this, he lists 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 land after being freed from Egypt three hundred ninety-three years before Danaus arrived in Argos; indeed, the Argives consider him the most ancient.”

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 ἕκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις.”

10.13.12 | Thus, Manetho has testified to us about the most important events 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, about a thousand years earlier.

10.13.13 | Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτιακῆς ἱστορίας ταύτη πῃ τῷ Ίωσήπῳ κατὰ πλάτος ἀνιστόρηται ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Φοινίκων, μάρτυσι χρησάμενος τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψαμένοις, παρίστησι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεών ὑπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως ὠκοδομῆσθαι ἔτεσι θᾶττον ἐκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα’ εἴτα μεταβὰς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Χαλδαίων ἱστορίας τὰς περὶ τῆς Ἐβραίων

10.13.13 | But the history from Egypt is told here in detail by Josephus; and from the Phoenicians, using the writings of those who wrote about them, he states that the temple in Jerusalem was built by King Solomon one hundred forty-three and a half years before the Tyrians founded Carthage. Then he moves on to present evidence about the ancient history of the Hebrews from the history concerning the Chaldeans.

άρχαιότητος παρατίθεται μαρτυρίας.

## Section 14

10.14.1 | Άλλὰ τί δεῖ πλῆθος ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ἐπισωρεύειν, τοῦ φιλαλήθους, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλαπεχθήμονος καὶ τοῖς είρημένοις ἀρκουμένου, ποικίλην περιέχουσι τὴν περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου σύστασιν; προύκειτο δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν παλαίτερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδεῖξαι.

10.14.2 | ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν μακρῷ πρόσθεν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν Μωσῆς γεγονὼς ἀποδέδεικται, φέρ' ἵδωμεν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἄπαντας. Μωσῆς δ' ὅτι τῶν πρὶν ἀληθῶς Ἐβραίων Ἐβερ τε καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ παρώνυμον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτέθειται, τῶν τε λοιπῶν θεοφιλῶν τε καὶ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὕστατος τοῖς χρόνοις παρεφάνη τῷ βίῳ, δῆλον ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας τυγχάνει.

10.14.3 | μετὰ Μωσέα τοίνυν προέστη τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἰησοῦς, ὃς τινες, ἔτεσι λέιθ', ὃς φησιν ἡ γραφὴ, ἐκράτησαν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτεσιν ὁκτώ. ἐπειτα Γοθονιὴλ ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα. μεθ' ὃν Ἐγλὼμ, βασιλεὺς Μωὰβ, ἔτη ιῃ'. μεθ' ὃν Ἄώδ ἔτη πῃ'. μεθ' ὃν πάλιν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτη κεῖται Δεββώρα καὶ Βαρὰκ ἔτη μῃ'. ἐπειτα Μαδιναῖοι ἔτη ζῃ'. ἐπειτα Γεδεὼν ἔτη μῃ'. Αἴβιμέλεχ ἔτη γῃ'. Θωλὰ κγῃ'. Ιαεὶρ κβῃ'. Ἀμμανῖται ιῃ'. Ιεφθάε ἔτη ζῃ'. Ἐσβὼν ἔτη ζῃ'. Αἰαλῶν ἔτη ιῃ'. Λαβδὼν ἔτη ηῃ'. ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτη μῃ'. Σαμψὼν ἔτη κεῖται Ήλεὶ ιερεὺς, ὃς τὸ Ἐβραϊκὸν, ἔτη μῃ'. περὶ ὃν συμβαίνει τὴν Ἰλίου καταντᾶν ἄλωσιν' μετὰ δῃ'. Ήλεὶ τὸν ιερέα ἡγεῖται τοῦ

10.14.1 | But why should we gather many proofs, from the truthful rather than the hateful, when those already mentioned are enough? They offer a variety of evidence concerning the subject at hand. It is important for us to show that Moses and the prophets came before the Greeks.

10.14.2 | Since Moses is shown to have lived long before the Trojan War, let us also consider all those who came after him. Moses is indeed from the Hebrews, like Heber and Abraham, from whom the name is also derived. Among the other beloved and ancient figures, he appeared last in time, as is clear from the history about 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, Othniel led for fifty years. Following him was Eglon, the king of Moab, for eighteen years. After Eglon, Ehud led for five years. Then, once again, foreigners ruled for twenty years. After that, Deborah and Barak led for twenty years. The Midianites ruled for seven years. Then Gideon led for forty years. Abimelech ruled for three years. Tola led for twenty-three years. Jair led for twenty-two years. The Ammonites ruled for eighteen years. Jephthah led for

λαοῦ Σαμουήλ.

six years. Ibzan ruled for seven years. Elon led for ten years. Abdon ruled for eight years. Foreigners ruled for eight years. Samson led for twenty years. Then Eli the priest, as the Hebrew account says, served for forty years, during which the fall of Ilium occurred. After Eli, the priest, Samuel led the people.

10.14.4 | μεθ' ὃν πρῶτος αύτῶν βασιλεύει Σαοὺλ ἔτεσι μ· ἐπειτα Δαβὶδ ἔτεσι μ· ἐπειτα Σολομῶν ἔτεσι μ· ὅς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ναὸν ἐδείματο πρῶτος. μετὰ δὲ Σολομῶνα βασιλεύει Ἐροβοάμ ἔτη ᾧ· Ἀβιὰ ἔτη γ· Ἀσα ἔτη μὰ· Ἰωσαφὰτ ἔτη κε· Ἰωρὰμ ἔτη ἡ· Ὁχοζίας ἔτος ἀ· Γοθολιὰ ἔτη 'ξ·

10.14.4 | After him, Saul was the first to rule over them for forty years. Then David ruled for forty years. After that, Solomon ruled for forty years. He was also the first to build the temple in Jerusalem. After Solomon, Rehoboam ruled for seventeen years. Abijah ruled for three years. Asa ruled for forty-one years. Jehoshaphat ruled for twenty-five years. Joram ruled for eight years. Ahaziah ruled for one year. Athaliah ruled for six years.

10.14.5 | Ἰωὰς ἔτη μ· Ἄμασίας ἔτη μθ· Ὁζίας ἔτη νβ· καθ' ὃν προφητεύουσιν Ωσηὲ, Ἀμὼς, Ἡσαίας, Ἰωνᾶς· μετὰ δὲ Ὁζίαν βασιλεύει ἔτη ἰέ· μεθ' ὃν ἔτη ἰέ. κατὰ τοῦτον ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιὰς ἥχθη, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κόροιβος Ἡλεῖος.

10.14.5 | Joash ruled for seven years. Amaziah ruled for twenty-nine years. Uzziah ruled for fifty-two years, during which 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 were 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 νε· ἐπειτα Ἀμὼν ἔτη β· ἐπειτα Ἰωσίας ἔτη· καθ' ὃν προφητεύουσιν Ιερεμίας, Βαροὺχ, 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 | ἔπειτα Ἰωάχαζ μῆνας γ'. μεθ' ὃν  
Ἰωακεὶμ ἔτη ίά· μεθ' ὃν πάντων ὕστατος  
Σεδεκίας ἔτη ιβ' κατὰ τοῦτον  
πολιορκηθείσης τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ<sup>1</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. Following him, the last of all, Zedekiah ruled for twelve years. During his time, Jerusalem was besieged by the Babylonians, and the temple was burned. All the people of Judah were taken to Babylon, where Daniel and Ezekiel prophesied.

10.14.8 | μετὰ δὲ ἔτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὁ ὁ Κῦρος  
βασιλεύει Περσῶν, ὃς καὶ ἀνῆκε τὴν  
αἱχμαλωσίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐπιτρέψας  
τοῖς θέλουσιν αὐτῶν παλινοστεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
οἰκείαν γῆν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεγείρειν· ὅτε καὶ  
ἀνεισιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδὲκ καὶ  
Ζοροβάβελ ὁ τοῦ Σαλαθιὴλ. καταβάλλονταί  
τε θεμελίους, προφητευόντων ὕστατα  
πάντων Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ  
Μαλαχίου, μεθ' οὓς οὐκέτι προφήτης παρ'  
αὐτοῖς γέγονε.

10.14.8 | After a number of years, Cyrus became king of the Persians. He ended the captivity of the Jews, allowing those who wanted to return to their own land and rebuild the temple. Then Joshua, son of Jehozadak, 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 the people.

10.14.9 | κατὰ δὲ Κῦρον Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος  
ἐγνωρίζετο, καὶ οἴ κληθέντες ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ  
παρ' Ἑλλησιν, ὃν παλαίτερος οὐδεὶς παρ'  
αὐτοῖς φιλόσοφος μνημονεύεται.

10.14.9 | During the time of Cyrus, Solon the Athenian was recognized, and the seven wise men were known among the Greeks. Among them, 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 ἐκλείψεως  
καὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης καὶ ίσημερίας  
διελέχθη ἔγένετο δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπισημότατος  
ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

10.14.10 | Of these seven, Thales the Milesian was the first among the Greeks to talk about the changes of the sun, eclipses, the phases of the moon, and the equinoxes. He became a very notable figure among the Greeks.

10.14.11 | Θαλοῦ δὲ γίνεται ἀκουστής 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, the hours, and 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 γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς πάντων ούσιας ἀπεφήνατο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν αἰτίου. ἦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν φησὶ· ‘τὰ πράγματα ὅμοι ū πεφυρμένα· Νοῦς δ’ είσελθων αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγεν.

10.14.12 | After Anaximander, Anaximenes the Milesian became known, the son of Eurystratus. From him came Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who was the first to explain the nature of the principles. He did not only talk about the essence of all things, like those before him, but also about the cause that moves them. He said, “The beginning is all things mixed together; but mind, entering in, brought them from disorder into order.”

10.14.13 | Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ ἐγένοντο γνώριμοι τρεῖς, Περικλῆς, Ἀρχέλαος, Εύριπίδης. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος ἐγένετο, καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν διήνεγκεν· Εύριπίδης δὲ ἐπὶ ποιητικὴν μεταβάτης ὑπό τινων σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐκλήθη· ὃ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος ἐν Λαμψάκῳ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου, μεταβάτης δ’ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔκει ἐσχόλασε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίων γνωρίμους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σωκράτην.

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, who 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 | κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ χρόνον ἤκμασαν ἄνδρες φυσικοὶ, Ξενοφάνης τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν διεδέξατο Θεανὼ ἡ γυνὴ, οἱ τε υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, Τηλαυγὴς καὶ Μνήσαρχος.

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 | Τηλαυγοῦς δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκουστὴς 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 ἀπγράψῃται, οὐ προσποιηθέντα τὰς τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίας, διαμασησάμενον τὴν γλῶσσαν, προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαρτερίσαντα ταῖς βασάνοις ἀποθανεῖν.

10.14.15 | Telauges became a student of Empedocles, through whom Heraclitus the obscure was recognized. It is said that Parmenides taught Xenophanes, Melissus taught Parmenides, and Zeno the Eleatic taught Melissus. They say that he was caught because he plotted against the tyrant of that time. The tyrant twisted him 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 biting his tongue, he attacked the tyrant and thus endured the tortures until he died.

10.14.16 | τούτου δὲ Λεύκιππος ἀκουστὴς γέγονε, Λευκίππου δὲ Δημόκριτος, οὗ Πρωταγόρας, καθ' ὃν ἥκμασε Σωκράτης. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ σποράδην εστιν εὑρεῖν φυσικοὺς φιλοσόφους πρὸ Σωκράτους γενομένους· πλὴν ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ ἀρξάμενοι κατώτερον Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως φαίνονται ἡκμακότες· ὃ δὲ Κύρος μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους δῆλός ἐστι γεγονὼς, διαλελοιπότων ἥδη τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητῶν, καὶ τῆς ιερᾶς μητροπόλεως αὐτῶν πεπολιορκημένης· ὥστε σε ὁμολογεῖν 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 ὀμιλήσας, τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας λόγω τε καὶ συνέσει καὶ τοῖς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δόγμασιν ὑπερηκόντισε.

10.14.16 | From him, Leucippus became a student, and Democritus came from Leucippus. During this time, Protagoras and Socrates rose to prominence. There are also other natural philosophers found before Socrates, but they all seem to trace their beginnings back to Thales, leading down to Cyrus, the king of the Persians. Cyrus is known to have come after the great captivity of the Jewish people in Babylon, when the prophets among the Hebrews had already disappeared, and their holy city was under siege. Therefore, it is agreed that the philosophy of the Greeks, especially that of Plato, is much younger than that of Moses and the prophets who followed him. Plato, who was the first to become 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

10.14.17 | Plato was born around the end

ὕστατα τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας, μικρῷ  
θᾶττον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος,  
Αύγούστου δὲ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ οὐ πολὺ<sup>1</sup>  
πρόσθεν ἔτεσι Ū.

of the Persian Empire, a little before  
Alexander the Macedonian, and not long  
before the reign of the revered Augustus.

10.14.18 | εἰ δή σοι τοιγαροῦν ὁ Πλάτων' οὕ  
τε μετ' αὐτὸν δειχθεῖεν τὰ σύμφωνα  
Ἐβραίοις πεφιλοσοφηκότες, ὡρα σκοπεῖν  
τὸν Χρόνον καθ' ὃν οὗτος γέγονε, τόν δὲ  
παρ' Ἐβραίοις θεολόγων τε καὶ προφητῶν  
τὴν παλαιότητα τῇ πάντων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν  
φιλοσόφων ἀντιπαραβάλλειν ἡλικίᾳ.

10.14.18 | If indeed Plato and those who  
came after him are shown to have studied  
what the Hebrews taught, it is time to  
consider the period 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  
Ἐβραϊκῶν γεγονότας δογμάτων, ὥστε  
μηκέτ' εὐλόγως ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι τοὺς  
συκοφάντας, εἰ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς  
αὐτῶν φιλοσόφοις ἀγαπήσαντες τὰ  
Ἐβραίων λόγια τιμᾶν διανενοήμεθα.

10.14.19 | But when these things are  
proven, it will be time for the Greek wise  
men to admire the teachings that have  
come from the Hebrews. This way, we can  
no longer justly be blamed by the accusers,  
if indeed we also believe it is right to honor  
the words of the Hebrews, just as their  
philosophers cherished similar ideas.

## Book One Hundred (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΕΚΑΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

11.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ  
ΥΠΟΟΘΕΣΕΩΣ. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας  
προάγων τῆς Εύαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς  
θέματος ὃν τόμος οὐκ ἔμαῖς φωναῖς, ταῖς  
δ' ἔξωθεν συνίστη· μαρτυρίαις τὸ μὴ  
ἀπεικός εἶναι Ἑλληνας μηδὲν σοφὸν  
ἐπενηνεγμένους, 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

11.praef.1 | Introduction about the subject.  
The one who is discussing the topic of the  
Gospel Preparation is not using my own  
words, but is sharing testimonies from  
others. These show that the Greeks have  
not produced any true wisdom, except for  
their skill in words and eloquence, while  
everything else has been crafted by the  
barbarians. They should not be unaware of  
the words of the Hebrews, and they should  
also recognize that they have not kept their  
hands clean from stealing in their own

έν συγγράμμασι φιλοτιμίας καθαρὰς  
έφυλάξαντο κλοπῆς τὰς χεῖρας. κλέπτας  
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ούχ ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔφην,  
λόγος, ὃ δ' ἔξ αὐτῶν παρεστήσατο.

11.praef.2 | οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα νέους  
διμοῦ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοὺς,  
παρὰ πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς Ἐβραικῆς  
λειπομένους ἀρχαιολογίας,, ἐν ταύτῳ διὰ  
τῆς τῶν χρόνων παραθέσεως ἔγνωμεν.

11.praef.3 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ πρὸ τούτου ' ὁ  
δέ γε παρὸν ἐπείγεται λοιπὸν ἤδη, 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  
περιττοὺς παραιτησάμενος τὸν κορυφαῖον  
ἀπάντων ἀνακαλεῖται, μόνῳ χρῆναι ἀντὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
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.

11.praef.4 | εἴ δέ που δέοι, σαφηνείας ἔνεκα  
τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας, καὶ τοῖς τὴν κατ'  
αὐτὸν ἐζηλωκόσι φιλοσοφίαν μάρτυσι  
χρήσομαι, τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκθησόμενος φωνὰς  
ἐπὶ συστάσει τοῦ προκειμένου.

11.praef.5 | τετηρήσθω δέ μοι τὸ μὴ πάντ'  
ἐπιτυχῶς είρησθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, εἴ καὶ τὰ  
πλεῖστα αὐτῷ σὺν ἀληθείᾳ ἐκπεφώνηται. ὃ  
δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν  
παραστήσομεν, ούκ αὐτοῦ διαβολῆς,

writings. For they are not the thieves, as I mentioned, but rather those who have presented themselves.

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 from the passage of time.

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 teachings of the Hebrews in some matters, even if not in all, alongside the ideas of the philosophers among the Greeks. He has set aside what is unnecessary and calls upon the greatest of all, believing that only Plato should be used as the standard for this issue, since he alone seems to surpass all others and will be enough for what is being sought.

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 admired his philosophy, explaining their words in the context of what is being discussed.

11.praef.5 | Let it be understood that not everything should be said about the man, even if most things have been spoken truthfully about him. We will present this at the right time, not out of slander against

ἀπολογίας δὲ ἡμετέρας χάριν, δι' ἣν τὴν  
βάρβαρον φιλοσοφίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς  
δόμολογοῦμεν προησμενικέναι.

him, but for the sake of our own defense, through which we acknowledge that the philosophy of the barbarians 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 ἀν καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις τὸ τριμερὲς τοῦτο τῆς διδασκαλίας εἶδος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅμοια πρόσθεν ἡ 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, we would also find this threefold type of teaching among the Hebrews. This shows 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, ὃν Ἀττικὸς διαφανῆς ἀνὴρ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν φιλοσόφων ὥδε πῃ τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ ἀνδρὶ διέξεισιν, ἐν οἷς ἵσταται πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Πλάτωνος ὑπισχνουμένους.

11.1.2 | First, it is worth listening to what Plato has to say, and then we should also examine the Hebrews. I will present what pleases Plato from those who support his ideas. Among them, the clear thinker from Attica explains what he believes, standing in contrast to those who interpret Plato's ideas through Aristotle.

## Section 2

11.2.1 | “Τριχῇ τοίνυν διαιρουμένης τῆς ἐντελοῦς φιλοσοφίας, εἴς τε τὸν ἡθικὸν 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 ἄριστον ἐπανορθοῦντος, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δῆμον σύμπαντα πολιτείᾳ τῇ διαφερούσῃ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις κοσμοῦντος, τού

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 create each good and beautiful thing and improve all homes to their best. It also organizes the whole community with a different form of government and the most precise laws. The second part leads to knowledge about the

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' ὡνόμακεν·

divine, including the first things, the causes, and 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 εὔρεσιν τοῦ τρίτου παραλαμβανομένου· ὅτι μὲν Πλάτων' πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα συναγείρας εἰς ἓν πάντα τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, τέως ἐσκεδασμένα καὶ διερριψμένα ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Πενθέως μέλη, καθάπερ εἴπε τις, σῶμά τι καὶ ζῶον ὀλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, δῆλα παντὶ λεγόμενα.

11.2.2 | To distinguish and explore both of these, we take up the third part. Indeed, Plato was the first and most significant to bring together all the parts of philosophy into one, which were previously scattered and broken apart, like the pieces of a song of Pentheus. As someone said, he presented philosophy as a complete body and living creature, clearly expressed in every way.

11.2.3 | οὕτε γάρ οὖτις περὶ Θαλῆν καὶ Ἀναξιμένην καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ ὅσοι κατὰ ταύτῳ γεγόνασι τούτοις, ἀγνοοῦνται περὶ μόνην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὧ φύσεως τῶν ὄντων σκέψιν διατρίψαντες· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Πιττακὸς καὶ Περίανδρος καὶ Σόλων καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἱ παραπλήσιοι τούτοις λανθάνουσί 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.

11.2.3 | For neither Thales, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, nor those who came after them are recognized for their thoughts about the nature of being, as they focused only 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. However, 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 ἀρτιελής καὶ πολὺ διενεγκὼν, νεγκὼν, οἷα κατάπεμπτος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκ θεῶν, ἵν ὀλόκληρος ὄφθῇ ἡ 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, ensuring that nothing necessary was missing and nothing unnecessary was included.

11.2.5 | ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντων ἔφαμεν μετεῖναι τῷ Πλατωνικῷ καὶ περὶ ἡθῶν λέγοντι καὶ διαλεγομένῳ, φέρε καθ' ἑκαστον ἐπισκεψήμεθα.”

11.2.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀττικός. ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ περιπατητικὸς Ἀριστοκλῆς, ἐν ἐβδόμῳ συγγράμματι ὃν Περὶ φιλοσοφίας συνέταξεν ὃδε λέγων πρὸς ῥῆμα

11.2.5 | Since we have said that all share in the Platonic view, both in discussing and debating ethics, let us examine each one in detail.

11.2.6 | These things are said by the Athenian. The Peripatetic Aristotle also supports these 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’, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε, γνησίως καὶ τελείως. οὗτος μὲν γάρ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ φυσιολογοῦντες διετέλεσαν, οὗτος δὲ περὶ Πτυαγόραν ἐπεκρύψαντο πάντα· Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπ’ ἑκείνου τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς κινήσαντες λόγους πολὺν μὲν ἐνέβαλον Ἰλιγγον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, οὐ μὴν ἐπόρισύναν γέ τινα βοήθειαν.

11.3.2 | οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης, αύτὸς δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐγένετο πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρὶ, καθάπερ αύτὸς ἔφη Πλάτων’. εύφυεστατος γάρ ὅν καὶ δεινὸς ἀπορῆσαι περὶ παντὸς ὅτουοῦν ἐπεισήνεγκε τάς τε ἡθικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς σκέψεις, ἔτι δὲ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἴδεων πρῶτος ἐπιχειρίσας ὅρίζεσθαι πάντα δὲ ἐγείρων λόγον καὶ περὶ πάντων ζητῶν ἔφθη τελευτήσας.

11.3.3 | ἄλλοι δ' ἀποτεμόμενοι μέρη τινὰ περὶ ταῦτα διέτριψαν, οὗτοι μὲν ίατρικὴν, οὗτοι δὲ τὰς μαθηματικὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἔνιοι δὲ περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν. οὗτοι μέντοι πολλοὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων δυνάμεις

11.3.1 | Plato truly and completely engaged in philosophy, even if some others did at times. Some, like Thales, focused on natural philosophy, while others kept everything about Pythagoras hidden. Xenophanes and those who followed him stirred up many arguments among the philosophers, but they did not offer any real help.

11.3.2 | Not least among them was Socrates, who truly became a fire upon fire, just as Plato himself said. 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 forms. He stirred up discussion about everything and sought answers about all things until his end.

11.3.3 | Others, focusing on certain aspects, spent time on these topics: some on medicine, others on mathematical sciences, and some on poetry and music. However, many admired the power of words, with

έθαύμασαν, ὡν οἵ μὲν ḥήτορας, οἵ δὲ διαλεκτικοὺς προσεῖπον ἐαυτούς.

some calling themselves rhetoricians and others referring to themselves as dialecticians.

11.3.4 | οἵ μέντοι Σωκράτην διαδεξάμενοι καὶ πάνυ τινὲς ἔγένοντο παντοῖοι καὶ ὑπεναντίοι τὰς γνώμας. οἵ μὲν γὰρ κυνισμοὺς καὶ ἀτυφίας καὶ ἀπαθείας ὕμνουν, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἡδονάς. καὶ οἵ μὲν εἰδέναι πάντα ἐκόμπαζον, οἵ 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 praised pleasure. Some boasted that they knew everything, while others claimed to know nothing at all.

11.3.5 | ἔτι δ' οἵ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐν ὅψει πάντων ἐκαλινδοῦντο, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔξομιλοῦντες, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τούναντίον ἀπρόσιτοι καὶ ἀπροσαύδητοι διετέλουν ὅντες.

11.3.5 | Some were in the middle and appeared before everyone, talking with many people, while others, on the other hand, stayed distant and unapproachable.

11.3.6 | Πλάτων μέντοι κατανοήσας ὡς εἴη μία τις ἡ τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμη, πρῶτος διεῖλε, καὶ ἔφη τὴν μὲν τινα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως εἶναι πραγματείαν, τὴν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τρίτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους.

11.3.6 | Plato, realizing that there is one type of knowledge about 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 language.

11.3.7 | ἡξίου δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατιδεῖν ἡμάς, εἰ μὴ τὰ θεῖα πρότερον ὄφθείη· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ιατροὶ 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 ὅντων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, καὶ τάγαθὸν διττὸν, τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς, κυριώτερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ παντός· διὰ γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι.

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, we should also understand 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, one exists because of the other.

11.3.8 | φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς Ἰνδῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν Σωκράτει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔκείνων ἔνα τινὰ, κάπειτα αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τί ποιῶν φιλοσοφοί· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι ζητῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου, καταγελάσαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν, λέγοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καταδεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντά γε τὰ θεῖα.

11.3.8 | Aristoxenus the musician says that this story is about the Indians. While in Athens, Socrates happened to meet one of those men and asked him what he was doing. When the man said he was searching for knowledge about human life, the Indian laughed and said that no one can understand human things if they are ignorant of the divine.

11.3.9 | τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εί ἀληθές ἔστιν οὐκ ἀν δύναιτο τις διατεινόμενος είπειν. διεῖλε δ' οὖν ὁ Πλάτων' τήν τε περὶ τῶν ὅλων φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν λογικήν."

11.3.9 | If this is true, then no one could claim otherwise. Therefore, Plato divided philosophy about the whole into three parts: one about the universe, another about politics, and a third 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 οὖν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς δ τήνδε σύμφωνον τὴν τριμέρειαν ἡθικῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν μαθημάτων, τόνδε ἐπιστήσας τὸν τρόπον.

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 philosophy, demonstrating this approach.

## Section 4

11.4.1 | Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡθικὰ πρώτιστα πάντων φιλοτίμως ἔσπουδασμένα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔργοις πολὺ πρότερον τῶν λόγων μάθοις ἀν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας διασκοπούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τέλος ἀγαθῶν τοῦ τε μακαρίως ζῆν ὕστατον ὅρον τὴν εύσέβειαν τήν τε διὰ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν κατορθώσεως πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φιλίαν ἡγάσαντό τε καὶ μετεδίωξαν, ἀλλ' οὐ σωμάτων ἡδονὴν, κατ' Ἐπίκουρον' ούδ' αὐ

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 bodily pleasure, as Epicurus would say, nor about the three kinds of good, as Aristotle

τὴν τριγένειαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κατ'  
Ἀριστοτέλην, τὰ περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἔκτὸς ἐν  
ἴσω τοῖς ψυχῆς ἀγαθοῖς ἐκτετιμηκότα.

11.4.2 | οὐ μὴν ούδὲ τὴν ἑσχάτην ἄγνοιάν τε καὶ ἀμαθίαν, ἣν ὄνόματι σεμνοτέρῳ τινὲς ἐποχήν ἀνειρήκασιν ἀλλ' ούδ' αὖτης ψυχῆς τὴν ἀρετήν· πόση γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὔτη, καὶ τί καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἀνευ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἄλυπον συντείνοι ἀν βίον; δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐλπίδος, πείσματος ὥσπερ ἀρραγοῦς, ἔξαψαντες, τὸν θεοφιλῆ μόνον ἀπέφηναν εἶναι μακάριον,

11.4.3 | ὅτι δὴ ὁ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ταμίας θεὸς, ζωῆς ὡν πάροχος καὶ αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς πηγὴ, τῶν τε περὶ σῶμα καὶ τῶν ἔκτὸς ἀπάντων χορηγὸς ὑπάρχων, μόνος ἀν εἴη πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βίον τῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διὰ τῆς παναληθοῦς εύσεβείας στειλαμένω αὐτάρκης.

11.4.4 | ἔνθεν δὲ πάνσοφος Μώσης πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ θεοθιλῶν Ἐβραίων βίον, τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄμοιον καὶ πρακτικὸν δι' ὑφηγήσως ἱστορικῆς ὑποτέθειται τρόπον. ἦς ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθόλου τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσατο, θεὸν τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον ὑποστησάμενος, κοσμογονίαν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπογονίαν ὑπογράψας.

11.4.5 | εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν καθόλου ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος προελθὼν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς

described, which include both bodily goods and those outside the body, equal to the goods of the soul.

11.4.2 | Indeed, they did not ignore the final 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 could 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 | Indeed, the god who is the steward of all good things, being the source of life and virtue, is the only 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 true piety.

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 who came before him, combining both their political and practical ways in a historical account. Beginning with 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 | Then, moving from the general to the specific in his speech, and by recalling

τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν μνήμης εἰς τὸν τῆς ἔκεινων ἀρετῆς τε καὶ θεοσεβείας ζῆλον τοὺς φοιτητὰς παρορμήσας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐθέντης νόμων εύσεβῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεθέντων ἀποφανθεὶς, κατὰ πάντα δῆλος ἂν εἴη τοῦ φιλοθέου τρόπου διὰ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπιμελείας πρόνοιαν πεπεποιημένος ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὁ λόγος ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν φανερὸν κατεστήσατο.

11.4.6 | μακρὸν δ' ἄν 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 ἡθικὰς παραφέροιμι διδασκαλίας, αἵς οίκειον λόγον ἀνέθηκε, σύγγραμμα Παροιμίας ἐπονομάσας, ἐπιτόμους γνώμας ἀποφθέγμασιν ἔοικυίας ὑποθέσει περιλαβὼν μιᾶ;

11.4.7 | καὶ τὸν μὲν ἡθικὸν τρόπον ταύτη πη παῖδες Ἐβραίων, ἐκ παλαιῶν πρὸν ἦ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα μαθεῖν Ἕλληνας, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπαιδεύοντο καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσι τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφθόνως ἐκοινώνουν παιδείας.

## Section 5

11.5.1 | Καὶ τὸν λογικὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς Ἐβραίων φιλοσοφίας οὐ, καθάπερ Ἕλλησι φίλον, δεινότητι σοφισμάτων καὶ λογισμοῖς πρὸς ἀπάτην τετεχνασμένοις δεῖν ὕστοντο μετιέναι, καταλήψει δὲ αὐτῆς ἀληθείας, ἦν ὑπὸ θείου φωτὸς τὰς ψυχὰς καταυγασθέντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς θεόσοφοι εὗρόν τε καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν.

the memories of the ancient men, he inspired the students with a passion for their virtue and piety. He himself, having been revealed as the master of the pious laws set before him, clearly showed 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 | It would take a long time 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 include the moral teachings of the wisest Solomon, in which he shared his own thoughts, naming the collection Proverbs, and including brief sayings that resemble wise advice in one work?

11.4.7 | The Hebrew children learned this moral way even before the Greeks learned their first letters. They educated themselves and generously shared their knowledge with those who came to them.

11.5.1 | 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 discovered and were enlightened by it.

11.5.2 | ἐφ' ἦν ἀκονῶντες τοὺς τὰ οἰκεῖα μαθήματα παιδευομένους λόγων τε αὐτοῖς ἱερῶν ἀπαγγελίας, ἴστοριῶν τε σεμινῶν διηγήματα, ὡδῶν τε καὶ ἐπωδῶν ἐμμέτρους συνθέσεις, καὶ ἔτι προβλήματα καὶ αἰνίγματα, καί τινας σοφάς καὶ ἀλληγορικὰς θεωρίας μετὰ κάλλους εύεπείας, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν γλῶτταν εύφραδοῦς ἀπαγγελίας, ἐξ ἔτι νηπίας αὐτοῖς παρεδίδοσαν ἡλικίας.

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' αἰνίγματων ἐπεσκιασμένα, εἴ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πάσι, τοῖς γοῦν πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀκοήν ἐπιτηδείοις δὲ ἐρμηνείας καὶ σαφηνείας ἐξέφαινον.

11.5.4 | ταύτῃ τοι πάλιν ὁ σοφώτατος παρὰ τοῖσδε Σολομῶν ἐνθένδε ποθὲν τὴν καταρχὴν τοῦ τῶν Παροιμῶν ἐποίήσατο συγγράμματος, μονονούνχὶ τὴν αἵτιαν αὐτῷ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτην εἶναι διδάξας, δι' ὃν αὐτοῖς ὅμμασι δεῖν ἔφησε πάντα ἄνδρα γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ νοῆσαι λόγους φρονήσεως, δέξασθαι τε στροφὰς λόγων, νοῆσαί τε δικαιοισύνην ἀληθῆ καὶ κρίμα κατευθύνειν, ἵνα δῶ, φησὶν, ἀκάκοις πανουργίαν, παιδί τε νέῳ αἴσθησίν τε καὶ ἔννοιαν. τῶνδε γάρ ἀκούσας ὁ σοφὸς σοφώτερος ἔσται, ὁ δὲ νοήμων κυβέρνησιν κτήσεται· νοήσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ὅμησις τε σοφῶν καὶ 15 αἰνίγματα.

11.5.2 | While they listened, they educated those learning their own subjects with sacred teachings, serious stories, and well-structured songs and chants. They also shared problems and riddles, along with wise and allegorical ideas presented with beautiful clarity. They passed these on to them from a very young age.

11.5.3 | Yes, and some of the first lessons were secondary for them (for they cherished calling the explainers of their writings by this name). These were the ones who, through riddles, revealed hidden truths. Even if not everyone understood, at least those eager to listen could grasp them through interpretation and clarity.

11.5.4 | Here, the wisest Solomon began the book of Proverbs, teaching that the purpose of this writing was to show that every person should know wisdom and education, and understand thoughtful words. He said they should accept the twists of language, grasp true justice, and guide their judgments, so that, he says, the innocent may avoid trickery, and the young may gain insight and understanding. For by hearing these lessons, the wise will become even wiser, and those who understand will gain leadership; they will comprehend parables and dark sayings, the words of the wise, and riddles.

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, τήν τε λογικὴν πραγματείαν οἴκείως τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφίᾳ τε καὶ φωνῇ διὰ πασῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφητικῶν γραφῶν φερομένην, ὅτῳ φίλον, τῆς τούτων ἐντεύξεως τὰς βίβλους ἐπὶ σχολῆς μετὰ χεῖρας λαβὼν εἶσεται.

11.5.6 | εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῆς φιλοκάλως γένοιτο ἐν πείρᾳ, ἵδιοι ἀν, οἵα παρὰ βαρβάροις, ἄνδρας λογικωτάτους ούδεν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ῥητόρων ἀποδέοντας τῇ οἴκείᾳ γλώσσῃ.

11.5.7 | εἰεν δ' ἀν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔμμετροι ποιήσεις, ὡς ἡ μεγάλη Μώσεως ὡδὴ, καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ὁ ριθ' Ψαλμὸς, τῷ καλούμενῷ παρ' Ἐλλησιν ἡρῷῳ μέτρῳ συντεταγμένοι φασὶ γοῦν ἐξάμετρα εἶναι ταῦτα, δι' ἐκκαίδεκα συλλαβῶν πεποιημένα. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στιχήρη δι' ἐπῶν λέγεται τριμέτρων τε καὶ τετραμέτρων κατὰ τὴν οἴκείαν αὐτῶν συγκεῖσθαι φωνήν.

11.5.8 | καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς λέξεως αὐτοῖς ὡδέ πη λογικῆς συνέσεως ἔχει, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς διανοίας ούδ' ἔστι παραβαλεῖν ἀνθρώποις θεοῦ γάρ καὶ αὐτῆς ἀληθείας λόγια δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεφωνημένα, θεοπίσματα καὶ προρρήσεις, μαθήματά τε εύσεβῃ, καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἐπιγνώσεως δόγματα περιειλήφασι.

11.5.5 | The promises of the revealed written work were like this: the parts of the statements made, along with their explanations and the logical discussion, were closely tied to the wisdom and speech of people, found throughout all the prophetic writings among them. Whoever loves this will understand, taking these books in hand during their studies.

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 fall short of wisdom or eloquence in their own language.

11.5.7 | They would also create metrical poems, like the great song of Moses and the 151st Psalm of David, arranged in the so-called heroic meter by the Greeks. It is said that these are hexameters, made up of sixteen syllables. 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 | The words they use have a logical meaning, but their 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 | τεκμήρια δ' ἀν λάβοις τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι λογικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρθοτητος τῆς τῶν ὄνομάτων θέσεως, ἵς πέρι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τῇ Ἐβραίων μαρτυρῶν δόξῃ δῆλος ἀν εἴη, καὶ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο σύμφωνος ὡν τῇ κατὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοσοφίᾳ, ὡς γοῦν ἐκ τούτων διαγνῶναι ῥάδιον.

## Section 6

11.6.1 | Πρωτοῦ Μώσεως μακρῷ πρόσθεν ἦ τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα εἰς Ἑλληνας ἐλθεῖν διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γραφῆς μυρία περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄνομάτων θέσεως πεπραγματευμένου, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν φυσικώτατα τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πάντων τάς ἐπωνυμίας διατεταγμένου, τοτὲ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὴν κρίσιν τῆς τῶν εύσεβῶν ἄνδρῶν μετωνυμίας ἀναθέντος, φύσει τε, ἀλλ' οὐ θέσει τὰ ὄνόματα κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων κεῖσθαι πεπαιδευκότος, ἐπόμενος ὁ Πλάτων συμφέρεται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ βαρβάρων μησθεὶς, καὶ παρὰ τοῖσδε φήσας τόνδε σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον, τάχα που τοὺς Ἐβραίους αίνιττόμενος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ παρ' ἔτεροις βαρβάροις ῥάδιον τὴν τοιάνδε παραφυλάξαι θεωρίαν.

11.6.2 | λέγει δ' οὖν ἐν Κρατύλῳ "Καὶ Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι ὄνομα ὃ ἀν τινες συνθέμενοι καλεῖν καλῶσι, τῆς αὐτῶν φωνῆς μόριον ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὄρθοτητά τινα τῶν ὄνομάτων πεφυκέναι καὶ Ἑλλησι 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,

11.5.9 | You would find evidence of logical accuracy among the men based on the correctness of the arrangement of names, which Plato would clearly testify to according to the belief of the Hebrews. 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 reached the Greeks through many discussions about the arrangement of names in all his writings. Sometimes it was arranged most naturally among all those he had, and at other times it was dedicated to God in the judgment of the names of pious men. Names were placed according to nature, not convention, and Plato, following this, agrees with the same ideas, just as he mentions the barbarians. 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, "This is not a name that some people create and call beautiful, merely using a part of their own voice. Instead, certain correctness of names has come to exist for both Greeks and barbarians in the same way for all."

11.6.3 | And continuing, he says, "In this way, you will value both the lawgiver here and the one among the barbarians, as long

ἴως ἀν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄνόματος εἶδος ἀποδιδῷ τὸ προσῆκον ἐκάστῳ ἐν διοιαισοῦν συλλαβαῖς, οὐδὲν χείρω νομοθέτην εἶναι τὸν ἐνθάδε ἢ τὸν ὅπουοῦν ἄλλοθι.”

as the form of the name provides what is fitting for each in any syllables. There is nothing worse about the lawgiver here than about any other lawgiver elsewhere.”

11.6.4 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς πάλιν τὸν ἐπιστήμονα τῆς ὄρθοτητος τῶν ὄνομάτων διαλεκτικὸν εἶναι φήσας καὶ νομοθέτην οὕτω λέγει “Τέκτονος μὲν ἄρα ἔργον ἔστιν τὸ ποιῆσαι πηδάλιον ἐπιστατοῦντος κυβερνήτου, εἴ μέλλει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ πηδάλιον. Φαίνεται.

11.6.4 | Then, he continues by saying that the expert in the correctness of names is both a dialectician and a lawgiver. He states, “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 | Νομοθέτου δέ γε, ὡς ᾔοικεν, ὄνομα, ἐπιστάτην c ἔχοντος διαλεκτικὸν ἄνδρα, εἴ μέλλοι καλῶς ὄνομα τεθήσεσθαι. “Ἐστι 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 εἶδος τιθέναι εἰς τὰ τε γράμματα καὶ τὰς συλλαβάς.”

11.6.5 | Now, as it seems, the name of a lawgiver must have a dialectician as its master if it is to be set well. This is true. Therefore, oh Hermogenes, the placement of the name is not likely to be unimportant, as you think, nor is it for unworthy men or those who just happen to succeed. Cratylus speaks the truth when he says that names are naturally related to things, and not all names are created by a maker, but only the one who looks to the nature of each name and can give its form to both the letters and the syllables.

11.6.6 | Τοσαῦτα είπὼν μετὰ πλεῖστα βαρβάρων αὐθίς ἀναφέρει τὴν μνήμην, κᾱπειτα εἰς Ἑλληνας παρὰ βαρβάρων ἥκειν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὄνομάτων διαρρήν δημολογεῖ, φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν

11.6.6 | After saying so much, he again brings up the memory of many barbarians. Then, he agrees that many of the names come from the Greeks rather than the barbarians, explaining this to them with his words.

11.6.7 | “Ἔννοῶ ὅτι πολλὰ Ἑλληνες ὄνόματα, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις οίκοῦντες, παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων

11.6.7 | I mean that many Greek names, especially those used by the barbarians, have been taken from the barbarians. So

εἰλήφασι. Τί οὖν δή; Εἴ τις ζητοί ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν ὡς ἔοικότως κεῖται, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐξ ἣς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ὁν, οἶσθα ὅτι ἀποροίη ἄν.  
Εἰκότως.”

what then? If someone were to look for these according to the Greek language as it seems, but not according to the source from which the name comes, you know that they would be confused. That makes sense.

11.6.8 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. φθάνει γε μὴν αὐτὸν Νωυσῆς, ὃς οἴα δὴ σοφὸς νομοθέτης ὧν ὅμοι καὶ διαλεκτικὸς ἐπάκουουσον τί φησί. “καὶ ἐπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ ούρανοῦ, καὶ ἥγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἵδειν τί καλέσει αὐτά. καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ἦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.”

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, εἶναί (?) 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 part of nature before, and it exists and has always existed for each of those named as this name, which the person being referred to has assigned with greater authority.

11.6.10 | καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Ἀδὰμ, Ἐβραῖον ὑπάρχον ὄνομα, παρὰ τῷ Μωσεῖ τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἀνθρώπου γένοιτ' ἀν ἐπώνυμον, ὅτι δὴ παρ' Ἐβραίοις Ἀδὰμ ἡ γῆ καλεῖται, παρ' ὃ 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 means “man,” and the first earth-born is truly referred to as Adam by Moses.

11.6.11 | ἔχοι δ' ἀν καὶ ἄλλην ἡ προσηγορία διάνοιαν, εἰς τὸ ἐρυθρὸν μεταλαμβανομένη καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παριστῶσα φύσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν γεώδη καὶ γήινον καὶ γηγενῆ, ἡ τὸν σωματικὸν καὶ σάρκινον ὡς

11.6.11 | But the name can also have another meaning, relating to the color red and representing the nature of the body. However, the earthy, earthly, and earth-born man, or the physical and fleshly

ἄνθρωπον, τῷ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐπεσημήνατο προσρήματι.

11.6.12 | καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως παῖδες Ἐβραίων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Ἐνώς ἐπονομάζοντες, δὸν δὴ φασιν εἶναι τὸν ἐν ήμιν λογικὸν, ἔτερον ὅντα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ γεώδους Ἀδάμ. διάνοιαν δὲ περιέχει καὶ ὁ Ἐνώς οἰκείαν, ἐπιλήσμων τῇ Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνευόμενος φωνῇ.

11.6.13 | τοιούτον δὲ πέφυκεν ὑπάρχειν τὸ ἐν ήμιν λογικὸν, τῆς πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἄλογον συμπλοκῆς ἔνεκα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάντη καθαρὸν καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ θεῖον καὶ λογικὸν οὐ μόνον τῶν πρόσθεν γενομένων τὴν μνήμην,, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν γνῶσιν, δι' ἄκραν ἀρετὴν θεωρίας περιείληφε. τὸ δ' ἐν σαρξὶ πεπιλημένον, ὁστέοις τε καὶ νεύροις καταπεπαρμένον, ὅγκον τε μέγαν καὶ βαρὺν ἐπηχθισμένον τὸ σῶμα, λήθης πολλῆς καὶ ἀμαθίας συνιδῶν ὁ Ἐβραίοις λόγιος εὐθυβόλω κέκληκε προσρήματι Ἐνώς ἐπονομάσας, ὅπερ δηλοῦ τὸν ἐπιλήσμονα.

11.6.14 | κεῖται γοῦν παρά τινι προφήτῃ “τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμήσκῃ αὐτοῦ; ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπτῃ αὐτόν; ἀνθ' οὗ τὸ Ἐβραϊκὸν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κλήσεως τὸ Ἐνώς περιείληφεν, ὡσεὶ ἔλεγε σαφέστερον, τί οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιλήσμων, ὅτι σὺ, ὡς θεὲ, μιμήσκῃ αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ὅντος ἐπιλήσμονος;

11.6.15 | τὸ δὲ ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπτῃ αὐτόν” “ἢ υἱὸς Ἀδάμ” κεῖται

person, is indicated by the name Adam.

11.6.12 | And the Hebrews also call man by another name, Enosh, which they say refers to the rational one among us, different in nature from the earthly Adam. Enosh also has its own meaning, interpreted in the Greek language as “forgetful.”

11.6.13 | Thus, the rational part within us exists because of its connection to the mortal and irrational. The pure, immaterial, divine, and rational part not only remembers what has happened before but also knows what will happen in the future, as it is surrounded by the highest virtue of contemplation. In contrast, the part 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 means “the forgetful one.”

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 to say more clearly, “What is this forgetful one, that you remember him, even though he is indeed forgetful?”

11.6.15 | But when it says, “or the son of man that you visit him,” it also refers to

παρὰ τοῖς δηλουμένοις, ὡς εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ Ἐνὼς, τοῦ μὲν σαρκικοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, τοῦ δὲ λογικοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἐνὼς παρισταμένου.

“the son of Adam,” showing that both Adam and Enosh are the same. The physical part comes through Adam, while the rational part is represented by Enosh.

11.6.16 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἐβραίων λόγια οὕτω πως διαιρεῖ τὴν ἔτυμολογίαν· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ παρὰ τὸ ἀναθρεῖν φησι κειλῆσθαι λέγων “Ο δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἅμα ἐώρακε, τοῦτο δέ ἔστιν ὅπωπε, καὶ ἀναθρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται τοῦτο ὁ ὅπωπεν, ἦ, ἔνα ἥ 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,” stating, “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 τούνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔσ, δι' οὗ σημαίνουσι τὸ πῦρ, ἵνα ἥ παρὰ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ διάξπυρχον τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φύσεως ὁ ἀνὴρ ὀνομασμένος.

11.6.17 | Again, the Hebrews call man “ish.” They derive this name from the word for fire, connecting it to warmth and representing the fiery nature of man.

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.”

11.6.18 | But the woman, since it is said that she is taken from man, shares the name with him. For among them, the woman is called “isha,” just as man is called “ish.” Plato says that man is named from the upper flow. He adds, “But the woman seems to me to want to be a source.”

11.6.19 | πάλιν Μώσης τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔτύμως τῇ Ἐβραίων γλώσσῃ “στερέωμα προσαγορεύει, παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι μετὰ τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ νοερὰν ούσιαν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου στερεὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν σῶμα. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' τῷ οὐρανῷ φησιν ὄρθως ὄνομα κεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἄνω ὄρᾶν ποιεῖν.

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. Plato says that the name for heaven is rightly given because it makes one look upward.

11.6.20 | πάλιν Ἐβραῖοι τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω

11.6.20 | Again, the Hebrews say that the

τοῦ θεοῦ κύριον ὄνομα ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ  
ἄθθεγκτον, οὐδὲ φαντασίᾳ διανοίας  
ληπτὸν εἶναι φασιν· αύτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καθ' ὁ  
θεὸν ὄνομάζομεν Ἐλωεὶμ καλοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ  
ῆλ, 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 ἂν τὰ πάντα συστησάμενος. ὃ δὲ  
Πλάτων' θεὸν καὶ θεοὺς παρὰ τὸ θέειν,  
ὅπερ ἔστι τρέχειν, τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ  
φωστήρας ἐπικεκλησθαί φησι.

highest name of God is unutterable and beyond understanding, claiming it cannot be grasped by the imagination. This very name, by which we call God, they refer to as "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. 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 | Τοιαῦτα δή τινα, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ  
φάναι, τὰ παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τὰ παρὰ  
Πλάτωνι περὶ ὄρθοτητος ὄνομάτων  
διηκρίβωται. καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ  
προσηγορίας μετά τινος διανοίας φησὶν ὃ  
Πλάτων' τεθεῖσθαι, καὶ τόν γε λόγον  
ἀποδιδόναι πειρᾶται, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὸν  
Ἐκτορα κεκλησθαι 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  
εὐτόνως καὶ καρτερῶς παραμένειν· τὸν δὲ  
Ὀρέστην διὰ τὸ ὄρεινὸν καὶ ἄγριον καὶ  
θηριῶδες τοῦ τρόπου· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀτρέα δ'  
ἰὰ τὸ ἀτηρόν τινα γεγονέναι τὸ ἥθος· τὸν δὲ  
Πέλοπα οὖν τινα οὐ τὰ πόρρω, ἀλλὰ μόνα  
τὰ πέλας καὶ ἐγγὺς δρῶντα· τὸν δὲ  
Τάνταλον ταλάντατον τινά φησι, διὰ τὰ  
περὶ αὐτὸν δυστυχήματα, σημαίνειν.

11.6.21 | Such things, as examples, are explained about the names from the Hebrews and from Plato regarding the correctness of names. Plato also says that the names among humans are chosen with some thought, and he tries to explain this. I do not know how he calls Hector from having and holding, since he is the king of the Trojans, and Agamemnon from staying too long, as he is thought to remain easily and strongly among the Trojans. He calls Orestes because of his mountainous and wild nature. Atreus is named for having a certain reckless character. Pelops is named not from far away, but from seeing only what is near and close. He says that Tantalus means someone who suffers greatly because of the misfortunes surrounding him.

11.6.22 | ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα μυρία ἀλλα  
εὔροις ἂν είρημένα τῷ Πλάτωνι, φύσει  
τεθεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ θέσει τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ  
ὄνόματα διδάσκειν πειρωμένω.

11.6.22 | You would find many such things mentioned by Plato, established by nature, but he does not attempt to teach the names to those who come first.

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 Κάϊν ζῆλος" παρ' Ἑλλησι μεταλαμβάνεται, τούτου δ' ἡξιώθη 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, οὐ κατά τινα θειοτέραν προμήθειαν γενομένοις τοῖς παισὶ ταύτας τέθεινται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας.

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 πρὶν, ὅτε τῆς Χαλδαικῆς μετεποιεῖτο σοφίας,, γεγονὼς Ἀβραμ ἐκαλεῖτο· τοῦτο δ' Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ πατέρα μετέωρον σημαίνει.

11.6.26 | ἀλλ' ὁ θεός γε αὐτὸν τῶν τῆδε ἐπὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ τὸν δρωμένων ἐπέκεινα προάγων εύθυβόλω κέχρηται μετωνυμίᾳ, Οὐκέτι, φήσας, κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραμ, ἀλλὰ Ἀβραὰμ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν δ ἔθνῶν 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 δ'

11.6.23 | But you would not say that the things from Moses are forced, nor are they created 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 | 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. In the Greek language, it means "father of the high places."

11.6.26 | But God has called him by a different name, guiding 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 lead to 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

οῦν αύτοῖς ἥμασιν

words...

11.6.28 | "Ἐσπουδάσθαι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα  
μάλιστα πρέπει τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων·  
ἴσως δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ θειοτέρας  
δυνάμεως ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγενήθη." "

11.6.28 | For it is especially important to study the meaning of names here; perhaps some of them were given by a divine power or by people.

11.6.29 | Τοῦτο γέ τοι αὐτὸ διὰ πλειόνων  
καὶ ἡ παρ' Ἐρβαίοις Ἱερὰ πιστοῦται γραφή·  
πρῶτος 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  
ἔρμηνεύεται, τὸ τῆς ἐναρέτου χαρᾶς  
ἐπαγόμενος σύμβολον, ἦν τοῖς θεοφιλέσι  
γέρας ἔξαίρετον δώσειν ὁ θεὸς ἐπήγγελται.

11.6.29 | This same idea is confirmed by many, and the sacred writings among the Hebrews support it. First of all, Moses taught that Abraham, his son Isaac, and also Israel were named by a divine power. Isaac, in fact, is understood as a symbol of joyful delight, which God has promised to give as a special gift to those who love him.

11.6.30 | ὃ δὲ τούτου παῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἦν μὲν τὸ  
πρὶν τὸ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ὄνομα ἐπενηγμένος,  
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ  
Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα σωρεῖται, τὸν ἀσκητὴν καὶ  
πρακτικὸν ἐπὶ τὸν θεωρητικὸν  
μεταστησάμενος.

11.6.30 | But the son of this man, Israel, 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 | πτερνιστῆς γὰρ ὁ Ἰακὼβ  
ἔρμηνεύεται ὡς τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐναθλῶν  
ἀγῶνα· Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὅρῶν θεὸν, ὅποιος ἂν εἴη  
ὁ γνωστικὸς καὶ θεωρητικὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ  
νοῦς.

11.6.31 | For Jacob is understood as one who struggles for virtue, while Israel means one who sees God, referring to the wise and contemplative mind in a person.

11.6.32 | τί με δεῖ νῦν τοῦ πανσόφου  
Μώσεως ἢ τῶν παρ' Ἐρβαίοις Ἱερῶν  
λογίων διὰ μυρίων ἄλλων τὴν ὄρθοτητα  
τῆς τῶν οἰκείων ὀνομάτων θέσεως  
ἔξαπλοῦν, μακροτέρας σχολῆς δεομένων  
τῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον;

11.6.32 | What need do I have now to explain the correctness of the names of their own people through the many wise writings of the all-wise Moses or the sacred texts among the Hebrews, when those in the area require more time?

11.6.33 | αύτίκα δὴ καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων 'Ελληνες μὲν ούκ 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 αἴτιαν, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς καλεῖται Ἀλφ', τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνει μάθησιν· καὶ τοῦ Βῆτα, ὅπερ Βὴθ φίλον αὐτοῖς προσαγορεύειν, οὕτω δὲ τὸν οἶκον ὄνομάζουσιν· ὥστε δηλοῦν τὴν διάνοιαν, μάθησις οἴκου· ώσεὶ σαφέστερον ἐλέγετο, διδαχή τις καὶ μάθησις οίκονομίας.

11.6.35 | καὶ τὸ Γάμμα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς τρίτον κέκληται Γῖμελ· 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.

11.6.36 | ἐπιών δέ τις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχεῖα, μετά τινος αἴτιας καὶ λογισμοῦ εὑροι ἀν ἔκαστα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡνομασμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ φωνηέντων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνθεσιν μιᾶς τινος ἀπορρήτου προσηγορίας περιέχειν φασὶν ἐκφώνησιν, ἣν διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων παῖδες Ἐβραίων σημειούμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως κατατάττουσιν, ἄλεκτόν τι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἀπόρρητον τοῦτ' εἶναι παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς εἰληφότες.

11.6.33 | Indeed, the Greeks would not be able to explain the origins of the basic elements of grammar, nor would Plato himself be able to clarify the speech or reasoning of the vowels or consonants.

11.6.34 | But the children of the Hebrews would explain the meaning of Alpha, which they call Aleph, and this means learning. As for Beta, which they call Beth, they name it this way to refer to a house. This shows that learning is connected to the household. It could be said more clearly that it is a teaching and learning about managing a home.

11.6.35 | The third letter among them is called Gimel, and they use this name to refer to fullness. Then, since they call the tablets Delth, they refer to the fourth letter in this way, meaning that written learning is the fullness of the tablets when considered together with the two letters.

11.6.36 | If someone were to explore the other elements of grammar, they would find each one named among them with some reason and logic. They say that the seven vowels hold a certain secret meaning in their combination. The children of the Hebrews represent this with four elements, placing it at the highest power of God. They claim it is something unspoken and secret, passed down to the child from the father.

11.6.37 | καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι δὲ σοφῶν,  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπόθεν, τις τοῦτο μαθὼν ἤνιξατο,  
ῶδε πῃ δι' ἐπῶν φήσας ἐπτά με  
φωνήενταθεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον  
αἰνεῖγράμματα, τὸν πάντων ἀκάματον  
πατέρα. εἰμὶ δ' ἔγώ πάντων χέλυς ἄφθιτος,  
ἢ τὰ λυρώδη ἥρμοσάμην δίνης οὐρανίοιο  
μέλη.

11.6.38 | εὕροις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις στοιχείων, ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστῳ, τὰ  
σημαινόμενα· τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη καὶ διὰ τῶν  
πρόσθεν ἡμῖν συνέστη, ὅπηνίκα παρὰ  
βαρβάρων τὰ πάντα ὠφελῆσθαι τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας ἀπεδείκνυμεν.

11.6.39 | πολλὴν δ' ἂν τις καταμάθοι, τὴν  
Ἐβραίων γλῶσσαν πολυπραγμονῶν,  
ὄνομάτων ὄρθοτητα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι  
φερομένην, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς 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"  
όνομάζεται.

11.6.40 | διδάσκει δὲ ὁ λόγος διαπερᾶν καὶ  
διαβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα,  
μηδαμῶς τε ἐναπομένειν καὶ ἵστασθαι ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῇ θέᾳ τῶν ὄρωμένων, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ ἀόρατα τῆς περὶ τοῦ τῶν  
ὅλων ποιητοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ θεολογίας  
διαβαίνειν. ταύτη τοι τοὺς πρώτους μόνω  
τῷ πανηγεμόνι καὶ αἵτιῷ τῶν ὅλων  
ἀνακειμένους, εὔσεβείᾳ τε καθαρῷ καὶ  
ἀληθεῖ προσανέχοντας, Ἐβραίους ἐφώνουν,  
περατικούς τινας καὶ διαβεβηκότας τῇ

11.6.37 | Among the wise of the Greeks, I do  
not know where this knowledge comes  
from, but someone learned it and hinted at  
it in verses: "Seven vowels praise the great,  
immortal God, the tireless father of all."  
And I am the immortal shell that  
harmonized the lyrical melodies of the  
heavenly sphere.

11.6.38 | You would also find the other  
elements among the Hebrews, each one  
having its own meaning. This has already  
been shown to us whenever we  
demonstrated that everything among the  
barbarians could benefit the Greeks.

11.6.39 | One could learn a lot about the  
Hebrew language, which is rich in meaning  
and known for its correctness among men.  
The name of the whole nation comes from  
'Eber,' which means 'the one who crosses  
over.' This is because both 'crossing' and 'to  
cross over' are called 'Herer' in Hebrew.

11.6.40 | The word teaches us to cross over  
and move from here to the divine, not to  
stay or stand on the surface of what is seen,  
but to journey 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

διανοίᾳ τοὺς τοιούσδε ἀποκαλοῦντες.

understanding.

11.6.41 | καὶ τί με δεῖ ἐπὶ πλέον μηκύνειν τὰ πάντα συνάγοντα τῆς τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν ὄνομάτων ὥρθότητός τε καὶ ἀκριβείας, τοῦ προβλήματος οἰκείας 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 οἴκειαν τοῖς πράγμασιν εὐρέσθαι, οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ Μώσης καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων ἀποδέρεικται λόγια. τί δὴ οὖν μετὰ τὰ λογικὰ ἔπειται ἡ τὰ φυσικὰ ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα εἶχον Ἐβραίων παῖδες;

11.6.41 | And why should I need to keep gathering everything about the correctness and precision of Hebrew names when the topic deserves its own study? However, as a brief point, I believe that what has been said provides proof of the logical teachings among the Hebrews. According to Plato, it was not common men or those who just happened to be there, but rather a wise and dialectical lawgiver who discovered a nature of names that fit the things, like Moses for us and the words of the Hebrews. So, what comes after the logical is to examine the physical, just as the children of the Hebrews once did?

## Section 7

11.7.1 | Καὶ τὸ τρίτον δὲ μέρος τῆς καθ' Ἐβραίους φιλοσοφίας, — τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ φυσικὸν, διαιρούμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἷς τε τὴν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων ἐποπτείαν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φυσιολογίαν, — οἱ κατὰ πάντα τέλειοι προφήται ἥδεσάν τε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὅτε δὴ καιρὸς ἐκάλει, κατεμίγγυον λόγοις, οὐ στοχασμοῖς καὶ θνητῆς διανοίας ἐπιτηδεύσει μαθόντ' ἑς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις ἀνδράσι σεμνυνόμενοι, θεοφορίσει δὲ κρείττονος δυνάμεως καὶ θείου πνεύματος ἐπιπνοίᾳ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀνατιθέντες.

11.7.1 | And the third part of the philosophy according to the Hebrews, which was natural philosophy, was divided by them into the contemplation of the intelligible and incorporeal and into the study of the physiology of the sensible. The perfect prophets, in every way, understood this and, when the time called for it, mixed their words not with mere guesses or the efforts of mortal thought. They did not rely on serious teachers, but instead shared their knowledge through a greater power and the inspiration of a divine spirit.

11.7.2 | ἐνθεν μυρία μὲν αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεθέσπιστο, μυρία δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως πεφυσιολόγητο,

11.7.2 | From this, many things were revealed to them about the future, many things were explained about the nature of

καὶ αὖ πάλιν μυρία περὶ ζώων φύσεως διείληπτο, πλεῖστα δὲ ὅσα καὶ περὶ φυτῶν ταῖς οίκειαις ἔκαστος προφητείαις κατεβέβλητο.

the entire universe, and again, many things were discussed regarding the nature of living beings. Most importantly, many things about plants were included in each of their prophecies.

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, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ἐν τῇ περὶ τούτων διαπρέψαι φυσιολογίᾳ πρὸς τῆς θείας μαρτυρεῖται γραφῆς, ὃδε περιεχούσης

11.7.3 | Moses, knowing well the powers of stones, did not use them carelessly in the priest's garments for their sacred purpose. Similarly, Solomon, or anyone else, is shown in the writings about these matters to have excelled in natural philosophy, as the divine scripture reveals.

11.7.4 | “καὶ ἐλάλησε Σολομῶν τρισχιλίας παραβολὰς, καὶ ἥσαν ὡδαὶ αύτοῦ 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 αύτοῦ.”

11.7.4 | And Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs, and his songs numbered five thousand. He spoke about trees, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that grows on the wall. He also spoke about animals, birds, and fish. 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 | ἐντεῦθεν ὄρμώμενος καὶ ὁ τὴν πανάρετον σοφίαν εἰς αύτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀναθεὶς ἔφη “αὔτὸς 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 ἔγγνων. ἡ γὰρ πάντων

11.7.5 | Then, starting from here, he who had placed perfect wisdom before him said, “For he himself gave me true knowledge of all that exists, to understand the structure of the world, the activity of the elements, the beginning, middle, and end of time, the changes and transformations of seasons, the cycles of years, the positions of stars, the natures of animals, the emotions of beasts, the power of spirits, the thoughts of humans, the differences among plants, and the powers of roots. I have come to know

τεχνῆτις ἔδίδαξέ με σοφία.”

all that is hidden and unseen. For the master of all taught me wisdom.”

11.7.6 | πάλιν τε ὁ αύτὸς Σολομῶν τὴν ῥευστὴν τῶν σωμάτων οὐσίαν φυσιολογῶν ἐν Ἐκκλησιαστῇ φησι ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. τίς περισσεία τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν παντὶ μόχθῳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς 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.”

11.7.7 | ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πεφυσιολόγητο περὶ τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας. εὑροις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑβραίους ἐπιών σοφοὺς τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀμοίρους ἐπιστήμης. φυτῶν γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην ἥδη πρότερον, μυρία καὶ ζῷων πέρι, χερσαίων τε καὶ ἐνύδρων, καὶ προσέτι πτηνῶν φύσεως εἴρηται αὐτοῖς.

11.7.8 | ναὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστρων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ Πλειάδος, Ωρίωνός τε καὶ ἄρκτούρου, ὅν ἄρκτοφύλακα καὶ Βοώτην Ἔλλησι φίλον ὀνομάζειν, 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 ὄρωμένης τε καὶ ἀφανοῦς δημιουργίας, τῆς τε καθόλου προνοίας, καὶ τούτων ἔτι πρότερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ὅλων αἰτίου, τῆς τε τοῦ

11.7.6 | Again, the same Solomon says in Ecclesiastes about the fleeting nature of life, “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” What does a person gain from all their hard work under the sun? He adds, “What has happened? It is what will happen; and what has been done? It is what will be done. There is nothing new under the sun.”

11.7.7 | For he was also concerned with these things and similar topics about the physical nature of life. You would also find other wise Hebrews who are knowledgeable. As I mentioned before, he spoke about plants, countless animals, both land and water, and also the nature of birds.

11.7.8 | Yes, and he also spoke about the stars in the sky, mentioning the Bear and the Pleiades, Orion and the Great Bear, which the Greeks like to call the Bear Keeper and Boötes. There is a certain memory that does not come from the writings of those who explain these things.

11.7.9 | But he also spoke 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. He discussed the overall providence and, before these topics, the first cause of all

δευτέρου θεολογίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ ληπτῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς θεωρίας εὗ μάλα καὶ ἀκριβῶς περιειλήφασιν, ὡς μὴ ἀν ἀμαρτεῖν τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα παρ' Ἑλλησι τὴν τούτων φύσιν ἀνηρευνηκότας πρεσβύταις οἴα νεωτέρους κατηκολουθηκέναι φάναι.

things, the second theology, and other ideas that can only be understood by the mind. These subjects have been covered very well and accurately. This way, those who investigate the nature of these things among the Greeks after him will not make mistakes, as the elders say that the younger ones have followed.

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 ὡντο δεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν, οὐδέ γε τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τ' τῶν ὅντων 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.

11.7.10 | These topics are indeed about the physiology of the universe. They divided the discussion on these subjects. They believed that the part about the senses should not be fully explained to the general public, nor should the causes of the nature of beings be taught to everyone, 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 μὲν ἔστι καὶ τίνα, ὅπῃ τε διατάξεως ἔχει δυνάμεως τε καὶ διαφορᾶς, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ταῖς ιεραῖς βίβλοις ἔγκαταβέβληται, εἰς ἔξακουστόν τε τοῖς πᾶσι παραδέδοται, καθ' ὅσον εἰδέναι χρῆν τοὺς εὔσεβείας μεταποιουμένους εἰς ἀνάληψιν εύλαβούς καὶ σώφρονος βίου.

11.7.11 | But regarding the intelligible things, what they are and their order, power, and differences have been explained and established in the sacred books. This knowledge has been shared with everyone, as far as is necessary for the pious to understand, to guide them toward 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

11.7.12 | But indeed, the deep and hidden discussion about this was reserved for those who are able to be initiated into such matters. It was mentioned briefly and in a way that seems clear, suggesting that it would be beneficial to explore these topics and understand them. Plato is also

δηλουμένοις παραστῆσαι.

presented here as someone who has wisely grasped these ideas.

## Section 8

11.8.1 | Ού μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων παιδεύσεως τε καὶ θεωρίας τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ἐβραίων προφήταις Πλάτων' ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐπηκολουθητικέναι διὰ τῶν οίκείων φωνῶν ἔστι δῆλος, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀκοῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἡκούσης μαθὼν, (έπει καὶ συνίσταται παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις τηνικάδε τὰς διατριβὰς πεποιημένος, καθ' ὃν Ἐβραῖοι τῆς οίκείας δεύτερον ἀποπεσόντες γῆς Αἴγυπτίοις ἐπεχωρίαζον, Περσῶν ἐπικρατούντων,) εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβαλῶν φύσει, εἴτε ὅπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταξιωθεὶς τῆς γνώσεως. “ὁ θεὸς γάρ (φησὶν) αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσε. τὰ γάρ 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.

11.8.1 | Indeed, it is clear that Plato, the remarkable thinker, followed the wise Moses and the Hebrew prophets in the teaching and contemplation of intelligible and immaterial things. Whether he learned about them through hearing or developed his own understanding of the nature of things is uncertain. This is especially true since the Egyptians had established similar studies while the Hebrews, having left their own land, were settling in Egypt during Persian rule. Alternatively, he may have been 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 could learn this by examining what has been said.

## Section 9

11.9.1 | Μώσεως ἐν ταῖς ιεροφαντίαις χρησμὸν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ φήσαντος “έγώ εἰμι ὁ ὄν. οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ὧν ἀπέσταλκε 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

11.9.1 | In the revelations of Moses, there is a prophecy from 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.’” It is also stated that God alone is truly being, and he is especially and rightly worthy of this calling.

11.9.2 | Again, Solomon speaks about the generation and decay of sensible and

καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνειπόντος “τί τὸ γεγονός; αὐτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον. καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον; αὐτὸ τὸ ποιηθησόμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πᾶν πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, ὃ λαλήσει καὶ ἐρεῖ, ἵδε τοῦτο καινόν ἔστιν· ἥδη γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς αἰώσι τοῖς γενομένοις ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν”

physical things, saying, “What has happened? It is what will happen. And what has been made? It is what will be made. There is nothing new under the sun that will say, ‘Look, this is new,’ for it has already happened in the ages that came before us.”

11.9.3 | τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀκολούθως είς δύο τὸ πὰν διαιρούντων, εἷς τε νοητὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν, καὶ τὸ μὲν νοητὸν ἀσώματον καὶ λογικὸν τὴν φύσιν, ἄφθαρτόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶναι ὀριζομένων, τὸ δ' αἰσθητὸν ἐν ῥύσει 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·

11.9.3 | Based on these ideas, we also divide everything into two: the intelligible and the sensible. The intelligible is formless and rational by nature, defined as incorruptible and immortal. The sensible, on the other hand, exists in a state of change and decay, having transformation and alteration in its essence. All things are summed up in one principle, which means that the ungenerated and what truly exists 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 παραξέσας ὁ Πλάτων' ἔξοικειοῦται τὸ δόγμα, πλατύτερον ὅδε 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 ὅν, τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὅν.

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 | Ἀρ' οὐ σαφῶς πέφρηνεν 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 ἡ τὸ οὐ σαρκὸς

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?” He explains this even more clearly by saying that nothing else is being

όφθαλμοῖς ὄρώμενον, νῷ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενον. ἐρωτήσας γοῦν τί τὸ ὅν, αὐτὸς ἔσειται ἀποκρίνεται, λέγων “τὸ δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν ὅν.”

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; αύτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον· καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον; αύτὸ τὸ ποιηθησόμενον” αὐτοῖς σχεδὸν ῥήμασι διερμηνεύσας δῆλος ἀν εἴη λέγων “τὸ δ’ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὅν.” οἵς καὶ ἐπιφέρει

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 becomes clear to say, “What is perceived without reason is something that is becoming and perishing, but is never truly being.”

11.9.7 | “Ταῦτα γάρ πάντα μέρη χρόνου, τὸ ἦν καὶ ἔσται· ἀ δὴ φέροντες λανθάνομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀίδιον ούσιαν, οὐκ ὄρθῶς, λέγομεν γάρ δὴ ὡς ἦν, ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσται. τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον προσήκει· τὸ δὲ ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔσται περὶ τὴν ἐν χρόνῳ γένεσιν οὕσαν πρέπει λέγεσθαι· κινήσεις γάρ ἔστον. τὸ δὲ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχον ἀκινήτως οὔτε πρεσβύτερον οὔτε νεώτερον προσήκει γίνεσθαι διάχρονον, οὐδὲ γενέσθαι ποτὲ, οὐδὲ γεγονέναι νῦν, οὐδ’ είσαυθις ἔσεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδ’ ὅσα γένεσις τοῖς ἐν αἰσθήσει φερομένοις προσῆψεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου ταῦτα, αἰώνα μιμουμένου καὶ κατ’ ἀριθμὸν κυκλουμένου, γέγονεν εἴδη. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὰ τοιάδε· τὸ γεγονός εἶναι γεγονός, 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. We say that it was, it is, and it will be. But only what is truly 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. Besides these, there are also such things: what has come to be is what has come to be, what is becoming is what is becoming, and what will be is what will be.

11.9.8 | Καὶ ἵνα γε μή τις ἡμᾶς παρερμηνεύειν ἡγήσηται τὰς τοῦ φιλοσόφου φωνὰς, ὑπομνήμασι χρήσομαι

11.9.8 | And so that no one thinks I am misinterpreting the words of the philosopher, I will use these reminders to

τῶνδε τῶν λόγων τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκφαίνουσι.  
πλείους μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν τούτων  
ἐπιβεβλήκασι θεωρίαν, ἔμοὶ δ' ἔξαρκεῖ  
τανῦν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς Νουμηνίου τοῦ  
Πυθαγορείου παραθέσθαι λέξεις, ἃς ἐν τῷ  
Περὶ τάγαθοῦ δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὥδε  
πῃ διέξεισιν

show the meaning of these statements.  
Many have focused on 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 part of his work *On the Good*.

## Section 10

11.10.1 | "Φέρε οὖν ὅση δύναμις ἔγγύτατα  
πρὸς τὸ ὄν ἀναγόμεθα, καὶ λέγωμεν, τὸ ὄν  
οὔτε ποτὲ ἦν οὔτε ποτὲ μὴ γένηται, ἀλλ'  
ἔστιν ἀεὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὡρισμένῳ, τῷ ἐνεστῶτι  
μόνῳ.

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 come into  
being, but it always exists in a specific time,  
only in the present moment.

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 αὖ 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 as something that has  
already escaped and has completely moved  
away from being. The future, on the other  
hand, does not exist yet, but it promises  
that it will be able to come into being.

11.10.3 | οὐκ οὖν εἰκός ἔστιν ἐνὶ γε τρόπῳ  
νομίζειν τὸ ὄν ἦτοι μὴ εἶναι, ἢ μηκέτι, ἢ  
μηδέπω. ὡς τούτου γε οὕτως λεγομένου, ἐν  
γίνεται τι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μέγα ἀδύνατον, εἶναι  
τε ὄμοῦ ταύτον καὶ μὴ εἶναι.

11.10.3 | It is not reasonable to think of  
being as either not existing, 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 αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν. τὸ γὰρ ὄν ἀίδιόν τε  
βέβαιόν τε ἔστιν, ἀεὶ κατὰ ταύτον, οὐδὲ  
γέγονε μὲν, ἐφθάρη δὲ, οὐδ' ἐμεγεθύνετο  
μὲν, ἐμειώθη δέ· οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγένετο πω πλέον,

11.10.4 | If this is the case, then something  
else cannot exist without the being itself  
not existing 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

ἢ ἔλασσον· καὶ μὲν δὴ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ οὐδὲ τοπικός κινηθήσεται.

11.10.5 | οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις αύτῷ κινηθῆναι, οὐδὲ μὲν ὄπίσω, οὐδὲ πρόσω· οὔτε ἀνω ποτὲ οὔτε κάτω· ούδ' εἰς δεξιὰ, ούδ' εἰς ἀριστερὰ μεταβήσεται ποτε τὸ ὅν· οὔτε περὶ τὸ μέσον ποτε ἐαυτοῦ κινηθήσεται, ἄλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐστήξεται καὶ ἀραρός τε καὶ ἐστήκος ἔσται κατὰ ταύτα ἔχον ἀεὶ καὶ ὥσαύτως.”

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 ἡδη ἥδιον εἶναι εἴπειν μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ εἴπειν. καὶ δῆτα λέγω τὸ ὄνομα αύτῷ εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πάλαι ζητούμενον.

11.10.7 | ἄλλὰ μὴ γελασάτω τις, ἔὰν γῶ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου εἶναι ὄνομα ούσιαν καὶ ὅν. ἡ δὲ αἵτια τοῦ ὄντος ὄνόματός ἔστι τὸ μὴ γεγονέναι, μηδὲ φθαρήσεσθαι, μηδ' ἄλλην μήτε κίνησιν μηδεμίαν δέχεσθαι μήτε μεταβολὴν κρείττω 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.”

shrunk. It has never become more or less, and indeed, nothing else will be moved in a specific place either.

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 | And from here, I will choose other things: “So many things are before me. But I will no longer be shaped, nor will I pretend to be unaware 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, it will neither 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 describe. Therefore, let it be accepted that being is formless.

11.10.9 | Εἶθ' ὑποκαταβὰς ἐπιλέγει "Τὸ ὃν εἴπον ἀσώματον, τοῦτο δὲ εἰναι τὸ νοητόν. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα, ὅσα μνημονεύειν ἔστι μοι, τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἦν. τὸν δ' ἐπιζητοῦντα λόγον ἐθέλω παραμυθήσασθαι, τοσόνδε ὑπειπὼν, ὅτι ταῦτα τοῖς δόγμασι τοῖς Πλάτωνος εί μὴ συμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐτέρου γ' ἔχρην οἵεσθαί τινος ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου, μέγα δυναμένου, οὗ Πυθαγόρου.

11.10.9 | Then, having gone down, he adds, "I said that being is formless, and this is what is understandable. Therefore, what I have said, as much as I can remember, was like this. I want to comfort the one seeking the explanation by saying this: if these ideas do not match the teachings of Plato, then one should consider some great man, someone powerful, like Pythagoras."

11.10.10 | λέγει γοῦν Πλάτων, φέρ' ἀναμνησθῶ πῶς λέγει.. τί τὸ ὃν 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, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν."

11.10.10 | Plato indeed says, let me remember how he puts it: "What is being that always exists but does not have becoming? And what is that which becomes but is never being? The first can be understood through reason, while the second is perceived through the senses and is not reasonable, becoming and perishing, but never truly being."

11.10.11 | ἥρετο γάρ, τί ἔστι τὸ ὃν, φάς αὐτὸ ἀγένητον ἀναμφιλέκτως. γένεσιν γάρ οὐκ ἔφη εἶναι τῷ ὄντι ἐτρέπετο γάρ ἄν· τρεπόμενον δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀίδιον."

11.10.11 | For he asked, "What is being?" saying that it is definitely ungenerated. He stated that being does not have becoming, for it would change. But what is changing is not eternal.

11.10.12 | Εἶτα ὑποβάς φησιν Εἴ μὲν δὴ τὸ ὃν πάντως πάντη ἀίδιόν τέ ἔστι καὶ ἀτρεπτον καὶ οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῆ ἔξιστάμενον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, μένει δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔστηκε, τοῦτο δήπου ἂν εἴη τὸ τῇ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν.

11.10.12 | Then he continues, "If indeed being is completely eternal, unchanging, and in no way separate from itself, but remains the same and exists in the same way, then this would surely be what can be understood through reason."

11.10.13 | εἰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἡρεῖ καὶ φέρεται ὑπὸ τῆς εὐθὺ μεταβολῆς, ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν. ὅθεν οὐ πολλὴ μανία μὴ οὐ

11.10.13 | But if the body flows and is carried away by a sudden change, it escapes and does not exist. Therefore, it is

τοῦτο εἶναι ἀόριστον, δόξῃ δὲ μόνῃ δοξαστὸν, καὶ ὡς φησι Πλάτων', γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅντας δὲ οὐδέποτε ὅν."

not unreasonable to think that this is indefinite; it can only be understood as an opinion. And as Plato says, it is becoming and perishing, but truly it never is being.

11.10.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Νουμήνιος, δόμοῦ 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 makes sense that this saying is often brought up, because it asks, "What is Plato?" or "What is Moses saying in Attic style?"

11.10.15 | Θέα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις εἴ μὴ τὸν παρόντα νοῦν β ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔξαπλῶν συντρέχοι ἀν ταῖς τε προκειμέναις φωναῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ταῖς αὐθις Ἑβραίων κειμέναις ἐν ἐτέραις θεολογίαις, δι' ὃν τοτὲ μὲν εἰσάγεται λέγων ὁ χρηματίζων θεὸς "διότι ἔγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἡλλοίωμαι·"

11.10.15 | But if the present mind were not more than this, then Plutarch would easily connect with the voices of the philosophers presented and with those of the Hebrews found in other theologies. Through these, 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 ὁ προφήτης ἀποτείνεται "ὅτι δὴ τὰ μὲν δόρατὰ πάντα τραπείη ἀν ποτε καὶ μεταβληθείη, σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σοῦ c οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι. σκόπει γοῦν εἴ μὴ ὡς ἐν προτάσει τοῦ τε παρὰ Μωσεῖ φήσαντος "ἔγὼ εἴμι ὁ ὄν" καὶ τοῦ "ἔγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἡλλοίωμαι·" καὶ τοῦ "σὺ δὲ ὁ 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 says, "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; regarding what Moses said, "I am the one who is," and "I am the Lord your God, and I do not change," and "but you are the same." Plutarch would seem to explain this idea in his work On Being at Delphi, expressing these thoughts in words.

## Section 11

11.11.1 | "Οὔτε οὖν ἀριθμὸν οὔτε τάξιν οὔτε σύνδεσμον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ἐλλιπῶν μορίων οὐδὲν οἷμαι τὸ γράμμα σημαίνειν·

11.11.1 | Therefore, I do not think that a letter signifies a number, an order, a connection, or anything else of the

άλλ’ ἔστιν αύτοτελής τοῦ θεοῦ  
προσαγόρευσις καὶ προσφώνησις, ἅμα τῷ  
ρήματι τὸν φθεγγόμενον εἰς ἔννοιαν  
καθιστάσα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως.

incomplete parts. Instead, it is a complete calling and addressing of God, while also shaping the speaker into an understanding of the power of God.

11.11.2 | ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν  
ἐνταῦθα προσιόντων οἶον ἀσπαζόμενος  
προσαγορεύει τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν, ὁ τού  
χαῖρε δὴ οὐδὲν μεῖόν ἔστιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν  
ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεὸν εἴ φαμέν ὡς ἀληθῆ  
καὶ ἀψευδῆ καὶ μόνην μόνῳ προσήκουσαν  
τὴν τοῦ εἴ προσαγόρευσιν ἀποδιδόντες.”

11.11.2 | For God, greeting each of us who come here, calls out, “Know yourself,” which is nothing less than “Rejoice.” In turn, we respond to God by saying that you are the one who is true, real, and the only one worthy of the calling of “the one who is.”

11.11.3 | “Ἡμῖν γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ εἶναι  
μέτεστιν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν  
μέσῳ φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως γενομένη  
φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ  
ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς.

11.11.3 | For us, there is truly nothing that shares in being. Instead, every mortal nature, caught in decay and becoming, offers only a shadow and a faint, uncertain appearance of itself.

11.11.4 | ἀν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπερείσῃ τις  
λαβέσθαι βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ ἡ σφοδρὰ  
περιόραξις ὕδατος τῷ πιέζειν καὶ εἰς ταύτῳ  
συνάγειν διαρρέον ἀπόλλυσι τὸ  
περιλαμβανόμενον, οὕτω τῶν παθητῶν καὶ  
μεταβλητῶν ἐκάστου τὴν ἄγαν ἐνέργειαν ὁ  
λόγος διώκων ἀποσφάλλεται, τῇ μὲν εἰς τὸ  
ἢ γινόμενον αὐτοῦ, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὸ  
φθειρόμενον, οὐδενὸς λαβέσθαι μένοντος,  
οὐδὲ ὄντος ὄντως δυνάμενος.

11.11.4 | If someone tries to grasp the mind, it is like a strong current of water that, when pressed, destroys what it holds by flowing together into one. In the same way, the word, chasing after the excessive activity of things that are changeable and affected, is released. One part goes into what is becoming, and the other into what is being destroyed, with nothing left to hold on to, nor anything that can truly exist.

11.11.5 | ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι  
δὶς τῷ αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ θνητῆς  
οὐσίας δὶς ἄψασθαι κατὰ ἔξιν, ἀλλ' ὀξύτητι  
καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν  
συνάγει, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδὲ  
ὑστερον, ἀλλ' ἅμα συνίσταται καὶ  
ἀπολείπει, καὶ πρόσεισι καὶ ἄπεισιν.

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. Instead, with the sharpness and speed of change, it scatters and then gathers again. Even more, it neither returns nor stays, but at the same time, it exists and disappears, both approaching and

departing.

11.11.6 | ὅθεν οὐδὲ είς τὸ εἶναι περαίνει τὸ γινόμενον αύτῆς, τῷ μηδέποτε λήγειν μηδ' ἵστασθαι τὴν γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀεὶ μεταβάλλουσαν ἔμβρυον ποιεῖν, εἴτα βρέφος, εἴτα παῖδα, μειράκιον ἐφεξῆς, νεανίσκον, ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτην, γέροντα, τὰς πρώτας φθείρουσαν γενέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις.

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, είς δὲ τὸν παῖδα τὸ νήπιον, ὁ δὲ χθὲς εἰς τὸν σήμερον τέθνηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὔριον· μένει δὲ οὐδὲ εῖς, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εῖς, ἀλλὰ γινόμεθα πολλοὶ, περὶ ἓν τι φάντασμα καὶ κοινὸν ἐκμαγεῖον ὑλῆς περιελαυνομένης καὶ ὀλισθαινούσης.

11.11.8 | ἐπεὶ πῶς οἶ αὐτοὶ μένοντες ἐτέροις χαίρομεν νῦν, ἐτέροις πρότερον, τάναντίᾳ φιλοῦμεν καὶ μισοῦμεν, καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ ψέγομεν, ἄλλοις χρώμεθα λόγοις, ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, οὐκ εἴδος, οὐ μορφὴν, οὐ διάνοιαν ἔτι τὴν αύτὴν ἔχοντες;

11.11.9 | οὕτε γάρ ἄνευ μεταβολῆς ἔτερα πάσχειν είκος οὕτε μεταβάλλων ὁ αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη. εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἔστιν, ἀλλ'

11.11.6 | From this, becoming does not reach being, since it never stops or stands still in its generation. Instead, it is always changing from a seed into an embryo, then into a baby, then into a child, a young man, an adult, and an old man, destroying the earlier stages of life with those that follow.

11.11.7 | But we, in a silly way, fear death, even though so many have already died and are dying. For it is not only, as Heraclitus said, that death is like fire and becoming is like air, but it is even clearer when it comes to us: the one who is in their prime is destroyed as they grow old, the young person is lost as they become an adult, and the child as they grow into a young person. 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 always changing and slipping away.

11.11.8 | For how can we, while remaining ourselves, find joy in others now and 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 thoughts anymore?

11.11.9 | For it is not likely to suffer different things without change, nor would the same person remain the same while

έκ τοῦ αύτὸν μεταβάλλειν, γινόμενος  
ἔτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου· ψεύδεται δὲ ἡ αἰσθησις  
ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον.”

changing. If the same person does not exist, then they do not exist; instead, by changing, they become different from one another. Perception is based on ignorance of what truly is, making appearances seem real.

11.11.10 | “Τί οὖν ὄντως ὃν ἔστι; τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, ὡς χρόνος οὐδεὶς μεταβολὴν ἐπάγει. κινητὸν γάρ τι καὶ κινουμένη συμφανταζόμενον ὅλη καὶ ἥρον ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ στέγον, ὡσπερ ἀγγεῖον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ὁ χρόνος. οὗ δὴ τὸ μὲν ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἔσται λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸ γέγονεν, αὐτόθεν ἔξομολόγησίς ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.

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 seems to be moving is like matter that is always flowing and does not stay still, just like a vessel of decay and generation, which is time. Therefore, what is said to be later, earlier, and what will be, as well as what has happened, reveals the truth about what does not truly exist.

11.11.11 | τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ είναι μηδέπω γεγονός, ἡ πεπαυμένον ἥδη τοῦ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἔστιν, εὕθετες καὶ ἄτοπον. ἐν ὧ δὲ μάλιστα τὴν νόησιν ἐπερείδοντες τοῦ χρόνου τὸ ἐν ἔστηκε καὶ τὸ πάρεστι καὶ τὸ νῦν φθεγγόμεθα, τοῦτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκλυόμενος ὁ 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, still exists. When we especially stretch our understanding of time to talk about what is present, what is past, and what is now, this again causes our reasoning to break down and fail.

11.11.12 | ἐκθλίβεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρωχημένον, ὡσπερ αὔγῃ, βουλομένοις ἴδεῖν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης διιστάμενον. εἴ δὲ ταύτα τῷ μετροῦντι πέπονθεν ἡ μετρουμένη φύσις, οὐδὲ ἀτῇ μένον, οὐδὲ ὃν 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 that wants to be seen, standing apart by necessity. But if the same thing happens to what measures or to what is being measured, it neither stays the same nor truly exists; instead, it is becoming and perishing based on its relationship with time.

11.11.13 | ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος λέγειν ὡς ἦν, ἡ ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ

11.11.13 | Therefore, it is not possible to say that something that exists was or will

έγκλισεις τινές καὶ μεταβάσεις καὶ παραλλάξεις τοῦ μένειν ἐν τῷ εἶναι μὴ πεφυκότος.”

be; for these are certain inclinations, changes, and shifts of what does not naturally stay in existence.

11.11.14 | “Αλλ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, εἰ χρὴ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰώνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ούδεν ἔστιν, ούδὲ ὕστερον, ούδὲ μέλλον, ούδὲ παρωχημένον,, ούδὲ πρεσβύτερον, ούδὲ νεώτερον· ἀλλ' εἷς ὁν ἐνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἀεὶ πεπλήρωκε· καὶ μόνον ἔστι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὅντως ὁν, οὐ γεγονός, ούδὲ ἐσόμενον, ούδὲ ἀρξάμενον, ούδὲ παυσόμενον.

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 state, where there is nothing before, nothing after, nothing future, and nothing past, neither older nor younger. Being one in the now, he has filled the always. And only what truly is, exists; it has not come into being, is not becoming, does not have a beginning, and does not have an end.

11.11.15 | οὕτως οὖν αὐτὸ δεῖ σεβομένους ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν, ἢ καὶ νὴ Δί', ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν παλαιόν, εἴ̄ν. οὐ γάρ πολλὰ τὸ θεῖόν ἔστιν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἔκαστος, ἐκ μυρίων διαφορῶν ἐν πάθεσι γινομένων ἄθροισμα παντοδαπὸν καὶ πανηγυρικὸν μεμιγμένον· ἀλλ' ἐν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ ὁν, ὥσπερ ὁν τὸ ἵν' ἡ δὲ ἐτερότης, διαφορὰ τοῦ ὅντος, εἰς γένεσιν ἔξισταται τοῦ μὴ ὅντος.”

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 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 ὑποφανόντων, τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πλάτων συμφώνως αὐτοῖς ἡγμασιν 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 revealed through their unutterable signs. In agreement with them, Plato also says in the great Letter, “Listen.”

11.12.2 | “Ρητὸν γάρ οὐδαμῶς ἔστιν ὡς

11.12.2 | For it is not spoken like other

ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζῆν, ἔξαιφνης, οἶνον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδήσαντος ἔξαφθὲν φῶς, τῇ ψυχῇ γενόμενον αύτὸ ἐαυτὸ ἥδη τρέφει.” Καὶ τόδε δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ παράδειγμα προιλαβὼν ἄλλος Ἐβραίων προφήτης παρέστησεν εἰπών “ἔσημειώθη ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, κύριε. καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.”

teachings, but arises suddenly from a great gathering around the matter itself and the act of living together, like light suddenly appearing from a fire, which nourishes the soul. Another prophet of the Hebrews, anticipating this example of light, expressed 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 ἑστί,” πάλιν ὁ Πλάτων’ τούτῳ συντρέχων ἔνα θεὸν εἴναι ὡς καὶ οὐρανὸν ἔνα διδάσκει, ὥδε πῃ λέγων ἐν Τιμαίῳ

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 | “Πότερον Πότερον οὖν ὄρθῶς ἴνα οὐρανὸν προσειρήκαμεν, ἢ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπείρους λέγειν ἦν ὄρθότερον; ἴνα, εἴπερ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα δεδημιουργημένος ἔσται. τὸ γὰρ περιέχον πάντα ὀπόσα νοητὰ ζῶα, μεθ’ ἐτέρου δεύτερον οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴη.”

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 question is important because, if it is created according to the example, it will be so. For the thing that contains all the intelligible living beings cannot ever be two.

11.13.3 | Δῆλος δέ ἐστιν ἔνα θεὸν εἰδώς, 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’

11.13.3 | It is clear that he knows there is one God, even if the Greeks are usually accustomed to using the names of many. In the letter to Dionysius, where he gives examples of the letters written to him with care and those that were rejected, he said that among those with no important meaning, he would mention the names of the gods, but among those carefully arranged for him, he would mention the

οῦν ὥδε κατὰ λέξιν

11.13.4 | "Περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξυμβόλου τοῦ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὅσας τε ἀν ἐπιστέλλω σπουδῇ καὶ ὅσας μὴ, οἴμαι μέν σε μεμνῆσθαι, ὅμως δ' ἔννοει καὶ σφόδρα πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν· πολλοὶ γάρ οἱ κελεύοντες γράφειν, οὓς οὐ ḥάδιον φανερῶς διωθεῖσθαι. τῆς μὲν οὖν σπουδαίας ἐπιστολῆς ὁ θεὸς ἄρχει, θεοὶ δὲ τῆς"

11.13.5 | Διαρρήδην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὄμιλογεῖ ἐκ παλαιόν τὸ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόγμα μεμαθηκέναι, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις Ὁ μὲν δὴ θεὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἄρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων, εὔθειά περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος. τῷ δ' αἵεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη, τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός· ἦς δὲ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἔχόμενος ξυνέπεται ταπεινὸς, κεκοσμημένος, ὁ δέ τις ἔξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἢ χρήμασιν ἐπαιρόμενος, ἢ τιμαῖς, ἢ καὶ σώματος εύμορφίᾳ, ἄμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ, φλέγεται τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως, ὥστε οὕτε ἄρχοντος οὕτε τινὸς ἡγεμόνος δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ἱκανὸς ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι, καταλείπετει ἔρημος θεοῦ· καταλειφθεὶς δὲ, καὶ ἔτι ἄλλους τοιούτους προσλαβών, σκιρτᾷ ταράττων πάντα ἄμα, καὶ πολλοῖς τισὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναί τις, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ δίκῃ, ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ οἴκον καὶ πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε."

11.13.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. σὺ δέ γε τῷ "ὁ μὲν δὴ θεὸς ἄρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων" παράθεις ἀπὸ

name of God. And so he states 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 this, but also pay close attention to the meaning. Many who command to write are not easily dismissed. Therefore, God is in charge of the serious letter, but the gods are in charge of the...

11.13.5 | Clearly, he also admits that he has learned the ancient teaching about God. In the Laws, he says 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, serving as the avenger of those who break the divine law. The one who follows this path 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. He does not need a ruler or any leader, yet being capable of leading others, he leaves himself deserted by God. Once abandoned, he gathers others like him, causing chaos everywhere. Many thought he was someone important, but after a short time, promising a punishment that cannot be blamed by justice, he made himself, his home, and his city completely unsettled.

11.13.6 | These ideas come from Plato. But you should also add to the phrase, "God has the beginning, the end, and the middle of all

τῆς Ἐβραίων προφητείας τὸ “έγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ ἔγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα·” τῷ δὲ “εὐθείᾳ περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιπορευόμενος” τὸ “εὐθύτητας εἶδε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.”

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 | καὶ πρὸς τὸ “τῷ δ’ αἵεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός” σύγκρινον τὸ “δίκαιος κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἡγάπησεν” καὶ τὸ “έμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἔγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος·” καὶ τὸ “διότι ἔκδικος κύριος 5 καὶ ἀνταποδίδωσι τοῖς περισσῶς ποιοῦσιν ὑπερηφανίαν.” τῷ δὲ “ἥς δὲ εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἔχόμενος ξυνέπεται ταπεινὸς εὐδαιμονήσειν ἐπόμενόν ἔστι τὸ “όπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ.”

11.13.7 | And to the phrase, “Justice always follows him, serving as the avenger of those who break the divine law,” compare it with, “The Lord is righteous and loves justice.” Also compare it 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 path 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 αἰτίου οἷα τῇ διανοίᾳ είσιν.

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 ideas are just a small part about God above all. But the thoughts about the second cause are as they are understood.

## Section 14

11.14.1 | Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ὅλων αἰτίου τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀνωμολογήσθω τὸν τρόπον. ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου, δὸν 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 have been taught to speak about God ourselves.

11.14.2 | ὁ μὲν οὖν Μώσης διαρρήδην δύο

11.14.2 | Therefore, Moses clearly speaks of

θεολογεῖ κυρίους, ἐν οἷς φησι 'καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος παρὰ κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν τόν ἀσεβῶν πόλιν·' ἐνθα συνήθως ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τὴν ὁμοίαν τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις χαρακτήρων ἐποιήσατο παράθεσιν· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνεκφώνητος παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολογία.

two Lords when 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. This is the unspoken theology among them concerning the four elements.

11.14.3 | τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ, ἄλλος προφήτης ὅμοιος 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 γάρ ἄλλῳ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς ἀγεννήτου θεότητος παραχωρεῖσθαι ἢ μόνῳ τῷ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος;

11.14.3 | David, another prophet and king 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 | ὃν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἐν ἑτέροις λευκότερον διασαφεῖ λόγον τοῦ πατρὸς, δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑφιστάμενος εἴναι τὸν θεολογούμενον, ἐν οἷς φησι "τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οὗ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν."

11.14.4 | This same prophet clearly explains in another place that the Father, the creator of all, is the one being spoken of when he says, "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made."

11.14.5 | καὶ σωτῆρα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῶν δεομένων τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ θεραπείας εἰσάγει, λέγων "ἀπέστειλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ίάσατο αὐτούς·"

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 | καὶ ὁ τούτου δὲ παῖς ὅμοιος καὶ διάδοχος Σολομῶν, ἑτέρῳ προσρήματι τὴν αὐτὴν παριστάς διάνοιαν, ἀντὶ λόγου σοφίαν εἰπὼν, τάδε ὡς ἔξ αὐτῆς προσώπου διέξεισιν

11.14.6 | And his servant and successor Solomon, in another saying, presents the same idea, speaking of wisdom instead of a word, as follows, which will be explained from this source.

11.14.7 | “έγώ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλὴν, καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἔννοιαν ἐγώ ἐπεκαλεσάμην.” εἶθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ· πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι· πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶ με. ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζε τὸν οὐρανὸν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ.”

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 ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν, ἡτοίμασεν δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἐν φρονήσει.” ἔτι δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἔστι κρυπτὰ καὶ ἐμφανῆ ἔγγνων· ἡ γὰρ πάντων τεχνῆτις ἐδίδαξε με σοφία.”

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 creator of all taught me wisdom.

11.14.9 | εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει “τί δ' ἔστι σοφία καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο; ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψω ὑμῖν μυστήρια, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἔξιχνιάσω.” ”

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 | καὶ ἔξῆς 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. διήκει 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 γάρ ἔστι φωτὸς ἀιδίου καὶ ἐσοπτρὸν ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. διατείνει δὲ

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, a spotless mirror of God's energy, and an image of his goodness. It stretches strongly from one end to the other and governs all things well.” This is

ἀπὸ πέρατος εἰς 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

## Section 15

11.15.1 | “Εύπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἔταιρείαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὃν ἴδειν· εἴ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱερώτατον λόγον.”

11.15.2 | Ἐν 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, ὃς ἂν ἀρχάγγελον πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα.

11.15.3 | καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ὄρῶν Ἰσραὴλ προσαγορεύεται. διὸ προήχθην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπαινέσαι τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν φασκόντων ὅτι πάντες ἐσμὲν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου.

11.15.4 | καὶ γὰρ εἴ μή πω ἱκανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τοι τῆς ἀειδοῦς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος.”

11.15.5 | Καὶ πάλιν ἐπιλέγει “Ἡκουσα μέντοι καὶ τῶν Μώσεως ἔταιρων τινὸς

what the scripture says. Philo the Hebrew, interpreting the meaning of the doctrine, presents this more clearly.

11.15.1 | For it is fitting for those who are joined in fellowship to strive for knowledge of what is real; but if they cannot, at least to see its image, which is the most sacred word.

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 | For both the beginning and the name of God, the word, 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 | 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 | And again, he chooses to say, “I heard from some of the companions of

άπο·φθεγξαμένου τοιόνδε λόγιον “ίδού ἄνθρωπος ὃ ὄνομα Ἀνατολή.” καινοτάτη πρόσρησις, έάν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσῃς· ἔάν δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἐκεῖνον θείαν ἰδέαν φοροῦντα, ικανῶς ὅμολογήσεις ὅτι εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη τὸ Ἀνατολὴ αὐτῷ.

11.15.6 | τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέτειλε πατὴρ, δὸν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὡνόμασε. καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὄδους πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα τὰ ἐκείνου 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 δέ μοι καὶ ἄλλοτε τὰ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν Εβραίων εύσεβείας δόγματα παρατιθεμένῳ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Εύαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἵτιον διείληπται αύταρκῶς, ἐφ' ἂ καὶ νῦν τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψω. τοσούτων οὖν παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν ὄλων αἵτιον 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 αύτοῦ πόλον, συναποτελῶν κόσμον, δὸν ἔταξε λόγος ὁ

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 | For this one, the father of all has raised up the oldest son, whom he called the first ancestor in another place. 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 titled “On the Lesser Loving the Greater.” I have also presented the teachings of the ancient Hebrews’ piety in the Evangelical Preparation, and the matters about the second cause have been discussed enough, for which I now send this to 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 continues, completing the universe, which the most divine reason has ordered.

πάντων θειότατος· ὃν ὁ μὲν εύδαιμων πρῶτον μὲν ἔθαύμασεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔρωτα ἔσχε τοῦ καταμαθεῖν ὅπόσα θνητῇ φύσει δυνατά.”

11.16.2 | Καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἐρμείαν “Ἐραστόν τε καὶ Κορίσκον εὗ μάλα πεφυλαγμένως τέθειται τὸ δόγμα, ὡδε πρὸς λέξιν ἐπιστέλλων “Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντας ὑμὰς τρεῖς ὄντας ἀναγνῶναι χρή, 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 σπουδῆς τε ἄμα μὴ ἀμούσῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῇ παιδείᾳ, καὶ τὸν τῶν πάντων θεὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἵτιον πατέρα κύριον ἐπομνύντας· ὃν, ἐὰν ὄρθως φιλοσοφῶμεν, εἰσόμεθα πάντες σαφῶς εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων εύδαιμόνων.”

11.16.3 | Ἀρά σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Πλάτων' τοῖς Ἐβραίων ἐπηκολουθηκέναι δόγμασιν, ἢ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ πάντων τῶν γενητῶν αἵτιον 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, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ταῦτα καταβεβλημένου;

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,

The fortunate one first admired it 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 presented very carefully, saying this: “It is necessary for all three of you to read this letter, especially together; but if that is not possible, then two by two as much as you can. You should use this agreement and law, which is just, swearing earnestly and not carelessly, along with the serious education of the sister of seriousness. You should swear 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. If we philosophize correctly, we will all clearly understand him as the power of fortunate humans.”

11.16.3 | Do you think that Plato, in 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 come up with 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 heard these ideas in mind?

11.16.4 | But if we also need witnesses from others for a clear presentation of both the philosopher's thought and the structure of the speech, listen to what Plotinus wrote

έπάκουσον οἵα σοι Πλωτῖνος ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων συνέταξε διασαφεῖ γράφων

in those works about the three fundamental realities.

## Section 17

11.17.1 | "Κόσμον αίσθητὸν τόνδε εἴ τις θαυμάζει, εἴς τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς φορᾶς τῆς ἀιδίου βλέπων, καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν ὄρωμένους, 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 ἀ·δια ἐν οἰκείᾳ συνέσει καὶ ζωῇ, καὶ τούτων τὸν ἀκήρατον νοῦν προστάτην καὶ σοφίαν ἀμήχανον."

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 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. There, let them see all things that can be understood, and from them let them gain a pure mind and a profound 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 εἶναι καὶ πολὺν εἶναι τοῦτον, ὁ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ποιῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς οὐ πρῶτος· καὶ γὰρ 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 existence and its greatness, the one who creates the number. For the number is not first. 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 ἐκεῖνο μένον; περίλαμψιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὲν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ μένοντος· οὗτον 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 ούσιας, ἀναγκαίαν τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔξω αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως δίδωσιν αὐτῶν ἔξηρτημένην

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 current

ὑπόστασιν, είκόνα οὗσαν οἶον ἀρχετύπων,  
ῶν ἔξεφυ.

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, ὡν ἀπολαύει ὑποστάντων ὅ τι  
πλησίον.

11.17.5 | Fire holds the heat that is with it, while snow only keeps the cold inside. Most of all, whatever is fragrant shows this; for as long as it exists, something comes forth from it about itself, allowing it to enjoy 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 creates; for the perfect always generates what is perfect and everlasting; 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 ἐκεῖνον, καὶ  
δεῖται αὐτοῦ μόνου, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τούτου  
οὐδέν. καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἀπὸ κρείττονος  
νοῦ νοῦν εἶναι· καὶ κρείττων ἀπάντων  
νοῦς, ὅτι τἄλλα μετ' αὐτόν."

11.17.7 | What then should we say about the most perfect? Nothing comes from it, nor the greatest things alongside it. But the greatest alongside it is mind, and second to it. For the mind sees that one and needs only that one, while that one needs nothing from it. And what comes from a greater mind is also a mind; and the greatest of all is mind, since the other things exist alongside it.

11.17.8 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων  
“Ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν καὶ τοῦτο  
ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ὥσι μόνοι τὸ  
γεννῆσαν καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον. ὅταν δὲ καὶ  
τὸ ἄριστον ἦ τὸ γεννῆσαν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
σύνεστιν αὐτῷ, ὡς τῇ ἐτερότητι μόνον  
κεχωρίσθαι. είκόνα δὲ ἐκείνου 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 γάρ ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ.

11.17.9 | And again, he adds, "And for this reason, Plato's third things; 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 of it."

11.17.10 | τοῦτον δέ φησι τὴν ψυχὴν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι ἔκεινω. τοῦ δὲ αἰτίου νοῦ ὄντος, πατέρα φησὶ τάγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας. πολλαχοῦ δὲ τὸ ὃν καὶ τὸν νοῦν τὴν ἴδεαν λέγει. ὥστε Πλάτωνα εἰδέναι ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν νοῦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ψυχήν· καὶ εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τούσδε μὴ καινοὺς, μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρῆσθαι μὴ ἀναπεπταμένως· τοὺς δὲ νῦν λόγους ἔξηγητάς ἔκεινων γεγονέναι, μαρτυρίοις πιστωσαμένους τὰς δόξας ταύτας παλαιὰς εἶναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ 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 recent, but were said long ago without being fully explained. The current words have become interpreters of those earlier ideas, having relied on these old beliefs found in the writings of Plato.

11.17.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλωτῖνος· ὁ δὲ Νουμήνιος τὰ Πλάτωνος πρεσβεύων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ τάδε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἰτίου 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 explains it.

## Section 18

11.18.1 | "Τὸν μέλλοντα δὲ συνήσειν θεοῦ πέρι πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου χρὴ πρότερον διελέσθαι ἔκαστα ἐν τάξι καὶ ἐν εὐθημοσύνῃ τινί· κάπειτα ἐπειδὰν δοκῇ ἡδη εὖ ἔχειν, τότε καὶ δεῖ ἐπιχειρεῖν εἰπεῖν κοσμίως, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ, ἢ τῷ πρωϊαίτερον πρὸν τὰ πρῶτα γενέσθαι ἀπτομένῳ σποδὸς ὁ θησαυρὸς γίνεσθαι λέγεται.

11.18.1 | Before one can understand the first and second aspects of God, one must first discuss each in order and with some clarity. Then, when it seems to be going well, one should try to speak properly; otherwise, it should not be attempted, or 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, εὔκτεον μὲν ἥδη, διελέσθαι δὲ δεῖ.

11.18.2 | Let us not endure this; but by calling upon God and becoming our own guide through reason, let us reveal a treasure of thoughts, and let us begin this way. It is good to pray, but we must also discuss.

11.18.3 | ὁ θεὸς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐν ἐαυτῷ ὡν ἔστιν ἀπλοῦς, διὰ τὸ ἐαυτῷ συγγινόμενος διόλου μή ποτε εἶναι διαιρετός· ὁ θεὸς μέντοι ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ἔστιν εἰς· συμφερόμενος δὲ τῇ ὑλῇ δυάδι οὕσῃ ἐνοῦ μὲν αὐτὴν, σχίζεται δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ἐπιθυμητικὸν ἥθος ἔχούσης καὶ ρεούσης.

11.18.3 | The first God is simple, existing in Himself, because He is completely united with Himself and can never be divided. However, the second and third gods are one; they are connected to matter, which exists as two. They unite with it but are also separated by it, possessing a nature that desires and flows.

11.18.4 | τῷ οὖν μὴ εἶναι πρὸς τῷ νοητῷ, ἦν γὰρ ἀν πρὸς ἐαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕλην βλέπειν, ταύτης ἐπιμελούμενος ἀπερίοπτος ἐαυτοῦ γίνεται.

11.18.4 | Therefore, when he is not directed toward the intelligible, for he would be directed toward himself, because he sees matter, he becomes indifferent to himself by being focused on 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 encompasses it, and he also raises it up to his own nature, having a longing 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 should be understood that the first god is considered the father of the creator god.

11.18.7 | εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ ζητοῦμεν, φάσκοντες δεῖν τὸν πρότερον ὑπάρχαντα, οὕτως ἀν ποιεῖν ἔχειν διαφερόντως, οίκείᾳ ἡ πρόσοδος αὕτη γεγονοῦα ἀν εἴη τοῦ λόγου· εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ

11.18.7 | If we are seeking to understand the creator, saying that the earlier existence must be, this would have a different way of being, and this approach would be fitting for the argument. But if the

δημιουργοῦ μή ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, ζητοῦμεν δὲ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου, ἀφοσιοῦμαί τε τὰ λεχθέντα καὶ ἔστω μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἄρρητα, μέτειμι δὲ ἐλεῖν τὸν λόγον, ἐτέρωθεν θηράσας.

discussion is not about the creator and we are looking into the first, I reject what has been said, and let those things remain unspoken. Instead, I will continue to explore the argument from another perspective.

11.18.8 | πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀλώσεως διομολογησώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὅμοιογίαν οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἀκοῦσαι, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀργὸν εἶναι ἔργων ξυμπάντων καὶ βασιλέα, τὸν δημιουργικὸν δὲ θεὸν ἡγεμονεῖν δι' οὐρανοῦ ἰόντα.

11.18.8 | Before we discuss the destruction, let us agree among ourselves to acknowledge an undeniable truth: that the first god is inactive in all works and is a king, while the creator god guides through the heavens.

11.18.9 | διὰ δὲ τούτου καὶ ὁ στόλος ἡμῖν ἔστι, κάτω τοῦ νοῦ πεμπομένου ἐν διεξόδῳ πᾶσι τοῖς κοινωνῆσαι συντεταγμένοις.

11.18.9 | Because of this, our journey is directed below the mind, along all the paths arranged for those who participate.

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 ἑαυτοῦ περιωπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα μὲν ἀποσβέννυσθαι, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ζῆν βίου ἐπαυρόμενον εύδαιμονος."

11.18.10 | When one sees and turns toward us, each of the god's beings comes to live and thrive at that moment, while the god cares for them with his arrows. But when he turns his gaze away, these beings are extinguished, while the mind continues to live, sustained by a joyful life.

11.18.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Νουμήνιος. σὺ δέ γε παράθες 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

11.18.11 | These words are from Numenius. But you should also share with them the words from the prophecy of David, sung long ago by the Hebrews: "How great are your works, lord! You have made everything with 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 is filled with goodness. When you turn your face away,

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 ζῆν τε καὶ βιώσκεσθαι τότε τὰ σώματα κηδεύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς, μετ’ αστρέφοντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ περιωπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ἀποσβέννυσθαι;”

11.18.13 | Πάλιν δ' αὖ τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου παρ' ἡμῖν φάντος “έγώ εἴμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργός, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα” ὁ Νουμήνιος ἐπάκουουσον οἶλα περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἵτίου θεολογεῖ

11.18.14 | “Ωσπερ δὲ πάλιν λόγος ἔστι γεωργῷ πρὸς τὸν φυτεύοντα ἀναφερόμενος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μάλιστά ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος θεὸς 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 ἔκεīθεν προκαταβεβλημένα.”

11.18.15 | Καὶ ἔχῆς δὲ πάλιν περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αἵτίου τὸ δεύτερον ὑπέστη τοιάδε φησίν “Οπόσα δὲ δοθέντα μέτεισι πρὸς τὸν λαμβάνοντα, ἀπελθόντα ἐκ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἔστι θεραπεία, δ χρήματα, νόμισμα κοῦλον, ἐπίσημον· ταυτὶ

they are troubled. You take away their spirit, and they die and return to their dust. You send forth your spirit, and they are created; you renew the face of the earth.”

11.18.12 | For how could these things be different from what the philosopher says, as if he were saying, “When one sees and turns toward us, each of the god's beings comes to live and thrive at that moment, while the god cares for them with his arrows; but when he turns his gaze away, these beings are extinguished”?

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, pay attention to what he says about the second cause.

11.18.14 | Just as a word is directed from the gardener to the one planting, the same is especially true of the first god to the creator. For he, being the seed of every soul, sows into all things that will change. The lawgiver plants, distributes, and transplants to each of us what has been prepared from there.

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,

μὲν οὖν ἔστι θητὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖά ἔστιν οἷα μεταδοθέντα ἐνθένδ' ἐκεῖθι γεγενημένα, ἐνθένδε τε οὐκ ἀπελήλυθε, κακεῖθι γενόμενα τὸν μὲν ὄντησε, τὸν δ' οὐκ ἔβλαψε, καὶ προσώνησε τῇ περὶ ὃν ἡπίστατο ἀναμνήσει.

11.18.16 | ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν χρῆμα ἐπιστήμη ἡ καλὴ, ἵστι ὄντα μὲν ὁ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἀπολείπεται δ' αὐτῆς ὁ δεδωκώς. οἶον ἀν ἵδιοις ἔξαφθέντα ἀφ' ἑτέρου λύχνου λύχνον φῶς ἔχοντα, διὸ μὴ τὸν πρότερον ἀφείλατο, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὅλης πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου πῦρ ἔξαφθείσης.

11.18.17 | τοιοῦτον τὸ χρῆμα ἔστι τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἥ 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 αὐτή 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 ὑποβὰς ἔξῆς 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 ἔμπαλίν ἔστι κινούμενος. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος

but the divine things are those that were given from there and have come from here, and have not left this place. Having come from there, they benefit one person and do not harm another, and they remind him of what he knew."

11.18.16 | This good resource is knowledge, which the receiver benefits from, but the giver does not lose anything. Just as 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, stays with the giver but is also shared with the receiver.

11.18.18 | But the cause of this, stranger, is not human at all; rather, the state and essence that hold knowledge are 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.

περὶ τὰ νοητά, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ αἰσθητά.

So, the first is about the things that can be understood, and the second is about both the things that can be understood and the things that can be sensed.

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.”

11.18.21 | Don't be surprised if I said this, because you will hear something even more amazing. Instead of the movement that belongs to the second, I say that the movement of the first is a natural stillness, from which the order of the universe, the eternal dwelling, and salvation flow into everything.

11.18.22 | Ἐπὶ 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, ὕσπερ ἂν τις οὕτω λέγοι,

11.18.22 | On this, he also adds in the sixth: “Since Plato knew among humans that the creator is only known, but the first mind, which is called being itself, is completely unknown to them, for this reason, he spoke this way, just as someone might say.”

11.18.23 | Ω ἄνθρωποι, ὃν τοπάζετε ὑμεῖς νοῦν οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ ἔτερος πρὸ τούτου νοῦς πρεσβύτερος καὶ θειότερος.”

11.18.23 | O people, the mind you consider to be first is not the first; 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 διαθύνει τὴν ναῦν ἐφεζόμενος, ὅμματα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νοῦς εύθὺν τοῦ αἰθέρος ξυντέταται πρὸς τὰ μετάρσια, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτῷ ἄνω δι' οὐρανοῦ ἀπεισι, 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

11.18.24 | And after this, he adds something else: “The helmsman, indeed, in the middle of the sea, is lifted above the rudders, guiding the ship while seated, and his eyes and mind are directed straight to the heavens. 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 drift away, having united it in harmony. He himself is established above it, like a temple over the sea of matter. He directs

ύλης τὴν ἀρμονίαν δὲ ίθύνει, ταῖς ίδέαις 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.”

11.18.25 | Καὶ ὁ σωτήριος παρ’ ἡμῖν λόγος “οὐδὲν, φησὶ, δύναται ὁ νιὸς ποιεῖν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἔὰν μή τι βλέπῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦδε ὁ Νουμήνιος. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ οἰκεῖα, τὰ δὲ Πλάτωνι δοκοῦντα διεσάφει, οὐδὲν ἐπιλέγειν δεῖ ταῖς αὐτοῦ φωναῖς.

11.18.26 | ὁ δέ γε Πλάτων ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος ταῖσδε κέχρηται ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, φθάνουσι δ’ αὐτὸν προειληφότες Ἐβραίων οἱ σοφοὶ, δέδεικται διὰ τῶν ἐκτεθειμένων. εἰκότως δῆτα καὶ τῶν νέων φιλοσόφων διαφανῆς γεγονὼς Ἀμέλιος, τῆς Πλάτωνος καὶ αὐτὸς, εἴ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ζηλωτὴς φιλοσοφίας, πλὴν ἀλλὰ βάρβαρον ὄνομάσας τὸν Ἐβραῖον θεολόγον, εἴ καὶ μὴ ἔξ οὐδόματος ἤξιώσε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου μνήμην ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δ’ οὗν ὅμως ταῖς αὐτοῦ φωναῖς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς ρῆμα γράφων

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 | And the savior among us says, “The son can do nothing by himself unless he sees the father doing something.” But indeed, the same is said by Numenius. As for what is not proper, he explained nothing about what seems to be Plato's views, and there is no need to add anything to his words.

11.18.26 | But Plato is not the first to use these ideas; the wise men of the Hebrews have come before him, as shown by what has been revealed. It is clear that Amelius, a follower of Plato and also a philosopher, has emerged among the younger philosophers. Although he called the Hebrew theologian a barbarian, he did not think 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 αἱεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσει, καὶ νὴ Δί’ ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῦ 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

11.19.1 | And this was the word through which all things always come into being, as Heraclitus would agree. By Zeus, the barbarian believes it is 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

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, οὗτος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι. ”

being. In him, what has come into being is alive, and it has become life and being. 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' ἔπεσκιασμένως, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἥδη γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεταπεφρασμένα ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου θεολογίας δῆλα ἀν εἴη. ὃ δέ γε βάρβαρος τίς ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης, Ἐβραῖος ὁν ἐξ Ἐβραίων;

11.19.2 | These things are no longer hidden; they would be clearly translated from the barbarian theology with a bare head. And who was the barbarian to him if not our savior's evangelist John, a Hebrew from Hebrews?

11.19.3 | ὃς που ἀρχόμενος τῆς οἰκείας γραφῆς ὕδε 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 ἔν, ὃ γέγονεν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ὁ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.”

11.19.3 | Who, starting from his own writing, speaks of theology in this way: “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 | τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ πέρι καὶ ἄλλος Ἐβραίων θεόλογος ἐπάκουουσον οὕτι διέξεισιν ‘ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε ὄρατὰ εἴτε ἀόρατα· καὶ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ συνέστηκε, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη, τὰ τε ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.’

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. All things hold together through him, and all things were created in him, both the visible and the invisible.”

11.19.5 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ δευτέρου αἴτιου συστάσεως τε καὶ οὐσιώσεως ὡδε 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 τίν 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 ἡνίξατο διὰ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς λέγων

11.20.2 | “Φραστέον δή σοι δι’ αἰνιγμῶν, ἵν αὖ τι δέλτος ἡ πόντου ἡ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς πάθη, ὃ ἀναγνοὺς μὴ γνῷ. ὡδε γάρ ἔχει περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ’ ἔστι, καὶ ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἀπάντων καλῶν δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα. ἡ οὖν ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ περὶ αὐτὰ ὄργεγεται μαθεῖν ποῖα ἄττα ἔστι, βλέπουσα εἰς τὰ αὐτῆς συγγενῆ.”

11.20.3 | Ταῦτα οἵ τὸν Πλάτωνα διασαφεῖν πειρώμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀνάγουσιν, ἐπί τε τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον καὶ τρίτον τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν, θεὸν τρίτον καὶ αὐτὴν ὀριζόμενοι εἶναι οἵ δέ γε θεῖοι

11.19.5 | But the ideas about the nature and essence of the second cause are also agreed upon by the wise men of the Greeks and the Hebrews. Now, let us move on to other topics.

11.20.1 | In the writings of the Hebrews, after discussing the father and the son, they mention the holy spirit in third place. They suggest the holy and blessed Trinity in this way: it is 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 ideas in his letter to Dionysius.

11.20.2 | You need to understand through riddles, so that if you come across something about a tablet, the sea, or the earth, the reader may not recognize it. Here's how it is: concerning the king of all, everything exists, and for his sake, everything exists; he is the cause of all good things. Second, there are the second things, and third, the third things. Therefore, the human soul longs to learn about these matters, looking into what is related to itself.

11.20.3 | They try to explain these things about Plato, leading to the first god, and discussing the second cause and the third, which is the soul of the world, defining it as a third god. However, the divine writings

λόγοι τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν τριάδα, πατρὸς καὶ νίοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τάττουσι κατὰ τὰ ἀποδεδομένα. "Ἐπεται τούτοις τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξετάσαι ούσιαν.

place the holy and blessed Trinity of the father, the son, and the holy spirit at the beginning, according to what has been passed down. After this, they examine the essence of the good.

## Section 21

11.21.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις θείας γραφῆς διαφόρως τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ούσιαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ούδεν ἄλλο εἶναι ἡ θεὸν διδασκούσης, δι' ὧν τέ φησιν ἀγαθὸς κύριος πάσι τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν· ψυχῇ, ἣ ἐκζητήσει αὐτόν" καὶ "ἔξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ" δι' ὧν τε ὁ σωτήριος λόγος πρὸς τὸν περὶ τοῦδε ἐρόμενον ἀπερφήνατο εἰπὼν "τί με ἔρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; ούδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἴ μὴ εἶς ὁ θεός"

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. It says that the good lord is for all who endure him, for the soul that seeks him. And, "Give thanks to the lord, for he is good; his mercy lasts forever." 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, ἡ φησιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ "Λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἡντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἀγαθῷ δ' οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτ' ἔγγινεται φθόνος. τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι παραπλήσια ἐαυτῷ."

11.21.2 | Listen to Plato and what he says in the Timaeus: "Let us discuss the reason for the creation of the whole and how it came to be. It was good, and no one ever envies what is good. But everything that wanted to exist, being outside of this goodness, was most similar to itself."

11.21.3 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δὲ ταῦτά φησιν "Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὅψις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, αἴτιος δ' ὧν αὐτῆς ὄραται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ταύτης; οὕτως, ἢ δ' ὅς. τοῦτον τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἔγω, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, δὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἐαυτῷ, ὅ τι περ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρός τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ὄρατῷ πρός τε ὅψιν καὶ τὰ ὄρώμενα."

11.21.3 | And in the Republic, he says: "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 exists in the intelligible realm, relating to the mind and the things that are thought of, so it exists in the visible realm, relating to 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

11.21.5 | “Τὸν ἥλιον τοῖς ὀρωμένοις οὐ μόνον, οἵμαι, 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 ἀγαθοῦ παρεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπ’ ἔκεινοῦ αὐτοῖς προσεῖναι, οὐκ ούσιας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐπέκεινα ούσιας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος.”

11.21.6 | Σαφέστατα διὰ τούτων οὐ μόνον τὸ γινώσκεσθαι ταῖς νοηταῖς ούσιαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, δηλαδὴ τού Θεοῦ, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων· τὸ τε ἀγαθὸν “μὴ εἶναι ούσιαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ούσιας, πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχον·” ὥστε μὴ ὄμοούσια αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀγέννητα νομίζειν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὖληφε παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ούτος ούσιας, ἀλλ’ ἐπέκεινα ούσιας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος· ὃν δὴ καὶ μόνον εἰκότως θεὸν τὰ Ἐβραίων ἀναγορεύει λόγια, ως ἀν τοῖς πᾶσιν αἴτιον ὄντα.

11.21.7 | τὰ δὴ οῦν 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 γάρ τοῦτο μόνω καὶ οὐδενὶ

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 | 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 knowing comes from the good, but also that being and essence come from it to them. This is not because the good itself has essence, but because it surpasses essence in power and authority.

11.21.6 | Clearly, through these things, not only does knowing come from the intelligible essences, but also being and essence come from the good, which is to say, from the divine, as Plato says. 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 come 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 | “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

ἄλλω ἀναθετέον, τῷ μόνῳ ἀγαθῷ, ὃ 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 διέξειτο τὸν τρόπον

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 ὁμοίων ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρακειμένοις γνωρισμάτων ἐνόντων· τάγαθὸν δὲ οὐδενὸς ἔκ παρακειμένου οὐδέ αὐτὸν ἀπό ὁμοίου αἰσθητοῦ ἔστι λαβεῖν μηχανή τις οὐδεμίᾳ· ἀλλὰ δεήσει, οἷον εἴ τις ἐπὶ σκοπῆ καθήμενος, ναῦν ἀλιάδα βραχεῖάν τινα τούτων τῶν ἐπακτρίδων. τῶν μόνων, μίαν, μόνην, ἔρημον, μετακυμίοις ἔχομένην ὥξν δεδορκῶς, μιᾷ βιολῇ κατεῖδε τὴν ναῦν, οὕτω δὴ τινα ἀπελθόντα πόρρω ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν διμιλῆσαι τῷ ἀγαθῷ μόνῳ μόνον, ἐνθα μήτε τις ἄνθρωπος μήτε τι ζῶν ἔτερον, μηδὲ σῶμα μέγα μηδὲ σμικρὸν, ἀλλά τις ἄφατος καὶ ἀδιήγητος ἀτεχνῶς ἔρημία θεσπέσιος, ἐνθα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἥθη διατριβαί τε καὶ ἀγλαίαι, αύτὸ δὲ ἐν εἱρήνῃ, ἐν εὔμενείᾳ, τὸ ἥρεμον, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, ἵλεων, ἐποχούμενον ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ.

11.22.1 | We can take bodies from what is similar and from the known things that are nearby. But the good cannot be taken from anything nearby, nor from any similar sensible thing by any means. Instead, it is necessary, like someone sitting in a watchtower, to see a ship far away from those shores. Just as one might see a single, lonely ship moving swiftly, someone who has gone far away from sensible things should associate only with the good alone. In that place, there is neither a person nor any other living being, nor any large or small body, but rather an ineffable and indescribable solitude. There, the good has its qualities and delights, and it itself is in peace, kindness, calm, and a guiding presence over essence.

11.22.2 | εἴ δέ τις πρὸς τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς λιπαρῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφιπτάμενον φαντάζεται, κάπειτα τρυφῶν οἴοιτο τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐντευχηκέναι, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τῷ γάρ ὅντι οὐ ῥᾳδίας, θείας δὲ πρὸς αύτὸ δεῖ μεθόδουν· καί ἔστι κράτιστον, τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀμελήσαντι, νεανιευσαμένω πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα, τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς θεασαμένω, οὕτως ἐκμελετῆσαι μάθημα, τί

11.22.2 | If someone thinks that the good shines among sensible things and then believes they have found 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 sensible things, for a young person who has turned to learning, having contemplated numbers, to study the lesson of what being

έστι τὸ ὄν.”

11.22.3 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐν δὲ τῷ πεμπτῷ ταῦτά ὡς φησιν “Εἴ δ’ ἔστι μὲν νοητὸν ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἡ ἴδια, ταύτης δὲ ὀμοιογένηθη πρεσβύτερον καὶ αἴτιον εἶναι ὁ νοῦς, αὐτὸς οὗτος μόνος εὑρηται ὧν τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὁ μὲν δημιουργὸς θεός ἔστι γενέσεως, ἀρκεῖ τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὐσίας εἶναι ἀρχή. ἀνάλογον δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ δημιουργὸς θεός, ὧν αὐτοῦ μιμητὴς, τῇ δὲ οὐσίᾳ ἡ γένεσις· εἰκὼν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἔστι καὶ μίμημα.

11.22.4 | εἴπερ δὲ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς, ἡ που ἔσται καὶ ὁ τῆς οὐσίας δημιουργὸς αὐτοάγαθον, σύμφυτον τῇ οὐσίᾳ. ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος διττὸς ὧν αὐτοποιεῖ τήν τε ἰδέαν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, δημιουργὸς ὅν· ἔπειτα θεωρητικὸς ὅλως.

11.22.5 | συλλελογισμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ὄνόματα τεσσάρων πραγμάτων τέσσαρα ἔστω ταῦτα· ὁ μὲν πρῶτος θεός αὐτοάγαθον· ὁ δὲ τούτου μιμητὴς δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός· ἡ δὲ οὐσία μία μὲν ἡ τοῦ πρώτου, ἐτέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου· ἣς μίμημα ὁ καλὸς κόσμος, κεκαλλωπισμένος μετουσίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ.”

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 ὄνιναιτ’ ἀν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ. καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ φρονεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ συντεύχηκε μόνῳ τῷ πρώτῳ. ὑφ’ οὐ οὖν τὰ ἄλλα ἀποχραίνεται καὶ

is.

11.22.3 | These things are mentioned in the first and in the fifth. He says, “If being is indeed intelligible and the idea is true, then the mind is acknowledged to be older and the cause of it. 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 generation is; for generation is an image and imitation of it.”

11.22.4 | If the creator of generation is good, then the creator of being will also be good by nature, as it is inherent to being. For the second one, being twofold, creates both the idea of itself and the world, as a creator; then, it is entirely contemplative.

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; the beautiful world is an imitation of this, adorned by its participation in the beautiful.

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 connect with the good only through this, otherwise not. Indeed, thinking has happened only with the first. Through this, the other things become good

ἀγαθοπῦται, ἔὰν τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσῆ, ἀβελτέρας ἀν εἴη ψυχῆς ἔτι ἀμφιλογεῖν.

and useful, if this is only connected to that one; otherwise, the soul would still be uncertain."

11.22.7 | εἰ γάρ ἀγαθός ἔστιν ὁ δεύτερος οὐ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου, πῶς οἶόν τε ὑφ' οὗ μετουσίας ἔστιν οὗτος ἀγαθὸς μὴ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καν τύχῃ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀγαθοῦ μεταλαχών 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 that be?

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 more.

11.22.9 | "Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔθηκεν ὁ Πλάτων' ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χωρίσας· ίδίᾳ μὲν γάρ τὸν κυκλικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐγράψατο ἐν Τιμαίῳ είπαν "ἀγαθὸς ἦν" ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἴπεν ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν· ὡς δὴ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἰδέαν οὔσαν τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι πέφανται ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸς μετουσίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου τε καὶ μόνου.

11.22.9 | Since these things are true, Plato distinguished them in different ways. He wrote about the circular one in the Timaeus, saying, "It was good." But in the Republic, he referred to the good as the idea of the good. Thus, the idea of the good comes from the creator, showing that the good appears to us through participation in the first and only.

11.22.10 | ὥσπερ γάρ ἄνθρωποι μὲν λέγονται τυπωθέντες· ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἰδέας, βόες δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βοὸς, ἵπποι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ἰδέας· οὕτω καὶ είκότως ὁ δημιουργὸς, εἴπερ ἔστι μετουσίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς, ἰδέα 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, it is reasonable to say 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 λόγῳ 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 ἑαυτῷ, καθάπερ  
ὅδ' ὁ κόσμος ἡμᾶς."

11.23.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν Τιμαίῳ.  
τὴν δὲ τῶν είρημένων διάνοιαν ἐκ τῶν  
Διδύμῳ Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι  
συντεταγμένων ἔκθησομαι. γράφει δὲ  
οὗτως

11.23.3 | "Τῶν κατὰ φύσιν αἴσθητῶν κατὰ  
γένος ὡρισμένα τινὰ παραδείγματα  
φάμενος εἶναι τὰς ἴδεας, ὃν τὰς ἐπιστήμας  
γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὅρους· παρὰ πάντας γὰρ  
ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρωπόν τινα νοεῖσθαι, καὶ  
παρὰ πάντας ἵππους ἵππον, καὶ κοινῶς  
παρὰ τὰ ζῶα ζῶον ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον.

11.23.4 | ὃν τρόπον δὲ σφραγῖδος μιᾶς  
έκμαγεῖα γίνεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ συχνὰς  
εἰκόνας ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς, οὕτως ἐκ μιᾶς  
ἐκάστης ἴδεας αἴσθητῶν σωμάτων φύσεις  
παμπληθεῖς, τῆς μὲν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀνθρώπους ἄπαντας, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

11.23.5 | εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἴδεαν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν,  
αἴτιαν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔκαστον εἶναι  
τοιοῦτον οὐλαί ἔστιν αὐτή.

11.23.1 | Thus, since the world has come  
into being, it is clear that it can be  
understood through reason and thought,  
and it has been created according to the  
same principles. With these things in place,  
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 | These things were written by  
Plato in the Timaeus. But I will explain the  
ideas of those mentioned from the writings  
of Didymus about what pleases Plato. He  
writes it 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 arise. For  
among all people, there is a concept of a  
human, and among all horses, there is a  
concept of a horse. 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, countless natures arise from each idea  
of sensible bodies. For example, all humans  
come from the idea of a human, and the  
same is true for 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 | καθάπερ οῦν τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
ώσπερ ἀρχέτυπα τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
προηγεῖσθαι σωμάτων, οὕτ' ὡς τὴν πάσας  
ἐν ἑαυτῇ περιέχουσαν καλλίστην καὶ  
τελειοτάτην ούσιαν ὑπάρχειν τοῦδε  
παράδειγμα τοῦ κόσμου· πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην  
ἀφομοιωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος  
αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσθαι θεοῦ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἐκ  
τῆς πάσης ούσιας.”

11.23.7 | Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδηλωμένου  
ἀνδρός. φθάνει γε μὴν καὶ ταῦτα Μώσης ὁ  
πάνσοφος, πρὸ τοῦ φαινομένου ἡλίου καὶ  
ἄστρων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὄρωμένου οὐρανοῦ, ὃ  
δὴ στερέωμα καλεῖ, πρὸ τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ξηρᾶς 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 ὀρατὸν 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 οὖδεν ἄλλος Ἐβραίων προφήτης, ὁ  
φήσας περὶ θεοῦ “τίς ἔξήγειρεν ἀπὸ  
ἀνατολῶν δικαιοσύνην; ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν  
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορεύσεται δ'  
ώσει ἐνώπιον ἑθνῶν.”

11.23.6 | Just as the parts serve as models  
for sensible bodies, there exists a most  
beautiful and perfect essence that contains  
all things within itself, which is the example  
of the world. This essence has been shaped  
by the creator according to a plan drawn  
from the whole essence.

11.23.7 | These things also come from the  
revealed man. Indeed, the wise Moses  
speaks of these things before the appearing  
sun and stars, and before the visible sky,  
which is called the firmament. He speaks of  
the dry land beneath us and of 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 describe a certain sun that is  
incorporeal and not visible to everyone,  
nor does it come under mortal eyes. This is  
as the prophet speaks from the presence of  
god, saying, “For those who fear me, the  
sun of righteousness will rise.”

11.23.9 | Another prophet of the Hebrews  
understood this righteousness, not the kind  
found among humans, but its true idea. He  
spoke about god, saying, “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 | 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 σοφία, λέγεται καὶ ἀλήθεια. καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ’ οὐσίαν ὄντα τε καὶ ὑφεστῶτα οἱ Ἐβραίων λόγοι διδάσκουσιν, (εἰ δὴ Ἐβραῖοι καὶ οἱ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀπόστολοί 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· ἔφ' ὃν ἥδη καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς εἰκόνος παρειλήφασι.

11.23.12 | τὸν γοῦν ἄνθρωπον εἰκόνα διαρρήδην νοητοῦ παραδείγματος εἶναι, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἄνθρωπων 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 γέ (φησιν) ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἀνθρυπος.” 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

11.23.10 | The divine word, which is 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 authors, “For to us wisdom has been born from god, along with righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.”

11.23.11 | It is called life, it is called wisdom, it is called truth. The words of the Hebrews teach us about all things that exist and endure (if indeed the Hebrews are the apostles and disciples of our savior). Yes, they also speak of many other incorporeal powers, beyond the heavens and all material and flowing substances. They say that the images of these powers are impressed in our senses, and 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 should be understood through this image. So Moses says, “And god made man; he made him in the image of god.” Again, another Hebrew philosopher says, “Indeed, man walks in the image.” Now, the interpreters of the sacred laws explain how they clarify the meaning in the writings of Moses. The Hebrew Philo interprets the ancestral teachings for them with his words.

## Section 24

11.24.1 | “Εἰ δέ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνότερον χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὄνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἀν ἔτερον

11.24.1 | If someone wanted to speak more simply about the names, they would say

εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἡ θεοῦ λόγον ἥδη κοσμοποιοῦντος, οὐδὲ γάρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἔτερόν τί ἔστιν ἡ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς, ἥδη τὴν νοητὴν πόλιν κτίζειν διανοούμενου.

nothing different about the intelligible world than the word of god that is already creating the cosmos. The intelligible city is nothing else but the plan of the architect, who is already thinking about building the intelligible city.

11.24.2 | τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο Μώσεως ἔστιν, οὐκέ έμόν. τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν ἀναγράφων ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα διαρρήδην δημολογεῖ, ὡς ἄρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διετυπώθη.

11.24.2 | But this teaching is from Moses, not mine. Indeed, he clearly states in his later writings that the creation of man was made in the image of god.

11.24.3 | εἰ δὲ τὸ μέρος είκὼν είκόνος, δηλονότι καὶ τὸ δλον εἶδος σύμπας οὗτος ὁ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος, εί μείζων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔστι, μίμημα θείας είκόνος δηλονότι· καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγὶς, ὃν φαμεν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη τὸ παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα 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. The original seal, which we call 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 οἴονταί τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· (χρόνος γάρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου) ἀλλ’ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἡ 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. Instead, it either came into being with it or after it.

11.24.5 | ἐπεὶ γάρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος, πρότερον δὲ τοῦ κινουμένου κίνησις οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὴν ὕστερον ἡ ἄμα συνίστασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἡ ἵστηλικα κόσμου γεγονέναι, ἡ νεώτερον ἐκείνου, πρεσβύτερον δὲ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον.

11.24.5 | For time is the measure of the movement of the cosmos, and before something moves, 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. To claim that time is older

would be bold and unphilosophical.

11.24.6 | εί δ' ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται τανῦν ἡ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἀν εἴη μηνύεσθαι τὴν κατ' ἄριφλων] θμὸν, ὃς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ἵσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν."

11.24.7 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς λέγει "Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀέρος ἴδεαν καὶ κενοῦ· ὃν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀήρ τῇ φύσει; τὴν δὲ ἄβυσσον πολύβυθον γὰρ τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές.

11.24.8 | εἴθ' ὕδατος ἀσώματον ούσιαν καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐβδόμου φωτὸς, ὃ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν, καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντα ὅσα φωσφόρα ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλε συνίστασθαι.

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, ὅσωπερ ἥλιος, οἷμαι, σκότους καὶ ἡμέρα νυκτὸς, καὶ τὰ κριτήρια νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμῶν, ὄφθαλμῶν σώματος.

11.24.10 | τὸ δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς ἐκεῖνο θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ

11.24.6 | If the beginning is not understood as being according to time, it would likely reveal Aristotle's idea that what was made in the beginning is equal to what he first created, which is the heaven.

11.24.7 | Then it says, "First, the creator made the heaven without a body, the earth invisible, the idea of air, and the void. Of these, 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 | Then there was the essence of water and spirit, and above all, the seventh light, which was also without a body, along with the idea of the sun and all the shining stars that were to be formed in the sky.

11.24.9 | But the spirit and the light were honored. The spirit was called god because it is the most vital, and god is the source of life. The light was called beautiful because it is exceedingly lovely. The idea is brighter and more radiant than what we can see, just as the sun is, I believe, compared to darkness and night. The mind serves as the guide for the whole soul, like the eyes of the body.

11.24.10 | But that invisible and intelligible light became a reflection of the divine word, which explained its origin. It is a

ἔστιν ὑπερουράνιος ἀστὴρ, πηγὴ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων, ἢν οὐκ ἀν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καλέσειεν ἄν τις παναύγειαν, ἀφ' ἣς ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλανῆται καὶ ἀπλανῆς ἀρύονται, καθ' ὅσον ἐκάστῳ δύναμις, τὰ πρέποντα φέγγη, τῆς ἀμιγοῦς καὶ καθαρᾶς αύγῆς ἔκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης, οὐ ἀν ἄρξηται τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητὸν μεταβολήν. εἰλικρινὲς γάρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

heavenly star, the source of all visible stars. No one could call it completely bright from a distance, for the sun, moon, and other planets draw their light from it, each according to its own power, shining with what is fitting. This light is pure and clear, but it begins to fade as it changes from the intelligible to the visible. For nothing we perceive is completely 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 into being, 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 right away. It was not called the first day, but simply one, named for the unity of the intelligible world, which has a unique nature.”

11.24.12 | ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἥδη πέρας εἶχεν, ιδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ· ὁ δὲ αἰσθητὸς πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο· καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ δημιουργὸς, ὃν ἐτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευσεν, ἀτε σωματικὸν ὅντα. τὸ γάρ σῶμα φύσει στερεὸν, ὃ τι περ καὶ τριχῇ 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, while the sensible world was being formed as a model of this. 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. A body is by nature solid, whatever is three-dimensional. 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, stating this in the sixth book of the Stromata.

## Section 25

11.25.1 | Κόσμον τε αῦθις 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 γάρ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις, ὡς ἀν γόνιμος ἀριθμὸς, ἡ ἐξάς καλεῖται.

11.25.1 | The barbarian philosophy understands 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, since it is intelligible, while the sensible is presented as six. Among the Pythagoreans, the union that creates a fruitful number is called six.

11.25.2 | καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ μονάδι συνίστησιν οὐρανὸν ἀόρατον καὶ γῆν ἀγίαν καὶ φῶς νοητὸν. ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ γάρ φησιν) 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 αἰσθητὸν· γῆν τε ὅρατὴν καὶ φῶς βλεπόμενον.

11.25.2 | In the one, he establishes an invisible heaven, 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 | ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων' ζώων ἴδεας ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἀπολείπειν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ τὰ γένη δημιουργεῖν τὰ νοητά;

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 sensible world?

11.25.4 | εἰκότως ἄρα ἐκ γῆς μὲν τὸ σῶμα διαπλάττεσθαι λέγει Μώσης, ὃ γήινόν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' σκῆνος, ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν λογικὴν ἀνωθεν ἔμπνευσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον.

11.25.4 | Therefore, it makes sense 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 | ἐνταῦθα γάρ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἰδρῦσθαι λέγουσι, τὴν διὰ τῶν

11.25.5 | For here they say that the ruling part is established, interpreting the

αίσθητηρίων 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 ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς.” Ακούσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ῥηθησομένων.

## Section 26

11.26.1 | "Ετι 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, ἡ πλείους; πλείους, ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μέν που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὔεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντία 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. ξύμμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοί τε καὶ δαιμνες, 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

entrance of the soul through the senses as the entrance of the first created being. That is why man has been made in both image and likeness. The divine and royal word is the image of God, while man is without passion; the human mind is the image of the image. Let us also listen to what has been said.

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 | I would not be able to explain these things to Plato; however, what I can say is true: many years before Plato, this

άνωμοιογῆσθαι τὸ δόγμα.

teaching was agreed upon by the Hebrews.

11.26.5 | λέγει δ' οὗν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς γραφὴ 'καὶ ἦν ὁ ἥμερα αὕτη, καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἤλθεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, περιελθὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσας αὐτήν, "διάβολον μὲν τὴν ἐναντίαν δύναμιν, ἀγγέλους δὲ θεοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς προσειποῦσα.

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," referring to the devil as the opposing power and the angels of God as the good ones.

11.26.6 | ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἀγαθὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πνεύματα θεῖα καὶ λειτουργοὺς θεοῦ προσαγορεύει ἐν οἷς φησιν "ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

11.26.6 | These good powers, divine spirits, and servants of God are referred to in the passage that says, "He who makes his angels spirits and his servants a flame of fire."

11.26.7 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διαμάχην τῶν ἐναντίων ὡδε παρίστησιν ὁ φῆσας "οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα 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."

11.26.7 | But the struggle of the opposing forces is also shown 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, and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places."

11.26.8 | ἄντικρυς δ' ἔοικεν ὁ πλάτων' τὸ μώσεως λόγιον μεταφράζειν τὸ φῆσαν 'ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδὰμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ", δι' ὃν κτήματα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὸ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ὠρίσατο.

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 all of humanity belongs to the possessions of gods and demons.

## Section 27

11.27.1 | Καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς δὲ

11.27.1 | In the matters concerning the

άθανασίας ούδεν Μώσεως ὁ Πλάτων'  
διέστηκε τῇ δόξῃ. ὁ μέν γε πρῶτος  
ἀθάνατον ούσιαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ  
ψυχὴν ὡρίσατο, εἰκόνα φήσας ὑπάρχειν  
αὐτὴν θεοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ  
γεγενῆσθαι. “εἴπε γὰρ (φησὶν) ὁ θεὸς,  
ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ  
δομοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς  
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  
έγένετο ὁ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

11.27.3 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχικόν φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ  
βασιλικὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πάντων.  
λέγει δ' οὖν “καὶ εἴπεν ὁ θεὸς, ποίησωμεν  
ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ'  
δομοίωσιν, καὶ ἐρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων 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 εἰκὼν ἐπινοοῖτο  
θεοῦ καὶ δομοίωμα ἥ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ θεῷ  
δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς  
δομοιότητα; Μωσῆς δὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὡσπερ  
μεμαθητεθμένος ὁ Πλάτων' ἐπάκουοντον ἐν  
τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ οἴα φησιν

11.27.5 | “Ἐχομεν οῦν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τῆς ψυχῆς  
ἐστι θειότερον ἥ τοῦτο περὶ ὃ τὸ εἰδέναι τε

immortality of the soul, Plato did not differ from the view of Moses. He first stated 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 created 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 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 states, “And God said, ‘Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, 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 and likeness of God be understood in any other way than through the powers of God and the likeness of virtue? Indeed, Moses, just like Plato who seems to have learned this, explains it in the Alcibiades.

11.27.5 | Therefore, we can say that what is most divine about the soul is knowing and

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 ἐαυτὸν ἀν γνοίη μάλιστα. Φαίνεται. Ἀρ' οὖν, ὅθ' ὥσπερ κάτοπτρά ἔστι σαφέστερα τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ ἐνόπτερου καὶ καθαρώτερα καὶ λαμπρότερα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεός τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ βελτίστου καθαρώτερόν τε καὶ λαμπρότερον τυγχάνει ὅν. Ἔοικέ γε, ὡς Σώκρατες. Εἰς τὸν θεόν ἄρα βλέποντες ἐκείνῳ καλλίστῳ ἐνόπτρῳ χρώμεθ' ἀν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἰς τὴν ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, καὶ οὕτως ἀν μάλιστα ὄρῳμεν καὶ γινώσκοιμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. Ναί.

understanding. We do not have anything else. So, it seems that this is similar to God; anyone who looks 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 God is the best, clearest, and brightest part of 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 ἐπάκουοσον. “Θῶμεν οὖν βούλει, ἵφη, δύο εἴδη τῶν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὄρατὸν, τὸ δὲ ἀειδές; Θῶμεν, ἔφη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀειδές ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχον, τὸ δὲ ὄρατὸν μηδέποτε κατὰ ταύτα; Καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, Θῶμεν.

11.27.6 | These ideas are found 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 replied. “And the eternal always remains the same, but the visible never stays the same?” “And let us say this,” he replied.

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, τοῦτό γε δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄρατῷ. Τί δὲ ἡ ψυχή; ὄρατὸν, ἢ ἀειδές; Οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἔφη. ‘Αλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς γε τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἐλέγομεν, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ οἴει; Τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

11.27.7 | “Come now,” he said, “is our body one thing and our soul another?” “Nothing else,” he replied. “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 replied. “But do we not say that the visible and the non-visible belong to human nature, or do you think otherwise?” “To human nature.”

11.27.8 | Τί οὖν περὶ ψυχῆς λέγομεν;

11.27.8 | “What then do we say about the

όρατὸν ἢ ἀόρατον εἶναι; Οὐχ ὄρατόν.  
‘Αειδὲς ἄρα; Ναί. Όμοιότεροντερον ἄρα  
ψυχὴ σώματός ἐστι τῷ ἀειδεῖ, τὸ δὲ τῷ  
ὄρατῷ. Πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ὡς Σώκρατες.

11.27.9 | Ούκοῦν καὶ τόδε πάλαι ἐλέγομεν,  
ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ὅταν μὲν τῷ σώματι  
προσχρῆται εἰς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ  
ὄραν, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἢ δὲ ἄλλης τινὸς  
αἰσθήσεως· (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι 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 ἴλιγγιᾶ  
ῶσπερ μεθύουσα, ἃτε τοιούτων  
ἐφαπτομένη,. Πάνυ γε.

11.27.10 | “Οτανδὲ δὲ αὐτὴ καθ’ αὐτὴν  
σκοπῇ, ἐκεῖσε οἴχεται, εἰς τὸ καθαρόν τε  
καὶ ἀεὶ δὲν καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον  
5 καὶ ὡς ξυγγενῆς οὖσα αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ μετ’  
ἔκείνου τε γίνεται, ὅταν περ αὐτὴ καθ’  
ἐαυτὴν γένηται καὶ ἔξῃ αὐτὴ, καὶ πέπαυται  
τε τοῦ πλάνου καὶ περὶ ἔκεινα ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ  
αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχει, ἃτε τοοιούτων  
ἐφαπτομένη. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῆς τὸ πάθημα  
φρόνησις κέκληται.

11.27.11 | Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, καλῶς καὶ  
ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὡς Σώκρατες. Ποτέρῳ οὖν αὖ  
σοι δοκεῖ τῷ εἶδει καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν  
εἰρημένων] καὶ ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἡ  
ψυχὴ ὁμοιότερον εἶναι καὶ συγγενέστερον;  
Πᾶς ἄν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἢ δὲ δις, συγχωρήσαι,  
Σώκρατες, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεθόδου καὶ ὁ  
δυσμαθέστατος ὅτι ὅλως καὶ παντὶ  
ὁμοιότερόν ἐστιν ψυχὴ τῷ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως  
ἔχοντι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μή.

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 | “Therefore, we have long said that  
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 things that never stay the  
same. The soul itself wanders, is disturbed,  
and feels dizzy, as if it were drunk, because  
it is connected to such things.”

11.27.10 | “But when it looks at itself, it  
goes to what is pure, always existing,  
immortal, and similarly real. Being always  
connected to that, it becomes one with it  
whenever it looks at itself and steps  
outside of itself. Then it stops wandering  
and remains with those same things, as it is  
linked to such things. This experience of  
the soul is called wisdom.”

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 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. ὁρᾶ δὴ καὶ τῇδε· ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὥσι ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, τῷ μὲν δουλεύειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἡ φύσις προστάττει, τῇ δὲ ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν· καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὖ πότερον σοι δοκεῖ ὅμιοιν τῷ θείῳ εἶναι καὶ πότερον τῷ θνητῷ; "Ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὸ μὲν θεῖον οἶον ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἡγεμονεύειν πεφυκέναι, τὸ δὲ θνητὸν ἄρχεσθαι τε καὶ δουλεύειν; ἔμοιγε.

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 divine and which to the mortal? Or do you not think that the divine is 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 | Ποτέρῳ οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἔοικε;  
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 ὡσαύτως κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
ἔχοντι ἐαυτῷ ὄμοιότατον εἶναι ψυχὴν, τῷ  
δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ θνητῷ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ  
πολυειδεῖ καὶ διαλυτῷ καὶ μηδέποτε κατὰ  
τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχοντι ἐαυτῷ ὄμοιότατον 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, and see 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, ψυχῆ δὲ αὖ τὸ παράπαν  
ἀδιαλύτῳ εἶναι, ή ἐγγύς τι τούτου;

11.27.14 | "Do we have anything else to say about this, dear Kebes, that isn't true? We do not. So, what then? Since these things are true, isn't it fitting that the body quickly falls apart, while the soul should always remain unchanged, or at least very close to that?"

11.27.15 | Πῶς γὰρ οὕ; Συννοεῖς οὖν, ἔφη,  
ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνθρωπος, τὸ μὲν  
ὁρατὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν ὁρατῷ  
κείμενον, ὃ δὴ νεκρὸν καλοῦμεν, ὡς

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.

προσήκει διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν καὶ διαπνεῖσθαι, οὐκ εύθὺς τούτων ούδὲν πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῶς συχνὸν ἐπιμένει χρόνον· ἔὰν μὲν τις καὶ χαριέντως ἔχων τὸ σῶμα τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ, καὶ πάνυ μάλα. συμπεσὸν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταριχευθὲν, ὁσπερ οἱ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ταριχευθέντες, ὀλίγου ὅλον μένει ἀμήχανον ὅσον χρόνον. ἔνια δὲ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔὰν σαπῇ, ὀστᾶ τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ὅμως, ὡς ἐπος είπειν, ἀθάνατά ἔστιν, ἢ οὕ; Ναί.

Yet, it does not immediately experience any of these things; rather, it remains intact 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 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 Άιδους, ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεὸν, οἵ, ἀν θεὸς ἔθέλῃ, αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἵτεον·) αὐτὴ 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, 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 ούδὲν κοινωνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκοῦσα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσα αὐτὸν, καὶ συνηθροισμένη αὐτῇ εἰς ἐαυτὴν, ἄτε μελετῶσα ἀεὶ τοῦτο· (τοῦτο δὲ ούδεν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῷ ὅντι τεθνάναι μελετῶσα ῥαδίως· ἢ 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 willingly shared anything with it in life, but is fleeing from it and gathered into itself, always thinking about this (and this is nothing other than truly being a philosopher and easily contemplating what it means to die; wouldn't this be the study of death? Absolutely.)."

11.27.18 | Ούκοῦν οὕτω μὲν ἔχουσα εἰς τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτῇ τὸ ἀειδὲς ἀπέρχεται, τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ φρόνιμον· οἵ ἀφικομένη ὑπάρχει αὐτῇ εύδαιμον εἶναι,

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

πλάνης καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ φόβων καὶ ἄγριων  
έρωτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν  
ἀνθρωπείων ἀπηλλαγμένη, ὡσπερ δὲ  
λέγεται κατὰ τῶν μεμυημένων, ὡς ἀληθῶς  
τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ θεῶν διάγουσα,  
οὕτω φῶμεν, ὥς Κέβης, ἢ ἄλλως,. Οὕτως νὴ  
Δία, ἵφη ὁ Κέβης. βῆς.

11.27.19 | Ἄν δέ γε, οἷμαι, μεμιασμένη καὶ  
ἀκάθαρτος τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάττηται,  
ἄτε σώματι ἀεὶ ξυνοῦσα, καὶ τοῦτο  
θεραπεύουσα, καὶ ἐρῶσα, καὶ  
γεγοητευμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὑπό τε τῶν  
ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἄλλο  
δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀληθὲς ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ σωματοειδές,  
οὗ ἄν 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 εἰλικρινῇ 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

## Section 28

11.28.1 | "Αὐτίκα λόγον ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι  
δοκοῦντα τῷ Πλάτωνι εἰς παράστασιν τῆς  
ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου. εἰ γὰρ  
ὁμοία 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;

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 mean, Kebes, or something else? Yes, by Zeus, says Kebes."

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, then it seems to believe that nothing is real except what is like the body—things that anyone can touch, see, eat, drink, and use for pleasure. Since it is dark and always visible to the eyes, but is understood and chosen through 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 this idea simply in the first of his writings, 'On the Soul,' addressed to Boethus."

11.28.1 | "Right away, it seems that there is a strong argument from Plato for showing 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 | ὅταν γὰρ δύο τινῶν ἄκρων ἐναργῶς ἐναντίων, οἷον λογικοῦ τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ἔλλο τι ἀμφισβητῆται ποίας ἐστὶ μερίδος, εἴς ἣν καὶ οὗτος τρόπος ἀποδεῖξεως διὰ τοῦ δεῖξαι τίνι τῶν ἀντικειμένων ὅμοιον. οὕτω γὰρ, καίπερ ἐν ἀλογίᾳ κατὰ πρώτην ἡλικίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους κατεσχημένου, πολλῶν τε ἄχρι γήρως ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀλογίας ἀμαρτήμασι πλεοναζόντων, ὅμως διὰ τὸ τῷ καθαρῷ λογικῷ πολλάς ὅμοιότητας φέρειν λογικὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιστεύθη.

11.28.3 | ὅντος οὖν θείου τοῦ συστήματος καὶ ἀκηράτου καὶ ἀντοστού 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 ὅμοιότητος ωήθη ὁ Πλάτων' δεῖν ἀνιχνεύειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

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 ὅσα ἐκεῖνος περὶ αὐτῆς ἀναλογίζεται ἐδόκει μὴ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὅμοιότητας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεῖναι συγχωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἐμφερὲς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐθέλειν ἀθετεῖν, δι' ὃ καὶ τούτων αὐτὴν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν συμβέβηκεν.

11.28.5 | ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις τῷ θεῷ ἀνόμοια εύθὺς καὶ τῇ συστάσει τῆς

11.28.2 | “When two extremes are clearly opposed, like the rational and the irrational, there is another way to discuss what kind of part it is: by showing what it is similar to among the opposites. For in this way, even though many people remain in the mistakes of irrationality throughout their lives, it is still believed that this kind is rational from the beginning because it shares many similarities with the purely rational.”

11.28.3 | “Since the divine system exists and is pure, clearly belonging to the gods, and since the earthly and mortal is also clearly present in decay, when some people argue about which part of the soul is assigned to which of the opposites, Plato believed it was necessary to seek the truth based on similarity.”

11.28.4 | “And since the mortal, foolish, and lifeless being is connected to what is tangible, perceptible, changing, and perishing, it does not resemble the divine, immortal, ever-living, and intellectual being, which is related to truth. As he reflects on these matters, he believed it was acceptable to acknowledge the other similarities to the divine, but to reject the similarity of essence, which is why it was able to attain these qualities.”

11.28.5 | “For just as things that are unlike the divine in their actions are immediately

ούσίας ἔξηλλακτο, οὕτως ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πως ἐνεργειῶν μέτοχα φθάνειν τὴν ὅμοιότητα τῆς ούσίας κεκτημένα. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ποιὰν ούσίαν ποιὰς εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας, ὡς ἀν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ῥεούσας καὶ αὐτῆς οὕσας βλαστήματα.”

changed in the structure of their essence, it follows that those who share in the same kinds of actions achieve a similarity of essence. The nature of the essence determines what kinds of actions exist, as they flow from it and are 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, as the Helper removes the strength of this argument, he listens right at the beginning, just as the one who created it writes.”

11.28.7 | “Εἴ μὲν ἀθάνατός ἐστιν 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 considered the arguments must speak up.”

11.28.8 | τὸ μέντοι τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅμοιότερον μηδὲν γενέσθαι θεῷ ψυχῆς, οὐ πολλῆς ἀν τις δειθεὶς πραγματείας πιστεύσειν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ἀπαυστον τῆς κινήσεως, ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὴν νοῦ.

11.28.8 | “However, if nothing similar to the divine can be found in our souls, then someone who seeks much study would not believe, not only because of the constant and unending movement given to us, but also because of the mind that exists within itself.”

11.28.9 | εἰς ὅπερ ἀπιδὼν καὶ ὁ Κροτωνιάτης φυσικὸς εἶπεν ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν οὗσαν 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 its nature, escapes all disturbance, just like the divine aspects of bodies.”

11.28.10 | ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν ἴδεαν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦν, ὀπηλίκα βουλεύματα καὶ ὄρματς πολλάκις ὅποιας ὑποκινεῖ, τῷ κατανοήσαντι πολλή τις ἀν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν

11.28.10 | “But also, if one reflects on the idea of the soul, especially the ruling mind within us that often stirs up many thoughts and impulses, then to the one who understands, a great similarity to the divine

όμοιότης ὑποφανείη.”

would become clear.”

11.28.11 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Εἴ γὰρ ὡς  
ὅμοιότατον τῷ θείῳ πάντων χρημάτων ἡ  
ψυχὴ δείκνυται, τίς ἔτι χρεία τῶν ἄλλων  
δεῖσθαι λόγων εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀθανασίας  
αὐτῆς προοιμιαζόμενον, καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτον  
ὡς ἔνα μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν καταριθμοῦντα,  
ἰκανὸν ὅντα ἐντρέψαι τοὺς εύγνωμονας,  
ὡς οὐκ ἀν τῶν ἐμφερῶν τῷ θείῳ μετέσχεν  
ἐνεργειῶν μή τοι θείᾳ γε οὖσα καὶ αὐτῇ;

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 arguments to prove its immortality? Especially if one considers this as just one among many, which is enough to convince the wise, since it would not share in divine actions unless it itself is divine?’”

11.28.12 | εἴ γὰρ καίπερ ἐν τῷ θνητῷ καὶ  
λυτῷ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν νεκρῷ καὶ  
ἀεὶ ἀπολλυμένῳ καὶ διαρρέοντι εἰς τὴν τῆς  
ἀπωλείας μεταβολὴν κατορωρυγμένη αὐτό<sup>τε</sup>  
ποιεῖ καὶ συνέχει, καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῆς θείαν  
ἀναδείκνυσιν ούσιαν, καίπερ  
ἐπιπροσθουμένη καὶ ἐμποδιζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ  
προκειμένου αὐτῇ πανωλέθρου  
πλάσματος, πῶς εἰ τῷ λόγῳ χωρισθείη,  
ῶσπερ 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 ὅμοιότητας διασῶζον, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
μάλιστα θνητῷ αὐτῇ, ὕσπερ ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐν  
τῷ θνητῷ καθειρχθῇ) διὰ τοῦτο μὴ  
διαλυόμενον, διτι φύσεως ἦν τῆς ἀμοίρου  
φθορᾶς; ”

11.28.12 | “For if, even in a being that is mortal, weak, foolish, and essentially dead—always perishing and flowing into destruction—it both creates and holds itself together, showing its own divine essence, even though it is surrounded and hindered by the threat of total destruction, how could it, if separated by reason, like gold wrapped in clay, not reveal its own form? It is similar only to the divine, but also because it shares in it, preserving the similarities in its actions, especially in its mortal part, just as it is when it is bound in the mortal. Therefore, it is not destroyed because it has a nature that does not share in decay.”

11.28.13 | Καὶ ὑποκαταβάς φησιν “Εἰκότως  
δὲ καὶ θείᾳ φαίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν  
ἀμέριστον ὅμοιώσεως καὶ θνητὴ ἀφ' ὧν  
προσπελάζει τῇ καὶ κάτεισι καὶ ἄνεισι καὶ  
θνητοειδής ἐστι 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. It is also mortal because it comes from and descends toward those things, and it has a mortal form while being similar to the immortals.’”

11.28.14 | ἄνθρωπος γὰρ καὶ ὁ γαστρίζων ἔαυτὸν καὶ κεκορέσθαι σπουδάζων, ὡς τὰ κτήνη· ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ ὁ σώζειν ἐν πελάγει δὲ ἐπιστήμης ἐν κινδύνοις οὗτος τε ὧν τὴν ναῦν, καὶ ὁ σώζειν ἐν νόσοις, καὶ ὃ γε τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν εὐρίσκων, μεθοδεύσας δὲ καὶ πρὸς γνώσεως καταλήψεις, πυρείων τε εὐρέσεις καὶ ὠροσκοπείων 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 ἔαυτῷ νοῦν;

11.28.16 | ἀφ' ὧν Ὁλυμπίου τε καὶ θείου καὶ οὐδαμῶς θνητοῦ τολμήματα διαφαίνων τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ φιλαυτίαν τῆς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ κάτω ὅπτης ἵδειν αὐτὸν οὐχ οἴους τε ὄντας ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν φαινομένων ὅμοίως αὐτοῖς θνητοειδῆ δοξάζειν αὐτὸν ἀναπέπεικεν· ἐνὸς ὄντος καὶ τούτου τρόπου τῆς ἐκ κακίας παραμυθίας, τὸ τῇ ἀντανιδώσει τῆς αὐτῶν ἀθλιότητος διὰ τὰ ἔξωθεν φαινόμενα προσαναπαυομένους πείθειν ἔαυτούς, ὅτι ὡς τὰ ἔξω καὶ τὰ εἴσω ὅμοιοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι.”

11.28.17 | Τούτων ἀπάντων διδάσκαλος πέφηνε γεγονὼς ὁ Μώσης, δις διεξιῶν τὴν πρώτην ἄνθρωπογονίαν κατὰ τὰς προτεθείσας λέξεις διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἔξομοιώσεως τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας λόγους ἐπιστώσατο.

11.28.14 | “For a person is someone who feeds themselves and tries to be full, just like animals. But a person is also someone who saves themselves at sea through knowledge in dangerous situations, like a ship's captain. They save themselves from diseases, find the truth, and seek knowledge. They discover fevers and observe the stars, and they create imitations of the maker's creations.”

11.28.15 | “For a person has imagined gatherings on earth of the seven, creating them through movements and imitating the things in heaven with machines. And why hasn't he thought of this, revealing the divine and the god-like mind within himself?”

11.28.16 | “From this, many show the boldness of the Olympian and the divine, and not at all of the mortal. Because of their self-love, they see him as one of those below, believing he is similar to the mortals they see around them. And being one, they find comfort in their own troubles, convincing themselves, based on outside appearances, that all people are alike, both on the outside and the inside.”

11.28.17 | “Of all these things, Moses has shown himself to be a teacher. He explained the first creation of humans according to the words that were given and confirmed the teachings about the immortality of the soul by comparing it to

the divine.”

11.28.18 | ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς οὐσίας σύμφωνα καὶ διόδοξα Μωσεῖ καὶ Πλάτωνι συνέστη, ὡρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφίας ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, δεῖξαί τε τὸν ἄνδρα Ἐβραίοις κατὰ πάντα φίλον, ἐκτὸς εἴ μή που παρατραπεὶς ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἥ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ φάναι τι προήχθη λόγον.

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 look at the other parts of Plato's philosophy. We should also show that he is loved by the Hebrews, unless he has been led to speak in a more human way or has made some true statement.”

11.28.19 | αὐτίκα τῶν είρημένων ὅσα μὲν ἐπιτυχῶς 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 συνῳδὰ καὶ σύμφωνα τὰ τεθειμένα, ὡρα ἐπανελθοῦσιν αὕθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φυσιολογίαν ἐν βραχέσι τὴν πρὸς τὰ Εβραίων ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῦ ἄνδρὸς συμφωνίαν.

11.28.19 | “Right away, everything that has been successfully said about the man would agree with what has been established by Moses. However, anything that does not please Moses and the prophets would not fit well into the argument. We will present this at the right time. For now, since it has been made clear in our understanding of the intelligible that the established ideas are in harmony, it is time to return to the study 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 ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν' γῆν.” ἄκουε τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὡς οὐκ ἐκπίπτει τῆς διανοίας ὥδέ πη καὶ αὐτὸς γράφων

11.29.1 | “When Moses speaks of creation and 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 continues, ‘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.’ Pay attention to Plato, as he also expresses this understanding in a similar way.”

11.29.2 | ‘Πάν δὲ αὖ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπ’ αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι· πάντῃ 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 ἡ κόσμος, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο ὅ τι ποτὲ ὄνομαζόμενος μάλιστα ἀν δέχοιτο, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὠνομάσθω· 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.

11.29.3 | “And he adds, ‘Now let us call the whole heaven or world, and anything else that is named, this. Therefore, we must first consider what lies beneath this; we need to examine whether it has always existed without any beginning, or if it came into being from some starting point.’”

11.29.4 | γέγονεν· ὅρατὸς γὰρ ἀπτός τέ ἐστι καὶ σῶμα ἔχων. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰσθητὰ, τὰ δ’ αἰσθητὰ δόξῃ περιληπτὰ καὶ γενητὰ ἐφάνη. τῷ δ’ αὖ γενομένῳ φαμὲν ὑπ’ αἰτίου 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 can be perceived, and the things we can perceive seem to be understood through our 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 they are.”

11.29.5 | Καὶ αὖθις ἔξῆς φησιν “Οὕτως οὖν δὴ κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἔμψυχον 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 indeed 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

11.30.1 | “Again, Moses taught that these things were created, as he said, ‘And God said, “Let there be lights in the firmament

τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἑνιαυτούς. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας· καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

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 | ὅμοίως ὁ Πλάτων Ἐξ οὐν λόγου θεοῦ καὶ διανοίας (φησὶ) τοιαύ εια τῆς 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.

11.30.2 | "Similarly, Plato says that from the reason and thought of God, such things were created for the generation of time, so that time might come into being: the sun, the moon, and five other wandering stars, to mark and keep track of the numbers of time. And God made their bodies and set them in motion."

11.30.3 | Ἐπιτήρει δὲ εἴ μὴ τὸ "ἔξ οὖν λόγου καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ" είρημένον τῷ Πλάτωνι ὅμοιον ἀν εἴη τῷ παρ' Ἐβραίοις φάσκοντι "τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οὗ οὐρανοὶ ἔστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν." ἀλλὰ καὶ Μωσέως είπόντος "καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι" ὅμοιά κέχρηται καὶ ὁ Πλάτων φωνῇ τῇ ἔθηκεν," είπὼν "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.' Additionally, 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 γραφής ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ 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 ἐστιν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὃ τε δημιουργὸς ἀγαθὸς, δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀίδιον ἐβλεπε. " Καὶ πάλιν "Ο μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὃ 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 οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ἀ ἔγώ ποιῶ μένειν ἐνώπιόν μου, λέγει κύριος·” καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε δι' ὃν φησι “παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ·”

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 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 ὅμοιογῆσαν, 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 similar things, the body of the world was created through proportion. It had a bond of 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 | Εἶθ’ 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 created together and also be dissolved together, if ever a dissolution of them should occur.””

11.32.4 | Καὶ πάλιν εἰπὼν “Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν ἔγώ δημιουργὸς, πατήρ τε ἐργων, ἀ δι’ ἐμοῦ γενόμενα ἄλυτα ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος·” ἐπάγει λέγων ἐξῆς “Τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτὸν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὐ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν ούκ ἔστε

11.32.4 | “And again, he says, ‘Gods of gods, of whom I am the creator and father of works, which have become unbreakable through my unwillingness;’ he continues, saying, ‘Therefore, everything that is bound can also be loosed, but that which is well put together and desires to be loosed does

ούδ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν. οὕτι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἔκείνων οἵς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε συνεδεῖσθε.”

not wish for evil. For since you have come into being, you are neither immortal nor unbreakable in all things. Indeed, you will not be loosed, nor will you face 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 γὰρ 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 ἀντία περιάγεται, ζῶν ὃν καὶ φρόνησιν εἰληφός ἐκ τοῦ ξυναρμόσαντος αὐτὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ πάλιν ίέναι διὰ τόδε ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐμφυτον γέγονε. Διὰ τὸ ποῖον δῆ;

11.32.5 | “And in the Political work, he says this: ‘For everything, at times, the god himself guides 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 possessing reason, drawn from the one who arranged it from the beginning. This returning happens out of necessity, having become a natural part of it. 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. ὃν δὲ οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνομάκαμεν, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ γεννήσαντος μετείληφεν, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινώνηκε γε καὶ σώματος· ὅθεν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρῳ 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 ἐαυτοῦ κινήσεως παράλλαξιν. αὐτὸ δὲ ἐαυτὸ στρέφειν ἀεὶ σχεδὸν οὐδενὶ δυνατὸν πλὴν τῷ τῶν κινουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἡγουμένων. κινεῖν 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 kind. The heaven and world that we have named have participated in many blessed things from the one who created them, but indeed, they have also shared in the nature of 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 embraced the cycle, experiencing only the smallest change in their own movement. It is almost impossible for them to turn themselves except by the one who guides all moving things. And to move this one sometimes in one way and at other times in the opposite way is not lawful.”

11.32.7 | ἐκ πάντων δὴ τούτων τὸν κόσμον μήτε αὐτὸν χρὴ φάναι στρέφειν ἐαυτὸν ἀεὶ, μήθ’ ὅλον ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρέφεσθαι διττὰς καὶ ἐναντίας περιαγωγὰς, μήτ’ αὖτις δύο θεῶν φρονοῦντες ἐαυτοῖς ἐναντία στρέφειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐρρέθη καὶ μόνον λοιπὸν, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ ἄλλης ξυμποδηῖσθαι θείας αἰτίας, τὸ ζῆν πάλιν ἐπικτώμενον καὶ λαμβάνοντα ἀθανασίαν ἐπισκευαστὴν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, τοτὲ δ’ ὅταν ἀνεθῇ, δι’ ἐαυτοῦ αὐτὸν ἴεναι κατὰ καιρὸν, ἀφεθέντα τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀνάπαλιν πορεύεσθαι πολλὰς περιόδων μυράδας διὰ τὸ μέγιστον ὃν καὶ ἰσορροπώτατον ἐπὶ σμικροτάτου βαῖνον ποδὸς ἴεναι.

11.32.7 | “From all these things, it is not right to say that the world always turns itself, nor that it is turned entirely by a god in two opposite ways, nor that two gods, thinking for themselves, turn it in opposite directions. Rather, as was just mentioned, sometimes it is guided by another divine cause, gaining life again and receiving restored immortality from the creator. At other times, when it rises, it moves by itself in due time, having been released in such a way that it can again travel through countless cycles, moving toward the greatest and most balanced being, taking the smallest step.”

11.32.8 | Φαίνεται γοῦν δὴ καὶ μάλα εἰκότως εἰρῆσθαι πάντα ὅσα διελήλυθας. Λογισάμενοι δὴ ξυννοήσωμεν τὸ πάθος ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεχθέντων, διὰ πάντων ἔφαμεν εἶναι τῶν θαυμαστῶν αἴτιον. ξεστὶ γάρ οὖν δὴ τοῦτ’ αὐτό.

11.32.8 | “It certainly seems 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 δή; 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 currently going around, and sometimes in the opposite way. How is that? This change should be seen as the greatest and most complete change of all the changes happening in the heavens.”

11.32.10 | “Εοικε γοῦν. Μεγίστας τοίνυν μεταβολὰς χρὴ νομίζειν γίγνεσθαι τότε τοῖς ἐντὸς ἡμῖν οίκοιςιν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτ’ εἰκός. Μεταβολὰς δέ γε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ξυμφερομένας ἀρ’ οὐκ ἵσμεν τὴν τῶν ζώων φύσιν ὅτι χαλεπῶς ἀνέχεται;

11.32.10 | “It seems so. Therefore, we should believe 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 to endure great, many, and various changes with difficulty?”

11.32.11 | Πῶς δ' οὕ; 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 καθεστηκούσα  
ἐναντία γίγνηται τροπή." Τούτοις ἄπασιν  
ὑποβὰς ἔξῆς περὶ τῆς τῶν  
τετελευτηκότηων ἀναβιώσεως, ὅμοιῶς  
ταῖς Ἐβραίων δόξαις κινούμενος, ταῦτ'  
ἐπιλέγει

11.32.11 | "How could it not? Therefore, the greatest destructions must happen to the other living things, and indeed, the human race is affected a little as well. Many other strange and new experiences occur regarding these, but the greatest of these, which follows the movement of the whole, happens when the opposite change of the current state takes place." After considering all this, he goes on to talk 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,  
ζώων, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔξ ἄλλήλων  
έγεννῶντο;

11.33.1 | "What was the origin of living things then, stranger, and how did they come from one another?"

11.33.2 | Δῆλον, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔξ  
ἄλλήλων οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῇ τότε φύσει  
γεννώμενον, τὸ δὲ γηγενὲς εἶναί ποτε γένος  
λεχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ κατ' ἔκεινον τὸν χρόνον  
έκ γῆς πάλιν ἀναστρεφόμενον,  
ἀπεμνημονεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
προγόνων τῶν πρώτων, οἱ τελευτώσῃ μὲν  
τῇ προτέρᾳ περιφορᾷ τὸν ἔξῆς χρόνον  
έγειτόν τοι, τῇσδε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐφύοντο·  
τούτων τῶν γὰρ οὗτοι κήρυκες ἐγένονθ'  
ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων, οἵ νῦν ὑπὸ πολλῶν οὐκ  
όρθως ἀπιστοῦνται.

11.33.2 | "Clearly, Socrates, what comes from one another was not produced in that nature at that time. However, there was a race said to be born from the earth, which was returning from the ground. This was remembered by our earliest ancestors, who, having died in the previous cycle, were reborn in the next, 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 | τὸ γὰρ ἐντεῦθέν, οἷμαι, χρὴ  
ξυννοεῖν. ἔχόμενον γάρ ἔστι τῷ τοὺς  
πρεσβύτας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ἵέναι φύσιν,  
ἔκ τῶν τετελευτηκότων αὖ, κειμένων δ' ἐν  
γῇ πάλιν ἔκει συνισταμένους καὶ

11.33.3 | "For this reason, I think it is important to understand what is here. 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

άναβιωσκομένους ἔπεσθαι τῇ τροπῇ,  
ξυνανακυκλουμένης εἰς τάνατία τῆς  
γενέσεως, καὶ γηγενεῖς δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν  
τρόπον ἐξ ἀνάγκης φυομένους οὐτῶς ἔχειν  
τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὅσους μὴ θεὸς  
αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλλην μοῖραν ἐκόμισε. Κομιδῇ  
μὲν οὖν τοῦτο γε ἔπεται τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν.”

11.33.4 | Εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐξῆς προιών τὰ  
ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐβραίων δόγμασι περὶ τῆς τοῦ  
κόσμου συντελείας τοῦτον διέξεισι τὸν  
τρόπον

### 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 ἀποδεδωκυίας, 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.

11.34.2 | 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 ὀρμηθεὶς,  
σεισμὸν πολὺν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ποιῶν, ἄλλην αὖ  
φθορὰν ζώων παντοίων ἀπειργάσατο.

together again and being reborn, following the change as the cycle of birth turns back to the opposite. 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 | “Then again, as he goes further, he will explain this in a way that is similar to the teachings of the Hebrews about the completion of the world.”

11.34.1 | “For all these things, time has come to an end, and a change had to happen. Indeed, all earthly beings have already completed their kind, and each soul has given up its births. 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 | “Therefore, all the gods who gather in the places with the greatest spirit, having already understood what is happening, released the parts of the world from their care once more. And he, changing and coming together, driven by the opposing forces 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 ἵκανοῦ χρόνου, θορύβου τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἥδη παυόμενος καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν, γαλήνης ἐπιλαβόμενος, εἴς τε τὸν εἰώθότα δρόμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατακοσμούμενος ἦει, ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κράτος ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.”

11.34.4 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα αὖ 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 ἄπειρον 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' ἔγὼ, οὐδέν εστι πλήθει οὐδὲ μεγέθει πρὸς ἑκεῖνα 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 οὐ πολλὰ, ἀλλ' ἥδιον ἀκούοντι. Άλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοι, ἦν δ' ἔγὼ, Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπόλογον ἔρω, ἀλλὰ ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου· ὃς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἥδη διεφθαρμένων, ὑγιὴς μὲν ἀνηρέθη, κομισθεὶς δὲ οἴκαδε, μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω, ἀναβιοὺς δὲ ἔλεγεν ἂ ἑκεῖ

11.34.3 | “After a sufficient time had passed, and as the noise and disturbance were calming down, along with the earthquakes, he embraced peace. He returned to his usual path, taking care and control over what was within him and himself.”

11.34.4 | “And after a short time, he says, ‘Indeed, then, the god who arranged it, seeing it in confusion and caring for it so that it would not be destroyed by disturbance and scattered into the endless realm of dissimilarity, became once again the support of its controls. He turned back the sick and broken parts to their previous order, arranging and restoring 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 completed. It is necessary to hear them so that each one may fully understand what is owed to them by the reasoning.”

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; instead, I will tell you about the brave man, Hero of Armenia, from the lineage of Pamphylus. He, having fallen 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

ίδοι.

11.35.3 | ἔφη δὲ, ἐπειδή οἶ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πορεύεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι σφᾶς εἰς πον τινὰ δαιμόνιον, ἐνῷ τῆς τε γῆς δύ' εἶναι χάσματα ἔχομένων ἄλλήλων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὖ ἐν τῷ ἄνω ἄλλα καταντικρύ.

11.35.4 | δικαστὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων καθῆσθαι, οὓς, ἐπειδὴ διαδιδάσσειαν, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους κελεύειν πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς δεξιάν 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 ἐπραξαν.

11.35.5 | αύτοῦ δὲ προσελθόντος εἴπειν ὅτι δέοι αύτὸν ἄγγελον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τῶν ἑκεῖ καὶ διακελεύεσθαι διακούειν τε καὶ θεᾶσθαι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ."

11.35.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων· συγγενῆ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ὡδέ πῃ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς πρώτῳ ιστορεῖ

back to life and shared what he saw there."

11.35.3 | He said that, since he knows the soul leaves the body, it travels with many others and arrives at a certain divine place. There, two openings in the earth face each other, and above, in the sky, there are others directly opposite.

11.35.4 | Judges sit between these places. When they have finished their task, they 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 everything 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 everything in that place.

11.35.6 | This is what Plato says, and Plutarch also shares something similar in the first part of his work, *On the Soul*.

## Section 36

11.36.1 | "Ἄντυλλω δὲ τούτω καὶ αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν· ἀλλὰ Σωσιτέλει καὶ Ἡρακλέωνι διηγησώμεθα. νοσῶν γάρ ἔναγχος ἀβιώτως ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς ιατροῖς· ἀνενεχθεὶς δὲ μικρὸν ἔκ τινος οὐ βεβαίου καταφορᾶς, ἄλλο μὲν ούδεν οὔτ' ἐπραξεν οὔτ' εἶπε παρακινητικὸν, ἔλεγε δὲ τεθνάναι, καὶ

11.36.1 | We were also present with Antyllus, but we will tell the story of Sositelis and Heracleon. The doctors thought 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

πάλιν ἀφεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τεθνήξεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀκηκοέναι τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου· πεμφθέντας γὰρ ἐπὶ Νικανδᾶν αὐτὸν ἤκειν ἄντ' ἐκείνου 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 ἐκεῖθεν ὑπηρέτας. αὐτὸς μέντοι δῆλος ἦν εύθὺς ὑποθραττόμενος καὶ δυσχεραίνων· τέλος δὲ πυρετοῦ προσπεσόντος ἔξαπλούταρχος] φνης ἀπέθανε τριταῖος. οὗτος δὲ ἀνεβίω, καὶ περίεστιν εῦ γε ποιῶν, ἡμῖν ξένων ἐπιεικέστατος. ”

saying he was dying, then that he would be released, and that he would not die at all from that sickness. However, he had also heard bad news from those who brought him by the order of the master. 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 wrestling schools. The young men who approached him mocked him as if he had already escaped and ruined the servants from there. However, he clearly showed signs of being upset and troubled. Finally, after a fever struck him, he died on the third day. But this one came back to life and is now doing well, being very 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 διθήσεσθαι περιέχουσι, κατὰ τὸ φάσκον λόγιον “οἵ δὲ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν,” ταύτην δὲ ἐπουράνιον ὑπάρχειν διασαφεῖ ὃ φάσκων λόγος “ἢ δὲ ἄνω Τερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἔστιν, ἥτις ἔστι μήτηρ ἡμῶν ·” ὁ 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, ἥ τὰ παραπλήσια, πεπεῖσθαι εἶναι ἀληθῆ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὅμολογεῖ, Σωκράτει ἀνατιθεὶς τὸν λόγον ὥδε πῃ

11.36.2 | Let these things be laid out for me because in the Hebrew scriptures, there are stories of the dead coming back to life. There is also a certain land promised only to those who are beloved by God, as the saying goes, “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 idea, saying that it will be built with precious and honorable stones in a way of allegory: “Behold, I am preparing for you a stone of coal, and I will set your battlements with jasper, 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, ούχὶ ἡ Γλαύώς κου τέχνη γέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι διηγήσασθαι ἃ γ' ἔστιν· μέντοι ἀληθῆ, χαλεπώτερόν μοι φαίνεται ἥ κατὰ τὴν Γλαύκου τέχνην. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐγὼ ἵσως οὐδ' ἀν οἴός τε εἴην, ἅμα δὲ, καὶ εἰ ἡ πιστάμην, ὁ βίος μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἐμὸς, ὡς Σιμμία, τῷ μάκει τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἔξαρκεῖν. τὴν μέντοι ἰδέαν τῆς γῆς, οἵαν πέπεισμαι εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτῆς οὐδέν με κωλύει λέγειν. “Ἄλλ, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας, καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ.

11.37.2 | Πέπεισμαι τοίνυν, ρῇ δ' ὅς, ἐγὼ πρῶτον μὲν, εἰς ἔστιν ἐν, μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ περιφερήσ οὔσα, μηδὲν αὐτῇ δεῖν μήτε ἀέρος πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν μήτε ἄλλῆς ἀνάγκης μηδεμιᾶς τοιαύτης, ἀλλ' ἱκανὴν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἴσχειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐσαυτῷ πάντῃ καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτὴν τὴν ἴσορροπίαν· ἴσόρροπον γάρ πρᾶγμα ὁμοίου τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν οὐχ ἔξει μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἡττον οὐδαμόσε κλιθῆναι, ὁμοίως δ' ἔχον ἀκλινές 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 ἡμὰς οἴκεῖν τοὺς μέχρις Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ἐν σμικρῷ τινι μορίῳ, ὕσπερ περὶ τέλμα μύρμηκας ἥ βατράχους, περὶ τὴν Θάλατταν οἰκοῦντας, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλοθι πολλοὺς ἐν πολλοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις οἴκεῖν.

11.37.4 | εἶναι γὰρ πανταχῇ περὶ τὴν γῆν πολλὰ κοῦλα καὶ παντοδαπὰ καὶ τὰς ἰδέας

11.37.1 | But, my dear Simmias, I do not think that the art of Glaucon is easy to explain as it is. In fact, it seems to me to be harder than Glaucon's art. 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. However, I am convinced about the idea of the earth, and nothing stops me from speaking 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 keep it from falling nor any other necessity like that. It is enough for it to maintain the same shape as the sky itself and to balance with the earth. A balanced object placed in the middle of something similar will not tilt more or less anywhere, but will remain upright in the same way.

11.37.3 | First of all, I am convinced of this. “And rightly so,” said Simmias. “Furthermore,” he continued, “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, with many others living in many such places.”

11.37.4 | For there are many hollow and various places all around the earth, along

καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, είς ἂ ξυνερρυηκέναι τό τε  
ϋδωρ καὶ τὴν ὄμιχλην καὶ τὸν ἀέρα· αὐτὴν  
δὲ τὴν γῆν καθαράν τε ἐν καθαρῷ κεῖσθαι  
τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐν ᾧ πέρ ἔστι 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.

with the shapes and sizes into which water, mist, and air have flowed together. The earth itself is pure and rests in a clear 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 | ήμᾶς οὖν οίκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις  
αὐτῆς λεληθέναι καὶ οἴεσθαι ἄνω ἐπὶ τῆς  
γῆς οἰκεῖν, ὡσπερ ἀν εἴ τις ἐν μέσῳ τῷ  
πυθμένι τοῦ πελάγους οἰκῶν οἴοιτό τε ἐπὶ  
τῆς θαλάττης οἰκεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος  
ὁρῶν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα τὴν  
θάλατταν ἡγοῦτο οὐρανὸν εἶναι, διὰ δὲ  
βραδυτήτα τε καὶ ἀσθένειαν μηδεπώποτε  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς θαλάττης εἴη ἀφιγμένος,  
μηδὲ ἐωρακώς εἴη, ἐκδὺς καὶ ἀνακύψας ἐκ  
τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὸν ἐνθάδε τόπον, ὅσῳ  
καθαρώτερος καὶ καλλίων τ. υγχάνει ὁν  
τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι, μηδὲ ἄλλου ἀκηκοώς εἴη  
τοῦτο ἐωρακότος.

11.37.5 | We think we are living in the hollows of the earth and believe we are above on the surface, just like someone living in the middle of the sea who thinks they are on the surface of the water. They see the sun and the other stars through the water, believing the sea to be the sky. But because of their slowness and weakness, they would never reach the edges of the sea, nor would they see it. If they came up and looked out from the sea into this place, they would find it much clearer and more beautiful than what they are used to, and they would not have heard of anything else they have seen.

11.37.6 | ταύτο δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ήμᾶς  
πεπονθέναι· οίκοῦντας γὰρ ἐν τινι κούλῳ  
τῆς γῆς οἴεσθαι ἐπάνω αὐτῆς οἰκεῖν, καὶ  
τὸν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν καλεῖν, ὡς διὰ τούτου  
οὐρανοῦ ὅντος τὰ ἀστρα χωροῦντα. τὸ δὲ  
εἶναι ταύτὸν ὑπ' ἀσθένείας καὶ βραδυτήτος  
οὐχ οἴους τε εἶναι ήμᾶς διεξελθεῖν ἐπ'  
ἔσχατον τὸν ἀέρα, ἐπεὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἐπ'  
ἄκρα ἔλθοι, ἡ πτηνὸς γενόμενος ἀνάπτοιτο,  
κατιδεῖν δὴ ἀνακύψαντα, ὡσπερ ἐνθάδε οἱ  
ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἰχθύες ἀνακύπτοντες  
ὁρῶσι τὰ ἐνθάδε, οὕτως ἀν τινα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ  
κατιδεῖν· καὶ εἰ ἡ φύσις ἱκανὴ εἴη  
ἀνέχεσθαι θεωροῦσα, γνῶναι ἀν δὴ  
ἐκεῖνός ἔστιν ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ

11.37.6 | We have experienced the same thing. Living in a certain hollow of the earth, we think we are above it and call the air the sky, as if the stars are moving through this sky. But because of our weakness and slowness, we cannot 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.

άληθινὸν φῶς καὶ ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς γῆ.

11.37.7 | ήδε μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ λίθοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐνθάδε διεφθαρμένα ἔστι καὶ καταβεβρωμένα, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλμης· καὶ οὕτε φύεται ἄξιον λόγου οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ οὕτε τέλειον, ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν, οὐδέν ἔστι, σήραγγες δὲ καὶ ἄμμος καὶ πηλὸς ἀμήχανος καὶ βόρβοροί εἰσιν, ὅπου ἀν καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν καλὰ κρίνεσθαι οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν ἄξια.

11.37.8 | ἔκεινα δὲ αὖτις τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολὺ ἀν ἔτι πλειον φανείη διαφέρειν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μυθολογεῖν καλὸν, ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι, cj Σιμμία, οἵα τυγχάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ὅντα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἡμεῖς γε τούτου τοῦ μύθου ἡδέως ἀν ἀκούσαιμεν.

11.37.9 | Λέγεται τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὡς ἐταῖρε, πρῶτον μὲν εἶναι τοιαύτη ἡ γῆ αὐτὴ ἵδεῖν, εἴ τις ἀνωθεν θεῶτο, ὥσπερ αἱ δωδεκάσκυτοι σφαῖραι, ποικίλη, χρώμασι διειλημμένη, ὃν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε εἶναι χρώματα ὥσπερ δείγματα, οἵς δὴ οἵ γραφεῖς καταχρῶνται· ἔκει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοιούτων εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ ἔτι ἐκ λαμπροτέρων καὶ καθαρωτέρων ἡ τούτων.

11.37.10 | τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀλουργῆ εἶναι θαυμαστὴν τὸ κάλλος, τὴν δὲ χρυσοειδῆ, τὴν δὲ ὅση λευκὴ γύψου καὶ χιόνος λευκοτέραν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων χρωμάτων συγκειμένην ὠσαύτως, καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων καὶ καλλιόνων ἡ ὅσα ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν.

11.37.7 | This earth, the stones, and all the places here are decayed and consumed, just like what is in the sea from the salt water. Nothing worthy of mention grows in the sea, nor is there anything complete, so to speak; there is nothing but tunnels, sand, useless clay, and mud, wherever it may be. Compared to what is beautiful among us, it is not worthy of any judgment.

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 that are 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 would look like this if someone were to see it from above, just like the twelve-colored balls, colorful and mixed with hues. The colors here are like samples that 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, and on the other hand, the golden one. The one as white as gypsum and snow would be even whiter, made up of other colors in the same way, and even more beautiful than all that we have seen.

11.37.11 | καὶ γὰρ αύτὰ ταῦτα τὰ κοῦλα αύτῆς, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος ἔμπλεα ὄντα, χρώματός τι εἴδος παρέχεσθαι στίλβοντα ἐν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων ποικιλίᾳ, ὥστε ἐν τι αύτῆς εἴδος ξυνεχές καὶ ποικίλον φαντάζεσθαι.

11.37.12 | ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ οὕσῃ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάλογον τὸ τοιαῦτα φύεσθαι δένδρα τε καὶ ἄνθη, ἔχοντα τοὺς καρπούς· καὶ αὖτὰ ὅρη ὠσαύτως καὶ τὸν 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 ὀτιοῦν τοιοῦτον οὐκ εἶναι καὶ ἔτι τούτων καλλίω.

11.37.13 | τὸ δ' αἴτιον τούτου εἶναι ὅτι ἔκεινοι οἱ λίθοι καθαροί εἰσι καὶ οὐ κατεδηδεσμένοι οὐδὲ διεφθαρμένοι 5 ὡσπερ οἱ ἐνθάδε, ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος καὶ ἄλμης καὶ τῶν δεῦρο ξυνερρυηκότων, ἀ καὶ λίθοις καὶ γῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῷοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς αἴσχη τε καὶ νόσους παρέχει. τὴν δὲ γῆν αύτὴν κεκοσμῆσθαι τούτοιςτε ἄπασι καὶ ἔτι χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὖτοῖς τοιούτοις. ἐκφανῆ γὰρ αύτὰ πεφυκέναι, ὃν τὰ πολλὰ πλήθη καὶ μεγάλα καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς, ὥστε αύτὴν δεῖν εἶναι θέαμα εύδαιμόνων θεατῶν.”

## Section 38

11.38.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφῆς θεοῦ δικαιωτήριον καὶ κρίσιν ψυχῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι

11.37.11 | And indeed, these hollow parts of it, filled with water and air, would provide a kind of shining color among the variety of other colors. In this way, it would seem to have a continuous and colorful appearance.

11.37.12 | In this kind of place, it would be fitting for trees and flowers to grow like this, bearing their fruits. Likewise, the mountains and stones would share the same qualities, with smoothness, clarity, and even 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 | 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 harm and diseases to stones, soil, and other living things and plants. But the land itself would be adorned with all these things, as well as with gold, silver, and other similar treasures. For these would be naturally present, abundant and large, found in many places on the earth, making it a sight for happy viewers.

11.38.1 | In the Hebrew scriptures, there will be a judgment and a decision for souls after this release, as foretold through many

προαγορευούσης διά τε μυρίων ἄλλων καὶ δι’ ὅν φησι “κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἡνεῷχθησαν καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο. ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἰκλεν 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 μονὰς τῶν εὔσεβῶν διαφόρους τε τῶν δυσσεβῶν τιμωρίας συμφώνως τοῖς Ἐβραίων ὑπογράφοντος λόγοις.

11.38.2 | φησὶ δ' οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς τάδε Τρίτος δὲ ποταμὸς τούτων κατὰ μέσον ἐκβάλλει, καὶ ἐγγὺς 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 κατωτέρω τοῦ Ταρτάρου.

11.38.3 | οὗτος δ' ἔστιν ὃν ἐπονομάζουσι Πυριφλεγέθοντα, οὗ καὶ οἱ βύακες 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 οἷον ὁ κύανός, ὃν δὴ ἐπονομάζουσι Στύγιον, καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων Στύγα. δὲ ἔμπεσῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ δεινὰς δυνάμεις λαβών ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, δὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς, περιελιττόμενος χωρεῖ ἐναντίως τῷ Πυριφλεγέθοντι καὶ ἀπαντᾷ

signs and through what is written: “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 account of divine judgment, and also to the river that is named, along with many punishments for the righteous and various punishments for the wicked, in agreement with the words of the Hebrews.

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 a lot of fire, creating a lake larger than our sea, bubbling with water and mud. From there, it moves in a swirling motion, muddy and thick, traveling through the earth and reaching other places, including the edge of the Acherusian lake, without mixing with the water. After being twisted many times beneath 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 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 flows into is the Styx. Whoever falls in there gains terrible powers in the water and sinks into the earth, moving in the opposite direction to Pyriphlegethon. They meet in the Acherusian lake from the

έν τῇ Ἀχερούσίᾳ λίμνῃ ἐξ ἑναντίας, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ τούτου ὕδωρ ούδενὶ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος κύκλῳ περιελθὼν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἑναντίως τῷ Πυριφλεγέθοντι· ὅνομα δὲ τούτῳ ἔστιν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Κωκυτός.

opposite side, and its water does not mix with anything. This river, moving in a circle, pours into Tartarus opposite Pyriphlegethon. This river is named, as the poets say, Cocytus.

11.38.4 | τούτων δὲ οὕτω φυκότων, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωνται οἱ τετελευτηκότες εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ὁ δαίμων ἔκαστον κομίζει, πρῶτον μὲν διεδικάσαντο οἵ τε καλῶς καὶ δσίως καὶ δικαίως βιώσαντες καὶ οἱ μή. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀν δόξωσι μέσως βεβιωκέναι, πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα, ἀναβάντες ἂ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὄχήματά ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τούτων ἀφικοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἔκει οίκοϋσί τε καὶ καθαιρόμενοι τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων διδόντες δίκας ἀπολύονται, εἴ τις τι ήδικηκε, τῶν τε εὔεργεσιῶν τιμᾶς φέρονται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἔκαστος, οἱ δ' ἀν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἥ ιεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἥ φρόνους ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμους πολλοὺς ἔξειργασμένοι ἥ ἄλλα ὄσα τοιαῦτα τυγχάνει ὄντα, τούτους δὲ ἥ προσήκουσα μοῖρα ῥίπτει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὕποτε ἔκβαίνουσιν.

11.38.4 | When those who have died arrive at the place where the spirit brings each one, they are first judged: those who have lived well, righteously, and justly, and those who have not. Some may seem to have lived in between, 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 they have done wrong. Those who have done good deeds receive honors based on their worth. But those who seem to be suffering greatly because of the seriousness of their sins, or because they have committed many and serious sacrileges, or many unjust and illegal murders, or other such things, 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 ἥ μητέρα ὑπ' ὄργῆς βίαιον τι πράξαντες, καὶ μεταμέλον αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄλλον βίον βιῶσιν, ἥ ἀνδροφόνοι ἥ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ γένωνται, τούτοις δ' ἐμπεσεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἀνάγκη, ἐμπεσόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖ γενομένους ἔκβάλλει τὸ κῦμα, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδροφόνους κατὰ τὸν Κωκυτὸν, τοὺς δὲ πατραλώας [καὶ μητραλώας] κατὰ τὸν Πυριφλεγέθοντα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ φλεγόμενοι

11.38.5 | Those who seem to have committed serious sins, such as 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 are sent down the Pyriphlegethon. When they are burning in the Acherusian lake, they cry out and call

γένωνται κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν  
Ἀχερούσιάδα, ἐνταῦθα βιῶσί τε καὶ  
καλοῦσιν, οἵ μὲν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν, οἵ δὲ οὓς  
ὑβρισαν, καλέσαντες δὲ ἵκετεύουσι καὶ  
δέονται ἔᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν λίμνην,  
καὶ ἔὰν μὲν πείσωσιν, ἐκβαίνουσι 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 γὰρ ἡ δίκη ὑπὸ τῶν  
δικαστῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτάχθη.

11.38.6 | οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀν δόξωσι διαφερόντως  
πρὸς τὸ δσίως βιῶνται, οὗτοί είσιν οἱ τῶνδε  
μὲν τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ  
έλευθερούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι,  
ὡσπερ δεσμωτηρίων, ἄνω δὲ εἰς τὴν  
καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
γῆς οἰκιζόμενοι. 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 οὔτε ḥάδιον  
δηλῶσαι οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ἱκανὸς ἐν τῷ  
παρόντι. ἀλλὰ τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα χρὴ ὅν  
διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς Σιμμία, πάλιν ποιεῖν ὥστε  
ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ βίῳ  
μετασχεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς  
μεγάλη.”

11.38.7 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων. σὺ δέ γε  
παραθήσεις τῷ “καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις καλλίους  
ἀφικνοῦνται, ἃς οὔτε ḥάδιον δηλῶσαι οὔτε  
χρόνος ἱκανὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι” τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν  
οὔτως ἔχον “όφθαλμὸς γὰρ οὐκ εἶδε καὶ  
οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου  
οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἀ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς  
ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν,”

for those they have killed or 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 | Those who seem to live very  
differently in a righteous way are the ones  
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 not  
easy to describe, and there is not enough  
time to do so in the present. But for the  
sake of these things, we must, oh Simmias,  
do everything we can 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 not  
easy to describe, and there is not enough  
time to do so 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 | ταῖς δὲ είρημέναις οίκήσεσι τὸ πολλὰς μονὰς εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τοῖς θεοφιλέσιν ἐπηγγελμένας, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Πυριφλεγέθοντος λεχθεῖσι τὸ τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἡπειλημένον πῦρ αἰώνιον, κατὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φάσκοντα Ἐβραίων προφήτην “τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν ὅτι πῦρ καίεται; τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν τὸν τόπον τὸν αἰώνιον;” καὶ πάλιν “ὸ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκὶ.”

11.38.8 | In the mentioned dwellings, many homes are promised by the Father to those who love God. Concerning the Pyriphlegethon, it is said that there is an eternal fire prepared 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 a sight for all flesh."

11.38.9 | τήρει δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων συνάδων τούτοις, τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἴπων χωρήσειν εἰς Τάρταρον, ἐπιλέγει “ὅθεν οὕποτε ἐκβαίνουσι.” καὶ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς εύσεβεῖς ζήσεσθαι είπὼν ἐν μακαρίοις προστίθησι λέγων “τὸ παράπαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.” ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄνευ καμάτων είρημένον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὅμοιον ἂν εἴη τῷ “ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός.”

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 | 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 ἵκανὴν καὶ τοῦτος τοῦ λόγου περιγραφὴν εἰληφότος ἐπὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς μεταβήσομαι σύγγραμμα.

11.38.10 | He says that those going to Acheron do not simply arrive there, but first ascend to what are their vehicles. What 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.

## Book Twelve (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.)

### Section 1

12.1.1 | Ό δωδέκατος ἡμῖν τῆς Εύαγγελικῆς 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 βλασφημουμένης ἡμῶν πίστεως ληψόμενος.

12.1.2 | “μὲν τοίνυν ὄρθως ἡ μή τις ἐπιτιμᾶ τῇ τε Λακωνικῇ καὶ τῇ Κρητικῇ πολιτείᾳ, λόγος ἀν δετερος εἴη· τὰ γοῦν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἵσως ἔγὼ μᾶλλον ἔχοιμ’ ἀν ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων λέγειν. ὑμῖν γάρ εἰ καὶ μετρίως κατεσκεύασται τὰ τῶν νόμων, εἰς τῶν καλλίστων ἀν εἴη νόμων μὴ ζητεῖν τῶν νέων μηδένα ἐὰν ποῖα καλῶς αὐτῶν ἡ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, μιᾶς δὲ φωνῆς καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος πάντας συμφωνεῖν ὡς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θεῶν, καὶ ἀν τις ἄλλως λέγῃ, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀκούοντας· γέρων δὲ εἴ τίς τι ξυννοεῖ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἀρχοντά τε καὶ ἡλικιώτην μηδενὸς ἐναντίον νέου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους. Ὁρθότατά γε, ὡς ξένε, κελεύεις.”

12.1.3 | Είκότως δῆτα καὶ ἡ Ἐβραίων προλαβοῦσα γραφὴ τῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν συνέσεως τε καὶ θεωρίας τὴν πίστιν προτάττει δι’ ὃν φησιν “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐ μὴ συνῆτε.” καὶ αὖθις “ἐπίστευσα, διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα.

12.1.1 | The twelfth book will now show how the earlier ideas of Plato agree with the words of the Hebrews, like the harmony of a lyre. It will begin with a defense of our faith, which many have spoken against.

12.1.2 | So, whether someone rightly criticizes the Spartan and Cretan ways of life or not, that would be a different matter. What most people say, I might be more inclined to discuss with 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 | ἐνθεν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι εἰσαγομένοις καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ἀτελέσιν, ὡς ἀν 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 παιὶν Ἐβραίων δευτερωτὰς φίλον ἦν ὄνομάζειν, ὥσπερ ἐρμηνευτὰς καὶ ἑξηγητὰς ὄντας τῆς τῶν γραφῶν διανοίας.

12.1.4 | From this, among us, for those who are just being introduced and have an incomplete understanding, the reading of the divine scriptures is presented more simply, along with the need to believe as the words of God instruct. 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 | "Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴποιμεν ἀν ἡμεῖς ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡς ἔσικας, ὢ Τυρταῖε, μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὄθνεῖόν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένους ἐπιφανεῖς. φαίη ταῦτα ἄν που καὶ δομολογοῦ; Τί μήν;

12.2.1 | Then, after these things, we might say that you, O Tyrtaeus, praise most of all those who are renowned in foreign and outside wars. Would he say this somewhere and agree? What do you think?

12.2.2 | Ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἀγαθῶν ὄντων 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 ἀντερύσσασθαι ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

12.2.2 | But we say that, while these things are good, those who are the best in the greatest war are even better. 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, when there is division.

12.2.3 | τοῦτον δέ φαμεν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ ἀμείνονα ἐκείνου πάμπολυ γίνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταύτων ἐλθοῦσαι μετὰ ἀνδρείας αὐτῆς μόνης ἀνδρείας. πιστὸς μὲν γάρ καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο ἄνευ

12.2.3 | We say that in a more difficult war, this person becomes much better than that one, almost as much as justice, moderation, and wisdom come together with courage alone. For a faithful and strong person in conflicts can never be without all virtue. Tyrtaeus says that many among the

ξυμπάσης ἀρετῆς· διαβάντες δὲ εὗ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, φράζει Τυρταῖος, τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰσὶ πάμπολοι, ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι γίγνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ἔκτὸς δὴ τινων εῦ 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 τῇδε ὁ παρὰ Διός νομοθέτης, πᾶς τε οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, οὐκ 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 ὀνομάσειε."

12.2.5 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήριος λόγος δόμοῦ συζεύξας τῇ πίστει τὴν φρόνησιν τὸν κατ' ἀμφότερα κεκοσμημένον τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐγκρίνει 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 τελευτήσασαι καὶ τὸν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων ἐπιμελοῦνται. ταῦτα ἀληθεῖς μὲν, μακροὶ δέ

mercenaries fight well and are willing to die in battle, but most of them 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, always looking toward the greatest virtue, will set the laws with great benefit. And, as Theognis says, this faithfulness in difficult times is what one might call perfect justice.

12.2.5 | And among us, the saving message connects wisdom with faith, which is shaped by 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 blind faith, but faith linked with the greatest virtues, if indeed such wisdom and goodness exist.

12.3.1 | For it seems to me that we are about to discuss 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 lengthy and cover a lot. It is necessary to

είσι περιέχοντες λόγοι. πιστεύειν δὲ ταῖς τε ἄλλαις φήμαις χρεών περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πολλαῖς καὶ σφόδρα παλαιᾶς οὔσαις, πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετοῦσι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀνπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνωνται."

believe in the other sayings about such matters, which are many and very old, and to accept that these things are true according to the lawgivers, unless they seem completely foolish.

12.3.2 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ δὲ τῶν Μακκαβαίων λέγεται Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου εὐχόμενος ὅρᾶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς φροντίδα ποιούμενος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων. δεῖν δὲ φησι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τούτοις πιστεύειν.

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 care for the people on earth. And Plato also says that it is necessary to believe these things.

## Section 4

12.4.1 | "Λόγων δὲ δισδὸν εῖδος· τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς, ψεῦδος δὲ ἔτερον. Ναί. Παιδευτέον δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, πρότερον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ψευδέσιν; Οὐ μανθάνω, ἔφη, πῶς λέγεις. Οὐ μανθάνεις, ἦν δ' ἔγὼ, ὅτι πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθους λέγομεν. τοῦτο δέ που ὡς τὸ ὅλον είπεῖν ψεῦδος, ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἀληθῆ. πρότερον δὲ μύθοις πρὸς τὰ παιδία ἢ γυμνασίοις χρώμεθα. "Εστι ταῦτα."

12.4.1 | There are two kinds of words: the true and the false. Yes. But should we teach both, starting with the false? I do not understand, he said, how you say this. You do not understand, I replied, that first we tell stories to children. This is somewhat 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 are true.

12.4.2 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις δὲ τὰς τῆς ἐνθέου γραφῆς ἱστορίας τοῖς νηπίοις τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπλούστερον ὥσπερ τινὰς μύθους ἔθος ἔστι παραδιδόναι, τοῖς δ' ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις τὴν ἔξιν τὰς τῶν λόγων βαθυτέρας καὶ δογματικάς θεωρίας διὰ τῆς καλουμένης δευτερώσεως καὶ σαφηνείας τῶν λανθανόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς νοημάτων.

12.4.2 | These are the things Plato says. 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 provide deeper and more serious teachings through what is called clarification and the revealing of hidden meanings.

## Section 5

12.5.1 | "Ούκοῦν οἶσθ' ὅτι ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου μέγιστὸν, ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ νέω καὶ ἀπαλῷ ὅτῳοῦν; μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδύεται τύπος, ὃν ἂν τις βούληται ἐνσημήνασθαι ἐκάστῳ.

12.5.2 | Κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν. Ἀρ' οὖν ḥαδίως οὕτω παρήσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας μύθους πλασθέντας ἀκούειν τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ ἐναντίας δόξας ἐκείναις ἀς, ἐπειδὰν τελεωθῶσιν, ἔχειν οἰησόμεθα δεῖν αὐτούς;

12.5.3 | Ούδ' ὄπωστιοῦν παρήσομεν. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπιστατητέον τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς, καὶ ὃν μὲν ἀν καλὸν μῆθον ποιήσωσιν, ἔγκριτέον, 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, ἐδοκίμαζον 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 ὀφελιμωτάταις διηγήσεσιν, ὥσπερ τισὶ μυθολογίαις, γονεῦσι τε καὶ

12.5.1 | Do you not know that the beginning of every great work is very important, especially for a young and impressionable person? For at that time, a form is shaped and taken on, which anyone may wish to mark for each individual.

12.5.2 | Therefore, we should be careful. Should we easily let the children hear the created myths and take them into their souls as if they were very different beliefs, which we will think they should hold once they are fully formed?

12.5.3 | We should not allow this at all. First, it seems to us that we must oversee the storytellers. We should approve the beautiful myths they create, but reject those that are not good. We will encourage 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. Many of the stories that are spoken of now should be discarded.

12.5.4 | These things were preserved by the Hebrews before Plato. 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 did not meet these standards, just as they did with the words of false prophets. For little children, the most helpful stories from the divine writings, like certain myths, were commonly told by parents and

τροφοῖς ἔθος ἦν κατεπάδειν,  
προπαρασκευῆς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς ἄνδρας  
αὐτοῖς ἐσομένοις θεοσεβείας.

caregivers as preparation for the reverence toward the gods that would come to them as they grew into men.

## Section 6

12.6.1 | "Ἄκουε δὴ, φασὶ, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ μῦθον, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὡς ἀληθῆ γὰρ ὅντα σοι λέξω ἂ μέλλω λέγειν."

12.6.2 | Καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα Τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα οίκειν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως τε καὶ δίκης δεσμτήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ιέναι."

12.6.3 | Καὶ αὖθις μετ' ὄλιγα Ἔπειτα 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 ἐκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δὴ δικαία ἡ κρίσις ἔη·"

12.6.4 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει "Ταῦτά ἔστιν, ὡς Καλλίκλεις, ἂ ἐγὼ ἀκηκοώς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι· καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων τοιόνδε λογίζομαι συμβαίνειν· ὃ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὧν, ὡς ἔμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν διάλυσις, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν.

12.6.1 | "Listen then," they say, "to a very beautiful word. You might think it is a myth, but I believe it is a true word; for I will tell 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 complete happiness, free from evils. But the one who lived unjustly and without respect will go to the place of punishment and justice, which is called Tartarus."

12.6.3 | "And again, after a little while, all of these must be judged naked; for the dead must be judged. The judge must also be naked, seeing the soul of each person who suddenly dies, alone without any relatives and leaving behind everything from this world on earth, so that the judgment may be fair."

12.6.4 | "And from here, I present this: 'These are the things, oh Callicles, that I have heard and believe to be true. From these words, I think the following follows: death is, as it seems to me, nothing more than the separation of two things, the soul and the body, from each other.'"

12.6.5 | ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαλυθῆτον, οὐδὲν  
ἡττον ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν ἔχει τὴν ἔξιν τὴν  
αὐτοῦ, ἡνπερ καὶ ὅτε ἔζη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τό τε  
σῶμα τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ  
θεραπεύματα καὶ τὰ παθήματα, ἐνδηλα  
πάντα· οἶν, εἴ τινος ἦν μέγα τὸ σῶμα  
φύσει ἢ τροφῇ ἢ ἀμφότερα ζῶντος, τούτου  
καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγας· καὶ εἰ  
παχὺς, παχὺς καὶ ἀποθανόντος, καὶ τάλλα  
οὕτως.

12.6.6 | καὶ εἰ αὖ ἐπετήδευε κομᾶν, κομήτης  
τούτου καὶ ὁ νεκρός· ἡ μαστιγίας εἴ τις ἦν,  
καὶ ἵχνη εἶχε τῶν πληγῶν οὐλάς 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  
τεθνεῶτος.

12.6.7 | καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ, οὗτος εἶναι  
παρεσκεύαστο τὸ σῶμα ζῶν, ἐνδηλα ταῦτα  
καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἦν πάντα, ἡ τὰ πολλὰ  
ἐπί τινα χρόνον. ταύτὸν δῆ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ'  
ἄρα καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι, (6  
Καλλίκλεις· ἐνδηλα 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.

12.6.8 | 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  
ὅτουοῦν βασιλέως ἡ δυνάστου, κατεῖδεν  
οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς δὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ

12.6.5 | “But when they are separated, each one still retains its own nature, just as it had when the person was alive. The body has its own nature, along with all its traits and conditions, clearly visible. For example, if someone had a large body by nature or due to food, or both, while living, then even after death, that person’s body remains large. If they were fat, they are still fat after death, and the same goes for others.”

12.6.6 | “And if he was used to having long hair, the dead person will have long hair too. If he had scars from whips on his body, which he received while alive, those scars will still be visible after death. If any of his limbs were broken or twisted while living, they will still be broken or twisted after death.”

12.6.7 | “In short, whatever the body was like while living, all those 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 separated from the body, including its nature and the experiences that each person had while alive.”

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 ruler and sees nothing healthy in the soul. Instead, it is beaten and full of wounds from lies and injustice, which each action has marked on it. Everything is

διαμεμαστιγωμένην καὶ ούλῶν μεστὴν ὑπὸ ἐπιορκιῶν καὶ ἀδικίας, ἢ ἐκάστη ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ ἔξωμόρχατο εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πάντα σκολιὰ ὑπὸ ψεύδους καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ οὐδὲν εὔθὺ διὰ τὸ ἄνευ ἀληθείας τετράφθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ ἔξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀκρατείας τῶν πράξεων ἀσυμμετρίας τε καὶ αἰσχρότητος γέμουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἴδεν· ἵδων δὲ ἀτίμως αὐτὴν ἀπέπεμψεν εὔθὺ τῆς φρουρᾶς, οἱ μέλλει ἐλθοῦσα ἀνατλῆναι τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη.

twisted by falsehood and arrogance, and nothing is straight because it has grown 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 fitting punishments."

12.6.9 | προσήκει δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἐν τιμωρίᾳ ὅντι ὑπὸ ἄλλου ὁρθῶς τιμωρουμένῳ ἢ βελτίονι γίγνεσθαι καὶ ὄνινασθαι, ἢ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα ἄλλοι ὁρῶντες πάσχοντα ἢ ἀν πάσχῃ φοβούμενοι βελτόνς γίνωνται.

12.6.9 | "It is right for anyone who is being punished by another to be justly punished or to become better, or to serve as an example for others. This way, others who see what they are suffering may become afraid and improve."

12.6.10 | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ὥφελούμενοί τε καὶ δίκην διδόντες ὑπὸ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὗτοι οἱ ἀν ίάσιμα ἀμαρτήματα ἀμάρτωσιν, ὅμως δὲ δὶ' ἀλγηδόνων καὶ ὁδυνῶν γίγνεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ὥφελεια καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἶδου· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἄλλως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

12.6.10 | "There are those who are both helped and punished by gods and humans, those who commit wrongs that can be healed. However, their benefit comes through pain and suffering, both here and in Hades, for it is not possible to be freed in any other way."

12.6.11 | οἱ δ' ἀν τὰ ἔσχατα ἀδικήσωσι καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικήματα ἀνίατοι γένωνται, ἐκ τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα γίγνεται, καὶ οὗτοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ὄνινανται οὐδὲν, ἀτε ἀνίατοι ὄντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ὄνινανται οἱ τούτους ὁρῶντες διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁδυνηρότατα καὶ φοβερώτατα πάθη πάσχοντας τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀτεχνῶς παραδείγματα ἀνηρτημένους ἔκει ἐν Ἶδου ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων

12.6.11 | "But those who commit the worst injustices and become incurable because of these wrongs serve as examples. These individuals no longer gain any benefit, as they are beyond healing, while others learn by witnessing them suffer the greatest, most painful, and most terrifying punishments for all time. They are clearly shown as examples in Hades, in the prison, for those who continually arrive to see the fates and warnings of the unjust."

άφικνουμένοις θεάματα καὶ νουθετήματα.

12.6.12 | Ὡν ἐγώ φημι ἵνα καὶ Ἀρχέλαον ἔσεσθαι εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγει Πόλως, καὶ ἄλλος ὅστις ἀν τοιοπῦτος τύραννος ἦ. οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶναι τούτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἐκ τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πραξάντων γεγονότας· οὗτοι γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἔξουσίαν μέγιστα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ἀμαρτήματα ἀμαρτάνουσι.

12.6.13 | μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ὅμηρος. βασιλέας γὰρ καὶ δυνάστας ἐκεῖνος πεποίηκε τοὺς ἐν Ἀιδου τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τιμωρουμένους, Τάνταλον καὶ Σίσυφον καὶ Τίτυον. Θερσίτην δὲ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος πονηρὸς ἦν ἴδιωτης, οὐδεὶς πεποίηκε μεγάλαις τιμωρίαις συνεχόμενον ὡς ἀνίατον· οὐ γὰρ, οἴμαι, ἔξην αὐτῷ· διὸ καὶ εύδαιμονέστερος ἦν ἦ οἵς ἔξην.

12.6.14 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὡς 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 γὰρ, ὡς Καλλίκλεις, καὶ πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιον, ἐν μεγάλῃ ἔξουσίᾳ γενόμενον τοῦ ἀδικεῖν δικαίως διαβιῶναι· ὀλίγοι δὲ γίγνονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἄλλοθι γεγόνασιν, οἴμαι δὲ ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλοι ἀγαθοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ δικαίως διαχειρίζειν ἢ ἂν τις ἐπιτρέπῃ.

12.6.15 | εἰς δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἑλλόγιμος γέγονε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας, Ἀριστείδης ὁ

12.6.12 | “I say this to show that Archelaus will be like this if Polus is telling the truth, as will anyone else who is a tyrant like him. I also believe there are many examples of this among tyrants, kings, and rulers, as well as those who act in cities; for these individuals commit the greatest and most wicked wrongs because of their power.”

12.6.13 | “Homer also supports this idea. He created kings and rulers in Hades who are always being punished, like Tantalus, Sisyphus, and Tityus. But for Thersites, and anyone else who was a wicked commoner, no one made him suffer great punishments as if he were beyond healing; for I believe it was not possible for him. Therefore, he was happier than those who were punished.”

12.6.14 | “But truly, oh Calicles, among those who have power, there are also very wicked people. However, this does not stop good men from being born among them; and they are truly worthy of great admiration. For it is difficult, oh Calicles, and deserving of much praise, to live justly while having the great power to do wrong. But very few become such people; for both here and elsewhere, I believe there will be other good individuals 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

Λυσιμάχου. οὶ δὲ πολλοὶ, 09 ἄριστε, κακοὶ γίνονται. τῶν δὲ δικαστῶν, ὅπερ ἔλεγον, ἐπειδὴν ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτόν τινα λάβῃ, ἄλλο μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδεν οὔδεν, οὕθ' ὅστις οὕθ' ὃν τινῶν, ὅτι δὲ πονηρός τις· καὶ τοῦτο κατιδών ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Τάρταρον, ἐπισημηνάμενος ἐάν τε ίάσιμος ἐάν τε ἀνίατος δοκῇ εἶναι.

among the other Greeks. But most people, oh best one, become wicked. As for the judges, what I was saying is that when Rhadamanthus catches someone like this, he knows nothing else about them—neither who they are nor what they have done—except that they are wicked. And seeing this, he sends them down to Tartarus, deciding whether they seem to be curable or incurable."

12.6.16 | ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὰ προσήκοντα πάσχει. ἐνίστε δὲ ἄλλην εἰσιδὼν ὁσίως βεβιωκυῖαν καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας ἀνδρὸς ἴδιωτου ἥ ἄλλου τινὸς ψυχῆν, μάλιστα μὲν, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ὡς Καλλίκλεις, φιλοσόφου τὰ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονήσαντος δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ) ἡγάσθη τε καὶ εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπέπεμψε.

12.6.16 | "But when he arrives there, he suffers what is appropriate. Sometimes, when he sees another soul that has lived rightly and truthfully—especially, as I say, oh Calicles, 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 blessed."

12.6.17 | ταύτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Αίακός· ἐκάτερος δὲ τούτων ῥάβδον ἔχων δικάζει. ὁ δὲ Μίνως ἐπισκοπῶν κάθηται μόνος, ἔχων χρύσεον σκῆπτρον, ὡς φησιν Ὁδυσσεὺς ὁ Ὄμηρος ἰδεῖν 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, he sees him with a golden scepter, giving laws to the dead."

12.6.18 | ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς Καλλίκλεις, ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων πέπεισμαι, καὶ σκοπῶ ὅπως ἀποφανοῦμαι τῷ κριτῇ ὡς ὑγιεστάτην τὴν ψυχήν. χαίρειν οὖν ἔσας τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκῶν, πειράσομαι τῷ ὄντι, ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι, βέλτιστος ὃν καὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀποθνήσκω ἀποθνήσκειν.

12.6.18 | "I am convinced, oh Calicles, by these words, and I look for a way to show the judge that my soul is the healthiest. Therefore, setting aside 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

12.6.19 | "I also urge all other people, as

πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καθ' ὅσον δύναμαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ σὲ ἀντιπαρακαλῶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, ὃν ἐγώ φημι ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν ἐνθάδε ἀγώνων εἶναι

much as I can. Indeed, I especially urge you to this life and this struggle, which I believe is greater than all the contests here."

12.6.20 | καὶ ὄνειδίζω σε, ὅτι οὐχ οἶός τε εἴ σαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι, ὅταν ἡ δίκη σοι ἥ καὶ ἡ κρίσις, ἦν νῦν ἐγώ ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ ἔλθων παρὰ τὸν δικαστὴν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν τῆς Αίγινης υἱὸν, ἐπειδάν σου ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐκεῖνος ἄγῃ, χασμήσῃ καὶ ἴλιγγιάσεις οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡ ἐγώ 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, as 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 just like I do here and you do there. He might even strike you if someone insults you and treats you poorly."

12.6.21 | Τάχα δ' οὖν ταυτὶ μῆθός σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι ὡσπερ ὑπὸ γραὸς, καὶ καταφρονεῖς αὐτῶν. καὶ οὐδέν γ' ἀν ἦν θαυμαστὸν καταφρονεῖν τούτων, εἴ πη ζητοῦντες εἶχομεν αὐτῶν βελτίω καὶ ἀληθέστερα εὐρεῖν.

12.6.21 | "Perhaps you think these words are just stories, like those told by an old woman, and you look down on them. It wouldn't be surprising to dismiss these ideas if we could find better and truer ones."

12.6.22 | νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶς ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες ὑμεῖς, οἵπερ σοφώτατοί ἔστε τῶν νῦν Ἑλλήνων, σύ τε καὶ Πόλος καὶ Γοργίας, οὐκ ἔχετε ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς δεῖ ἄλλον τινὰ βίον ζῆν ἥ τοῦτον ὄσπερ καὶ ἔκεισε φαίνεται συμφέρων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοσούτοις λόγοις, τῶν ἄλλων ἔλεγχομένων, μόνος οὗτος ἡρεμεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὡς εὐλαβητέον ἔστι τὸ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον ἥ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀνδρὶ μελετητέον οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ ίδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ."

12.6.22 | "Now you see that you three—who are the wisest of the Greeks today, you, Polos, and Gorgias—cannot prove that anyone should live a different life than this one, which seems better over there. But in this discussion, while the others are being challenged, this idea alone stands firm, saying that it is wiser to avoid doing wrong than to be wronged, and that a person should focus not on appearing good, but on being good, both in private and in public."

12.6.23 | 'Ο μὲν δὴ Πλάτων' τὸν Αἴακὸν καὶ τὸν Μίνωνταν τὸν Ραδάμανθυν ὑπέθετο τῶν τετελευτηκότων δικαστὰς ἐσεσθαι, ὁ

12.6.23 | "Indeed, Plato suggested that Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus would be judges of the dead. However, the divine

δὲ θεῖος λόγος μαρτύρεται πάντας δεῖν παραστήσεσθαι τῷ βῆματι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἔκαστος τὰ διὰ τοὺς σώματος πρὸς ἄλλον εἶτε ἀγαθὸν εἶτε φαῦλον.

12.6.24 | καὶ πάλιν “έν ήμέρᾳ 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' ἐξ ἐριθείας καὶ ἀπιστοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, θυμὸς καὶ ὄργὴ θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν, Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ “Ἐλληνος· οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολή.”

## Section 7

12.7.1 | “Εὔλαβοῦ μέντοι μή ποτε ἐκπέσῃ ταῦτα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαιδεύτους· σχεδὸν γάρ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἔστι τούτων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καταγελαστότερα ἀκούσματα, οὐδὲν αὖ πρὸς τοὺς εὐφυεῖς θαυμαστότερά τε καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικώτερα. πολλάκις δὲ λεγόμενα καὶ ἀεὶ ἀκούμενα καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη μόγις, ὥσπερ χρυσὸς, ἐκκαθαίρεται μετὰ πολλῆς πραγματείας.”

## Section 8

12.8.1 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήριος λόγος φησὶ “μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ βάλλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων.” καὶ “οὐ ψυχικὸς γάρ ἀνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ· μωρία γάρ αὐτῷ ἐστί.” “Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς, ὅπόταν καλοὶ ἐν ψυχῇ λόγοι

word tells us that everyone must stand before the throne of God, and each person will bring with them what they did in their life, whether good or bad.”

12.6.24 | “And again, on the day when God judges the hidden things of people, he will give each person what they deserve based on their actions. To those who seek glory, honor, and immortality through patience in doing good, he will grant eternal life. But to those who are selfish and do not believe in the truth, who are led astray by wrongdoing, there will be anger, wrath, trouble, and distress for every person who does evil, both Jew first and Greek; for there is no distinction.”

12.7.1 | “Be careful that these ideas do not fall into the hands of uneducated people; for, as it seems to me, there is nothing more laughable to the masses than these, nor is there anything more wonderful and inspiring to the wise. Often repeated and always heard, and for many years, like gold, they are refined through much effort.”

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 person does not accept the things of the Spirit of God; they are foolishness to him. Indeed, when a man, who is wise in spirit, does nothing more and instead does

ένόντες 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, δι λέγω. Μανθάνομέν γε, ὡς φίλε, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν ἀ λέγεις.

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 ὡσι 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 γράμματα μήτε νεῦν ἐπιστῶνται, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς δοτέον ὡς ἔμφροσι.

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 δικαιότατα λέγοιτ' ἀν σοφίᾳ, ἵνα δὲ μὲν κατὰ λόγον ζῶν μέτοχος, ὁ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενος οἴκοφθόρος καὶ περὶ πόλιν οὐδαμῇ 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 τὰς λέξεις σπουδάζειν τάδε φησί “Καλῶς, ὡς Σώκρατες· κἄν διαφυλάξῃς τὸ μὴ σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄνόμασι,

the opposite, I would consider all these kinds of ignorance to be the most serious, both for the city and for each citizen, but not for the creators, if you would understand what I am saying, O strangers. We are learning, my friend, and we agree with what you say.”

12.8.2 | “Let this then be established and said in such a way that nothing should be allowed for 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 hold the opposite views should be called wise, even if they do not know letters or music, and the principles should 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, where one person lives according to reason, while the other, being left behind, becomes a destroyer and is in no way a savior for the city. Instead, he becomes more 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 seem

πλουσιώτερος είς τὸ γῆρας ἀναφανήσῃ φρονήσεως.”

richer in understanding as you grow older.”

## 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,” κακείτα τὸν Σαοὺλ κρυπταζόμενον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἱερεμίαν ὑποπαραιτούμενον, ἐπάκουσον ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τὸ εὐλογὸν τῆς παραιτήσεως συνίστησι, λέγων οὕτως

12.9.1 | “When Moses first introduced the writings among the Hebrews, he asked to be excused from leading the people. To the one who was providing for him, he said, ‘I beg you, Lord, choose another who is able, whom you will send.’ Then there was Saul, hiding so that he would not accept the kingship, and the prophet Jeremiah, who also asked to be excused. Listen to how Plato supports the reasonableness of such excuses, saying this.”

12.9.2 | “Ούκοιν, ὡς Θρασύμαχε, τοῦτο ἥδη δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδεμίᾳ τέχνῃ ούδε ἀρχῇ τὸ αὐτῇ ὠφέλιμον παρασκευάζει, ἀλλ', ὅπερ πάλαι ἐλέγομεν, τὸ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ καὶ παρασκευάζει καὶ ἐπιτάττει, τὸ ἐκείνου συμφέρον ἐλάττονος ὅντος σκοποῦσα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος.

12.9.2 | “Therefore, O Thrasymachus, it is already clear that no art or authority prepares what is beneficial for itself. Instead, as we said before, it prepares and commands what is for the benefit of the one being ruled, focusing on what is less important, and not on what is for the greater good.”

12.9.3 | διὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἔγωγε, ὡς φίλε Θρασύμαχε, καὶ ἄρτι ἔλεγον μηδένα ἔθέλειν ἐκόντα ἄρχειν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἐπανορθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ μισθὸν αἴτεν, ὅτι ὁ μέλλων καλῶς τῇ τέχνῃ πράξειν οὐδέποθ' ἐστῶ τὸ βέλτιστον πράττει ούδ' ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τέχνην ἐπιτάττων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ. ὃν δὴ ἔνεκα, ὡς ἔσικε, μισθὸν δεῖ ὑπάρχειν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἔθελήσειν ἄρχειν, ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ τιμὴν, ἢ ζημίαν, ἐὰν μὴ ἄρχῃ.”

12.9.3 | “Because of this, my friend Thrasymachus, I just said that no one wants to willingly rule and deal with the troubles of others to fix them. Instead, they ask for a reward. The one who is going to act well in their craft never does what is best for themselves, nor do they command according to their craft, but rather for the benefit of 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 εύθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι διδασκόντων, τὰ συνωδὰ τῆς Πλάτωνος καὶ περὶ τούτου δόξης μάθοις ἀν ἀπὸ τῶνδε αὐτοῦ τῶν φωνῶν, ἃς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τέθειται τῆς Πολιτείας

12.10.2 | "Τὸν δ' οὖν τοιοῦτον θέντες τὸν δίκαιον αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτὸν ιστῶμεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἄνδρα ἀπλοῦν καὶ γενναῖον, κατ' Αἰσχύλον οὐ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἔθελοντα. ἀφαιρετέον δὲ τὸ δοκεῖν. εἰ γάρ δόξει δίκαιος εἶναι, ἔσονται αὐτῷ τιμαὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ δοκοῦντι τοιούτῳ εἶναι. ἀδηλον οὖν εἴτε τοῦ δικαίου εἴτε 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 ἀδικος διὰ βίου, ὃν δὲ δίκαιος."

12.10.4 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει  
"Λεκτέον οὖν· καὶ δὴ, κάν ἀγροικοτέρως λέγηται, μὴ ἐμὲ οἷου λέγειν, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας πρὸ δικαιοσύνης

12.10.1 | "Among the Hebrews, the writings teach that the prophets and righteous men bravely endure the worst insults and all dangers. You can learn about this from the songs of Plato and his ideas on this topic in these very words, which are found in the second book of the Republic."

12.10.2 | "Now, let us present the just man as he describes, a simple and noble man, who does not appear to be good according to Aeschylus, but rather wants to be good. We must set aside the appearance of goodness. For if he seems to be just, he will receive honors and gifts that make him appear that way. It is unclear whether he is truly just or if he is seen as such because of the gifts and honors."

12.10.3 | "Let him be stripped of everything except justice, and let him be in a state opposite to what he was before. He should not have the appearance of wrongdoing, which is the greatest injustice, so that he may be pushed toward justice, without being influenced by bad opinions and the things that come from them. But let him remain steadfast until death, appearing to be unjust throughout his life, while actually being just."

12.10.4 | "And after a short while, 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

άδικίαν. ἔροῦσι δὲ τάδε, ὅτι οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκοπήσεται τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθῶν ἀνασκινδυλευθήσεται, καὶ γνώσεται ὅτι οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν δεῖ ἔθελειν.”

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 shown to not be just, but will want to seem that way.”

12.10.5 | Ταῦτα λόγοις ὁ Πλάτων<sup>•</sup> ἔργοις δὲ πολὺ πρότερον οὗ παρ' Ἐβραίοις δίκαιοι καὶ προφῆται μνημονεύονται τὰ εἰρημένα πάντα πεπονθέναι, οἵ γε δικαιότατοι ὄντες ὡς ἀδικώτατοι “έλιθάσθησαν, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον, περιῆλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς καὶ αἴγειοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι, ἐν ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι καὶ ὅρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὄπαις τῆς γῆς, ὃν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος.”

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 for having 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 what they needed, 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 ἀγγέλοις 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, to angels, and to men.’ And ‘until this very hour, we hunger and thirst, we are naked, we are beaten, and we wander. When we are insulted, we bless; when we are persecuted, we endure; when we are 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 οίκουμένης οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ

12.10.7 | “But even here, the noble witnesses of our savior throughout the whole world do not seek to seem just, but

τὸ εῖναι δίκαιοι τε καὶ εύσεβεῖς ἀσκοῦντες  
ὅσα δὴ κατέλεξεν ὁ Πλάτων' πεπόνθασιν·  
έπει ταὶ ἐμαστιγώθησαν, δεσμά τε καὶ  
στρέβλας ὑπέμειναν, καὶ μὴν καὶ  
έξεκόπησαν τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ, καὶ τέλος πάντα  
τὰ δεινὰ παθόντες ἀνεσκινδυλεύθησαν. ὡν  
οὐδένα παρ' Ἔλλησιν ἐπιζητήσας ὅμοιον ἀν  
εὔροις, ὡς εἰκότως τινὰ φάναι τὸν  
φιλόσοφον οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἡ θεσπίσαι διὰ  
τούτων περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν διαπρεπόντων  
ἐν εύσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθεῖ δικαιοσύνῃ.

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 say 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 τούτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡπατῆσθαι διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τοῦ ὄφεως, ἀντικρυς μονονούχῃ τὰ ρήματα μεταποιήσας ὁ Πλάτων' ἐπάκουσον οἶα ἐν Συμποσίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλληγορῶν τέθεικεν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ κῆπον Δῖος ὄνομάσας, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἀπάτης Πενίαν ἐπιβουλεύουσαν 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, ὅπηνίκα συνίστατο ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπὼν, οὕτω τὸν κόσμον ἀλληγορήσας τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν κάλλους ἔνεκα. λέγει δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ρήμασι τάδε

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 paradise, man was deceived by the serpent through the woman. Plato, changing only the words, responded in the Symposium, where he himself presented allegories. Instead of God's paradise, he named a garden of Zeus, and instead of the serpent and the deception that happened, 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 εύωχίας οὕσης,  
ἀφίκετο ἡ Πενία, καὶ ἦν περὶ τὰς θύρας. ὁ  
οὖν Πόρος μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος

12.11.2 | "When Aphrodite was born, the gods were feasting, including the son of Metis, Poros. After they had dined, while the feast was going on, Poverty arrived and stood by the doors. So, Poros, being drunk from the nectar (for there was no wine yet),

γὰρ οὕπω ἦν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Δῖός κῆπον  
εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος εύδεν. ἡ οὖν Πενία  
ἐπιβουλεύουσα διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπορίαν  
παιδίον ποιήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ Πόρου  
κατακλίνεται τε παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκύησε τὸν  
"Ἐρωτα." Τοιαῦτα μὲν δή τινα καὶ ἐν  
τούτοις δὲ Πλάτων' ἔμφερῶς Μωσεῖ  
ὑπηγίξατο.

## Section 12

12.12.1 | Πάλιν είρηκότος Μώσεως "ῷ δὲ  
Ἄδαμ 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 ὥκοδόμησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν,  
ἥν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, εἰς γυναῖκα," μὴ  
συνεὶς δὲ Πλάτων' οἴᾳ εἴρηται διανοίᾳ δῆλος  
μὲν ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγνοήσας τὸν λόγον,  
Ἀριστοφάνει δὲ αὐτὸν, οἷα κωμῳδῷ  
χλευάζειν είωθότι καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν  
πραγμάτων, ἀνατίθησιν, ἐν Συμποσίῳ τάδε  
λέγοντα αὐτὸν εἰσάγων

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  
ἥν 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 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κοινὸν, τοῦ τε  
ἄρρενος καὶ τοῦ θήλεος."

12.12.3 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς διασύρας τὰ αὐτῷ  
συνήθῃ ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Ταῦτ' είπὼν ὃ

entered the garden of Zeus and fell asleep.  
Poverty, wanting to create a child with  
Poros because of her own lack, lay down  
beside him and conceived Eros." In this  
way, Plato hinted at something similar to  
Moses.

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,  
knowing this saying, clearly shows that he  
understood its meaning. However,  
Aristophanes, as is usual for him in comedy,  
mocks and presents serious matters in the  
Symposium, saying these things while  
introducing him."

12.12.2 | "You must first learn about human  
nature and its feelings. Our nature was not  
the same in the past as it is now; it was  
different. Originally, there were three kinds  
of humans, not just the two we have now,  
male and female, but a third kind that was  
common to both. This kind no longer has a  
name and has disappeared. There used to  
be a being called androgynous, which was a  
form and name shared by both male and  
female."

12.12.3 | "Then, continuing, he spoke about  
the usual things: 'After saying this, Zeus cut

παρ' αύτῷ Ζεὺς ἔτεμνε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίχα, ὡσπερ οἱ τὰ ὥτα τέμνοντες καὶ μέλλοντες ταριχεύειν, ἢ ὡσπερ οἱ τὰ ώτα ταῖς θριξίν. ὅντινα δὲ τέμοι, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκέλευε τό τε πρόσωπον μεταστρέφειν καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ἥμισυ πρὸς τὴν τομήν, ἵνα θεώμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ τμῆσιν κοσμιάτερος εἴη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ίᾶσθαι ἐκέλευεν.

## 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, ἐπάκουουσον τοῦ φιλοσόφου μονονούχῃ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα Ἑλληνικῇ b τῇ φωνῇ διερμηνεύοντος. λέγει δ' οὗν

12.13.2 | “Θεός ἔνεμεν αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν, καθάπερ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ζῶον ὃν ἔτερον θειότερον, ἄλλα γένη φαυλότερα αὐτῶν νομεύουσι. νέμοντος δ' ἐκείνου πολιτεῖαί τε οὐκ ἥσαν ούδε κτήσεις γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἐκ γῆς γάρ ἀνεβιώσκοντο πάντες, ούδεν μεμνημένοι τῶν πρόσθεν ·) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπῆν πάντα, καρποὺς δὲ ἀφθόνους εἶχον ἀπὸ τε δένδρων δρῶν καὶ πολλῆς ὕλης, οὐχ ὑπὸ γεωργίας φυομένους, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτης ἀναδιδούσης τῆς γῆς. γυμνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀστρωτοί, θυραυλοῦντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέμοντο. τὸ γάρ τῶν ὠρῶν αὐτοῖς ἄλυπον ἐκέρατο, μαλακάς δὲ εύνάς εἶχον, ἀναφυομένης ἐκ γῆς πόας ἀφθόνου. τὸν δὴ βίον, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἀκούεις μὲν τὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Κρόνου· τόνδε δ', ὡς λόγος ἐπὶ Δῖός εἶναι,

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. For 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 the rest to be healed.”

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 place without ownership, that everything grew without being planted, and that they were naked without any clothing. Listen to the philosopher, who alone translates these things into Greek. He says 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 were ruled by them. At 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 plenty of wood, not grown by farming, but given freely by the earth. They were naked and without beds, mostly living 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,

τὸν νῦν, παρὼν αὐτὸς ἥσθησαι.

which you yourself have experienced."

## Section 14

12.14.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως ἀναγράψαντος ὅτι  
ἥν ὁ ὄφις φρονιμώτερος πάντων τῶν  
θηρίων, οἵα τε εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἡ  
γυνὴ τῷ ὄφει, καὶ τὰς ὄμιλίας 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, explaining their conversations. Plato writes something similar; listen."

12.14.2 | "Εἴ μὲν τοίνυν οἱ τρόφιμοι τοῦ  
Κρόνου, παρούστης αὐτοῖς οὕτω πολλῆς  
σχολῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον  
ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' καὶ θηρίοις διὰ λόγων  
δύνασθαι ξυγγίνεσθαι, κατεχρῶντο  
τούτοις σύμπασιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, μετά τε  
θηρίων καὶ μετ' ἄλλήλων ὄμιλοῦντες, καὶ  
πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ πάσης φύσεως εἴ τινά  
τις ἴδιαν δύναμιν ἔχουσα ἥσθετό τι  
διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ξυναγυρμὸν  
φρονήσεως, εὔκριτον ὅτι τῶν νῦν οὶ τότε  
μυρίως πρὸς εύδαιμονίαν διέφερον.

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. They talked with both animals and each other, asking 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 when it comes to happiness."

12.14.3 | εἰ δ' ἐμπιπλάμενοι σίτων ἄδην καὶ  
πότων διελέγοντο πρὸς ἄλλήλους καὶ τὰ  
θηρία μύθους, οἵοι δὴ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ  
αὐτῶν λέγονται, καὶ τοῦθ', οὕτως γε κατ'  
ἔμὴν δόξαν ἀποφήνασθαι, καὶ μάλα  
εὔκριτον. ὅμως δ' οὖν ταῦτα μὲν ἀφῶμεν,  
ἴως ἂν ἡμῖν μηνυτής τις ἱκανὸς φανῆ,  
ποτέρως οἴ τότε τὰς ὁ ἐπιθυμίας εῖχον περί<sup>τε</sup>  
τε ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων χρείας."

12.14.3 | "If they were filled with food and drink, talking with each other and telling stories about the animals, just as they are said to do even now, then it seems very clear to me to say this. However, let us set these things aside until a capable messenger appears to tell us whether they had desires for knowledge and the need for words at that time."

## Section 15

12.15.1 | Μώσης νομοθεσίαν ἀνθρώποις  
καταβεβλημένος ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ δεῖν

12.15.1 | "Moses, having established laws for humans, thought it was necessary to

άρχαιοιογίας 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 ἔξητασμένων τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφηγεῖται, κατάλληλον οἵς ἐνομοθέτει τὴν περὶ τούτων ἡγησάμενος ἱστορίαν ἔσεσθαι.

include ancient history in the introductions. He mentions the flood and the life of humans afterward, then the deeds of ancient men who were beloved by God among the Hebrews. He also discusses the governance of others who were examined for their wrongdoings. He believed that the history he organized about these matters would be suitable for those he was legislating.”

12.15.2 | καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' δὲ ὥσαύτως, παρελθόντων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων γραφὴν τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Μωρεῖ ζηλοῖ τρόπον· ἐν προοιμίοις γοῦν τῶν Νόμων τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαιοιογίᾳ κέχρηται, κατακλυσμοῦ μνημονεύσας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βίου· ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τοῦ τρίτου τῶν Νόμων ἐπάκουουσον ἣ 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 βραχὺ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν πιθανὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον πᾶν παντί.

12.15.2 | “And Plato, likewise, when he approached the writing of the laws, followed the same path as Moses. In the introductions of the Laws, he refers to ancient history, mentioning the flood and the life after it. Starting from the third book of the Laws, listen to what he says: ‘Do the ancient stories seem to have some truth to you? Which ones? That many humans have perished due to floods, diseases, and many other things, leaving only a small part of humanity. Indeed, such a thing seems very likely to everyone.’”

12.15.3 | Φέρε δὴ, νοήσωμεν μίαν τῶν πολλῶν ταύτην, τὴν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ γενομένην. Τὸ ποῦόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς διανοηθέντες; Ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδὸν ὅρειοί 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, the one that happened during the flood. What should we think about it? It's as if those who escaped destruction were like mountain dwellers, living on 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 ἀστεσι πρὸς ἄλλήλους μηχανῶν

12.15.4 | “And indeed, such people must have lacked many skills, as well as the tools in the cities that worked against each other

εῖς τε πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλονεικίας, 5 καὶ δόποσα ἄλλα κακουργήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπινοοῦσιν. Εἴκος γοῦν. Θῶμεν δὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις πόλεις καὶ πρὸς θαλάττη κατοικούσας ἄρδην ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διαφθείρεσθαι. Θῶμεν. Οὐκοῦν ὅργανά τε πάντα ἀπόλλυσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι τέχνης ἦν ἔχόμενον σπουδαίως εὐρημένον ἢ πολιτικῆς ἢ καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἐτέρας, πάντα ἔρρειν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ φήσομεν.”

12.15.5 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησιν “Οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ λέγωμεν ἔχειν τότε, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ φθορὰ, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, μυρίαν μὲν τινα φοβερὰν ἔρημίαν, γῆς δὲ ἀφθόνου πλῆθος πάμπολυ.”

12.15.6 | Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔτερα εἰπὼν ἐπεξέρχεται βίους τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἴθ', ὥσπερ Μωσῆς τὴν τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν Ἐβραίων πολιτείαν ἐπισυνάπτει τῇ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ὑφηγήσει, καὶ ὁ Πλάτων δομοίως 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 ἱστορίαν ἀπάρχεται τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως, κάν τούτῳ Μωσεῖ κατακολουθήσας.

## Section 16

12.16.1 | Μώσεως τὴν πᾶσάν αὐτοῦ

out of greed and rivalry, along with all the other kinds of evil they thought up against one another. This seems likely. Let us say that the cities in the plains and those by the sea were completely destroyed at that time. Let us say this. Therefore, all tools would have been lost, and if there was any skill that had been carefully developed, whether in politics or in some other form of wisdom, we can say that all of these were swept away at that time.”

12.15.5 | “And after this, he says, ‘Therefore, let us say that at that time, when destruction occurred, the situation for humans was a terrible emptiness, and the land was filled with abundance.’”

12.15.6 | “After saying these things and others like them, he goes on to discuss the lives of people after the flood. Just as Moses connects the way of life of the ancient, God-fearing Hebrews with what comes after the flood, Plato similarly tries to explore the lives of the ancient Greeks after the flood, just as Moses 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

νομοθεσίαν τήν τε κατ' αύτὸν πολιτείαν  
εύσεβείας τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ  
ἀναρτήσαντος, ἀπό τε τοῦ πάντων  
δημιουργοῦ τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς νομοθεσίας  
πεποιημένου, ἐπειτα τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν  
έξερχεσθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διδάξαντος, τὰ  
τε θεῖα ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἡγεμόνα νοῦν,  
αύτὸν δὴ τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, ἀναθέντος,  
θέα ὅπως καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
βαίνων ἔχνεσιν ἐπιμέμφεται μὲν τοῖς  
Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων νομοθέταις,  
τὸν δ' ἀρέσκοντα Μωσεῖ νόμον ἐκδιδάσκει,  
λέγων οὕτως

of life he established for the worship of the one true God, the creator of all, laid the foundation 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 it this way."

12.16.2 | "Πῇ δὴ οὖν σε ἔτ' ἀν ἐβουλόμην  
διελόμενον λέγειν αὐτός τ' ἀκούειν; βούλει  
σοι φράζω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ξένε. Ἐχρῆν  
εἴπειν, οὗτοι Κρητῶν νόμοι ούκ είσὶ μάτην  
διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εύδοκιμοι τοῖς  
Ἐλλησιν ἔχουσι γάρ ὄρθως τοὺς αὐτοῖς  
χρωμένους εύδαιμονας ἀποτελοῦντες·  
ἄπαντα γάρ τάγαθὰ πορίζουσι.

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 well-respected by all the Greeks. For they rightly make those who follow them happy, since they provide all good things."

12.16.3 | διττὰ δ' ἀγαθά ἔστι, τὰ μὲν  
ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἥρτηται δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
θείων θάτερα· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δέχηται τὰ  
μείζονα πόλις, κτᾶται καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα· εἰ  
δὲ μὴ, στέρεται ἀμφοῖν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν  
ἐλάττονα ὡν ἡγεῖται ὑγεία, κάλλος δὲ  
δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἴσχὺς εἴς τε δρόμον  
καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πάσας κινήσεις τῷ  
σώματι, τέταρτον δὲ πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς,  
ἄλλ' ὁξὺ βλέπων, ἀνπερ ἄμ' ἐπηται  
φρονήσει.

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 clear-sighted, if it follows wisdom."

12.16.4 | ὃ δὴ πρῶτον αὗτον τῶν θείων  
ἡγεμονοῦν ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ φρόνησις,  
δεύτερον δὲ μετὰ νοῦν σώφρων ψυχῆς ἔξις,  
ἔκ δὲ τούτων μετὰ ἀνδρείας κραθέντων

12.16.4 | "The first of the divine goods that leads is wisdom. The second is a wise state of the soul. From these, with courage, the third would be justice, and the fourth is

τρίτον ἀν εἴη δικαιοσύνη, τέταρτον δὲ  
ἀνδρεία. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἔκείνων  
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 ὅντων  
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἴοντων μέχρι  
γήρως, τιμῶντα ὄρθως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ  
ἀτιμάζοντα, ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς τούτων  
δημιούραις τάς τε λύπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς  
ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ξυμπάντων τε  
έρωτων τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπεσκεμμένον καὶ  
παραπεφυλαχότα ψέγειν τε ὄρθως καὶ  
ἐπαινεῖν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων."

12.16.7 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησί "Κατιδῶν  
δὲ ὁ θεὶς τοὺς νόμους πᾶσι τούτοις  
φύλακας ἐπιστήσει, τοὺς μὲν διὰ  
φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀληθοῦς δόξης  
ίοντας, 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  
ύμᾶς, καὶ ἔτι νῦν βούλομαι, διεξελθεῖν πῶς  
ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Δίος λεγομένοις νόμοις, τοῖς τε  
τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὓς Μίνως τε καὶ  
Λυκοῦργος ἔθέτην, ἔνεστί τε πάντα ταῦτα,

bravery. All these are naturally arranged before the others, and indeed, they should be arranged this way by the lawmaker."

12.16.5 | "After these, the other rules should be given to the citizens, focusing on these matters. The human goods should lead to the divine, and the divine should be guided by the wisdom of the whole leader."

12.16.6 | "Regarding marriages between individuals, and then in the births and care of children, both boys and girls, while they are young and as they grow older into old age, it is important to honor them properly and not to dishonor them. In all their gatherings, one should carefully consider and protect their sorrows, pleasures, and desires, and fairly blame or praise them according to those laws."

12.16.7 | "And after a little while, he says, 'The one who established the laws will appoint guardians over all these, some through wisdom and others through true understanding, so that by bringing all these together, the mind will follow moderation and justice, not wealth or ambition.'"

12.16.8 | "So, O strangers, I would like you, and I still want you now, to explain how the laws said to be from Zeus, and those of Pythian Apollo, which Minos and Lycurgus established, are all connected. I also want

καὶ ὅπη τάξιν είληφότα διάδηλά ἔστι τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ τέχνῃ τε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἡμῖν οὐδαμῶς ἔστι καταφανῆ.”

to know how the order taken is clearly shown by the experienced knowledge of laws and certain customs, while for the others, it is not clear to us at all.”

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, ἐξῆς 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 ιερωμένους, ὡς καὶ τὰ λόγια διδάσκει, ἄνδρας δικαίους, μισοῦντας ὑπερηφανίαν, τοὺς μὲν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι’ ἀληθιοῦς δόξης ιόντας.

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, laid the foundation for teaching about God. He also applied the laws concerning his own government and the rules about agreements and 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 understanding.”

## Section 17

12.17.1 | “Λέγω οὖν καί φημι τὸν ὀτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ δὲ 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 δὲ αὖ γεωργοῦντα, καὶ ὄργανα ἐκατέρω σμικρὰ, τῶν ἀληθινῶν μιμήματα, παρασκευάζειν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσ’ ἂ ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι προμανθάνειν, οἶν τέκτονα μετρεῖν ἢ σταθμᾶσθαι, καὶ πολεμικὸν ἵππεύειν παίζοντα ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλο ποιοῦντα, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι διὰ τῶν παιδιῶν ἔκεῖσε τρέπειν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν παίδων, οἵ ἀφικομένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ τέλος ἔχειν.

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 matters that are suitable for each. For example, the one who is going to be a good farmer or 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. He should also learn all the necessary lessons beforehand, like measuring for a carpenter or weighing, and practice riding for a soldier, or doing something else similar. He should try to guide the pleasures and desires of the children so that they reach their proper end.”

12.17.2 | κεφάλαιον δὴ παιδείας λέγομεν τὴν ὄρθην τροφὴν, ἡ τοῦ παίζοντος τος τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἔρωτα ὅτι μάλιστα ἔξει τούτου, ὃ δεήσει γενόμενον ἀνδρα αὐτὸν τέλειον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς.”

12.17.3 | Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Μωσῆς ἐνομοθέτησεν εἰπών “καὶ ἔσται τὰ ὥματα ταῦτα, ὅσα ἔγω ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου, καὶ προβιβάσεις αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς σου.” ὃ δὴ καὶ πράττειν σύνηθες παισὶν Ἐβραίων, ἐξ ἀπαλῆς ἡλικίας τοὺς νέους ἀπαντας τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας παιδεύμασιν ἀνατρέφουσι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κατά τι πάτριον ἔθος παρὰ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει σπουδάζεται.

## Section 18

12.18.1 | “Μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὃ λέγομεν εἶναι παιδείαν ἀόριστον γένηται. νῦν γὰρ ὀνειδίζοντες ἐπαινοῦντές τε ἐκάστων τὰς τροφὰς λέγομεν ὡς 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 γὰρ ταῦτα ἡγουμένων, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἶναι παιδείαν ὃ νῦν λόγος ἀν εἴη, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκ παίδων παιδείαν, ποιοῦσαν ἐπιθυμητήν τε καὶ ἔραστήν τοῦ πολίτην γενέσθαι τέλεον, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον μετὰ δίκης.

12.18.2 | ταύτην τὴν τροφὴν ἀφορισάμενος ὃ λόγος οὗτος, ὡς ἔμοι φαίνεται, νῦν βούλοιτ’ ἀν μόνην παιδείαν προσαγορεύειν, τὴν δὲ εἰς χρήματα

12.17.2 | “We call the main point of education the proper nourishment, which guides the soul to love what is most important. This is 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 Hebrew children are accustomed to, being raised from a young age in the teachings of reverence for God. This is also practiced here as a traditional custom among the Jewish people.”

12.18.1 | “Therefore, let us not allow what we call education to become unclear. Right 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. It seems that these skills are not considered true education in this discussion. Instead, we should focus on the education that leads to virtue, which inspires a citizen to become perfect and teaches them how to both lead and be led with fairness.”

12.18.2 | “This speech, having defined this kind of nourishment, seems to me to recognize only this education as true. The education that leads to wealth, strength, or

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 | ήμεῖς δὲ μηδ' ἐν όνόματι  
διαφερώμεθα. αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ νῦν δὴ λόγος  
ἡμῖν ὀμοιογηθεὶς μενέτω, ὡς οὐ γε ὄρθως  
πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται, καὶ  
δεῖ δὴ τὴν παιδείαν μηδαμοῦ ἀτιμάζειν, ὡς  
πρῶτον τῶν καλλίστων τοῖς ἀρίστοις  
ἀνδράσι παραγιγνόμενον· καὶ εἴ ποτε  
έξερχεται, δυνατὸν δέ ἐστιν  
ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, τοῦτο ἀεὶ δραστέον διὰ  
βίου παντὶ κατὰ δύναμιν.”

12.18.4 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ τῶν Νόμων  
ἐπιλέγει “Παιδείαν δὴ λέγω τὴν  
παραγινομένην πρῶτον παισὶν ἀρετὴν,  
ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φιλία καὶ λύπη καὶ μῆσος ἐὰν  
ὄρθως ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνωνται μή πω  
δυναμένων λόγον λαμβάνειν, λαβόντων δὲ  
τὸν λόγον συμφωνήσωσι τῷ λόγῳ, ὄρθως  
εἰθίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔθῶν·  
αὕτη ἔσθ’ ἡ συμφωνία ξύμπασα μὲν ἀρετὴ,  
τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας  
τεθραμμένον αὐτῆς ὄρθως, ὥστε μισεῖν μὲν  
ἄχρη μισεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους,  
στέργειν δὲ ἄχρη στέργειν, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ  
άποτεμὼν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ παιδείαν  
προσαγορεύων κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ὄρθως ἀν  
προσαγορεύοις.”

12.18.5 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων. προλαβὼν δὲ  
αὐτὸν ὁ Δαβὶδ ἐν ψαλμῷ δίαιταις, μισεῖν ἄ δεῖ  
μισεῖν καὶ στέργειν διδάσκων ἄ δεῖ  
στέργειν, τάδε φησί “δεῦτε τέκνα  
ἀκούσατέ μου, φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς.  
τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν, ἀγαπῶν

some other skill without reason and justice  
is both lowly and unworthy of being called  
education at all.”

12.18.3 | “But let us not differ even in name.  
Instead, let this agreement we have  
reached stand: those who are truly  
educated become nearly good. We must not  
dishonor education anywhere, as it is the  
most important of the finest things for the  
best people. If it ever goes wrong, it can be  
corrected; this is something we should  
always strive for throughout our lives, as  
much as we can.”

12.18.4 | “And in the second book of the  
Laws, it says, ‘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, will lead them to  
agree with reason when they do  
understand it. They will then be shaped  
properly by the right customs. This  
agreement is the essence of virtue, and it is  
about pleasures and pains that it is rightly  
trained. One should hate what should be  
hated from the very beginning to the end,  
and love what should be loved. This, in  
essence, would rightly be called education  
according to my understanding.’”

12.18.5 | “These ideas are from Plato.  
However, David, who came before him in  
his psalms, teaches us 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

ήμέρας ίδειν ἀγαθάς; παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χείλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον. ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ, ποίησον ἀγαθόν· ζήτησον εἰρήνην, καὶ δίωξον αύτήν.”

person who wants life and loves 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 | καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν ὄμοιώς “ἀκούσατε” φησὶ “παῖδες παιδείαν πατρός. δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι ὑμῖν· τῶν ἐμῶν 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 “ὸδοὺς ἀσεβῶν μὴ ἐπέλθῃς, μηδὲ ζηλώσῃς ὄδοὺς παρανόμων. μυρία δ' ἀν εὗροις ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων γράμμασι, παιδευτικὰ πρὸς εὔσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν, νέοις ὄμοι καὶ τελείοις τὴν ἡλικίαν προστίκοντα.

12.18.6 | “And Solomon similarly says, ‘Listen, children, to your father’s teaching. For I give you a good gift; do not forget my laws.’ And again, ‘Get wisdom, get understanding; do not forget them.’ And ‘I said that wisdom is your sister, and understanding is a friend you should keep close.’ And ‘Do not walk in the ways of the wicked, nor envy the paths of the lawless.’ You would find many other similar teachings in the writings of the Hebrews, which are educational for the pursuit of piety and virtue, suitable for both young and mature people.”

## Section 19

12.19.1 | Τοῦ θείου χρησμοῦ φήσαντος Μωσεῖ “ὅρα, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει” τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ λόγου σαφέστερον είπόντος οἵτινες 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 ὄμοια διερμηνεύει ἐν ἔκτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὥδε γράφων

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,’ the sacred word more clearly states that those who served the heavenly things did so by a model and shadow. It teaches that the symbols given by Moses contain an image of the divine things in the spiritual realm. Listen to how Plato explains similar ideas in the sixth book of the Republic, writing in this way.”

12.19.2 | “Θεῷ δὴ καὶ κόσμῳ ὅ γε φιλόσοφος ὄμιλῶν κόσμιός τε καὶ θεῖος είς τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται· διαβολὴ δὲ ἐν πᾶσι πολλή.

12.19.2 | “Indeed, the philosopher, when speaking of God and the world, becomes as orderly and divine as possible for a human. However, there is much slander

everywhere.”

12.19.3 | Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. Ἄν οὖν τις, εἴπον, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη γένηται, ἂ ἐκεῖ ὥρᾳ, μελετῆσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἥθη καὶ ίδιᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τιθέναι, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἔαυτὸν πλάττειν, ἢρα κακὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν οἵτινες γενήσεσθαι σωφροσύνης τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς; Ἡκιστά γε, ἢ δ’ ὅς.

12.19.4 | Ἀλλ’ έὰν δὴ αἴσθωνται οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν, χαλεπανοῦσι δὴ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ ἀπιστήσουσιν ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἄλλως εὐδαιμονήσειε πόλις, εἴ μὴ αὐτὴν διαγράψειαν οἱ τῷ θείῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενοι ζωγράφοι;

12.19.5 | Οὐ χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἢ δ’ ὅς, έάν περ αἴσθωνται. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα λέγεις τρόπον τῆς διαγραφῆς; Λαβόντες, ἢν δ’ ἔγὼ, ὥσπερ πίνακα πόλιν τε καὶ ἥθη ἀνθρώπων, πρῶτον μὲν καθαρὰν ποιήσειαν ἄν, ὃ οὐ πάνυ ἥδιον.

12.19.6 | ἀλλ’ οὖν οἶσθ’ ὅτι τούτω ἀν εὐθὺς τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκαιεν, τῷ μήτε ίδιώτου μήτε πόλεως ἑθελῆσαι ἀν ἄψασθαι, μηδὲ γράφειν νόμους, πρὶν παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ποιήσαι.

12.19.7 | Καὶ ὥρθῶς γε, ἔφη. Ούκοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα οἵτινες ὑπογράψασθαι ἀν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας; Τί μήν;

12.19.3 | “Therefore, if someone, I said, has to study the things he sees there and apply them to the behavior of people both privately and publicly, 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 feel that we speak the truth about him, they will become angry with the philosophers and distrust us, saying that a city could never be happy unless those who use the divine model as their guide create it.”

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 creating a picture of a city and the behavior of its people, they would first make it pure, which is not very easy.”

12.19.6 | “But you know that they would immediately involve the others, who would not want to touch a private person or a city, nor write laws, until they received it in a pure form, or created it themselves.”

12.19.7 | “And rightly so,” he said. “So, after this, do you think they would write down the structure of the city? Why not?”

12.19.8 | "Επειτα, οἶμαι, ἀπεργαζόμενοι πυκνὰ ἀν ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέποιεν, πρός τε τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἑκεῖνο αὖ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐμποιοῦντες τοὺς ξυμμιγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, ἀπ' ἑκείνου τεκμαιρόμενοι, δὴ Ὅμηρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔγγιγνόμενον θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον.

12.19.9 | Ὁρθῶς. ἔφη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄν, οἶμαι, ἔξαλείφοιεν, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἔγγράφοιεν, ἵως ἄν ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἥθη εἰς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται θεοφιλῆ ποιήσειαν.

## Section 20

12.20.1 | "Δοκεῖ μοι τρίτον ἡ τέταρτον ὁ λόγος εἰς ταύτὸν περιφερόμενος ἥκειν, ὡς ἄρα παιδεία μὲν ἐσθ' ἡ παίδων ὀλκή τε καὶ ἀγωγὴ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὄρθodon είρημένον καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις καὶ πρεσβυτάτοις δι' ἐμπειρίαν ξυνδεδογμένον ὡς ὅντως ὄρθος ἐστιν.

12.20.2 | ἵν' οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ πατέρος 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 ὡδᾶς καλοῦμεν, ὅντως μὲν ἐπωδαὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὗται νῦν γεγονέναι, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἥν 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

12.19.8 | "Then, I think, by working carefully, they would consider both what is naturally just, beautiful, and wise, as well as what is found in humans. They would mix and blend from their practices the image of a strong character, judging from that, which indeed Homer called a god-like and god-resembling quality that arises in humans."

12.19.9 | "Rightly so," he said. "I think they would erase some things, but they would also write down others, as long as they could make human customs as god-like as possible."

12.20.1 | "I think the third or fourth argument is returning to the same point: that education is indeed the guiding and leading force towards the correct law stated by the law. 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 rejoicing and grieving against the law and those set by it, it should instead join in rejoicing and grieving with the same things as the old man. This is for the sake of those things we call songs, which are truly songs that have now come to the souls, leading towards the harmony we speak of. However, because young souls cannot bear the effort, they are treated as children and songs. This is similar to how those who are weary and

καὶ ἀσθενῶς ἔχουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν ἡδεσι 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  
όρθως ἔθίζωνται.

weak in body try to provide proper food for those who care for them, while they embrace bad food in unpleasant ways, getting used to rightly hating one and loving the other.”

12.20.3 | ταύτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν ὁ  
όρθος νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ḥήμασι καὶ  
ἐπαινετοῖς πείσει τε καὶ ἀναγκάσει μὴ  
πείθων, τὰ τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ ἀνδρείων  
καὶ πάντως ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τε ḥυθμοῖς  
σχήματα καὶ ἐν ἀρμονίαισι μέλη ποιοῦντα  
όρθως ποιεῖν.” Εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν  
τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν θείων προφητῶν πεποιημένας  
ῷδας καὶ τοὺς εἰς θεὸν ὕμνους μελετᾶν οἱ  
παῖδες ἔθιζονται.

12.20.3 | “Likewise, the correct lawmaker will persuade and compel the poet with beautiful and praiseworthy words to create the forms of wise, brave, and all good men in rhythms and melodies. Therefore, it is fitting that our children become accustomed to studying the songs made by the divine prophets and the hymns to God.”

## Section 21

12.21.1 | “Τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν  
ώς ὃ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὃν καὶ  
δίκαιος εὐδαιμων ἐστὶ μακάριος, ἐάν τε  
μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς, ἐάν τε σμικρὸς καὶ  
ἀσθενῆς ἦ, καὶ ἐάν πλουτῆς καὶ μή· ἐάν δὲ  
ἄρα πλουτῆς μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα  
μᾶλλον, ἦ δὲ ἄδικος, ἀθλιός τέ ἐστι καὶ  
ἀνιαρῶς ζῆ.

12.21.1 | “You force the poets to say that the good man, who is 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, then he is wretched and lives in misery.”

12.21.2 | καὶ οὕτ’ ἀν μνησαίμην, φησὶν ὑμῖν  
ὅ ποιητὴς, εἴπερ ὄρθως λέγει, οὕτ’ ἐν λόγῳ  
ἀνδρα τιθείμην, δος μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα  
καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῷτο,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ δηίων τοιοῦτος ὃν ὄρέγοιτ’  
έγγυθεν ιστάμενος· ἄδικος δὲ ὃν μήτε  
τολμώῃ ὄρῶν φόνον αἰματόεντα μήτε  
νικώῃ θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην, μηδὲ ἄλλο  
αὔτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν  
γίγνοιτό ποτε· τὰ γάρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν

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 beautifully said with justice. Indeed, being such a man, he would not dare to stand nearby 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 many are not said correctly.’”

λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὄρθως λέγεται.

12.21.3 | λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄριστον μὲν ὑγιαίνειν, δευτερον δὲ κάλλος, τρίτον δὲ πλοῦτος· μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ ὅξν ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων εύαισθήτως ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τυραννοῦντα ὃ τι ἀν ἐπιθυμῆ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τέλος ἀπάσης μακαριότητος εἶναι τὸ πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένον ἀθάνατον εἶναι γενόμενον ὅτι τάχιστα.

12.21.4 | ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐγώ που τάδε λέγομεν, ὡς ταῦτά ἔστι ξύμπαντα δικαίοις μὲν καὶ ὀσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄριστα κτήματα, ἀδίκοις δὲ κάκιστα ξύμπαντα, ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγείας. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν 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 ὃ τοιοῦτος χρόνον ἐπιζῷη.

12.21.5 | ταῦτα δὴ λέγειν οἴμαι τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ποιητὰς, ἅπερ ἐγώ, πείσετε καὶ ἀναγκάσετε, καὶ ἔτι τούτοις ἐπομένους ῥυθμούς τε καὶ ἀρμονίας ἀποδόντας παιδεύειν οὕτω τοὺς νέους ὑμῶν. ἡ γὰρ ὁρᾶτε; ἐγὼ 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 ἐγώ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἡ πῶς;

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 mentioned. It is good to see clearly and to hear well, and to have all the senses working well. Moreover, it is also good to do whatever one desires with power. 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 and hearing and feeling, as well as living at all, are the greatest evils for a person who is immortal and has all the good things that are mentioned, except for justice and all virtue. It is less so if such a person lives only for a very short time.”

12.21.5 | “I think that the poets among you say these things, just as I do, and you will persuade and encourage them. You will also teach your young people by giving them rhythms and harmonies that follow these ideas. 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 what do you think?”

12.21.6 | Ού πόρρω ταῦτα τυγχάνει τῶν τοῦ Δαβίδ ψαλμῶν, οὓς προλαβών 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 ὅμοια. ἂν δὴ μεταβαλὼν ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ δεῖν τοὺς ποιητὰς λέγειν “ὡς δὲ μὲν ἄγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὁν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἔστι καὶ μακάριος· ἔὰν δὲ ἄρα ἥ δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιός ἔστιν.” ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν λιν ὁ Δαβίδ ὥδέ πως ἔξέδωκε διὰ τῶν ψαλμῶν εἰπών “πλοῦτος ἔὰν ὢν, μὴ προστίθεσθε καρδίαν.” καὶ πάλιν “μὴ φοβοῦ ὅταν πλουτήσῃ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὅταν πληθυνθῇ ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ.” ἐπὶ ἐπὶλῆγς δ' ἀν εὑροις ἔκαστα τῶν είρημένων τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πρὸς λέξιν κείμενα δι' ὅλης τῆς ἱερᾶς 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 ἦν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα μέλη τὰ τὴν ὄρθοτητα φύσει παρεχόμενα. τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ ἡ θείου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀν εἴη.”

12.22.2 | Είκότων ἄρα καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις νενομοθέτητο μηδὲ ἄλλους ὕμνους καὶ ὡδὰς 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.

12.21.6 | “These ideas are not far from the Psalms of David, which he composed with divine inspiration through songs and hymns, teaching what a truly blessed person is and what the opposite is. The book begins by saying, ‘Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked,’ and similar phrases. Plato, changing these ideas, says that poets should express, ‘The good man, being wise and just, is happy and blessed; but if he is unjust, he is wretched.’ David also shares 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 ideas written throughout the entire sacred text of the Psalms.”

12.22.1 | “It is indeed legislative and political, but you would find other bad things there. However, what is said about music is true and worthy of consideration: it is possible to confidently create laws about such things, using melodies that offer natural correctness. This would come from a god or some divine person.”

12.22.2 | “It is likely that among the Hebrews, no other hymns and songs were accepted in their divine teachings except those created by divine inspiration through divine and prophetic men, along with melodies that were appropriate for them, sung in their usual way.”

## Section 23

12.23.1 | "Συγχωρῶ γε τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἔγῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡδονῇ κρίνεσθαι, μὴ μέντοι τῶν γε ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐκείνην εἶναι μοῦσαν καλλίστην, ἥτις τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἱκανομοθετικούς νῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει, μάλιστα δὲ ἥτις ἔνα τὸν ἀρετῆ τε καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα.

12.23.2 | διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρετῆς φαμὲν δεῖσθαι τοὺς τούτων κριτὰς, ὅτι τῆς τε ἄλλης μετόχους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεῖ φρονήσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας.

12.23.3 | οὕτε 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 ῥᾳθύμως τὴν κρίσιν· οὐ γὰρ μαθητὴς, ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλος, ὃς 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 ὠδὰς, 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 μη

12.23.1 | "I agree with many that music should be judged by how pleasurable it is, but it should not only be about what is popular. Instead, it should be regarded as the most beautiful muse, which delights the best and most educated lawmakers, especially one that stands out for its virtue and education."

12.23.2 | "For this reason, we say that the judges of these matters must possess virtue, as they should also have a sense of wisdom and especially courage."

12.23.3 | "For a true judge should not judge while still 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 may easily give a false judgment. For he is not a student, but a teacher, as is right. The judge sits among the spectators and opposes those who do not provide 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; rather, such judges were few and rare. They themselves shared in the divine spirit that helped them distinguish the spoken words, and only they had the authority to approve and set

τοιούτων ἀποδοκιμάζειν.

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 μὲν που ὁ ξύλοιος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔξ ἀνάγκης προιούσης τῆς πόσεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀεὶ ξυμβαίνει γενόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπεθέμεθα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων. Άνάγκη.

12.24.1 | "And just as the word was intended in ancient times to show the well-spoken help of the chorus of Dionysus, 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 drink, and it continues to grow louder, which we mentioned at the beginning must happen regarding what is now being said. Necessity."

12.24.2 | Πᾶς δέ γε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κουφότερος αἴρεται καὶ γέγηθέ τε καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπίμπλαται καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἄρχων δ' ἵκανὸς ἀξιοῖ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι. Τί μήν;

12.24.2 | "Everyone indeed feels 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 | Ούκοῦν ἔφαμεν, ὅταν γίνηται ταῦτα, καθάπερ σίδηρον, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πινόντων διαπύρους γινομένας μαλακωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ νεωτέρας, ὥστ' εὐαγώγους ξυμβαίνειν τῷ δυναμένῳ τε καὶ επισταμένῳ παιδεύειν τε καὶ πλάττειν, καθάπερ ὅτ' ἡσαν νέαι;

12.24.3 | "Therefore, we said that when these things happen, like iron, the souls of those drinking become softer and younger. This makes it fitting for the strong and knowledgeable to teach and shape them, just as they did when they were young."

12.24.4 | τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν πλάστην τὸν αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τότε, τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην, οὗ νόμους εἶναι δεῖ συμποτικοὺς, δυναμένους τὸν εὔελπιν καὶ θαρραλέον ἐκεῖνον γινόμενον καὶ ἀναισχυντότερον

12.24.4 | "This creator is the same as before, the good lawmaker, whose laws should focus on drinking. He allows the hopeful and brave person to become even more shameless than necessary. He does

τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ οὐ θέλοντα τάξιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος σιγῆς καὶ λόγου καὶ πόσεως καὶ μούσης ὑπομένειν, ἔθέλειν 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."

not want to maintain order or the proper silence in speech, drinking, and music, but wishes to do the opposite. When entering the unworthy, he encourages the most beautiful to confront fear, which we have called a divine fear of respect and shame. These things exist. Among these laws, the guardians and co-creators are those who are calm and sober."

12.24.5 | Είκότως τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὥδας καὶ ὕμνους εἰς θεὸν πεποιημένους ἄδειν παραδέδοται, τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν φυλάκων ἐπιμελομένων.

12.24.5 | "Therefore, it is fitting for us to sing songs and hymns dedicated to the god at our drinking parties, while the guardians of our proper order take care of everything."

## 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 εἴνεκα μελέτη χρωμένῃ, 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 παιδιᾶ τε, καὶ ἔξεσται τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ ὅταν βούληται, καὶ μεθ' ὄντος ἀντούτην βούληται, πίνειν μετ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀντινωνοῦν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἀν τιθείμην ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς δεῖ ποτὲ μέθη 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 ἄπαντα, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν μήτε δοῦλον μήτε δούλην γεύεσθαι

12.25.1 | "If a city takes this matter seriously and uses the mentioned practice with laws and order for the sake of moderation, without giving up other pleasures in the same way and for the same reason, it should apply this method to everyone. But if it acts like a child, then it will allow anyone to drink whenever they want and with whomever they want, along with any other activities. I would not suggest this law, that anyone should ever drink in this city or with this man. Instead, I would prefer to add to the needs of the Cretans and Spartans rather than follow the law of the Carthaginians, which states that no one should ever taste this drink while in camp, but should only drink water during that time. 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 drink wine at all.

μηδέποτε, μηδὲ ἄρχοντας τοῦτον τὸν  
ἐνιαυτὸν δν ἀν ἄρχωσι, μηδ' αὐ  
κυβερνήτας μηδὲ δικαστάς ἐνεργοὺς ὅντας  
οὗν 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' αὐ 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 ούδ'  
ἀμπελώνων ἀν πολλῶν δέοι ούδ' ἦτιν  
πόλει, τακτὰ δὲ τἄλλα ἀν εἴη γεωργήματα  
καὶ πᾶσα ἢ δίαιτα.”

No one who comes to the council for any serious matter should drink, nor should anyone drink during the day unless it is for exercise or illness, nor at night when someone might think about having children, whether man or woman. Many other points could be made, that for those who have a sound mind and good laws, 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 focus on farming and the overall way of life.”

12.25.2 | Καὶ Μωσῆς δὲ προλαβὼν μὴ δεῖν  
τοὺς ἱερέας οὗν ἀπογεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸν  
τῆς ἱερουργίας καιρὸν, νομοθετεῖ φάσκων  
“καὶ ἐλάλησε κύριος τῷ Ἀαρὼν, λέγων,  
οὗν καὶ σίκερα οὐ πίεσθε σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί  
σου μετὰ σοῦ, ἡνίκα ἀν εἰσπορεύησθ’ εἰς  
τὴν σκηνὴν του μαρτυρίου, ἢ  
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, δὲς ἀν μεγάλως εὕξηται  
εὐχὴν, ἀφαγνίσασθαι ἀγνείαν κυρίω, ἀπὸ  
οὗν καὶ σίκερα ἀγνισθήσεται’ καὶ ὅξος ἔξ  
οὗν, 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 θυμώδεις εἰσὶν,  
οὗν μὴ πινέτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ πιόντες  
ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῶν πόνων.  
καὶ δὲ ἀπόστολος δὲ νόσων ἔνεκα ἐπιτρέπει  
Τιμοθέῳ λέγων “οὐλίγῳ οὗν χρῶ διὰ τὸν  
στόμαχόν σου καὶ τὰς πυκνάς σου  
ἀσθενείας.”

12.25.2 | And Moses, knowing that priests should not drink wine during their 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 enter the tent of meeting, so that you do not die; this is a lasting law for your generations.’” He also sets 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. 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.

## Section 26

12.26.1 | "Εἰ τοίνυν ἄκροις είς φιλοσοφίαν πόλεως τις ἀνάγκη ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἡ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἢ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐν τινι βαρβαρικῷ τόπῳ, πόρρω που ἐκτὸς ὅντι τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως, ἢ 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 γάρ ἀδύνατος γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατα λέγομεν."

12.26.1 | "If there is a need for a city to pay attention to philosophy, whether this has happened in the endless past, is happening now in some foreign place far from our view, or will happen later, let us be ready to discuss this matter. Just as the mentioned city has come to be, is, and will be when the Muse of the city becomes strong. For it is not impossible for this to happen, nor do we speak of impossible things."

## Section 27

12.27.1 | "Αὔτῷ δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πότερον ὡς πολεμίῳ πρὸς πολέμιον διανοητέον, ἢ πῶς ἔτι λέγομεν; Ω̄ ξένε Άθηναῖε, οὐ γάρ οὐ ἐθέλοιμ' ἀν προσαγορεύειν· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίας ἄξιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπονομάζεσθαι;) τὸν γάρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὁρθῶς ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίητο σὰς, ὥστε ἥπαν ἀνευρήσεις ὅτι νῦν δὴ ὁρθῶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐρρέθη τὸ πολεμίους εἶναι πάντας πᾶσι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἴδιᾳ ἐκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

12.27.1 | "Should he think of himself as a warrior against an enemy, or how else should we speak? O foreign Athenian, I would not want to greet you, for you seem to me more worthy to be called by the name of the god. By correctly bringing the argument to the beginning, you have made it clearer. If you search, you will find that it has indeed been rightly said by us that everyone is an enemy to everyone, both in public and in private."

12.27.2 | Πῶς εἴρηκας, ὡ θαυμάσιε; Κάνταῦθα, ὡ ξένε, τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν πασῶν νικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ ἀρίστη, τὸ δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε ἄμα καὶ κάκιστον. ταῦτα γάρ ὡς πολέμου ἐν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν ὄντος 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 defeats. For these things show that in each of us, there is a war against ourselves."

12.27.3 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα τούτοις προστίθησι λέγων Ούκοῦν ἔνα μὲν ἡμῶν

12.27.3 | "And besides these things, he adds by saying, 'Shall we not consider each one

ἔκαστον αὐτὸν τιθῶμεν; Ναί. Δύο δὲ κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ ξυμβούλω ἐναντίω τε καὶ ἄφρονε, ὡ προσαγορεύομεν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην; Ἐστι ταῦτα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτουν ἀμφοῖν αὐδόξας μελλόντων, οὗν κοινὸν μὲν σὸνομα ἐλπὶς, ἕδιον δὲ φόβος μὲν ἡ πρὸ λύπης ἐλπὶς, Θάρρος δὲ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις λογισμὸς ὅ τι ποτ' αὐτῶν ἀμεινον ἡ χεῖρον, ὃς γενόμενος δόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἐπωνόμασται.”

of us as one?” Yes. But if we have two things within ourselves, opposing and foolish, as we call pleasure and pain? These things exist. 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 οἷον νεῦρα ἡ σμήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσι τε ἡμάς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντίαι οῦσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις, οὓς δὴ διωρισμένη ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία κεῖται. μιᾶς γάρ φησιν ὁ λόγος δεῖν τῶν ἔλξεων ξυνεπόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδαμῇ ἀπολειπόμενον ἐκείνης ἀνθέλκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις νεύροις ἔκαστον, ταύτην δ' εἶναι τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσῆν καὶ ἱερὰν, τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, ἄλλας δὲ σκληρὰς καὶ σιδηρᾶς, τὴν δὲ μαλακὴν ἄτε χρυσῆν οὖσαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας παντοδαποῖς εἰδεσιν δομοίας· δεῖν δὲ τῇ καλλίστῃ ἀγωγῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀεὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν· ἄτε γάρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καλοῦ μὲν ὄντος, πράου τε καὶ οὐ βιαίου, δεῖσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγὴν, ὅπως ἀν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος νικᾷ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. καὶ οὕτω δὴ περὶ θαυμάτων ὡς ὄντων ἡμῶν μῆθος ἀρετῆς σεσωσμένος ἀν εἴη, καὶ τὸ κρείττω ἐσαυτοῦ καὶ ἥττω εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ φανερὸν ἀν γένοιτο μᾶλλον δ νοεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἴδιωτην, τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀληθῆ λαβόντα ἐν ἐαυτῷ περὶ τῶν ἔλξεων τούτῳ ἐπόμενον δεῖ ζῆν

12.27.4 | “And from here he says, ‘This we know: these passions within us are like nerves or certain strings that pull us and each other in opposing directions toward opposing actions, where virtue and vice are defined. For the argument says that one must always follow these pulls and never leave behind what 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, should 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 what is better is better and what is 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 | πόλιν δὲ ἡ παρὰ θεῶν τινὸς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου γνόντος ταῦτα λόγον παραλαβοῦσαν, νόμον θεμένην, αὐτῇ τε δημιλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν· οὕτω κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ σαφέστερον ἡμῖν διηρθρωμένον ἄν εἴη.”

12.27.6 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ Θεῖος τὰ ὅμοια διδάσκει λόγος φάσκων “συνήδομαι δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, βλέπω δὲ ἔτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου.” καὶ πάλιν “μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων, ἡ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων,” ὅσα τε ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

## Section 28

12.28.1 | “Μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν ὅμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς εἰ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρᾳ 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 ῥώμης εἴη γεγονότα ἄν, εἶπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος. Άνάγκη.

12.28.2 | “Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὄμολογεῖν 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

12.27.5 | “And a city, whether from some god or from this very one who knows, would accept this argument, establishing a law to connect itself with others 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 opposes the law of my mind.’ And again, ‘Among each other, the thoughts accuse or defend themselves,’ along with many other similar things.”

12.28.1 | “We remember, indeed, that we agreed earlier 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 developed over time in terms of length, width, depth, and strength of bodies, if indeed the soul belongs to the body. It is necessary.”

12.28.2 | “Is it then necessary to agree that the soul is the cause of good things as well as 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 ideas be taken from the tenth book of the Laws. Moses also supports this many times in the laws, saying, ‘And if the

είπων “καὶ ἔὰν ψυχὴ ἀμάρτη καὶ ποιήσῃ πλημμέλημα·” καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἐμφερῶς εἴρηται παρ' ἄυτῷ.

## Section 29

12.29.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφῆς περὶ τοῦ σπουδῆ φιλοσοφοῦντος φασκούσης “ἄγαθὸν ἀνδρὶ ὅταν ἄρη 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, ἐπάκουσον τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τοιόνδε τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἐκθειάζει, ὥδε πῃ περὶ τοῦ ἄκρως φιλοσοφοῦντος διεξιών

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 ἴσασι τὴν ὁδὸν, οὐδὲ ὅπου δικαστήριον, ἢ βουλευτήριον, ἢ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον· νόμους δὲ καὶ Ψηφίσματα λεγόμενα ἢ γεγραμμένα οὕθ' ὄρῶσιν οὕτ' ἀκούουσι. σπουδαὶ δὲ ἐταιρειῶν ἐπ' ἀρχὰς καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι, οὐδὲ ὅναρ πράττειν προσίσταται αὐτοῖς.

12.29.3 | εὖ δὲ ἢ κακῶς τί γέγονεν ἐν πόλει, ἢ τί τῷ κακόν ἔστιν ἐκ προγόνων γεγονὸς ἢ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λέληθεν ἢ οἱ τῆς θαλάσσης λεγόμενοι χόες. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐκ οἴδεν οἴδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέχεται τοῦ εὔδοκιμεν

soul sins and commits a wrongdoing;’ and all that has been said similarly by them.”

12.29.1 | “In the Hebrew writings about the one who studies philosophy seriously, 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.’ It is also said about the God-loving prophets that they lived in the wilderness, mountains, and caves, focusing their thoughts only on God. Listen to Plato, who describes this kind of life as he talks about the one who truly studies philosophy.”

12.29.2 | “Let us speak, as it seems to you, about the top philosophers: what can 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 in the city. They neither see nor hear about the laws and decrees that are spoken or written. Their serious activities involve gatherings, meetings, banquets, and parties with flute girls; they do not even dream of doing anything else.”

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. He does not even know these things; he is not far from

χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει κεῖται αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ· ἡ δὲ διάνοια, ταῦτα πάντα ἡγησαμένη σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν, ἀτιμάσσα πανταχῆ πέταται, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, τά τε γᾶς ὑπένερθε καὶ τὰ ἐπίπεδα γεωμετροῦσα, οὐρανοῦ τε ὑπεράστρονομοῦσα, καὶ πᾶσαν πάντη φύσιν ἔρευνωμένη τῶν ὄντων ἐκάστου ὅλου, εἰς τῶν ἐγγὺς οὐδὲν ἐαυτὴν συγκαθιεῖσα.

seeking honor, but in reality, only his body is in the city and present. His mind, seeing all these things as small and worthless, dishonors them and flies everywhere, as Pindar says, measuring the earth below and the surface, studying the stars above, and exploring the nature of everything, without ever settling on anything close to himself."

12.29.4 | Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὡ Σώκρατες;  
Ὦσπερ καὶ Θαλῆν ἀστρονομοῦντα, ὡ Θεόδωρε, καὶ ἄνω βλέποντα, πεσόντα εἰς φρέαρ Θρῆττά τ' ἵς ἐμμελής 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 can 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 right 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 ὃλίγου καὶ εἴ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἢ τι ἄλλο θρέμμα. τί δέ ποτ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τί τῇ τοιαύτῃ φύσει προσήκει διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν, ζητεῖ τε καὶ πράγματα ἔχει διερευνώμενος. μανθάνεις γάρ που, ὡ Θεόδωρε, ἢ οὕ;

12.29.5 | "This is the same joke for everyone who spends their time in philosophy. For truly, such a person is unaware of both his neighbor and those around him, not only of what they are doing but also of whether they are human beings 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 | "Εγωγε, καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις.  
Τοιγάρτοι, ὡ φίλε, ίδια τε συγγιγνόμενος ὃ τοιοῦτος ἐκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ὑπεράρχόμενος ἔλεγον, ὅταν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἥ που ἄλλοθι ἀναγκασθῆ περὶ τῶν παρὰ πόδας καὶ τῶν ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς διαλέγεσθαι,

12.29.6 | "I agree, and you speak the truth. So, 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

γέλωτα παρέχει ού μόνον Θράτταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὅχλῳ, εἰς φρέατά τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν ἐμπίπτων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, καὶ ἡ ἀσχημοσύνη δεινή, δόξαν ἀβελτερίας παρεχομένη.

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 great, giving the impression of foolishness."

12.29.7 | ἵν τε γάρ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ὕδιον ἔχει οὐδὲν οὐδένα λοιδορεῖν, ἄτε οὐκ εἴδὼς κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ μεμελετηκέναι· ἀπορῶν οὖν γελοῖος φαίνεται· ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς τāν ἄλλων μεγαλαυχίαις ού προσποιήτως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι γελῶν ἐνδῆλος γιγνόμενος ληρώδης δοκεῖ εἶναι.

12.29.7 | "For insults, he has nothing special to say against anyone, since he does not know anything bad 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 genuinely laughing, he appears to be foolish."

12.29.8 | τύραννόν τε γάρ ἡ βασιλέα ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ἔνα τῶν νομέων, οἶον συβώτην ἡ ποιμένα ἡ τινα βουκόλον, ἡγεῖται ἀκούειν εύδαιμονιζόμενον πολὺ βδάλλοντα· δυσκολώτερον δὲ ἔκεινων ζῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλότερον ποιμαίνειν τε καὶ βδάλλειν νομίζει αύτούς·

12.29.8 | "For he thinks that praising a tyrant or king is the same as praising someone from the common people, like a swineherd, shepherd, or cowherd, believing that he hears them being made happy while they are quite foolish. However, he thinks 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 ἥττον τῶν νομέων τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον γίγνεσθαι, σηκὸν ἐν ὅρει τὸ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον. γῆς δὲ ὅταν μυρία πλέθρα ἡ ἔτι πλείω ἀκούσῃ, ὅστις ἄρα κεκτημένος θαυμαστὰ πλήθη κέκτηται, πάνσμικρα δοκεῖ ἀκούειν, εἰς ἄπασαν εἰώθως τὴν γῆν βλέπειν.

12.29.9 | "But an uneducated country person, busy with work, is just as necessary as the common people, like a wall covered with brush in the mountains. And when the land hears countless sounds or even more, whoever has gained amazing numbers seems to hear everything, accustomed 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

12.29.10 | "But those who sing praises, believing that someone with seven rich grandfathers is truly noble, see the praise

σμικρὸν ὄρώντων ἡγεῖται τὸν ἔπαινον, ὑπὸ  
ἀπαιδευσίας οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ<sup>βλέπειν</sup>, ούδὲ λογίζεσθαι ὅτι πάππων καὶ  
προγόνων μυριάδες ἐκάστῳ γεγόνασιν  
ἀναρίθμητοι, ἐν αἷς πλούσιοι καὶ πτωχοὶ<sup>καὶ βασιλεῖς</sup> καὶ δοῦλοι βάρβαροι τε  
“Ἐλληνες πολλάκις μυρίοι γεγόνασιν  
δτῷοῦν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
καταλόγῳ προγόνων σεμνυνομένων, ἢ καὶ  
ἀναφερόντων εἰς Ἡρακλέα τὸν  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος, ἄτοπα αὐτῷ καταφαίνεται  
τῆς σμικρολογίας, ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἀπ’  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος εἰς τὸ ἄνω πεντεκαιεικοστὸς  
τοιοῦτος ἦν, οὐα συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τύχῃ, καὶ  
ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γελᾷ, οὐ  
δυναμένων λογίζεσθαι τε καὶ χαυνότητα  
ἀνοήτου ψυχῆς ἀπαλλάττειν.

as completely dull and insignificant. They cannot see the bigger picture due to 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 being a descendant of Amphitryon makes him a distant relative, as if it were merely luck for him, while the twenty-fifth descendant 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  
ὑπερηφάνως ἔχων, ὡς δοκεῖ, τὰ δ’ ἐν ποσὶν  
ἀγνοῶν τε καὶ ἐν ἐκάστοις ἀπορῶν.  
Παντάπασι τὰ γιγνόμενα λέγεις, ω  
Σώκρατες.

12.29.11 | “In all these matters, such a person is laughed at by many, appearing proud about some things while being ignorant of others and confused about each one. You speak of everything that happens, oh Socrates.”

12.29.12 | “Οταν δέ γε τινὰ αύτὸς, 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  
ἄλλήλων διαφέρετον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ εἰ βασιλεὺς  
εύδαιμων κεκτημένος τε αὖ πολὺ χρυσίον,  
ἢ βασιλείας δέ πέρι καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ὅλως  
εύδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθλιότητος ἐπίσκεψιν,  
ποίω τέ τινες ἔστον καὶ τίνα τρόπον  
ἀνθρώπου φύσει προσήκει τὸ μὲν  
κτήσασθαι αύτοῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀποφυγεῖν· περὶ  
πάντων τούτων ὅταν αὖ δέῃ λόγον διδόναι  
τὸν σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δριμὺν  
καὶ δικανικὸν, πάλιν αὖ ἀντίστροφα

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 how do they differ from one another? Is it because a king, possessing much gold, is happy, or is it about kingship and human happiness and misery? What belongs to a person, and how should one acquire some things and avoid others? When he needs to give a brief account of all these matters, the sharp and just soul often responds in the opposite way. Hanging from a high place and looking down, he feels dizzy and,

άποδίδωσιν· ἵλιγγιῶν τε ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦ  
κρεμασθεὶς καὶ βλέπων μετέωρος ἄνωθεν  
ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἀδημονῶν τε καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ  
βαρβαρίζων γέλωτα Θράκταις μὲν οὐ  
παρέχει, ούδ' ἄλλω ἀπαιδεύτω ούδενι, οὐ  
γὰρ αἰσθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίως ἡ ὥς  
ἀνδραπόδοις τραφεῖσι πᾶσιν.

troubled by ignorance, does not provide  
laughter for Thracians or any other  
uneducated person, for they do not  
understand, but rather for those who are  
the opposite or for all who are raised like  
slaves."

12.29.13 | οὗτος δὴ ἐκατέρου τρόπος, ώ  
Θεόδωρε, οὐ μὲν τῷ ὄντι ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τε καὶ  
σχολῇ τεθραμμένου, ὃν δὴ φιλόσοφον  
καλεῖς, ὡς ἀνεμέσητον εὐήθει δοκεῖν καὶ  
ούδενι εἶναι, ὅταν εἰς δουλικὰ ἐμπέσῃ  
διακονήματα, οἷον στρωματόδεσμον μὴ  
ἐπισταμένου συσκευάσασθαι, μηδὲ ὅψον  
ἡδὺναι, ἢ θῶπας λόγους· ὃ δ' αὖτα μὲν  
τοιαῦτα πάντα δυναμένου τορῶς τε καὶ  
όξεως διακονεῖν, ἀναβάλλεσθαι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐπισταμένου ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐλευθέρως, ούδ'  
ἀρμονίαν λόγων λαβόντος ὄρθως ὑμνῆσαι  
θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν εύδαιμόνων βίον  
ἀληθῆ.

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 simple-minded and has  
no concern when he falls into servile tasks,  
like preparing a bed without knowing how,  
making a tasty dish, or using flattering  
words. But the other, who can skillfully and  
sharply do all these things, 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 men."

12.29.14 | Εἴ πάντας, ώ Σώκρατες, πείθοις  
ἄλεγεις ὁσπερ ἐμὲ, πλείων ἀν είρήνη καὶ  
κακὰ ἔλαττω κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἴη. Άλλ' οὔτ'  
ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν, ώ Θεόδωρε·  
ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀεὶ εἶναι  
ἀνάγκη· οὔτ' ἐν Θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον  
περιπολεῖ ἔξ ἀνάγκης.

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 completely destroyed, oh  
Theodorus; for there must always be  
something opposite to the good. They  
cannot even be established among the  
gods, and the nature of mortals and this  
place must necessarily go on."

12.29.15 | διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε  
ἔκεισε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ  
δόμοιώσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· δόμοιώσις  
δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως  
γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ώ ἄριστε, οὐ πάνυ τι

12.29.15 | "Therefore, one must try to flee  
from here to there as quickly as possible.  
Flight is a way to become like the divine as  
much as possible; and this likeness must be  
just and holy with understanding. But, oh

ράδιον πεῖσαι ώς ἄρα οὐχ ὃν ἔνεκα οἴ-  
πολλοί φασι δεῖν πονηρίαν μὲν φεύγειν,  
ἀρετὴν δὲ διώκειν, τούτων χάριν τὸ μὲν  
έπιτηδευτέον, τὸ δ' οὐ, ἔνα δὴ μὴ κακός καὶ  
ἴνα ἀγαθὸς δοκῆ εῖναι.

best one, it is not very easy to persuade others that we must flee from evil and pursue virtue. For this reason, one should practice fleeing from evil and not pursuing virtue, so that one does not seem bad and appears to be good.”

12.29.16 | ταῦτα μὲν γάρ ἔστιν ὁ λεγόμενος γραῶν ὕθλος, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὥδε λέγομεν. Θεὸς οὐδαμή οὐδαμῶς ἀδικος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε δικαιότατος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὅμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἢ ὅς ἂν ήμῶν αὖ γένηται ὅτι δικαιότατος. περὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς δεινότης ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡ οὐδένειά τε καὶ ἡ ἀνανδρία.

12.29.16 | “These are indeed the words of the so-called old writings, as it seems to me; but the truth is expressed like this. A god is in no way unjust, but as much as possible, he is the most just. There is nothing more similar to him than anyone among us who becomes just. About this, there is also the true greatness of a man, along with both cowardice and a lack of manliness.”

12.29.17 | ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτου γνῶσις σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀληθινὴ, ἡ δὲ ἄγνοια ἀμαθία καὶ κακία ἐναργής· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δεινότητές νότητές τε δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφίαι ἐν μὲν πολιτικαῖς δυναστείαις γιγνόμεναι φορτικαὶ, ἐν δὲ τέχναις βάναυσοι. τῷ οὖν ἀδικοῦντι καὶ ἀνόσια λέγοντι ἢ πράττοντι μακρῷ ἄριστ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν δεινῷ ὑπὸ πανουργίας εῖναι.

12.29.17 | “For knowledge of this is true wisdom and true virtue, while ignorance is clear foolishness and wickedness. The other kinds of greatness that seem to be wisdom arise in political powers and are burdensome, while in crafts they are rough. Therefore, for the unjust and impious person who speaks or acts wrongly, it is best not to agree with them, as they are far from being wise through deceit.”

12.29.18 | ἀγάλλονται γὰρ τῷ ὄνείδει, καὶ οἴονται ἀκούειν ὅτι οὐ λῆροί είσι, γῆς ἄλλως ἄχθη 5 ἀλλ' ἄνδρες οἴους δεῖ ἐν πόλει τοὺς σωθησομένους. λεκτέον οὖν τάληθὲς, ὅτι τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον είσιν οὗτοι οὐκ οἴονται, ὅτι οὐχὶ οἴονται. ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ ζημίαν ἀδικίας, δὲ δεῖ ἥκιστα ἀγνοεῖν. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἦν δοκοῦσι, πληγαί τε καὶ θάνατοι, ὃν ἐνίστε πάσχουσιν οὐδὲν

12.29.18 | “For they rejoice in the insult, thinking they hear that they are not fools, but rather men who should be saved in the city. Therefore, the truth must be told: they are much more capable than they realize. They are unaware of the harm that comes from injustice, which they should least of all ignore. It is not what they believe—the blows and deaths they sometimes suffer without doing anything wrong—but rather

άδικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἦν ἀδύνατον ἐκφυγεῖν.

12.29.19 | Τίνα δὴ λέγεις; Παραδειγμάτων, ὡ φίλε, ἐν τῷ ὅντι ἐστώτων, τοῦ μὲν θείου εύδαιμονεστάτου, τοῦ δὲ ἀθέου ἀθλιωτάτου, οὐχ ὅρῶντες ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει, ὑπὸ ἥλιθιότητός 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.

12.29.20 | ἂν δὲ εἴπωμεν ὅτι, ἂν μὴ ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς δεινότητος, καὶ τελευτήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἔκεινος μὲν ὁ τῶν κακῶν καθαρὸς τόπος οὐ δέξεται, ἐνθάδε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῖς ὄμοιότητα διαγωγῆς ἀεὶ ἔχουσι, κακοὶ κακοῖς συνόντες, ταῦτα δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς δεινοὶ καὶ πανοῦργοι ἀνοήτων τινῶν ἀκούσονται.

12.29.21 | Καὶ μάλα δὴ, ὡ Σώκρατες. Οἶδά τοι, ὡ ἐταῖρε. ἐν μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς συμβέβηκεν, ὅταν ἴδια λόγον δέῃ δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι περὶ ὃν ψέγουσι, καὶ ἐθελήσωσιν ἀνδρικῶς πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ μὴ ἀνάνδρως φυγεῖν, τότε ἀτόπως, ὡς δαιμόνιε, τελευτῶντες οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς περὶ ὃν λέγουσι, καὶ ἡ ἀριστοτελεῖκή ἔκεινη πως ἀπομαραίνεται, ὥστε παίδων μηδὲν δοκεῖν διαφέρειν.”

the things that are impossible to escape.”

12.29.19 | “What are you saying? Of examples, my friend, truly standing before us—the most blessed divine person and the most miserable godless person—they do not see how it really is. They are blinded by foolishness and the worst ignorance, becoming similar to one through unjust actions, while failing to become similar to the other. Thus, they are punished for living a life that fits the one they resemble.”

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 share their behavior, being bad among bad people. Indeed, these things will be seen as terrible and crafty by some foolish individuals.”

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 personal account about the things they blame. 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 find satisfaction in the things they say. That rhetoric somehow fades away, making it seem no different from that of children.”

## Section 30

12.30.1 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν περὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις σοφιστείας εἴρηται “ἡ γὰρ

12.30.1 | “And among us, it has been said about all the wisdom of humans, ‘For the

σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστί. γέγραπται γάρ, ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητής τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ;”

wisdom of this world is foolishness to God. It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and I will reject the understanding of the wise. 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 by those who philosophize according to God that we should think nothing small. 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 εἰλεῖσθαι φησί που ὁ θεῖος λόγος “έξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί είσιν.” καὶ “ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς.” λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης “ἀρά καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ μοιχεία καὶ φόνος κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αἵματα ἐφ’ αἷμασι μίσγουσι.

12.30.3 | “And concerning the evil on earth and mortal life, the divine word says, ‘Make the most of your 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 widespread on 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 follow the Lord your God, and you shall cling to him.’ He also teaches us 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 εἰδὼς ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς μιμητὰς γενέσθαι παρορμῶν φησὶ “δίκαιος κύριος, καὶ δικαιοισύνας ἡγάπησεν.” ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς πλούτου καταφρονεῖν ἐπαίδευσε λέγων πλοῦτος ἐὰν ρέῃ, μὴ προστίθεσθε καρδίαν. καὶ” μὴ φοβοῦ ὅταν πλουτήσῃ ἄνθρωπος,

12.30.5 | “And David, knowing God, encourages us to be imitators, saying, ‘The Lord is righteous, and he loves righteousness.’ He also taught us to look down on wealth, saying, ‘If wealth comes in, do not set your heart on it.’ And, ‘Do not be afraid when a man becomes rich, and when

καὶ ὅταν πληθυνθῇ ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸν λήψεται τὰ πάντα, οὐδὲ συγκαταβήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ.”

12.30.6 | 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.”

## Section 31

12.31.1 | “Νομοθέτης δὲ οὗ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, εἴ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν οὕτως ἔχον, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἥρηχ' ὁ λόγος ἔχειν, εἰπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐτόλμησεν ἀν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἔστιν ὅ τι τούτου ψεῦδος λυσιτελέστερον ἀν ἐψεύσατό 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 ἐν ταῖς Ἐβραίων γραφαῖς, ὡς ἀν περὶ θεοῦ ζηλοῦντος, ἢ ὑπνοῦντος, ἢ ὄργιζομένου, ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀνθρωποπαθέσιν ἐνεχομένου ἐπ' ὡφελείᾳ τῶν δεομένων τοῦ τοιοῦδε τρόπου παρειλημμένα.

## Section 32

12.32.1 | “Ἄρ, οὕν ημῖν τά γε ἔμπροσθεν

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 | “But he also taught us not to admire the rulers among people, 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.’”

12.31.1 | “But the lawgiver, even if there is a small benefit, if it were not so, as the word suggests now, if he dared to lie for the good of 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 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 this way.”

12.32.1 | “Then do we agree on these

όμοιογειται; Τοῦ πέρι; Τὸ δεῖν πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ἐλεύθερον καὶ δοῦλον, θῆλύν τε καὶ ἄρρενα, καὶ δλῃ τῇ πόλει ὅλην τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἔαυτῇ ἐπάδουσαν μὴ παύεσθαι ποτε ταῦτα ἢ διεληλύθαμεν, ἀμωσγέπως ἀεὶ μεταβαλλόμενα καὶ πάντως παρεχόμενα ποικιλίαν, ὥστ' ἀπληστίαν εἶναί τινα τῶν ὕμνων τοῖς ἄδουσι καὶ ἡδονήν. Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀνόμοιοῖτ' ἀν δεῖν ταῦτα οὕτω πράττεσθαι;"

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 desire for the songs among those who sing and pleasure. How could it not be agreed that these things should be done this way?"

12.32.2 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς Πολιτείας ὅμοια τούτοις γράφει τάδε λέγων "Οἴσθά τι οὖν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μελετώμενον, ἐν ᾧ οὐ πάντα ταῦτα τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γένος διαφερόντως ἔχει ἢ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν; ἢ μακρολογῶμεν τήν τε ὑφαντικὴν λέγοντες καὶ τὴν τῶν ποπάνων τε καὶ ἐψημάτων θεραπείαν, ἐν οἷς δή τι δοκεῖ τὸ γυναικεῖον γένος εἶναι, οὗ καὶ καταγελαστότατόν ἐστι πάμπου ἡττώμενον;

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, where the nature of men is different from that of women? Or should we talk at length about weaving and the care of food and cooking, where it seems that the female nature exists, which is also the most ridiculed and looked down upon everywhere?'"

12.32.3 | Ἀληθῆ ἔφη, λέγεις, ὅτι πολὺ κρατεῖται ἐν ἄπασιν, ὡς ἔπος είπεῖν, τὸ γένος τοῦ γένους· γυναικες μέντοι πολλαὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν βελτόνς είς πολλά· τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἔχει ὡς σὺ λέγεις. Οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐστὶν, ωφίλε, ἐπιτήδευμα τῶν πόλιν διοικούντων γυναικὸς διότι γυνὴ, οὐδὲν ἀνδρὸς, διότι ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ὅμοιώς διεσπαρμέναι αἱ φύσεις ἐν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ζώοιν, καὶ πάντων μὲν μετέχει γυνὴ ἐπιτήδευμάτων κατὰ φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἀνδρός.

12.32.3 | "Truly, you say, the nature of gender is very strong in everyone, so to speak. Many women are better than many men in many ways; but as you say, the whole is as it is. Therefore, there is nothing, my friend, that a woman does in managing a city simply because she is a woman, nor does a man do so just because he is a man. Both natures are equally present in both kinds of beings. A woman participates in activities according to her nature, while a man does so in all things; however, in everything, a woman is weaker than a man."

12.32.4 | Πάνυ γε. "Ἡ οὖν ἀνδράσι πάντα προστάξομεν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδέν; Καὶ πῶς; Ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ, οἴμαι, ὡς φήσομεν, καὶ γυνὴ ίατρικὴ, 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; φιλόσοφος 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? How can that be? But I think there are women who are doctors, while others are not, and women who are musicians, while others are not musical by nature. What about physical training and military skills? Some women are not warriors and do not enjoy exercising. I think that is true. What about philosophers and those who dislike philosophy? And what about those who are spirited, while others are not? These cases also exist."

12.32.5 | "Εστιν ἄρα καὶ φυλακικὴ γυνὴ, ἢ δ' οὕτως ἡ οὐ τοιαύτην καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν φυλακικῶν φύσιν ἐξελεξάμεθα., τοιαύτην μὲν οὖν.

12.32.5 | "Therefore, there are also women who can be guardians, while others cannot. Did we not choose such a nature from the guardians among men? Indeed, we did."

12.32.6 | Καὶ γυναικὸς ἄρα καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις εἰς φυλακὴν πόλεως, πλὴν ὅσῳ ἀσθενεστέρα, ἢ δὲ ἰσχυροτέρα ἔστι. Φαίνεται. Καὶ γυναικὲς ἄρα αἱ τοιαῦται οὐσίαι ταὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκλεκτέαι συνοικεῖν τε καὶ ξυμφυλάττειν, ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν ἱκαναὶ καὶ ξυγγενεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν φύσιν."

12.32.6 | "Therefore, the nature of a woman and a man is the same when it comes to guarding a city, except that the woman is weaker and the man is stronger. That seems to be true. Women are indeed suitable to live with and guard alongside such men, since they are capable and share a similar nature."

12.32.7 | Εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγος ὑποδέχεται Πᾶν γένος οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν, Οὔδ' ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων Καὶ Ἑλλήνων, εἰς τὴν κατὰ θεὸν παιδείαν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν.

12.32.7 | "Therefore, our argument rightly includes all kinds of people, not just men but also women, not only free people and slaves, but also foreigners and Greeks, in education and philosophy according to what is divine."

## Section 33

12.33.1 | "Σκεψώμεθα δὴ πῃ τῇδε. Φέρε, εἴ

12.33.1 | "Let us think about this. Imagine

τις Αίγαν τροφὴν καὶ τὸ ζῶν αὐτὸν, κτῆμα  
ώς ἔστι Καλὸν, ἐπαινοῦ, ἀλλος δέ τις  
ἐωρακὼς αἴγας χωρὰς Νεμομένας αἰπόλου  
ἐν ἐργασίμοις χωρίοις δρώσας Κακὰ  
διαψέγοι, καὶ πᾶν θρέμμα ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ  
κακῶν ἀρχόντων ίδων οὕτων μέμφοιτο,  
τὸν τοιούτου ψόγον ἡγούμεθα ὕγιὲς ἢν  
ποτε ψέξαι καὶ ὅτιοῦν; Καὶ πῶς; "Καὶ μετ'  
όλιγα

someone who praises the goat and its  
nature as good, while another person,  
having seen goats in places where they are  
cared for, criticizes them as bad. If someone  
sees any creature without a leader or with  
bad leaders, would they not blame that  
creature? Do we really believe it is right to  
criticize such things at any time? And  
how?"

12.33.2 | Τί δὲ ἐπαινέτην ἢ ψέκτην  
κοινωνίας ἡστινοσοῦν, ἢ πέφυκέ τε εἶναι  
ἄρχων μετ' ἐκείνου τε ὠφέλιμός ἔστιν· ὃ δὲ  
μήτε ἐωρακὼς εἴη ποτὲ ὄρθως αὐτὴν  
ἐαυτῇ κοινωνοῦσαν μετ' ἀρχοντος, ἀεὶ δὲ  
ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων  
ξυνοῦσαν· οἰόμεθα δή ποτε τοὺς τοιούτους  
θεωροὺς τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνιῶν χρηστόν  
τι ψέξειν ἢ ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Πῶς δ' ἢν;

12.33.2 | "What can we say about praising  
or criticizing a society that is meant to be  
led by a good ruler? If someone has never  
seen it functioning well with a good leader,  
but always sees it without a leader or with  
bad leaders, do we really think that such  
observers would ever find anything good to  
praise or criticize about those societies?  
How could they?"

12.33.3 | Οὐ δὴν χρὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἴ τινες  
φαίνοιντο Δίχα προστάτου καὶ ἀρχοντος, ἢ  
μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων Δρῶντες καὶ ψέγειν  
τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν διασκαλεῖν, Μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ  
τῶν ὄρθως μετιόντων τὸ θεοσεβὲς  
Πολίτευμα θαυμάζειν.

12.33.3 | "Surely, if some people seem to  
act without a leader or with bad leaders, it  
is not right for us to criticize our entire  
teaching. Instead, we should admire the  
truly pious way of life that is led properly."

## Section 34

12.34.1 | Ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις Σολομῶνος  
συντόμως φερομένου τοῦ "μνήμη δικαίων  
μετ' ἔγκωμίων, ὄνομα δὲ ἀσεβῶν  
σβέννυται" καὶ πάλιν είρημένου τοῦ "μὴ  
μακαρίσῃς ἄνδρα πρὸ τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ,"  
ἐπάκουουσον δὲ ὅπως τὴν διάνοιαν ἐρμηνεύει  
λέγων δὲ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Νόμων

12.34.1 | "In the Proverbs of Solomon, it is  
briefly stated, 'The memory of the  
righteous is praised, but the name of the  
wicked is erased.' And again, it says, 'Do not  
call a man blessed before his death.' Pay  
attention to how Plato explains this in the  
seventh book of the Laws."

12.34.2 | Τῶν πολιτῶν ὁπόσοι τέλος ἔχοιεν

12.34.2 | "Among the citizens, those who

τοῦ βίου κατὰ σώματα ἢ κατὰ ψυχὰς ἔργα  
έξειργασμένοι καλὰ καὶ ἐπίπονα καὶ τοῖς  
νόμοις εύπειθεῖς γεγονότες, ἔγκωμίων  
αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἀν εἴη. Πῶς δ' οὖ;

have completed their lives with good and challenging deeds, whether in their bodies or in their souls, and who have obeyed the laws, surely deserve to be praised. Why wouldn't they?"

12.34.3 | Τούς γε μὴν ἔτι ζῶντας ἔγκωμίοις  
τε καὶ ὕμνοις τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς, πρὸν ἀν  
ἀπαντά τις τὸν βίον διαδραμών τέλος  
ἐπιστήσηται καλόν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν  
ἔστω κοινὰ ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶν  
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς  
γενομένοις."

12.34.3 | "Honoring the living with praises and hymns is not wise until someone has completed their life and shown it to be good. Let all these things be shared among good men and good women who have clearly proven themselves."

## Section 35

12.35.1 | Πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ πενίαν μή μοι δῶς,  
τοῦ Σολομῶνος φήσαντος ἐν Παροιμίαις ὁ  
Πλάτων' ἐν δ' Πολιτείᾳς φησὶν "Ἐτερα δὲ,  
ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐρήκαμεν, ἀ παντὶ<sup>τρόπῳ</sup> φυλακτέον ὅπως μή ποτε αὐτοὺς  
λήσῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραδύντα. τὰ ποῖα  
ταῦτα; Πλοῦτός τε, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, καὶ πενία· ὡς  
τοῦ μὲν τρυφὴν καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ  
νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντος, τῆς δ'  
ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ κακοεργίαν πρὸς τῷ  
νεωτερισμῷ." Κακοεργία δέ ἔστι πᾶσα  
πρᾶξις ἄτιμος.

12.35.1 | "Do not give me wealth or poverty, as Solomon says in the Proverbs. Plato mentions in the Republic, 'We seem to have found other things to protect, which must be guarded in every way so that they do not slip away into the city. What are these? Wealth and poverty; for wealth leads to luxury, idleness, and change, while poverty brings unfreedom and harmful actions related to change.' Harmful actions are any deeds that are dishonorable."

## Section 36

12.36.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις  
φάντος "ἔκαστος πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ μητέρα  
φοβείσθω· καὶ, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σοῦ καὶ  
τὴν μητέρα σοῦ, ἵνα εὖ σοι ἥ," καὶ ὁ  
Πλάτων' ὁμοίως Μωσεὶ καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ  
φοβεῖσθαι ὡδέ πως φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις  
"Πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾶ  
γονέων εὐχάς, είδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις

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 states in the Laws, 'Everyone who has sense fears and honors the prayers of their parents, knowing that many have been fulfilled many times.' And again in

έπιτελεῖς γενομένας.” Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ φησὶ “Πᾶς ἡμῖν αίδείσθω τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ. τὸν δὲ προέχοντα εἴκοσιν ἡλικίας ἔτεσιν ἄρρενα ἢ θῆλυν νομίζων ὡς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα διευλαβείσθω.”

another place, he says, ‘Let everyone respect their elder in both actions and words. And let anyone who is twenty years older, whether male or female, be regarded as a father or mother to you.’”

## 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 ἐλεύθερον” καὶ ὁ Πλάτων’ ὅμοίως ἐν Πολιτείᾳ φησί “Μηδὲ Ἑλληνα ἄρα δοῦλον ἐκτήσθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν οὕτω χυμβουλεύειν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· μᾶλλον τ' ἀν οὗν. οὕτω πρὸς βαρβάρους τρέποιντο, ἐαυτῶν δὲ ἀπέχοιντο.”

12.37.1 | “Moses, in the laws, forbids the Hebrews from enslaving other 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 states in the Republic, ‘Let no Greek be made a slave, nor should anyone advise others among the Greeks to do so.’ Indeed, he said, ‘They would rather do this to barbarians, but keep themselves free.’”

## Section 38

12.38.1 | “Μὴ κινείτω γῆς ὅρια μηδεὶς μήτε οἰκείου πολίτου γείτονος μήτε διμοτέρμονος, ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς κεκτημένου ἄλλῳ ξένῳ γειτονῶν, νομίσας τὸ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἀληθῶς τοῦτ' εἶναι.” Καὶ ἔξῆς φησιν “Ος δ' ἀν ἐπεργάζηται τὰ τοῦ γείτονος, ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς ὅρους, τὸ μὲν βλάβος ἀποτινέτω, τῆς δὲ ἀναιδείας ἄμα καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἔνεκα ίατρευόμενος διπλάσιον τοῦ βλάβους ἄλλο ἔκτισάτω τῷ βλαφθεντὶ.”

12.38.1 | “Let no one move the boundaries of the land, neither of a neighboring citizen nor of a fellow citizen, even if they have acquired land at the edges from a foreign neighbor, thinking that moving what cannot be moved is truly acceptable. He goes on to say, ‘Whoever works on the land of a neighbor, crossing the boundaries, must pay for the damage. And for the shame and lack of freedom caused, let them pay double the damage to the one harmed.’”

## Section 39

12.39.1 | “Ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ὄνείδη καὶ τιμωρίας παίδων μηδενὶ συνέπεσθαι, πλὴν ἔάν τις τινὶ πατὴρ καὶ πάππος καὶ πάππου πατὴρ ἐφεξῆς ὅφλωσι θανάτου δίκην.”

12.39.1 | “In short, let no one suffer the blame and punishment of a father for their children, except if someone is punished by their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather in succession for a crime that leads to death.”

## Section 40

12.40.1 | Μώσεως νόμου φάντος “ἔὰν 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” ἐπάκουουσον ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τούτοις ἔπειται λέγων “Κλέπτῃ δὲ, ἔὰν τε μέγα ἔὰν τε μικρὸν κλέπτῃ τις, εἰς αὖ νόμοις ἐπικείσθω καὶ μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δὴ κλαπὲν χρεὼν διπλάσιον πρῶτον ἐκτίνειν, ἔὰν ὅφλῃ τις τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην καὶ ἰκανὴν ἔχῃ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἀποτίνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου, ἔὰν δὲ μὴ, δεδέσθαι ἵως ἀν ἔκτισῃ ἢ πείσῃ τὸν καταδικασάμενον.”

12.40.1 | Moses, in the law, says, “If someone steals a calf or a sheep and kills it or sells it, they must pay back five calves for one calf and four sheep for one sheep. But if they are caught in the act of stealing, they must pay double for a living calf, donkey, or sheep.” Listen also to what Plato says next: “If someone steals, whether it is a large or small item, let one law apply and one punishment for all. For indeed, the stolen item must first be paid back double. If someone cannot pay this punishment but has enough other property to cover the cost of the stolen item, they should pay that. But if not, they shall be held until they can pay or convince the one who condemned them.”

## Section 41

12.41.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως φάντος “ἔὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι εὐρεθῇ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος, συνάδει κάν τούτῳ λέγων ὁ Πλάτων “Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν ιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων ἔὰν ἐλῶν κτείνῃ τις, ἔστω καθαρός· καὶ ἔὰν λωποδύτην ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω.

12.41.1 | Again, Moses says, “If a thief is found in the act of breaking in and is killed, they are not guilty of murder.” Plato agrees with this, saying, “If someone goes into a house at night to steal money and kills someone while stealing, let them be innocent. And if they kill a thief while defending themselves, let them also be innocent.”

## Section 42

12.42.1 | Ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα ὑποζύγιον ἢ ζῶον 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 ἐν τῶν δὲ τῶν ἀγρονόμων οἵσιν ἂν καὶ ὀπόσοις προστάξῃ ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ ὄφλον ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι.” Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων<sup>1</sup>. ὁ δὲ Μώσης προλαβών φησιν “έὰν δὲ κερατίσῃ ταῦρος ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθάηῃ, λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται ὁ ταῦρος, καὶ οὐ βρωθήσεται τὰ κρέα αὐτοῦ· δὲ κύριος τοῦ ταύρου ἀθῶος ἔσται.

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 καστιτέρῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ μολίβδῳ, ἐν μέσῳ καμίνου ἀργυρίου ἀναμεμιγμένοι είσι. διὰ τοῦτο εἰπὸν τάδε λέγει κύριος, ἀνθ' ὃν ἐγένεσθε πάντες εἰς σύγκρασιν μίαν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, καθὼς εἰσδέχεται ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος καὶ μόλιβδος καὶ καστίτερος εἰς μέσον καμίνου, τοῦ ἐκφυσῆσαι εἰς αὐτοὺς πῦρ, τοῦ χωνευθῆναι” καὶ ὁ Πλάτων<sup>2</sup> ὡσαύτως ἐπάκουσον ἀ φησιν

12.43.1 | The prophetic writing says, “Son of man, look, the house of Israel has become mixed with bronze, tin, iron, and lead, like silver in the middle 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 | “Ούκοιν 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

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 tale. But god, as the creator, gives gold to those of you who are fit to rule, because they are the most honorable. He gives silver to those

είσιν· ὅσοι δ' ἐπίκουροι, ἄργυρον· σίδηρον δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς.

12.43.3 | ἄτε οὖν ξυγγενεῖς ὅντες ἀπαντες, τὸ μὲν πολὺ δόμιοιους ἀν̄ νῦν αὐτοῖς γεννῶτε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐκ χρυσοῦ γεννηθείη ἀν̄ ἀργυροῦν, καὶ ἔξ ἀργυροῦ χρυσοῦν ἐκγονον, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἔξ ἀλλήλων οὔτως.

12.43.4 | τοῖς οὖν ἄρχουσι καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα παραγγέλλει ὁ θεὸς ὅπως μηδενὸς οὔτω φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, μηδ' οὔτω σφόδρα φυλάξωσι μηδὲν ὡς τοὺς ἑιγόνους, ὅ τι αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παραμέμικται, καὶ ἔὰν σφέτερος ἐκγονος ὑπόχαλκος ἢ ὑποσίδηρος γένηται, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ κατελεήσωσιν, ἀλλὰτὴν τῇ φύσει προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀποδιδόντες ὥσουσιν ἢ εἰς δημιουργοὺς ἢ γεωργοὺς, καὶ ἔὰν αὖ ἐκ τούτων ἢ ὑπόχρυσος ἢ ὑπάργυρος φυῇ τις, τιμήσαντες ἀνάξουσι τοὺς μὲν εἰς φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ' εἰς ἐπικουρίαν, ὡς χρησμοῦ ὅντος τότε τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρῆναι, ὅταν αὐτὴν ὁ σιδηροῦς φύλαξ ἢ ὁ χαλκοῦς διαφυλάξῃ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν μῆθον ὅπως ἀν̄ 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; ἴδού τὸ γάλα κατεσθίετε, καὶ τὸ παχὺ σφάζετε, καὶ τὰ ἔρια περιβάλλεσθε, καὶ τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐ

who are helpers, and iron and bronze to the farmers and other workers.

12.43.3 | Since you are all related, you would mostly have children who are like you. However, there are times when a child born from gold might be silver, and a child born from silver might be gold, and everything else happens in this way.

12.43.4 | Therefore, god strongly commands the rulers that no one should be a better guardian than their own children, and that they should care for nothing as much as for them, since these children are mixed in their souls. If a child is born from them who is of bronze or iron, they should not show pity in any way, but should give them the honor that fits their nature, whether they become creators or farmers. If, from these, someone is born who is of gold or silver, they should honor them by sending some to be guardians and others to be helpers, since the city will be in danger 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, you slaughter the fattened animals, and you clothe yourselves with the wool, but you do

βόσκετε· καὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς οὐκ ἔζητήσατε, 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, ὃ δὲ μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὁν ποιμὴν, οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν ἴδια τὰ πρόβατα, καταλείπει αὐτά”, ἐπάκουουσον καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὅπως ποτὲ ταῦτα διερμηνευει

not feed my sheep. You have not sought the lost, you have not bound up the broken, and you have not brought back the wandering.” 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, where he explained these things.

12.44.2 | “Νῦν δὲ ὄρᾶς, ὡ Θρασύμαχε, ἔτι γὰρ τὰ ἔμπροδθεν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, ὅτι τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱατρὸν τὸ πρῶτον ὄριζόμενος τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιμένα, οὐκέτι ὡς δεῖν ὕστερον ἀκριβῶς φυλάξαι, ἀλλὰ πιαίνειν οἴει αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, καθ’ ὃσον ποιμήν ἔστιν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν προβάτων βέλτιστον βλέποντα, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ δαιτυμόνα τινὰ καὶ μέλλοντα ἔστιάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εύωχίαν, ἢ αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποδόσθαι, ὥσπερ χρηματιστὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐ ποιμένα. τῇ ποιμενικῇ δ’ οὐ δήπου ἄλλου του μέλει ἢ ἐφ’ ὃ τέτακται, ὅπως τούτῳ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐκποριεῖ, ἐπεὶ τά γε αὐτῆς ὥστ’ εἶναι βελτίστην ἵκανῶς δήπου ἐκπεπόρισται, ἵως γε ἀν μηδὲν ἐνδέη τοῦ ποιμενική εἶναι. οὕτω δὴ ὡμην ἔγωγε νῦν δὴ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἡμῖν ὀμολογεῖν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν, καθ’ ὃσον ἀρχὴ, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τε καὶ θεραπευομένῳ, ἐν πολιτικῇ καὶ ἰδιωτικῇ ἀρχῇ. σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντας, ἐκόντας οἴει ἄρχειν;”

12.44.2 | Now you see, O Thrasymachus, we will still examine the earlier points. 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. He does not look to the best interest of the sheep, but acts like a banquet host preparing for a feast, or like a merchant, but not like a shepherd. 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 the 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 λεγούσης “ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου, κύριε, ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὡδινήσαμεν καὶ

12.45.1 | The prophecy among the Hebrews says, “Because of your fear, Lord, we have conceived, we have been in pain, and we

έτέκομεν πνεῦμα σωτηρίας” ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ τάδε λέγοντα Σωκράτην ποιεῖ “Πάσχουσι δὴ οἱ ἔμοὶ συγγιγνόμενοι ταύτὸν ταῖς τικτούσαις· ὡδίνουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπορίας ἐμπίπλανται νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκεῖναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ὡδῖνα ἔγειρεν τε καὶ ἀποπαύειν ἡ ἐμὴ τέχνη δύναται.”

## Section 46

12.46.1 | Τοῦ προφήτου Ἰεζεκιὴλ φῆσαντος” ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἐμὲ χεὶρ κυρίου, καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἴδού πνεῦμα ἔξαῖρον ἥρχετο ἀπὸ βορρᾶ, καὶ ἔξῆς εἰπόντος “καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ὡς ὅμοιώμα τεσσάρων ζώων. καὶ ἡ ὕραέν σις αὐτῶν ὡς ὅμοιώμα ἀνθρώπου ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρόσωπα τέσσαρα τῷ ἐνί. καὶ ὅμοιώσις τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πρόσωπον λέοντος ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι, καὶ πρόσωπον μόσχου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι. καὶ πρόσωπον ἀετοῦ τοῖς τέσσαρσι,” καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ὅμοιώς ἀκουσον ἄ φησι

12.46.2 | “Νῦν δὴ, ἔφην, αὐτῷ διαλεγώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ διωμολογησάμεθα, τό τε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαια πρᾶτ’ τειν 5 ἦν ἐκάτερον ἔχει δύναμιν. Πῶς; ἔφη. Εἴκονα πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς λόγω, ἵνα εἰδῇ ὁ ἐκεῖνα λέγων οἷαν ἔλεγε. Ποίαν τινά; ἦ δ’ ὅς. Τῶν τοιούτων τινὰ, ἦν δ’ ἔγὼ, οἵαι μυθολογοῦνται παλαιαὶ γενέσθαι φύσεις, ἢ τε Χιμαίρας καὶ ἡ Σκύλλης καὶ Κερβέρου, καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς συχναὶ λέγονται συμπεφυκῦαι ἰδέαι πολλαὶ εἰς γενέσθαι.

12.46.3 | Λέγονται γὰρ, ἔφη. Πλάττε τοίνυν

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 they are. But my art can both awaken and relieve this pain.”

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.” Then he said, “And in the middle, there was the likeness of four living creatures. Their appearance was like a man, and each one had four faces. The likeness of their faces was a human face, and on the right side of the four was the face of a lion, while on the left side was the face of an ox. And for the four was the face of an eagle.” And listen also to what Plato says in a similar way.

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 asked. “By creating an image of the soul with words, so that the one speaking can understand what he is saying.” “What kind?” I asked. “Some kind like those that I, as they say, are ancient beings, like the Chimera, Scylla, and Cerberus, along with many other ideas that are often said to be mixed together.”

12.46.3 | “They say,” he said. “So then,

μίαν μὴν ίδεαν θηρίου ποικίλου καὶ πολυκεφάλου, ἡμέρων δὲ θηρίων ἔχοντος κεφαλὰς κύκλῳ καὶ ἀγρίων, καὶ δυνατοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ φύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πάντα. Δεινοῦ πλάστου, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον· ὅμως δ', ἐπειδὴ εὐπλαστότερον κηροῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ λόγος, πεπλάσθω.

create an idea of a strange beast with many heads, having the heads of tame animals arranged in a circle along with wild ones, and capable of changing and producing all these things from itself. ‘A terrible creation,’ he said, ‘but still, since the idea is easier to shape than wax and similar materials, let it be formed.’”

12.46.4 | Μίαν δὴ τοίνυν ἄλλην ίδεαν λέοντος, μίαν δὲ ἀνθρώπου· πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ἔστω τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ δεύτερον τὸ δεύτερον. Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ῥάω, καὶ πέπλασται. Σύναπτε τοίνυν αὐτὰ είς ἐν τρίᾳ ὄντα, ὥστε πῃ ξυμπεφυκέναι ἄλλήλοις. Ξυνῆπται, ἔφη. Περιπλασον δὴ αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐνὸς εἰκόνα, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰ ἐντὸς ὄρᾶν, ἄλλὰ τὸ ἔξω μόνον ἔλυτρον ὄρῶντι, ἐν ζῷον φαίνεσθαι, ἄνθρωπον.

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 smaller.” “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 ως λυσιτελεῖ τούτῳ ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δίκαια δὲ πράττειν οὐ ξυμφέρει, διότι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φήσει ἡ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ παντοδαπὸν θηρίον εύωχοῦντι ποιεῖν ἴσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν λέοντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν λέοντα, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον λιμοκτονεῖν παὶ ποιεῖν ἀσθενῆ, ὥστε ἔλκεσθαι ὅπῃ ἀνέκείνων ὀπότερον ἄγῃ, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτερον ἐτέρῳ ξυνεθίζειν μηδὲ φίλον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔαν αὐτὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δάκνεσθαι 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. 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 δὲ τὰ δίκαια λέγων λυσιτελεῖν φαίνει ἀν δεῖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν, δθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται

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.

έγκρατέστατος, *καὶ τοῦ πολυκεφάλου θρέμματος ἐπιμελήσεται ὥσπερ γεωργὸς, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα τρέφων καὶ τιθασσεύων, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια ἀποκωλύων φύεσθαι, ξύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὴν τοῦ λέοντος φύσιν, καὶ κοινῇ πάντων κηδόνενος, φίλα ποιησάμενος ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ, οὕτω θρέψει; Κομιδῇ γὰρ αὖ λέγει ταῦτα ὁ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπαίνων.*”

Therefore, the inner man will be the 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. He will make the nature of the lion an ally and care for all of them 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 ὅδε “Δώδεκα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα εἰς δύναμιν ἵσται μόρια νενεμήσθω. φυλὴ δὲ μία τῷ μορίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐπικληρωθεῖσα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν παρεχέτω πέντε οἶνον ἀγρονόμους τε φυλάρχους.” Καὶ πάλιν φησί “Ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖσι προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τοῦς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς δώδεκα, ἐκάστη φυλῇ ταξίαρχον.”

12.47.1 | “Of the whole nation of the Hebrews, divided into twelve tribes, Plato similarly says that it is necessary to organize his own citizens, saying this: ‘Let the entire 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 twelve chosen generals be appointed for them, one commander for each tribe.’”

## Section 48

12.48.1 | Τῆς παρὰ παισὶν Ἐβραίων πάλαι πρότερον συνεστώσης βασιλικῆς μητροπόλεως, ἀποθεν μὲν θαλάσσης οὕσης, ἐν ὅρεσι δὲ κατωκισμένης, πάμφορόν τε γῆν κεκτημένης, καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τοιαύτην τινὰ εἴναι δεῖν φησι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατοικιζομένην ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις. λέγει δὲ ὅδε

12.48.1 | “About the royal metropolis of the Hebrews, which was established long ago, located away from the sea and settled in the mountains, possessing very fertile land, Plato says that there should be a similar place for his own people in the Laws. He says this:”

12.48.2 | “Τόδε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὃ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἐπερωτῶ, πότερον

12.48.2 | “This is what I want to ask you more: will it be by the sea or on land?

έπιθαλαττίδιος ἔσται τις ἡ χερσαία. Σχεδὸν, ὡς ξένε, ἀπέχει θαλάττης γε ἡ πόλις, ἥς πέρι τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα ἡμῖν, εἴς τινας ὄγδοήκοντα σταδίους. Τί δέ; λιμένες ἄρ' είσὶ κατ' αὐτῆς, ἡ τὸ παράπαν ἀλίμενος; Εύλιμενος μὲν οὖν ταύτη γε, ὡς δυνατόν ἔστι μάλιστα, ως ξένε.

12.48.3 | Παπαῖ, οἶον λέγεις. τί δέ; περὶ αὐτὴν ἡ χώρα πότερα πάμφορος, ἡ καὶ τινῶν 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 ὅλης πᾶς μέρος ἐκάστων ἡμῖν εἰληχε; Προσέοικε τῇ τῆς ἄλλης Κρήτης φύσει ὅλῃ. Τραχυτέραν αὐτὴν ἡ πεδινωτέραν ἀν λέγοις; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

12.48.4 | Οὐ 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 | ἐγγύτερον μέντοι τοῦ δέοντος κεῖται τῆς θαλάττης, σχεδὸν ὅσον εὐλιμενωτέραν φήσι αὐτὴν εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ τοῦτο πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρα τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἥδυ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιπλᾶσα

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 possible, O stranger."

12.48.3 | "Indeed, you speak well. But what about the land? Is it very fruitful, or does it lack 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 left this land deserted for a very long 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 | "Therefore, it would not be hopeless to gain virtue. For if it were 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 had many different bad habits because of such a nature. But now it has the advantage of being eighty stadia away."

12.48.5 | "However, it is closer to the sea than necessary, almost as if you say it is better-harbored. Still, this is also appreciated. For the sea is sweet to the land, though it is indeed very salty and bitter as a neighbor. It fills itself with trade and commerce through shops, bringing back habits that are deceitful and

έαυτήν, ἢθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αύτήν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον καὶ ἀφιλον ποιεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως. παραμύθιον δὲ δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι κέκτηται, τραχεῖα δὲ οὖσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἀν πολύφορός τ' εἴη καὶ πάμφορος ἄμα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχουσα, πολλὴν ἔξαγωγὴν ἀν παρεχομένη, νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ πάλιν ἀντεπίμπλατ' ἀν' οὖ μεῖζον κακόν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πόλει ἀνθ' ἐνδός ἔν οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο εἰς γενναίων καὶ δικαίων ἡθῶν κτῆσιν." Άλλὰ γὰρ τοσούτων ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀποδεδειγμένω σκεψώμεθα ὅπως τὸν τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις παιδείας τρόπον δι' ὃν είρήκαμεν ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν παραιτεῖται, γράφων ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὥδε

## Section 49

12.49.1 | “Ως μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς είρήσθω, οὐ γάρ μου κατερεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς μιμητικούς,) λώβη ἔσικεν εἶναι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων διανοίας, ὅσοι μὴ ἔχουσι φάρμακον τὸ εἰδέναι αὐτὰ οἷα τυγχάνει ὄντα. Πῇ δὴ, ἵψῃ, διανοούμενος λέγεις; Ῥητέον, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, καίτοι φιλία γέ τίς με καὶ αἰδώς ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχουσα περὶ Ομήρου ἀποκωλύει λέγειν.

12.49.2 | ἔσικε γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ὁ λέγω ῥητέον. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.”

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.”

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, especially those who do not have the remedy of knowing what they truly are. So, what are you saying, I ask? It must be said, I replied, and yet a certain friendship and shame I have felt since childhood about Homer prevents me from speaking.”

12.49.2 | “For it seems that among all these beautiful things, tragedy is the first teacher and leader. But he should not be honored before the truth; what I say must be said. Indeed, he said.”

12.49.3 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων πέρι μὴ ἀπαιτῶμεν λόγον Ὅμηρον, μηδὲ ἄλλον δόντινοῦν τῶν ποιητῶν, ἔρωτῶντες, εἰ ιατρικός τις ἦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μιμητής μόνον ιατρικῶν λόγων, τίνας ὑγιεῖς ποιητής τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἢ τῶν νέων λέγεται πεποιηκέναι, ὡσπερ Ἄσκληπιός, ἢ τίνας μαθητὰς ιατρικῆς κατελίπετο, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐκγόνους· μηδ' αὖ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας αύτὸν ἔρωτῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἔῶμεν.

12.49.3 | “Then, let us not ask for an account about Homer or any other poets, wondering if any of them was a doctor, but rather if he was more than just an imitator of medical words. What healthy poet, whether 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 question him about the other arts; let us leave that aside.”

12.49.4 | περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ καλλίστων, ᾧν ἐπιχειρεῖ λέγειν Ὅμηρος, πολέμων τε πέρι καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ διοικήσεων πόλεων, καὶ παιδ·είας πέρι ἀνθρώπων, δίκαιον που ἔρωτᾶν αὐτὸν πυνθανομένους, ὡ φίλε Ὅμηρε, εἴπερ μὴ τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶ ἀρετῆς πέρι εἰδώλου δημιουργός, ὃν δὴ μιμητὴν ὡρισάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερος, καὶ οὗτος τε ἥσθια γινώσκειν ποῖα ἐπιτηδεύματα βελτίους ἢ χείρους ἀνθρώπους ποιεῖ ίδιᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, λέγε ήμιν τίς τῶν πόλεων διὰ σὲ βέλτιον ὥκησεν, ὡσπερ διὰ Λυκοῦργον Λακεδαιμόνων καὶ δι' ἄλλους πολλοὺς πολλαὶ μεγάλαι τε καὶ σμικραί.

12.49.4 | “Regarding the greatest and most beautiful things that Homer attempts to speak about—wars, strategies, the management of cities, and the upbringing of people—it is right to ask him, ‘O dear Homer, if you are not merely a distant reflection of the truth, a creator of an image of virtue, which we have defined as an imitator, but also a second voice, how do 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, along with many others, both great and small.’”

12.49.5 | σὲ δὲ τίς αἴτιαται πόλις ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην γεγονέναι καὶ σφάς ὀφελητέναι; Χαρώνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα· σὲ δὲ τίς; ἔξει τινὰ εἴπειν; Οὐκ οἴμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων· οὕκουν λέγεται γε, ούδ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ὅμηριδῶν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τίς πολεμος ἐπὶ Ὅμηρου ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἄρχοντος ἢ συμβουλεύοντος εῦ πολεμηθεὶς μνημονεύεται; Ούδείς.

12.49.5 | “Which city blames you for being a good lawgiver and for helping them? Italy and Sicily praise Charondas, and we praise Solon; but who praises you? Will anyone say anything? I don’t think so, said Glaucon. In fact, he is not mentioned by those who are descendants of Homer. But what war is remembered as well-fought under the leadership or advice of Homer? No one.”

12.49.6 | Άλλ' οἶα δὴ εἰς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλαὶ ἐπίνοιαι καὶ εὐμήχανοι εἰς τέχνας ἡ τινας ἄλλας πράξεις λέγονται, ὡσπερ αὖ Θάλεω τε πέρι τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀναχάρσιδος τοῦ Σκύθου; Οὐδαμῶς τοιοῦτον ούδέν.

12.49.7 | Άλλὰ δὴ, εἴ μὴ δημοσίᾳ, ἴδιᾳ τισὶν ἡγεμών παιδείας αὐτὸς ζῶν λέγεται "Ομηρος γενέσθαι, οἱ ἐκεῖνον ἡγάπων ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον δόδον τινα παρέδοσαν βίου Όμηρικήν, ὡσπερ Πυθαγόρας αὐτός τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡγαπήθη, καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπονομάζοντες τού βίου διαφανεῖς πῃ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις;

12.49.8 | Ούδ' αὖ, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον ούδὲν λέγεται. ὁ γάρ Κρεώφυλος, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὁ τοῦ Όμήρου ἑταῖρος, τοῦ ὄντος ἀν γελοιότερος ἔτι πρὸς παιδείαν φανείη, εἴ τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ Όμήρου ἀληθῆ ἔστι.

12.49.9 | λέγεται γάρ που ὡς πολλὴ ἀμέλεια περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ὅτε ἔζη. Λέγεται γάρ οὖν, ἦν δ' ἔγω. ἀλλ' οἴει, ω Γλαύκων, εἴ τῷ ὄντι οἶός τε ἦν παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ βελτίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι "Ομηρος, ἄτε περὶ τούτων οὐ μιμεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν δυνάμενος, οὐκ ἄρ' ἀν πολλοὺς ἐταίρους ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἡγαπᾶτο ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

12.49.10 | ἀλλὰ Πρωταγόρας μὲν ἄρα ὁ Αβδηρίτης καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ ἄλλοι πάμπολοι δύνανται τοῖς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν παρεστάναι, ἴδιᾳ συγγινόμενοι, ως οὕτε

12.49.6 | "But indeed, many inventions and clever ideas are said to come from the works of a wise man, just as those about Thales of Miletus and Anacharsis the Scythian. However, there is nothing 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 passed on a certain way of life called Homeric, just as Pythagoras was greatly admired for this. Even today, those who follow him still call their way of life Pythagorean, believing it to be distinct from others."

12.49.8 | "Nor again," he said, "is anything like that said. For Creophylus, oh Socrates, the companion of Homer, would seem even more foolish regarding education if what is said about Homer is true."

12.49.9 | "For it is said that there was much neglect of him during his time, when he lived. It is said, therefore, I said. But do you think, oh Glaucon, that if he truly was able to educate people and make them better—not by imitating these things, but by understanding them—he would not have made many friends and been honored and loved by them?"

12.49.10 | "But Protagoras from Abdera, Prodicus from Ceos, and many others can stand on their own, coming together privately. They will not be able to live in the

οίκιαν οὕτε πόλιν τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν οἷοί τε  
ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ σφεῖς αὐτῶν τῆς παιδείας  
ἐπιστατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ  
οὕτω σφόδρα φιλοῦνται, ὥστε μόνον οὐκ  
ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρουσιν αὐτὸὺς οἱ  
έταιροι.

12.49.11 | ὅμηρον δὲ ἄρα οὗτος ἐπέκεινου,  
εἴπερ οὗτος τε ἦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄντες  
ἀνθρώπους, ἢ Ἡσίοδον ὃς αψωδεῖν ἀν  
περιιόντας εἶων, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀν αὐτῶν  
ἀντείχοντο ἢ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἡνάγκαζον  
παρὰ σφίσιν οἵκοι εἶναι, ἢ εἰ μὴ ἐπειθον,  
αὐτοὶ ἀν ἐπαιδαγώγουν, δηπτὶ ἥεσαν, ἔως  
ἰκανῶς παιδείας μεταλάβοιεν;

12.49.12 | Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, δοκεῖς μοι, [h] Σώκρατες, ἀληθῆ λέγειν. Ούκοῦν τιθῶμεν ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀρξάμενοι πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμητὰς εἰδώλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περὶ ὃν ποιοῦσι, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας οὐχ ἅπτεσθαι; ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ὃ ζωγράφος σκυτοτόμον ποιήσει δοκοῦντα εἶναι, αὐτός τε οὐκέπαίων περὶ σκυτοτομίας, καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπαίουσιν, ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ σχημάτων θεωροῦσι;

12.49.13 | Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὕτω δὴ, οἴμαι,  
καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν φήσιοφήσιμεν χρώματα  
ἄττα ἐκάστῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ  
ρήμασιν ἐπιχρωματίζειν αὐτὸν οὐκ  
ἐπαίοντα, ἀλλ' ἡ μιμεῖσθαι, ὥστε ἐτέροις  
τοιούτοις ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεωροῦσι δοκεῖν,  
έάν τε περὶ σκυτοτομίας τι λέγῃ ἐν μέτρῳ  
καὶ ῥυθμῷ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ, πάνυ εὖ δοκεῖν  
λέγεσθαι, έάν τε περὶ στρατηγίας, έάν τε

same house or city unless they take charge of their education. 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 become virtuous, or if he could sing about Hesiod while passing by, would they not resist him more than gold? Would they not try to make him stay with them? Or if they could not persuade him, would they not educate themselves wherever they went, until they gained enough knowledge?"

12.49.12 | "Absolutely," he said, "you seem to me to be speaking the truth. So, shall we start with 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 may seem to be a leather worker, yet he himself knows nothing about leather working, and those who do not know will only see the colors and shapes?"

12.49.13 | “Indeed. So, I think we will say that the poetic philosopher colors each of the arts with names and phrases without truly knowing them; instead, he imitates, making others believe he understands from the words. If he speaks about leather working in meter, rhythm, and harmony, he seems to speak very well, whether it is about strategy or any other subject.”

περὶ ἄλλου διουοῦν'

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, οἷμαί σε εἰδέναι οἷα φαίνεται. τεθέα'σαι γὰρ, ἢ οὗ; "Ἔγωγ", ἵφη."

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.

## Section 50

12.50.1 | "Λέγουσί πού τινες ὡς πάντα ἔστι τὰ πράγματα γιγνόμενα καὶ γενόμενα καὶ γενησόμενα τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ τέχνῃ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχην. Ούκοῦν 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 αύτῶν 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, ἀ δὴ τεχνικὰ πάντες προσαγορεύομεν.

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 | "And with these things being so, it seems good to me to briefly go through some of Plato's ideas, through which he offers a more logical explanation about god and providence, comparing it to the beliefs of the Hebrews. First, let us consider how he presents the views of the atheists."

12.50.1 | "Some say that all things are either coming into being, have 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 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. This skill takes from nature the great and primary creations to shape and construct all the smallest things, which we all call technical."

12.50.3 | Πῶς λέγεις; Ὡδ' 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 ἄστρων τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονέναι παντελῶς ὄντων ἀψύχων τύχῃ δὲ φερόμενα τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔκαστα ἐκάστων, ἥ συμπέπτωκεν ἀρμόττοντα οἰκείως πως, θερμὰ ψυχροῖς, ἥ ξηρὰ πρὸς ὑγρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ πρὸς σκληρὰ, καὶ πάντα ὀπόσα τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει κατὰ τύχην ἔξ ἀνάγκης συνεκεράσθη, ταύτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταύτα οὔτως γεγεννηκέναι τόν τε ούρανὸν δόλον καὶ πάντα ὀπόσα ἀν κατ' ούρανὸν, καὶ ζῷα αὖ καὶ φυτὰ ξύμπαντα, ὡρῶν πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων, οὐ διὰ νοῦν, φασὶν, οὐδὲ διά τινα θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην, ἀλλ' ὅ λέγομεν, φύσει καὶ τύχῃ.

12.50.3 | “What do you say? Let me explain 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. The bodies that come after these, like those of the earth, sun, moon, and stars, are completely formed from these lifeless things. They come together by chance, each according to its own power, fitting together in a certain way—hot with cold, 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 claim 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 | τέχνην δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστέραν γενομένην, αύτὴν θνητὴν ἐκ θνητῶν, ὕστερα γεγεννηκέναι παιδιάς τινας ἀληθείας οὐ σφόδρα μετεχούσας, ἀλλ' εἴδωλ' ἄττα ξυγγενῆ ἐαυτῶν, οἷα γραφική γεννᾷ καὶ μουσική καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶ συνέριθοι τέχναι. αἱ δὲ εἴ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν τεχνῶν, εἶναι ταύτας ὀπόσαι τῇ φύσει ἐκοίνωσαν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἷον αὖ ιατρικὴ καὶ γεωργικὴ καὶ γυμναστική. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναί φασι κοινωνοῦν φύσει, τέχνῃ δὲ τὸ πολύ. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν πᾶσαν οὐ φύσει, τέχνῃ δὲ, ἥς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς θέσεις.

12.50.4 | “Skill came later from these things, being mortal and arising from mortals. It has given birth to some truths that are not widely shared, but rather to images that are somewhat related to themselves, like those created by drawing and music, along with all the arts 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. Therefore, all law-making is not by nature, but by skill, which is not based on true principles.”

12.50.5 | Πῶς λέγεις; Θέους, ω μακάριε, πρῶτον εἶναι φασιν οὗτοι τέχνῃ, οὐ φύσει,

12.50.5 | “What do you say? They say that the gods are first created by skill, not by

άλλα 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.

nature, but by certain laws, and these laws differ for each group, depending on what each has agreed upon for themselves. Indeed, beautiful things are one way by nature and another way by law. However, just things are not at all by nature; instead, they continue to be disputed among each other and are always being changed. Whatever they agree upon and whenever they do so, those things are then considered valid, being created by skill and laws, but not by nature."

12.50.6 | ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ὡ φίλοι, ἀπαντα  
ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις,  
ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι  
τὸ δικαιότατον, ὃ τι τις ἀν νικᾶ, βιαζόμενος.  
ὅθεν ἀσέβειαί τε ἀνθρώποις ἐμπίπτουσιν  
νέοις, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων θεῶν οἴους ὁ νόμος  
προστάττει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖν, στάσεις τε  
διὰ ταῦτα, ἐλκόντων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν  
όρθوذον βίον, ὃς ἔστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κρατοῦντα  
ζῆν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ δουλεύοντα ἐτέροισι  
κάτα νόμον. Οἶον διελήλυθας, ὡ ξένε,  
λόγον, καὶ ὅσην λώβην ἀνθρώπων νέων  
δημοσίᾳ πόλεσί τε καὶ ιδίοις οἴκοις.”

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 achieve by force. Because of this, impiety falls upon young people, as if there are no gods, and the law commands them to think this way. This leads to conflicts, pulling them away from living according to nature, which means living in truth, stronger than others, and not being enslaved to others according to the law. Just as you have explained, stranger, the argument, consider 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  
γάρ δεῖ σε εἶναι τῶν λόγων· κινδυνεύει γάρ  
ὁ λέγων ταῦτα πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ  
ἄέρα πρῶτα τῶν πάντων ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι,  
καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὄνομάζειν ταῦτα αὔτα,  
ψυχὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὑστερον. ἔοικε δὲ οὐκ  
κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ὄντως 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 part of the discussion. The one who speaks these things risks thinking that fire, water, earth, and air are the first of all things, naming 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 ὃποσοι πώποτε τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἐφῆψαντο ζητημάτων; σκόπει πάντα λόγον ἔξετάζων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖν οἷ λόγων ἀπτόμενοι ἀσεβῶν ἄλλοις τε ἔξαρχοντες μηδὲ εὗ τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι. δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν. Εὗ λέγεις ἀλλ' ὅπῃ δὴ, πειρῶ φράζειν. "Εοικε τοίνυν ἀηθεστέρων ἀπτέον εἶναι λόγων."

12.50.8 | "Then, have we found some source of foolish opinions 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 connect to the impious and lead others astray, using arguments incorrectly. It seems to me that this is 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, ὡς ἑταῖρε, ἡγνοηκέναι κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ὀλίγους ξύμπαντες οἴον τε ὃν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἦν ἔχει, τῶν τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐν πρώτοις ἔστι σωμάτων ἐμπροσθεν πάντων γενομένη, καὶ μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης ἄρχει παντὸς μᾶλλον. εἰ δ' ἔστι ταῦτα οὕτως, ἄρ' οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῆ πρότερα ἀν εἴη γεγονότα τῶν σώματι προσηκόντων, οὕσης γε αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἢ σώματος; Ἀνάγκη. 5

12.50.9 | "And after a short time, he adds, 'Friend, they are in danger of not understanding the soul, both in its nature and the power it has, as well as its origins. It is the first of all bodies, coming 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, since the soul is older than the body?' Necessarily."

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, ἦν οὐκ ὄρθως αὐτοὶ ἐπονομάζουσι, τούτου ὕστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα ἀν ἐκ τέχνης εἴη καὶ νοῦ. Πῶς οὐκ ὄρθως;

12.50.10 | "Indeed, opinion, care, thought, skill, and law would come before the hard and soft, the heavy and light. Also, the great and primary works and actions of skill would arise first, while those that are natural and nature itself, which they do not call correctly, would come after and begin from skill and thought. How is it not correct?"

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' ἂν εἶναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταῦτ' ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἂν ψυχὴν τις ἐπιδείξῃ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν σώματος, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς. Αληθέστατα λέγεις.

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 if the soul is born first, then it could almost rightly be said to be different by nature. If this is the case, 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· ἐπὶ γε ἀπόδειξιν τὴν αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰσὶ, σπουδῇ πάσῃ παρακειλήσθων· ἔχόμενοι δὲ ὡς τινος ἀσφαλοῦς πείσματος ἐπεισβαίνωμεν εἰς τὸν νῦν λόγον. καὶ μοι ἐλεγχομένῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔρωτήσεσι τοιαῖσδε ἀσφαλέστατα ἀποκρίνεσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ τάδε.

12.51.1 | “Come now, if we are to call upon a god at any time, let it be 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. It seems very certain to me that when questioned about such matters, I should answer in this way.”

12.51.2 | ω̄ ξένε, ὅπόταν φῆ τις, ἢρα ἔστηκε μὲν πάντα, κινεῖται δὲ οὐδὲν, ἢ τούτω πάν τούναντίον; ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ μένει; Τὰ μὲν κινεῖται που, φήσω, τὰ δὲ μένει. Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐν χώρᾳ τινὶ τὰ τε ἔστωτα ἔστηκε καὶ τὰ κινού· Ἄγε μένα κινεῖται; Πῶς γάρ οὕ; Καὶ τὰ μέν γε ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρᾳ που τοῦτο ἂν δρῷη, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείοσι.

12.51.2 | “O stranger, whenever someone asks, is everything standing still and nothing moving, or is it the complete opposite? Or do some things move while others stay still? I would say that some things do move, while others remain still. But is it not true 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 ἔστωτων ἐν μέσῳ λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν λέγεις, φήσομεν, ἐν ἐνὶ κινεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἔστᾶναι λεγομένων κύκλων στρέφεται περιφορά; Ναί.”

12.51.3 | “You say that the power of the standing things is in the middle, and we would say that it moves in one way, just like the circles that are said to stand turn in a circle? Yes.”

12.51.4 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Ἐτι δὴ καὶ τῇδε εἴπωμεν, καὶ ἀποκρινώμεθα πάλιν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσιν. εἰ σταίη πως τὰ πάντα ὄμοι γενόμενα, καθάπερ πλεῖστοι τῶν τοιούτων τολμῶσι λέγειν, τίνα ἄρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρώτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι τῶν είρημένων;

12.51.5 | Τὴν αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν δήπου κινοῦσαν. ὑπ’ ἄλλου γὰρ οὐ μή ποτε ἔμπροσθεν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεμιᾶς γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕσης ἔμπροσθεν μεταπτώσεως.

12.51.6 | 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 ἄλλοιουμένην ὑφ' ἐτέρου, κινοῦσαν δὲ ἔτερα, δευτέραν. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

12.51.7 | Ὁπότε δὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα ἐσμὲν τοῦ λόγου, τόδε ἀποκρινώμεθα. Τὸ ποῖον; Εὰν ἵδωμέν που ταύτην γενομένην ἐν τῷ γηίνῳ ἢ ἐνύδρῳ ἢ πυροειδεῖ, κεχωρισμένῳ ἢ καὶ ξυμμιγεῖ, τί ποτε φήσομεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθος ἐνεῖναι;

12.51.8 | Μῶν ἄρά με ἐρωτᾷς εἰ ζῆν αὐτὸ προσεροῦμεν, ὅταν αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινῆ; Ναί. Ζῆν πῶς γὰρ οὔ; Τί δὲ, ὅταν ψυχὴν ἐν τισὶ ὁρῶμεν, μῶν ἄλλο ἢ c ταύτων τούτῳ ζῆν ὀμοιογητέον; Οὐκ ἄλλο. “Ἐχε δὴ πρὸς Δῖός· ἄρ’ οὐκ ἀν ἐθέλοις περὶ εκαστον τρία νοεῖν;

12.51.4 | “And then let us say this, and let us answer ourselves again. If everything were to stand together, just as most of those who think like this dare to say, what then would be the first movement among them that must happen?”

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 among them before it.”

12.51.6 | “Therefore, we must 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 | “Whenever we are here in this discussion, let us answer this: What kind? If we see something like this happening on the earth, in water, or in something fiery, whether it is separate or mixed, what will we say is present in such a situation?”

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 this is the same as being alive? Nothing else. So, regarding Zeus, wouldn’t you want to think of three things about

each one?"

12.51.9 | Πῶς λέγεις; "Ἐν μὲν τὴν ούσίαν, ἔν δὲ τῆς ούσίας τὸν λόγον, ἐν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ ὃν ἄπαν δύο. Πῶς; Τοτὲ μὲν ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τοῦνομα προτεινόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν προτεινόμενον ἐρωτᾶν αὖτοῦνομα. ἅρα γε τὸ τοιόνδε αὗτοῦλόμεθα νῦν λέγειν;

12.51.9 | "What do you mean? One is the essence, one is the reason for 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 discuss this kind of thing now?"

12.51.10 | Τὸ ποῖον; "Ἔστι που δίχα διαιρούμενον εἰς ἕστα μέρη ἐν ἄλλοισί τε καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὄνομα μὲν ἄρτιον, λόγος δὲ ἀριθμὸς διαιρούμενος εἰς ἕστα δύο μέρη. Ναί.

12.51.10 | "What kind? It is something that is divided into equal parts, both 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 | Τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω. Μῶν οὖν οὐ ταύτὸν ἐκατέρως προσαγορεύομεν, ἐάν τε τὸν λόγον ἐρωτώμενοι τοῦνομα ἀποδιδῶμεν, ἐάν τε τοῦνομα τὸν λόγον ἄρτιον ὄνόματι καὶ λόγῳ, δίχᾳ διαιρούμενον ἀριθμὸν προσαγορεύοντες, ταύτὸν ὅν; Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

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 reason an even name and reason, referring to it as a number divided into equal parts? It is indeed the same."

12.51.12 | Ὡι δὴ ψυχὴ τοῦνομα, τίς τούτου λόγος; ἔχομεν ἄλλον πλὴν τὸν νῦν δὴ ῥηθέντα, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτὴν ἐσαυτὴν κινεῖν κίνησιν; Τὸ ἐσαυτὸν κινεῖν φῆς λόγον ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ούσίαν ἥνπερ τοῦνομα, ὃ δὴ πάντες ψυχὴν προσαγορεύομεν;

12.51.12 | "O soul, what is the reason for this name? Do we have another reason 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 | Φημί γε. εἰ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον, ἅρ' ἔτι ποθοῦμεν μὴ ἱκανῶς δεδεῖχθαι ψυχὴν ταύτὸν ὅν καὶ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν

12.51.13 | "I say yes. If this is the case, do we still wish to show that the soul is the same as the first origin and movement of all

καὶ κίνησιν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων καὶ ἔσομένων καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, ἐπειδή γε ἀνεφάνη μεταβολῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως ἀπάσης αἰτίᾳ ἄπασιν; Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ἵκανώτατα δέδεικται ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων πρεσβυτάτη, γενομένη γε ἀρχὴ κινήσεως.

beings, both those that exist and those that have come to be, as well as all things opposite to these? Since it has been revealed as the cause of all change and movement? No, it has been shown quite clearly that the soul is the oldest of all, having become the source of movement."

12.51.14 | Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡ δι' ἔτερον ἐν ἄλλῳ γινομένη κίνησις, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ μηδέποτε παρέχουσα κινεῖσθαι μηδὲν, δευτέρα τε καὶ ὀπόσων ἀριθμῶν βούλοιτο ἀν τις ἀριθμεῖν αὐτὴν πολλοστὴν, τοσούτων, σώματος οὕσα ὄντως ἀψύχου μεταβολή. Ὁρθῶς.

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. That's correct."

12.51.15 | Ὁρθῶς ἄρα καὶ κυρίως ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώτατα είρηκότες ἀν ἦμεν ψυχὴν μὲν προτέραν γεγονέναι σώματος, ἡ μὴ, σῶμα δὲ δεύτερον τε καὶ ὑστερὸν ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης ἀρχόμενον κατὰ φύσιν. Ἀληθέστατα μὲν οὖν.

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, following its natural order. Indeed, that is true."

12.51.16 | Μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν διμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς εἴ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρα σώματος οὕσα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο πρεσβύτερα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

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 | Τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἥθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαι τε καὶ μνῆμαι πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους καὶ ὁρμῆς εἴη γεγονότα ἀν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος. Ἀνάγκη.

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 belongs to the body. It is necessary."

12.51.18 | Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὄμοιογεῖν 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 ἔνοικοῦσαν ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη διοικεῖν φάναι; Τί μήν; Μίαν, ἢ πλείους; Πλείους· ἔγω ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι δυοῖν μέν γέ που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντία δυναμένης ἔξεργάζεσθαι.

12.51.20 | Σφόδρα ὁρθῶς εἴρηκας. Εἴεν. ἄγει μὲν δὴ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ταῖς αὐτῆς κινήσειν, αἷς ὄνόματά ἔστι βούλεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, βουλεύεσθαι, δοξάζειν ὁρθῶς, ἐψευσμένως, χαίρουσσαν, λυπουμένην, θαρροῦσαν, φοβουμένην, 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, αύστηρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν] καὶ πᾶσιν οὓς ψυχὴ χρωμένη, νοῦν μὲν προσλαμβάνουσα αἱέι θεῖον ὁρθῶς θεοῖς ὁρθὰ καὶ εύδαιμονα παιδαγωγεῖ πάντα, ἀνοίᾳ δὲ ξυγγενομένη πάντα αὖ τάναντία τούτοις ἀπεργάζεται.

12.51.21 | τιθῶμεν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν; ἡ ἔτι

12.51.18 | “Is it then necessary to agree that the cause of good things is the soul, as well as the cause of bad things, beautiful and ugly things, just and unjust things, and all opposites, if we are to see it as 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, isn't it necessary to say that it also governs the heavens? Indeed! Is there one or many? Many; I would say that we should not consider fewer than two: one that does good and one that can do the opposite.”

12.51.20 | “You have spoken very rightly. Indeed, the soul guides all things in the heavens, on earth, and in the sea with its own movements, which include wishing, considering, caring, planning, thinking rightly or falsely, rejoicing, feeling sad, being brave, being afraid, hating, loving, and all those related to these or that are primary movements. These movements lead to the secondary movements of bodies, directing everything toward growth, decay, separation, and gathering. Following these are warmth, coldness, heaviness, lightness, hardness, softness, whiteness, blackness, harshness, sweetness, and bitterness. The soul interacts with all these, always receiving divine reason, guiding everything rightly and happily toward the gods. However, when it is mixed with ignorance, it brings about all the opposites of these.”

12.51.21 | “Shall we say that these things

διστάζομεν εί δέρως πως ἔχει; Ούδαμῶς.  
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;

are true? Or are we still unsure if they might be different? 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 in this way?" How?

12.51.22 | Εἴ μὲν, ὡς θαυμάσιε, φῶμεν, ἢ  
ξύμπαστα οὐρανοῦ ὄδος ἄμα καὶ φορὰ καὶ  
τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντων ἀπάντων νοῦ κινήσει  
καὶ περιφορᾷ καὶ λογισμοῖς ὅμοιάν φύσιν  
ἔχει καὶ ξυγγενῶς ἔρχεται, δῆλον ὡς τὴν  
ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ  
κόσμου παντὸς καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν  
τοιαύτην ὄδον ἔκείνην. Ὁρθῶς.

12.51.22 | "If we say, oh wonderful one, that the entire path of the heavens, along with the movement and all the beings within it, shares 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 guide it along that kind of path. This is indeed correct."

12.51.23 | Εἴ δὲ μανικός τε καὶ ἀτάκτως  
ἔρχεται, τὴν κάκην. Καὶ ταῦτα ὄρθότατα.  
Τίνα οὖν δὴ νοῦ κίνησις φύσιν ἔχει; τοῦτο  
ἡδη χαλεπόν, ὡς φίλοι, ἐρώτημα  
ἀποκρινόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐμφρόνως. διὸ δὴ καὶ  
ἐμὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὑμῖν δίκαιον τανῦν  
προσλαμβάνειν. Εὐ λέγεις.

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 fair for me to take my time in responding to you. You speak well."

12.51.24 | Μὴ τοίνυν ἔξ ἐναντίας οἶν εἰς  
ἥλιον ἀποβλέποντες, νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ  
ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν,  
ὡς νοῦν ποτὲ θνητοῖς ὅμμασιν ὄψόμενοί τε  
καὶ γνωσόμενοι ἱκανῶς· πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ  
ἔρωτωμένου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέστερον  
ὄρᾶν.

12.51.24 | "Therefore, let us not, like looking at the sun, bring night into midday. Instead, let us give an answer as if the mind could be seen and understood clearly by mortal eyes. By looking at the image of the one asking, we can see more clearly."

12.51.25 | Πῶς λέγεις; Ἡ προσέοικε  
κινήσει νοῦς, τῶν δέκα κινήσεων τὴν  
εἰκόνα λάβωμεν, ἥν συναναμνησθεὶς ὑμῖν

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.

έγώ 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.

Remembering this, I will give the answer together with you. You would say it very well. So let us remember this much from then: some things are meant to move, while others are meant to stay still. Yes."

12.51.26 | Τῶν δ' αὖ κινουμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν  
ἐνὶ τόπῳ κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐν πλείοσι  
φερόμενα. "Εστι ταύτῃ. Τούτοιν δὴ τοῖν  
κινήσεοιν τὴν ἐν ἐνὶ 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 places. This is true. Therefore, among those movements, the one that is always carried in one place must move around something, like a circle. It should be as close and similar as possible to the nature of the mind."

12.51.27 | Πῶς λέγεις; Τὸ κατὰ ταύτᾳ  
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 τέ ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην  
κίνησιν, σφαίρας ἐντόρνου ἀπεικασμένα  
φοραῖς, οὐκ ἄν ποτε φανεῖμεν φαῦλοι ή  
δημιουργοὶ λόγω 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 talk about 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 | Ὁρθότατα λέγεις. Ούκοῦν αὕτη  
γε ἡ μηδέποτε ὡσαύτως 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 τινι 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 connected to all forms of ignorance."

12.51.29 | Εἴη γὰρ ἀν ἀληθέστατα. Τανῦν  
δὴ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι διαρρήδην εὔπειν ὡς,  
ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μέν ἔστιν ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν  
πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν ἔξ

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

άνάγκης περιάγειν φατέον ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ κοσμοῦσαν ἡτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν ἑναντίαν.

movement of the heavens is necessarily guided, being cared for and organized, whether it is the best soul or the opposite.”

12.51.30 | Ω̄ ξένε, ἀλλ’ ἐκ γε τῶν νῦν είρημένων ὅσιον ἄλλως λέγειν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αύτά. Κάλλιστα, ὡ Kleinia, ὑπήκουσας τοῖς λόγοις. τόδε δὲ προσυπάκουσον ἔτι.

12.51.30 | “O stranger, it is indeed sacred to say something different 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 ἄστρα, εἴπερ ψυχὴ περιάγει πάντα, ἢρ' οὐ καὶ ἐν ἔκαστον; Τί μήν; Περὶ ἐνὸς δὴ ποιησώμεθα λόγους, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἀρμόττοντες ἡμῖν τὰ ἄστρα φανοῦνται.

12.51.31 | “What kind? The sun, the moon, and the other stars—if the soul carries everything, isn’t there also one for each? Indeed? Let us talk about one, since the stars that connect with everything are visible to us.”

12.51.32 | Τίνος; Ἡλίου πᾶς ἀνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὁρᾷ, ψυχὴν δὲ οὐδείς· οὐδὲ γάρ ἄλλου σώματος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθανόντος τῶν ζώων οὐδενός], ἀλλὰ ἔλπις πολλὴ τὸ παράπαν τὸ γένος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι περιπεφυκέναι, νοητὸν δὲ εἶναι. μόνῳ νῷ δὴ καὶ νοήματι λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ πέρι τὸ τοιόνδε.

12.51.32 | “Whose? Every person sees the body of the sun, but no one sees its soul. For there is none for any other body, whether living or dead, of any animals. However, there is great hope that this entire race is completely unaware of all the senses of the body, but can be understood. Let us focus only on the mind and thought regarding such a matter.”

12.51.33 | Ποῖον; Ἡλιον εἰ περιάγει ψυχὴ, τριῶν αὐτὴν ἵν λέγοντες δρᾶν σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀποτεξόμεθα. Τίνων;

12.51.33 | “What kind? If the soul carries the sun, we will hardly avoid saying that it acts in three ways. In relation to what?”

12.51.34 | Ως ἡ ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερεῖ τούτῳ φαινομένῳ σώματι πάντῃ διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμάς ἡ παρ’ ἡμῖν ψυχὴ πάντῃ περιφέρει· ἡ ποθεν

12.51.34 | “It’s as if the soul, within this visible body, completely carries such a thing, just as our soul carries us. Or does it obtain a body from outside, whether from

ἔξωθεν σῶμα αὐτῇ πορισαμένη πυρὸς ἢ τινος ἀέρος, ὡς λόγος ἔστι τινων, ὡθεῖ βίᾳ σώματι σῶμα· ἢ 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.”

fire or from some air, as some say, and violently pushes one body against another? Or is it a third option, being a simple body but having other powers that surpass, leading to wonder? Yes. This is necessary, for the soul must go through everything while acting.”

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 οὗτοι, ὃντως σεμνύνοντες, ὡς νοῦς ἔστι βασιλέ’ ὃς ἡμῖν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς. καὶ ἵσως εὐ λέγουσι· διὰ μακροτέρων δ’, εἰ βούλει, τὴν σκέψιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους ποιησώμεθα.

12.51.35 | “These things have indeed been said in the tenth book of the Laws to the philosopher. And in the Philebus, pay attention to how it develops the same idea: ‘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 expand on the thought of this race.”

12.51.36 | Λέγε ὅπως βούλει, μηδὲν μῆκος ὑπολογιζόμενος ἡμῖν, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὡς οὐκ ἀπεχθησόμενος. Καλῶς εἴπας. ἀρξάμεθα δέ πως 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, ἢ τάναντία, καθάπερ οὗ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν ἔλεγον, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν τινα θαυμαστὴν συντάττουσαν διακυβερναν;

12.51.36 | “Speak as you wish, without worrying about the length, O Socrates, as if you will not be offended. You have spoken well. Let us begin 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 may occur, or the opposite, just as those before us said, that a wonderful mind and understanding are guiding it?”

12.51.37 | Οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς θαυμάσιε Σώκρατες· ὃ μὲν γάρ δὴ σὺ λέγεις, νῦν] οὐδ’ ὅσιον εἶναί 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, οὐδ’ ἂν δόξαιμι.

12.51.37 | “Nothing of the same, O wonderful Socrates; for what you say now does not seem right to me. But to say that the mind arranges everything—the appearance of the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the movements—is worthy, and I would never say otherwise about them, nor would I think so.”

12.51.38 | Βούλει δή τι καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ὁμολογούμενον ξυμφήσωμεν, ὡς ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει; καὶ μὴ μόνον οἰώμεθα δεῖν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἄνευ κινδύνου λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκινδυνεύωμεν καὶ μετέχωμεν τοῦ ψόγου, ὅταν ἀνὴρ δεινὸς φῆ ταῦτα μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀτάκτως ἔχειν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἀβουλοίμην; Ἰθι δὴ, τὸν ἐπιόντα περὶ τούτων λόγον νῦν ἡμῖνάθρει.

12.51.38 | “Do you want us to agree with what has been said before, that these things are true? And let us not only think we should speak about 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 true, but are disordered? For how could I not want that? Come then, let us now consider the upcoming discussion about these matters.”

12.51.39 | δέγε μόνον. Τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν ἀπάντων τῶν Εἴών, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα, καθορῶμέν που, Καὶ γῆν, κθάπερ οἱ χειμαζόμενοί φασιν, ἐνόντα ἐν τῇ συστάσει; Καὶ μάλα. Χειμαζόμεθα γὰρ ὅντως ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἐν τοῖς νῦν λόγοις. Φέρε δὴ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν παρ'ἡμῖν λάβε τὸ Τοιόνδε.

12.51.39 | “Just listen. We see the nature of all bodies—fire, water, air, and earth—existing in the mixture, just as those who are struggling say? And indeed. For we are truly struggling with confusion in these discussions now. So come, let's take this kind of approach for each of the things we have.”

12.51.40 | Ποῖον; Ὅτι σμικρόν τε τούτων ἔκαστον παρ'ἡμῖν ἔνεστι καὶ φαῦλον καὶ οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς εἰλικρινές ὃν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς φύσεως ἔχον. ἐν ἐνὶ δὲ λαβὼν περὶ πάντων νόει ταύτον. Οἶον πῦρ ἔστι μέν που παρ'ἡμῖν, ἔστι δ'ἐν τῷ παντὶ.

12.51.40 | “What kind? That each of these things is small and weak among us, and in no way is it pure, nor does it 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 everything.”

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 πάσῃ 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'έκείνου τό τε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ σὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ξών ἄπαντ'ϊσχει ταῦτα; Τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεως ἄξιον

12.51.41 | “Well then? Is what we have small and weak, and ordinary, while what exists in the whole is wonderful in its abundance and has great power regarding fire? What you say is very true. But tell me, does the fire of the whole come from the fire we have, or does it come from that fire and control both mine and yours and all the other bodies? This is not even worth answering.”

έρωτᾶς.

12.51.42 | Ὁρθῶς. Ταῦτα γάρ ἐρεῖς, οἶμαι, περὶ τε τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζῷοις γῆς τῆς ἐνθάδε καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὴ ὅσων ἡρώτησα ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν, οὕτως ἀποκρινῆ. Τίς γάρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἄλλως ὑγιαίνων ἂν ποτε φανείη;

12.51.43 | Σχεδὸν οὐδ' ὀστισοῦν. ἄλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔξῆς ἔπου. πάντα γάρ 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 γάρ τρόπον ἂν 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, ὡς Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἄξιον ἐρωτήσεως. Τί δέ; ἀ οὐδὲ τρα ἄξιον ἐρωτήσεως; ἢ πῶς ἐρεῖς..

12.51.45 | Λέγε τὸ ποῖον. Τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν σῶμα ἄρ' οὐ ψυχὴν φήσομεν ἔχειν; Δῆλον ὅτι φήσομεν. Πόθεν, ὡς φίλε Πρώταρχε, λαβὸν, εἴπερ μὴ τό γε τοῦ παντὸς σῶμα ἐμψυχον ὃν ἐτύγχανε, ταύτα γε ἔχον τούτω καὶ ἔτι πάντη καλλίονα; Δῆλον ὡς οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν, ὡς Σώκρατες.

12.51.46 | Οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦμέν γε, ὡ

12.51.42 | "Correct. 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 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 think? Take the same idea about the world we are discussing; for in the same way, it would also be a body, made up of the same parts. You are saying this very rightly."

12.51.44 | "Which then comes from this body, our body here, or does this grow from our body along with 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 how will you say it?"

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 qualities and even more beautiful? It is clear that it comes from nowhere else, oh Socrates."

12.51.46 | "For we do not seem, dear

Πρώταρχε, τὰ τέτταρα ἔκεινα, πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ κοινὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος ἐν ἄπασι τέταρτον ἐνὸν, τοῦτ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχήν τε παρέχον καὶ σωμασκίαν ἐμποιοῦν καὶ πταίσαντος σώματος ιατρικὴν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλα συντιθὲν καὶ ἀσκούμενον πᾶσαν καὶ παντοίαν σοφίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν τούτων ὅντων 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.

Protarche, to have those four things: limit and infinite, common and the kind of cause, as a fourth among all. These give a soul and shape a body among us, and provide healing for a body that has fallen. In other things, they bring together and teach all kinds of wisdom. But with the same things existing in the whole sky and in large parts, along with beautiful and genuine things, it would not be possible to create the nature of the most beautiful and most valuable. But this would not make any sense."

12.51.47 | Ούκοῦν εί μὴ τοῦτο, μετ' ἔκείνου τοῦ λόγου ἀν ἐπόμενοι βέλτιον λέγοιμεν, ὡς ἔστιν, ἂ πολλάκις είρήκαμεν, ἄπειρόν 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 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, organizing and arranging years, seasons, and months, with wisdom and mind being rightly called. Indeed, rightly so."

12.51.48 | Σοφία μὴν καὶ νοῦς ἄνευ ψυχῆς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γενοίσθην. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν. Ούκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ Δῖός ἑρεῖς φύσει βασιλικὴν μὲν ψυχὴν, βασιλικὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐγγίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας δύναμιν, ἐν δὲ ἄλλοις ἄλλα καλὰ, καθότι φύλον ἐκάστοις λέγεσθαι."

12.51.48 | "Indeed, wisdom and mind could never exist without a soul. For that is not the case. In the nature of Zeus, you would say that a royal soul and a royal mind come into being because of the power of the cause. In other things, there are other beautiful things, as each is said to be beloved."

## Section 52

12.52.1 | "Τὸν δ' ἡγούμενον μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, μὴ φροντίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, παραμυθητέον.

12.52.1 | "Now, if someone thinks that the gods are leaders, they should not concern themselves with human affairs. O excellent

ῷ 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 ίδια  
καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀληθείᾳ μὲν οὐκ εὔδαιμονες,  
δόξαις δὲ εὔδαιμονιζόμεναι σφόδρα, ἀλλ’  
οὐκ ἔμμελῶς ἄγουσί σε πρὸς ἀσέβειαν, ἐν  
τε Μούσαις οὐκ ὁρθῶς ὑμνούμεναι ἄμα καὶ  
ἐν παντοίοις λόγοις.

one, let us say that if someone leads like a god, perhaps some divine connection makes you 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, even though many think they are. However, they do not guide you rightly toward impiety, whether in the Muses or in all kinds of speech."

12.52.2 | ἢ καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἵσως [ἀνοσίους]  
ἀνθρώπους ὄρῶν ἐλθόντας γηραιοὺς,  
παῖδας παίδων καταλιπόντας ἐν τιμαῖς ταῖς  
μεγίσταις, ταράττῃ τανῦν ὅταν ἐν ἄπασι  
τούτοις ίδων ἢ δλ' ἀκοῆς αἰσθόμενος, ἢ καὶ  
παντάπασιν αὐτὸς αὐτῶν τινι αὐτόπτης  
προστυχῶν πολλῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ  
δεινῶν γενομένων τισὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα  
ὁρᾶς,] ἐκ σμικρῶν εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ τὰ  
μέγιστα ἀφικομένους· τότε διὰ πάντα τὰ  
τοιαῦτα δῆλος εἴ μέμφεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς ὡς  
αἴτίους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων διὰ ξυγγένειαν  
οὐκ ἀν ἔθέλων, ἀγόμενος δὲ ὑπό τε ἀλογίας  
ἄμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν θεοὺς  
εἰς τοῦτο νῦν τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθας, ὥστ'  
εἶναι μὲν δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς, τῶν δ'  
ἀνθρωπίνων καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν  
πραγμάτων.

12.52.2 | "Or perhaps, when you see wicked old men coming to their end, leaving behind children in the greatest honors, you feel 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 events happening to some because of these. From small things, they arrive at tyranny and the greatest evils. Then, through all these experiences, it becomes clear that you would blame the gods as the causes of these things, but you might 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 | ἴνα οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔλθῃ σοι  
πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν τὸ νῦν παρὸν δόγμα,  
ἀλλ' ἔάν πως οἷον ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι  
λόγοις αὐτὸ προσιὸν γενώμεθα δυνατοὶ,  
πειρώμεθα, συνάψαντες τὸν ἔξῆς λόγον, ὡς  
πρὸς τὸν παράπαν οὐχ ἡγούμενον θεοὺς ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς διεπερανάμεθα, τούτῳ τανῦν  
προσχρήσασθαι.

12.52.3 | "Therefore, to prevent a greater passion from coming upon you toward impiety because of the current belief, if we can somehow drive it away with words, let us try. We will connect it to the following argument, in which we do not see the gods as having guided us from the beginning. Let us use this argument then."

12.52.4 | σὺ δ', ὡς Κλεινία τε καὶ Μέγιλε,

12.52.4 | "You, Cleinias and Megillus,

ύπέρ τοῦ νέου, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε· ἔὰν δέ τι δύσκολον ἔγγίγνηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ σφῶν, ὡσπερ νῦν δὴ, δεξάμενος διαβιβὼ τὸν ποταμόν. Ὁρθῶς λέγεις· καὶ σύ τε οὕτω ταῦτα δρᾶ ποιήσομέν τε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἄ λέγεις.

12.52.5 | Ἄλλ' 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 ὄντες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τὴν τῶν πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν οἰκειοτάτην αὐτῶν οὖσαν κέκτηνται. Καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐπήκουε.

12.52.6 | Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν κοινῇ συνεξεταζόντων τίνα λέγοντες ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν 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;

12.52.7 | Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τούτων, τὰ δὲ καλὰ φήσομεν; Ἀνάγκη. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν, εἴπερ, ὅπόσα φλαῦρα, θεοῖς δὲ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν τῶν τοιούτων μετὸν ἐροῦμεν; Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῦ πᾶς ἄν.

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;

should respond about the young man, just as before, continuing the discussion. But if something difficult comes up in the conversation, I will take it from you, just as I am doing now, and carry it across the river. You speak rightly; and we too will do our best to follow what you say."

12.52.5 | "But it wouldn't be very hard to show this: that the gods are just as careful about small things, and even more so, than about great matters. For it seems they were present and listened to what is being said now, as they have the greatest care for all virtues, which is most natural for them. And they listened very closely."

12.52.6 | "After this, then, as we examine together which virtue we agree makes them good, let's say that having wisdom and self-control is a virtue, while the opposites are vices. Shall we say that? What about courage as a virtue, while cowardice is a vice?"

12.52.7 | "Absolutely. And shall we say what is shameful among these and what is beautiful? That's necessary. As for the 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? Everyone would agree with this."

12.52.8 | "What then? Shall we consider carelessness, laziness, and indulgence as virtues of the soul? Or what do you think? And how? But rather the opposite? Yes. So

Τούναντίον. Τί οὖν; τρυφῶν δὴ καὶ ἀμελῆς ἄργός τε, δὸν ὁ ποιητὴς κηφῆσι κοθούροισι μάλιστα εἴκελον ἔφασκεν εῖναι, γίγνοιτ' ἀν δ τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν;

the opposites of these are indeed the opposite? That's right. 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 είπων. Ούκοῦν τόν γε θεὸν οὐ ῥητέον 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, ὃ δὲ τούτου τοῦ γένους τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖται κατὰ τίνα οὖν ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἀν παντάπασι πλημμελοῦμεν; σκοπῶμεν δὲ ὥδε. ἅρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἶδη 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 a character that he himself hates, nor should we allow someone to speak in such a way. Indeed not; how could that be? It is fitting to act and take care of things differently. A person 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's think about this: does the one acting do so in two ways, whether he is a god or a man? What are we saying then?"

12.52.10 | Ἡ διαφέρον οὐδὲν οἰόμενος εἶναι τῷ ὅλῳ, ἀμελουμένων τῶν σμικρῶν, ἥ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ, εἰ διαφέρει, ὃ δὲ ἀμελεῖται ἡ ἔστιν ἄλλως πως γιγνομένη ἀμέλεια; οὐ γάρ που, ὅταν γε ἀδύνατον ἥ τῶν πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τότε ἀμέλεια ἔσται τῶν σμικρῶν ἥ μεγάλων μὴ ἐπιμελουμένῳ, ὃν ἀν δυνάμει θεὸς ἥ φαῦλός τις ὃν ἐλλιπής καὶ μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γίγνηται. Πῶς γάρ ἄν;

12.52.10 | "Does he think there is no difference in the whole while neglecting the small things, or is he lazy and indulgent if there is a difference and he neglects? Or is there some other way that neglect happens? For surely, when it is impossible to take care of everything, then neglect will occur with either small or large things, depending on what a god or some weak person can manage. How could that be?"

12.52.11 | Νῦν δὴ δύο ὄντες τρισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀποκρινάσθωσαν, οἵ θεοὺς μὲν ἀμφότεροι ὁμοιογοῦντες εἶναι, παραιτητοὺς δὲ ἔτερος, ὃ δὲ ἀμελεῖται τῶν σμικρῶν. πρῶτον μὲν θεὸὺς ἀμφότεροί φατε γινώσκειν, καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν πάντα, λαθεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ὀπόσων εἰσὶν αἱ αἰσθήσεις τε καὶ

12.52.11 | "Now let both of them answer us, since there are two. 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 they can sense or know. Do you say that they have these abilities, or how?"

έπιστημαι. ταύτη λέγετε ᔁχειν ταῦτα, ἢ πῶς; Οὕτως.

Yes, that is so."

12.52.12 | Τί δέ; δύνασθαι πάντα ὀπόσων αὖ δύναμίς ἔστι θνητοῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις; Πῶς γάρ οὐ συγχωρήσονται καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ᔁχειν; Καὶ μὴν ἀγαθούς τε καὶ ἀρίστους ὡμολογήκαμεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, πέντε ὄντες. Σφόδρα γε. "Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ ἀδύνατον αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν πράττειν ὅτιοῦν τὸ παράπαν, ὄντας γε οἴους λέγομεν; δειλίας γάρ ἔγγονος ἐν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, ῥᾳθυμία 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? 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 it comes from idleness and indulgence."

12.52.13 | Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις. Ἀργέα μὲν δὴ καὶ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ οὐδεὶς ἀμελεῖ θεῶν, οὐ γάρ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ που δειλίας. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις. Οὔκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν, εἴπερ ἀμελοῦσι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων τῶν περὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἢ γινώσκοντες ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῶν ἀν τοῦτο· ἡ τί τὸ λοιπὸν, πλὴν τὸ γινώσκειν τούναντίον; Οὐδέν.

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 not take care of any of these things, they would act accordingly. Or what else could it be, except knowing the opposite? Nothing."

12.52.14 | Πότερον οὗν, ὡ ἄριστε καὶ βέλτιστε, θῶμέν σε λέγοντα, ὡς ἀγνοοῦντάς τε καὶ δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀμελοῦντας, ἢ γινώσκοντας ὅτι δεῖ, καθαπέρ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγονται ποιεῖν, εἰδότες ἄλλα εἶναι βέλτιον πράττειν ὃν δὴ πράττουσι διά τινας ἥττας ἡδονῶν ἢ 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 that they know they should take care of them, just like the very worst of humans are said to do? They know there are better things to do, but they do not do them because of some lesser pleasures or pains."

12.52.15 | Πῶς γάρ ἄν; Οὔκοῦν δὴ τά γε ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τῆς τε ἐμψύχου μετέχει φύσεως ἄμα καὶ θεοσεβέστατον

12.52.15 | "How could it be otherwise? Surely, human things share in the nature of living beings, and among all creatures,

αύτό ἔστι πάντων ζώων ἄνθρωπος. Εοικε γοῦν. Θεῶν γε μὴν κτήματά φαμεν εἶναι πάντα ὡπόσα θνητὰ ζῶα ἢ νοερὰ] ὅνπερ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

humans are the most devoted to the gods. It seems that way. Indeed, we say that everything that is mortal or has thought, including the entire sky, belongs to the gods. How could it not be?"

12.52.16 | "Ηδη τοίνυν ἡ σμικρὰ ἢ μεγάλα τις φάτω ταῦτα εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς· οὐδετέρως γὰρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἀν εἴη προσῆκον, ἐπιμελεστάτοις γε οὖσι καὶ ἀρίστοις. σκοπῶμεν γὰρ καὶ τόδε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις. Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ περί 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 think about this further. What is it? Is it not true that sensation and power are naturally opposed to ease and difficulty? What do you think?"

12.52.17 | Ὁρᾶν μέν που καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ σμικρὰ χαλεπώτερον ἡ τὰ μεγάλα, φέρειν δὲ αὖ καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων παντὶ ῥᾶον ἡ τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ πολύ γε. Ιατρῷ δὴ προστεταγμένον ὅλον τι θεραπεύειν βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ, τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται, τῶν μορίων δὲ καὶ σμικρῶν ἀμελές· εἴθ' ἔξει ποτὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὸ πάν; Οὐδαμῶς.

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 instructed to treat a whole person and is willing and able will pay attention to the larger parts but may neglect the smaller and lesser ones. Will that be good for the whole? Not at all."

12.52.18 | Οὐ μὴν ούδε γε κυβερνήταις ούδε στρατηγοῖς ούδ' οἰκονόμοις ούδ' αὖ τισι πολιτικοῖς ούδε ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων ούδενὶ χωρὶς τῶν ὀλίγων ἡ σμιχρῶν πολλὰ ἡ μεγάλα· ούδε γὰρ ἄνευ τῶν σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους εὗ κεῖσθαι. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

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 stone workers say that large stones cannot be placed well without the smaller ones. How could that be?"

12.52.19 | Μὴ τοίνυν τὸν θεὸν ἀξιώσωμέν ποτε θνητῶν δημιουργῶν φαυλότερον, οἱ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα, ὅσωπερ ἀν

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

άμείνους ὡσι, τόσω ἀκριβέστερα καὶ τελεώτερα μιᾶς τέχνη σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται· τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὅντα τε σοφώτατον βουλόμενόν τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ δυνάμενον, ὃν μὲν ḥῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, σμικρῶν ὅντων, μηδαμῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἀργὸν ἢ δειλόν τινα διὰ πόνους ḥῶθυμοῦντα, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων.

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 manage the small things, which are easier to handle, not at all like a lazy or cowardly person who neglects the hard work of the larger tasks.”

12.52.20 | Μηδαμῶς δόξαν τοιαύτην περὶ θεῶν, *co* ξένε, ἀποδεχώμεθα· οὐδαμῇ γάρ οὕτε ὅσιον οὕτ’ ἀληθὲς τὸ διανόημα διανοούμεθ’ 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. ἐπωφδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ κεῖ μύθων ἔτι τινῶν. Ποίων, ὡς ἀγαθέ;

12.52.20 | “Let us by no means accept such a thought about the gods, stranger, for it is neither holy nor true to think this way. But I believe we have now reasonably discussed the great carelessness regarding the gods. Yes. It seems that, when pressed by words, he agrees that he is not speaking correctly. Still, I think he needs some more stories about spells. What kind, good sir?”

12.52.21 | Πείσωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῦ ὅλου πάντ’ ἔστι συντεταγμένα, ὃν καὶ τὸ μέρος εἰς δύναμιν ἔκαστον τὸ προσῆκον πάσχει καὶ ποιεῖ. τούτοις δέ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες πρστεταγμένοι ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον ἀεὶ πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι:

12.52.21 | “Let us persuade the young man with words that everything in the universe is organized for the care of salvation and virtue, and that each part experiences and acts according to its own strength. Moreover, 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 ἐν καὶ τὸ σὸν, ὡς σχέτλιε, μόριον εἴς τὸ πᾶν ξυντείνει βλέπον ἀεὶ, καίπερ πάνσμικρον ὅν. σὲ δὲ λέληθε περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ὡς γένεσις ἔνεκα ἔκείνου γίνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ἦ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς βίῳ ὑπάρχουσα εύδαιμων οὐσίᾳ, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ γινομένη, σὺ δὲ ἔνεκα ἔκείνου. πᾶς γάρ ιατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἔντεχνος δημιουργὸς

12.52.22 | “Of these, your part, oh wretched one, always reaches toward the whole, even though it is very small. You have forgotten that all of this exists 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

παντὸς μὲν ἔνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται, πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ ξυντείνων βέλτιστον, μέρος μὴν ἔνεκα ὅλου καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλον μέρους ἔνεκα ἀπεργάζεται.

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 ἄγνοῶν 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 μεταβολάς, δι' ἑαυτὴν 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, ἵνα τὸ πρέπον ἔκαστον τῆς μοίρας λαγχάνῃ.

12.52.23 | "But you are angry, not realizing 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 connected to a body, sometimes one and sometimes another, it goes through all kinds of changes, either by itself or through another soul. Nothing else is left for the one who is seeking but to move the better nature to a better place and the worse nature to a worse place, each receiving what is fitting according to its fate."

12.52.24 | Πῇ λέγεις; Ήπερ ἀν̄ ἔχοι λόγον ῥᾳστώνη ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων, ταύτῃ μοι δοκῶ φράζειν. εἰ μὲν γάρ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἀεὶ βλέπων πλάττοι τις μετασχηματίζων c τὰ πάντα, οἷον ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ ἔμψυχον, καὶ μὴ ξέμπολλα ἐξ ἐνὸς, ἡ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔν, πρώτης ἡ δευτέρας ἡ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μετειληφότα, πλήθεσιν ἀπειρ' ἀν̄ εἴη τῆς μετατιθεμένης κοσμήσεως. νῦν δ' ἐστὶ θαυμαστὴ ῥᾳστώνη τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ.

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 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 remarkable ease for the one who cares for the whole."

12.52.25 | Πώς αὖ λέγεις; Ωδε. ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδεν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμψύχους οὕσας τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐν αὐταῖς οὕσαν, πολλὴν δὲ κακίαν, ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὃν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὅντες θεοί· γένεσις γάρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε

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

ἥν ζώων ἀπολομένου τούτοιν θατέρου·) καὶ τὸ μὲν ὡφελεῖν ἀεὶ πεψυκὸς ὃν ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς διενοήθη, τὸ δὲ κακὸν βλάπτειν· ταῦτα πάντα ξυνιδῶν ἐμηχανήσατο ποὺ κείμενον ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν νικῶσαν ἀρετὴν, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ’ ἀν καὶ ράστα καὶ ἄριστα.

living beings without one being lost to another. It was understood that the good is always by nature meant to help the soul, while the bad is meant to harm. Having grasped all this, he devised a way for each part to be placed where virtue prevails and 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 αἴτιας. ὅπῃ γὰρ ἀν ἐπιθυμῇ καὶ ὀποῖός τις ὧν τὴν ψυχὴν, ταύτη σχεδὸν ἐκάστοτε καὶ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται ἅπας ἡμῶν ὡς τὸ πολύ. Τὸ γοῦν εἴκος.

12.52.26 | "Indeed, he has figured out how for every kind of being that is always coming into existence, it should be decided what actions it must take and what places it should inhabit. For the generation of each kind, he has left the reasons to the choices of each of us. For wherever one desires to go 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 ἔστι ψυχῆς, ἐν αὐτοῖς κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιαν· μεταβάλλοντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον. Συμκρότερα μὲν τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττω κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα μεταπεισόντα εἰς βάθος τά τε κάτω λεγόμενα τῶν ὅπων, ὅσα Ἀιδην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔχόμενα τῶν ὄνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὄνειροπολοῦσι ζῶντες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων. Μείζω δὴ ψυχὴ κακίας ἡ ἀρετῆς ὅπόταν μεταβάλλῃ διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησίν τε καὶ ὄμιλίαν γενομένη ἴσχυρὰν, ὅπόταν μὲν ἀρετῇ θείᾳ προσμέξασα γίνηται διαφερόντως τοιαῦτα, διαφέροντα καὶ μετέβαλε τόπον ἄγιον δλον, μετακομισθεῖσα εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον ἔτερον· ὅταν δὲ τάναντία, ἐπὶ

12.52.27 | "Therefore, everything that shares in the soul changes, having within itself the reason for that 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 dreamed about by those who have been separated from their bodies. Indeed, the soul of evil is greater than that of virtue whenever it changes because of its own desires and strong connections. When it mixes with divine virtue, it becomes different and transforms into a whole sacred place, moving to a better location. But when it does the opposite, it leads its life in the wrong direction."

τάναντία μεθιδρύσατο τὸν αὐτῆς βίον.

12.52.28 | αὐτῇ τοι δίκη ἔστι θεῶν οἱ  
“Ολυμπὸν 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  
προσῆκον 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, believing that they are  
overlooked 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,  
experiencing what is fitting for those who  
are close to him and doing what is right.”

12.52.29 | Ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὔτε σὺ  
μήποτε οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀτυχῆς γενόμενος  
ἐπεύξεται περιγενέσθαι θεῶν, ἢν παςῶν  
δίκην [δικῶν] διαφερόντως ἔταξάν τε οἱ  
τάξαντες χρεών τε ἔξευλαβεῖσθαι τὸ  
παράπαν. Οὐ γάρ ἀμεληθήσῃ πατὲ ὑπ’  
αὐτῆς. οὐχ οὔτω σμικρὸς ὡν δύση δύση  
κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὔδ’ ὑψηλὸς  
γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ  
τίσεις δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν  
εἴτ’ ἐνθάδε μένων εἴτε καὶ ἐν Ἄιδου  
διαπορευθεὶς Εἴτε καὶ τούτων εἰς  
ἀγιώτερον ἔτι διακομισθεὶς τόπον.

12.52.29 | “Neither you nor anyone else  
who becomes unfortunate will ever escape  
from the justice of the gods, which is  
different from all other kinds of justice.  
Those who have established it have made it  
necessary to be careful about everything.  
For your father will not be overlooked 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 avoid the punishment that is right for  
you, whether you stay here, 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 ἣν εἴη τῶν οὓς σὺ κατιδὼν ἐκ  
σμικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας  
ἀνοσιουργήσαντας, ἥ τι τοιοῦτον  
πράξαντας, ὡήθης ἔξ ἀθλίων εύδαιμονας  
γεγονέναι, καὶ ὡς ἐν κατίπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς  
πράξειν ἡγήσω καθεωρακέναι τὴν  
πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν  
τὴν συντέλειαν, ὅπῃ ποτὲ τῷ παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ξυμβάλλεται. γινώσκειν δὲ αὐτὴν, ὡ  
πάντων ἀνδρειότατε, πρὸς οὐδὲν δοκεῖς, ἢν  
τις μὴ γινώσκων οὐδ’ ἣν τύπον ἴδοι ποτὲ,

12.52.30 | “The same reasoning applies to  
those you have seen grow from small  
beginnings into great figures, committing  
wrongdoings or something similar. You  
thought they became happy despite their  
misfortunes, and you believed that in their  
actions you could see the complete neglect  
of the gods, not knowing their ultimate fate,  
which eventually comes to everyone. To  
understand this, oh bravest of all, seems  
unimportant to you, as someone who does  
not know it would never even see a sign of

ούδε λόγον ξυμβάλλεσθαι περὶ βίου  
δυνατὸς ἀν γένοιτο εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν τε καὶ  
δυσδαιμονα τύχην.

12.52.31 | ταῦτα εἴ μέν σε πείθει Κλεινίας  
ὅδε καὶ ξύμπασα ἡμῶν ἥδε ἡ γερουσία,  
περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐκ οἶσθα 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  
δοπωσοῦν ἔχεις."

12.52.32 | Τούτων ὁ νοῦς, εἴ καὶ μὴ τὰ  
ρήματα, ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων λογίοις  
προκαταβέβληται συντομώτατα καὶ δι'  
όλιγων τῆς διανοίας περιεχομένης. τό τε  
γάρ "οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὡν δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ  
τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὐδ' ὑψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς  
τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ ὅμοιον ἀν εἴη τῷ  
παρὰ τῷ Δαβὶδ τοῦτον ἔχοντι τὸν τρόπον  
"ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, καὶ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω; ἐὰν  
ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, σὺ ἔκεī εἰ· ἐὰν  
καταβῶ εἰς τὸν Άιδην, πάρει.

12.52.33 | εἱ ἀναλάβοιμι πτέρυγας καὶ  
κατασκηνώσαιμι εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς  
Θαλάσσης· καὶ γὰρ ἔκεī ἡ χείρ σου  
δόδηγήσει" ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ οἱ οὐρανοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
διηγοῦνται δόξαν θεοῦ, καὶ ποίησιν χειρῶν  
αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα. καὶ πάλιν  
ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ τὸ "ἀναβλέψατε εἰς ὕψος τοὺς  
όφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἵδετε τίς κατέδειξε  
ταῦτα πάντα." καὶ τὸ "ἔκ μεγέθους καὶ  
καλλονῆς κτισμάτων ἀναλόγως ὁ  
γενεσιούργος θεωρεῖται." καὶ τὸ "τὰ γὰρ  
ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς  
ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε ἀΐδιος

it, nor could they form an idea about life  
that would lead to happiness or  
misfortune."

12.52.31 | "If this reasoning convinces you,  
Kleinias, and this entire 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 | "The essence of these ideas, even  
if not the exact words, has been expressed  
very briefly in the writings of the Hebrews,  
with the thought contained in just a few  
phrases. For the saying goes, '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 asks:  
"Where can I go from your spirit, and  
where can I flee from 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 sky 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 divinity." But

αύτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης.” ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ “έζήλωσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις, εἰρήνην ἀμαρτωλὸν θεωρῶν” μεταπεφράσθαι μοι δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διὰ τοῦ “ὅ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος σοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἀν εἴη τῶν οὓς σὺ κατιδών ἐκ μικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας ἀνοσιουργήσαντας, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον πράξαντας, φήθης ἔξ αθλίων εύδαιμονας γεγονέναι.” καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοιῶς εἴρηται προύλαβε τὴν εἰς πλάτος ἐκτεθεῖσαν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐρμηνείαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων λόγοις. ἔκαστον δ’ οὗν ἀυτῶν κατὰ μέρος εὑροις ἀν ἀκριβῶς ἔξετάζων τοῖς Ἐβραίων συμφερόμενον γράμμασι. Ἐβραίων δὲ εἶναι 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 μᾶς εἰκότως αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιώσειεν.

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 you have seen grow from small beginnings into great figures, committing wrongdoings or something similar; you thought they became happy despite their misfortunes.” 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 matching 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 ιερῶν 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, ὁμοῦ καὶ διαβολῆς εὐλόγου αἵτιαν ἀπολυσόμένος, εἰ δή τις ἡμῖν ἐπικαλῶν φαίη, τί δή ποτ’ οὖν, Μώσεως καὶ Πλάτωνος τὰ συνωδὰ πεφιλοσοφηκότων, οὐχὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ Μώσεως μέτιμεν, τοῦμπαλιν δέον, ὅτι δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἵσοις δόγμασι προσήκων ἡμίν γένοιτ’ ἀν

13.praef.1 | Preface. Since I have shown in earlier writings how Plato's philosophy connects with many of Moses' teachings and the sacred writings of the Hebrews, as if it carries the voice of Greece, I now come to present the remaining parts of the argument and discuss what has been said before us. I will also address the reasonable cause of the slander, if anyone asks us, “What then, should we consider the teachings of Moses and Plato as similar?” It should not be that we compare Plato's ideas to those of Moses, but rather the other way around, since the Greek teachings would rightly belong to those

Ἐλλησιν οὖσιν ὁ Ἐλληνικὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ βάρβαρος. ὅκνῶν δὲ ἀπαντήσαι πρὸς τοῦτο αἴδοι τῇ πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον, τοῦτον μὲν εἰς ὕστερόν ἀνατίθεμαι τὸν λόγον, τὰ δέ γε πρῶτά μοι λεχθέντα πρῶτα διασκέψομαι. λαβὼν οὖν ἀνάγγωθι ὃποιαν ἐπήγετο δόξαν ὁ Πλάτων' περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν θεολόγων τε καὶ ποιητῶν, ὅπως τε πάσας τὰς πατρίους περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὑπολήψεις ἥθετει 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 ούσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους είδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἀνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οίκεια φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον.

13.1.2 | οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἔκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχετω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Ούρανοῦ παῖδες Ὄκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ρέα [καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων,] ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου Ρέας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἵσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους."

13.1.3 | Διὰ τούτων πιστεύειν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τῶν μύθων

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 that discussion aside for now and first examine what has been said before. Therefore, take note of Plato's opinion 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 discuss and understand their origins more than our own. 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 they speak without clear or necessary proof. However, they share these beliefs as if they are their own, and we should believe them, following the law.

13.1.2 | Thus, let us tell the story of the origins of these gods. 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, along with other descendants from them.

13.1.3 | Because of this, we should believe the myths about the gods and the poets

ποιηταῖς ὡς δὴ θεῶν ἐκγόνοις οὖσι παρακελυσάμενοις, πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τοῦ φάναι ἐκγόνους εἶναι τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ποιητὰς χλευάζειν μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότων καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ὅμοιων τὴν φύσιν.

who tell 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' ἔξῆς ἄντικρυς τοὺς θεολόγους, οὓς ἐκγόνους ἔφησεν εἶναι θεῶν δι' ὧν ἐπάγει φάσκων 'καίπερ ἀνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσι' δι' ὧν τε προστίθησι τὸ "ὡς ἔφασαν." παίζειν δ' ἔοικε λέγων "σαφῶς γέπου τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους είδόσι·" καὶ τὸ "ἀδύνατον θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν. καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν νόμων ἔνεκα διαρρήδην παρίστησιν, ὅμολογήσας ὅτι δέοι ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς.

13.1.4 | Next, he criticizes the theologians, whom he claims are descendants of the gods, by saying that “even without clear or necessary proof, they say” and adds “as they have said.” It seems he is joking when he says “they clearly know their own ancestors.” He also states that “it is impossible to doubt the children of the gods.” He mentions 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' ἐνόει ἐπάκουουσον ὅπως γυμνῇ καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ φωνῇ τοὺς δὴ θεολόγους ἀπαντας διαβάλλει, κόπτων ἐν ἐπινομίδι τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν

13.1.5 | To understand these things, pay attention to how he openly and plainly criticizes 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 ὕστερον λόγον, ἀναλαβόντα ὃν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπικεχείρηκα λόγον."

13.2.1 | Therefore, it seems necessary for me to first give a poor description of the creation of gods and the creation of living things, as those before me have done. However, it is better to describe it according to the later account, using the argument I have directed against the impious.

13.2.2 | "Οτι δ' εὐλόγως τὴν τῶν πρώτων θεολογίαν παραιτεῖται διδάσκει ἐν τῷ

13.2.2 | He wisely rejects the theology of the early thinkers in the second book of the

δευτέρω τῆς Πολιτείας, ἐνθα τὸν νοῦν  
ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον ὅπόσα καὶ οἴα περὶ τῶν  
αὐτῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ θεολόγων τῶν γε ἐκ  
παλαιοῦ παραδεδομένων περὶ τῶν  
Ἐλληνικῶν θεῶν διέξεισιν, ὡδε ὥμασιν  
αὐτοῖς φάσκων

Republic, where it is important to understand all that the poets and theologians, who have been passed down from ancient times, say about the Greek gods, speaking these words to them.

### Section 3

13.3.1 | “Ἐν τοῖς μείζοισιν, ἦν δ’ ἔγώ, μύθοις]  
όψόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἑλάττους. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὸν  
αὐτὸν τύπον εἶναι καὶ ταύτὸν δύνασθαι  
τούς τε μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἑλάττους. ή οὐκ  
οἴει; ἔγωγε, ἵφη· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐννοῶ οὐδὲ τοὺς  
μείζους τίνας λέγεις. Οὓς Ἡσίοδός τε, εἴπον,  
καὶ Ὄμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
ποιηταί. οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους ψευδεῖς  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συντιθέντες ἔλεγόν 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, so 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 poets seem to have created false myths for people, both telling and speaking them.”

13.3.2 | Ποίους δὴ, ἦ δ’ ὅς, καὶ τί αὐτῶν  
μεμφόμενος λέγεις; “Οπερ, ἦν δ’ ἔγώ, χρὴ  
πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστα μέμφεσθαι, ἄλλως  
τε καὶ ἔάν τις μὴ καλῶς ψεύδηται. Τί τοῦτο;  
“Οταν εἰκάζῃ τις κακῶς ούσιαν τῷ λόγῳ  
περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, οἷοί είσιν, ὕσπερ  
γραφεὺς μηδὲν ἐοικότα γράφων οἵς ἀν  
ὅμοια βουληθῇ γράψαι. Καὶ γὰρ, ἔφη,  
ὄρθως ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα μέμφεσθαι. ἄλλὰ  
πᾶς δὴ λέγομεν καὶ ποῖα;

13.3.2 | “Whom exactly,” he said, “and what 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 ὁ]  
εἰπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Ούρανός τε  
είργασατο ἢ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὅ  
τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν. τὰ δὲ

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. I thought the deeds

δὴ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος,  
οὐδ' ἀν εἰ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ὥμην δεῖν ῥᾳδίως  
οὕτω λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἄφρονάς τε καὶ νέους,  
ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν σιγᾶσθαι, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τις  
ἦν λέγειν, δι' ἀπορρήτων ἀκούειν ὡς  
όλιγίστους, θυσαμένους οὐ χοῖρον, ἀλλὰ τι  
μέγα καὶ ἀπορον θῦμα, δπως ὡς ἐλαχίστοις  
συνέβη ἀκοῦσαι.

and sufferings of Cronus should not be spoken of so easily, even if they were true, especially to foolish and young people. Instead, 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, like a great and terrible sacrifice, so that only a handful might listen."

13.3.4 | Καὶ γὰρ, r] δ' ὅς, οὔτοί τοί γε οἵ λόγοι χαλεποί Καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε, ἔφην, Ὡ Άδειμαντε, 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 οἱ πρῶτοι τε καὶ μέγιστοι. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἦ δ' ὅς, ούδεαύτῷ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι λέγειν.

13.3.4 | "And indeed," he said, "these words are difficult and should not be spoken." I replied, "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. Instead, 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 καὶ μάχονται· οὕτε γὰρ ἀληθῆ· εἴ γε δεῖ ήμιν τοὺς μέλλοντας τὴν πόλιν φυλάσσειν αἴσχιστον νομίζειν τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἀλλήλοις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς καὶ ποικιλέον καὶ ἄλλας ἔχθρας πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπάς θεῶν τε καὶ ἥρωών πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οίκείους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εἴ πως μέλλοιμεν πείσειν ὡς ούδεις πώποτε πολίτης ἔτερος ἐτέρῳ ἀπήχθετο ούδ' ἔστι τοῦτο δσιον, τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον λεκτέα πρὸς τὰ παιδία εύθὺς, καὶ γέρουσι καὶ γραυσὶ καὶ πρεσβυτέροις γιγνομένοις, καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἔγγὺς τούτων ἀναγκαστέον λογοποιεῖν.

13.3.5 | "Nor indeed," I said, "is it true that the gods wage war against each other and plot against one another. For if we believe that those who will guard the city think it is shameful to easily hate one another, then we must tell many stories about the battles of giants and describe various other conflicts and enmities among gods and heroes against their own relatives and kin. But if we want to convince ourselves that no citizen ever hated another and that this is a holy thing, then such tales should be told to children right away, and to the old as they grow older. Poets should be encouraged to create stories that reflect this."

13.3.6 | "Ἡρας δὲ δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ υἱέος καὶ

13.3.6 | "The bonds of Hera, thrown by her

Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς, μέλλοντος τῇ μητρὶ ἀμύνειν τυπτομένῃ, καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν, οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὕτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὕτε ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν.

son and Hephaestus while their father was about to defend his mother who was being struck, along with all the battles of the gods that Homer has created, should not be accepted in the city, neither as suggestions nor without any hints."

13.3.7 | ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ οἶδις τε κρίνειν ὃ τι τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὃ τι μὴ, ἀλλ' ἂ ἀν τηλικοῦτος ὧν λάβη 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 a young person cannot judge what is a hint and what is not. Instead, whatever he accepts in his beliefs, he tends to become stubborn and unchangeable. Therefore, it is perhaps necessary to create stories about everything that they first hear, which are beautifully crafted to encourage virtue."

13.3.8 | "Ἔχει γὰρ, ἔφη, λόγον· ἀλλ' εἴ τις αὖ καὶ ταῦτα ἔρωτῷη ἡμᾶς ἄττα ἔστι καὶ τίνες οἱ μῆθοι, τίνας ἀν φαῦμεν; καὶ ἐγὼ εἰπον, Ὡ Ἀδείμαντε, οὐκ ἐσμὲν ποιηταὶ ἔγώ τε καὶ σὺ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλ' οίκισταὶ πόλεως. οίκισταὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν τύπους προσήκει εἰδέναι ἐν οἷς δεῖ μυθολογεῖν τοὺς ποιητὰς, παρ' οὓς ἔὰν ποιῶσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον, οὐ μὴν αὐτοῖς γε ποιητέον μύθους.

13.3.8 | "It makes sense," he said. "But if someone were to ask us what these things are and what myths we might tell, what would we say? I replied, 'O Adeimantus, we are not poets, you and I, at this moment, but founders of the city. Founders should know the kinds of stories that poets ought to create, and they should not be allowed to tell myths about those whom we do not permit.'"

13.3.9 | Ὁρθῶς, ἔφη· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δὴ τοῦτο οἱ τύποι περὶ θεολογίας τίνες ἀν εἰεν; Τοιοίδε πού τινες, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οἶος τυγχάνει ὧν ὁ θεὸς, ἀεὶ δὴ που ἀποδοτέον, ἔάν τε τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἔπεσι ποιῇ ἔάν τε ἐν μέλεσιν ἔάν τε ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ. Δεῖ γάρ. Ούκοῦν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄντι τε καὶ λεκτέον οὕτω.

13.3.9 | "Correct," he said. "But what kinds of stories should there be about theology?" I replied 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 this is necessary. Therefore, the good god should be described in this way, both in essence and in words.

13.3.10 | Τί μήν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν ούδέν γε τῶν

13.3.10 | "What about this?" he asked. "But

άγαθῶν βλαβερόν. ἢ γάρ; Οὐδὲ μοι δοκεῖ. Ἀρ' οὖν τὸ μὴ βλαβερὸν βλάπτει; Οὐδαμῶς. "Ο δὲ μὴ βλάπτει, κακόν τι ποιεῖ; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. ὃ δέ γε μηδὲν κακὸν ποιεῖ, οὐδὲ ἄν τινος εἴη κακοῦ αἴτιον. Πῶς γάρ; Τί δέ; ὡφέλιμον τὸ ἀγαθόν; Ναί. Αἴτιον ἄρα εύπραγίας; Ναί.

surely nothing good is harmful." "Is that so?" I replied. "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 εὗρέχοντων αἴτιον,  
τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀναίτιον. Παντελῶς γε, ἔφη.  
Οὐδ' ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ὁ θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθὸς,  
πάντων ἄν εἴη αἴτιος, ὡς οἶ πολλοὶ<sup>λέγουσιν</sup>, ἀλλ' ὄλιγων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος,  
πολλῶν δὲ ἀναίτιος· πολὺ γάρ ἐλάττω τὰ  
ἀγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἴτιατέον, τῶν δὲ  
κακῶν ἄλλα 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. However, he is only the cause for a few humans and not for many, because the good things among us are far fewer than the bad. 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  
λέγειν. Οὐκ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἀποδεκτέον  
οὔτε Ομήρου οὔτε ἄλλου ποιητοῦ ταύτην  
τὴν ἀμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως  
ἀμαρτάνοντος, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς δοιοὶ πίθοι  
κατακείαται ἐν Διός οὔδεικηρῶν ἔμπλειοι,  
οἱ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν·

13.3.12 | "Absolutely true," he said. "You seem to speak wisely." "So, I said, we should not accept this mistake from either Homer or any other poet, who foolishly makes errors 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 ὡς μὲν ἄν μίξας ὁ Ζεὺς  
ἀμφοτέρων δῶ, ἄλλοτε μέν γε κακῷ ὅ γε  
κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ. ὡς δ' ἄν μὴ, ἀλλ'  
ἄκρατα τὰ ἔτερα, τὸν δὲ κακὴ βούβρωστις  
ἐπὶ χθόνα δῆται 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 | οὐδὲ ὡς ταμίας ὁ Ζεὺς ἡμῖν

13.3.14 | "Nor is Zeus a manager for us of

άγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται. τὴν δὲ τῶν  
ὅρκων καὶ σπονδῶν σύγχυσιν, ἦν ὁ  
Πάνδαρος συνέχεεν, έάν τις φῆ δι' Ἀθηνᾶς  
τε καὶ Δῖός γεγονέναι, οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα·  
οὐδὲ θεῶν ἔριν τε καὶ κρίσιν διὰ Θέμιδός τε  
καὶ Δῖός· ούδ' αὖ, ως Αἰσχύλος λέγει, ἐατέον  
άκούειν τοὺς νέους, ὅτι θεὸς μὲν αἴτιαν  
φύει βροτοῖς, ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶμα  
παμπήδην θέλῃ.

both good and bad things. 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. We will not accept the quarrel and judgment of the gods through Themis and Zeus. And again, as Aeschylus says, we should not let the young hear that ‘a god brings blame to mortals when he wants to ruin a house completely.’”

13.3.15 | ἀλλ' ἔάν τις ποιῇ ἐν οἷς ταῦτα τὰ  
ίαμβεῖα ἔνεστι, τὰ τῆς Νιόβης πάθη ἢ τὰ  
Πελοπιδῶν ἢ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν  
τοιούτων, ἢ οὐ θεοῦ ἔργα ἐατέον αὐτὰ  
λέγειν, ἢ εἰ θεοῦ, ἔξευρετέον αὐτοῖς σχεδὸν  
ὅν νῦν ἡμεῖς λόγον ζητοῦμεν, καὶ λεκτέον  
ώς δὲ μὲν θεὸς δίκαια τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ  
είργαζετο, οἱ δὲ ὀνίναντο κολαζόμενοι. ὡς  
δ' ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ δίκην διδόντες, ἦν δὲ ὁ  
δρῶν ταῦτα θεὸς, οὐκ ἐκτέον λέγειν τὸν  
ποιητήν.

13.3.15 | “But if someone creates these iambic verses that tell of the sufferings of Niobe, the Pelopids, the Trojan events, or something similar, we should either not say they are the works of a god, or if they are from a god, we need to find out who it is that we are now trying to discuss. It should be noted that the god did both just and good things, while the others were punished. As for the wretched ones who are facing the consequences, it was the god who did these things, and we should not say otherwise about the poet.”

13.3.16 | ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν ὅτι ἔδεήθησαν  
κολάσεως λέγοιεν ως ἄθλιοι οἱ κακοὶ,  
διδόντες δὲ δίκην ὠφελοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ  
θεοῦ, ἐατέον.

13.3.16 | “But if they say that the bad ones, being wretched, asked for punishment, and that by accepting a penalty they were helped by the god, we should accept that.”

13.3.17 | κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον φάναι θεόν τινι  
γίγνεσθαι ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, διαμαχητέον παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τρόπῳ, μήτε τινὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ἐν τῇ  
ἐαυτοῦ πόλει, εἴ μέλλει εύνομήσεσθαι, μήτε  
τινὰ ἀκούειν, μήτε νεώτερον μήτε  
πρεσβύτερον, μήτε ἐν μέτρῳ μήτ' ἄνευ  
μέτρου μυθολογοῦντα, ως οὕτε ὅσια ἄν  
λεγόμενα, εἴ λέγοιτο, οὕτε ξύμφορα ἡμῖν

13.3.17 | “But to say that a god, being good, is the cause of bad things should be argued against in every way. No one should say such things in their own city if they hope to have good order, nor should anyone listen to them, whether they are younger or older, whether speaking in a measured way or not. For the things said would neither be holy if they were said, nor would they be

οὕτε ξύμφωνα αύτὰ αὐτοῖς.

beneficial to us or consistent with themselves.”

13.3.18 | Ξύμψηφός σοι είμι, ἔφη, τούτου τοῦ νόμου, κάμοὶ 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 everything, but only for the good things. And indeed,” he said, “it is very important.”

13.3.19 | Τί δὲ δὴ ὁ δεύτερος ὅδε; Ἄρα γόντα τὸν θεὸν οἵει εἶναι, πκαὶ οἶον ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς φαντάζεσθαι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλαις ἰδεαῖς, τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸν γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀλλάττοντα τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶδος εἰς πολλὰς μορφὰς, τοτὲ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀπατῶντα καὶ ποιοῦντα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα δοκεῖν, ἥ ἀπλοῦν τε εἶναι, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδέας πέκβαίνειν; Οὐκ ἔχω, ἔφη, νῦν γε οὔτως είπεῖν.

13.3.19 | “But what about this second one? Do you think the god is a trickster, appearing in different forms at different times, sometimes changing his own shape into many forms, and sometimes deceiving us into thinking such things about him? Or is he simple and least of all changing from his own nature? I cannot say,” he said, “not at this moment.”

13.3.20 | Τί δὲ τόδε; οὐκ ἀνάγκη, εἴπερ τι ἔξισται τῇς αὐτοῦ ἰδέας, ἥ αὐτὸ δὲ ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ μεθίστασθαι, ἥ ὑπ’ ἄλλου; Ἀνάγκη. Ούκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν ἄλλου τὰ ἄριστα ἔχοντα ἥκιστα ἄλλοιοῦται τε καὶ κινεῖται, οἶον 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 ἥκιστα ἄλλοιοῦται; Πῶς δ' οὖ;

13.3.20 | “But what about this? Isn’t it necessary that if something changes from its own nature, it must either change by itself or by something else? It is necessary. Therefore, those things that are best, when changed by something else, change the least and are moved the least, like a body affected by food, drink, and pain, and every plant affected by seasons, winds, and similar experiences. Does not the healthiest and most beautiful change the least? How could it not?”

13.3.21 | Ψυχὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀνδρειοτάτην καὶ φρονιμωτάτην ἥκιστ’ ἄν τι πάθος

13.3.21 | “But the soul, which is the bravest and wisest, is least disturbed by any

ἔξωθεν ταράξειέτε φρονιμωτάτην Ναί. Καὶ μήν που καὶ τά γε ξύνθετα πάντα σκεύη τε καὶ οίκοδομήματα καὶ ἀμφιέσματα, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τὰ εὖ είργασμένα καὶ εῦ ἔχοντα ὑπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθημάτων ἡκιστα ἀλλοιοῦται. Ἐστι ταῦτα.

13.3.22 | Πᾶν' δὴ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ἡ φύσει ἢ τέχνῃ ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐλαχίστην μεταβολὴνπ' ἄλλου ἐνδέχεται. "Εοικεν. Άλλὰ μήν ὁ θεός γε καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντη ἄριστα ἔχει. Πῶς δ' οὕ; Ταύτη μὲν δὴ ἡκιστ' ἀν πολλὰς μορφὰς ἵσχοι ὁ θεός. "Ηκιστα δῆτα. Άλλ' ἄρα αὐτὸς αὐτὸν μεταβάλλοι ἀν καὶ ἀλλοιοῖ; Δηλονότι, ἔφη, εἴπερ ἀλλοιοῦται.

13.3.23 | Πότερον οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιόν τε καὶ κάλλιον μεταβάλλει ἐαυτὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ αἴσχιον αὐτοῦ; Ἄναγκη, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐαυτοῦ, εἴπερ ἀλλοιοῦται· οὐ γάρ που ἐνδεᾶ γε φήσομεν τὸν θεὸν κάλλους ἢ ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Ὁρθότατα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, λέγεις. καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντος δοκεῖ ἀν τίς σοι, ὃ Άδειμαντε, ἐκῶν αὐτὸν χείρω ποιεῖν ὀπῆοῦν ἡ θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων;

13.3.24 | Άδύνατον, ἔφη. Άδύνατον ἄρα, ἔφην, καὶ θεὸν ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἀλλοιοῦν, ἄλλ', ως ἔοικε, κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος ὡν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν μένει ἀεὶ ἀπλῶς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μορφῇ. Πᾶσα, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. Μηδεὶς ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ὃ ἄριστε, λεγέτω ἡμῖν τῶν ποιητῶν ως θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἔοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσιν, παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι

outside experience. Yes. And indeed, all things made of parts, like tools, 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 | "Everything that is good, whether 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 be least likely to take on many forms. Indeed, he would. But could he change himself and become different? Clearly, he said, if he changes."

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, 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 | "It is impossible," he said. "Therefore," I replied, "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 unnecessary. So, no one, I said, dear friend, should tell us that the poets say that gods appear as strangers and

πόληας.

13.3.25 | μηδὲ Πρωτέως τε καὶ Θέτιδος καταψευδέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδ' ἐν τραγῳδίαις μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆμασιν εἰσαγέτω Ἡραν ἡλλοιωμένην, ὡς ἵερειαν ἀγείρουσαν Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροις.

13.3.26 | καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλὰ μὴ ἡμῖν ψευδέσθωσαν. μηδ' αὖ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀναπειθόμεναι αἴ̄ 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.

13.3.27 | Ἄλλ' ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ θεοί είσιν οἵοι μὴ ματαβάλλειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ποιοῦσι δοκεῖν σφᾶς παντοδαποὺς φαίνεσθαι ἔξαπατῶντες καὶ γοητεύοντες; "Ισως, ἔφη. Τί δέ; ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ψεύδεσθαι δὲ θεός ἔθέλοι ἀνὴρ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ φαντάσματα προτείνων; Οὐκ οἶδα, ἦ δ' ὅς.

13.3.28 | Οὐκ οἶσθα 5 ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ὅτι τό γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτ' είπεῖν, πάντες θεοί τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι; Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις; Οἶσθά που, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ὅτι τῷ κυριωτάτῳ ἐαυτῶν ψεύδεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰ κυριωτατὰ ούδεις ἐκῶν ἔθέλει, ἀλλὰ πάντων μάλιστα φοβεῖται ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς κεκτῆσθαι. Οὐδὲ νῦν πω, ἦ δ' ὅς, μανθάνω.

take on many forms, wandering through cities."

13.3.25 | "Let no one deny the story of Proteus and Thetis, and let no one introduce 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 | "And let not many such things deceive us. Nor should we be persuaded by those who, while frightening children, tell the myths poorly, saying that some gods wander at night as many strange and different beings, so that they do not both blaspheme the gods and make the children more cowardly. 'For do not,' he said."

13.3.27 | "But I said, are the gods really such that they do not change, while they make us think they appear in many forms, deceiving and enchanting us? 'Perhaps,' he said. And I asked, would a god want to deceive us by showing illusions either in words or in actions? 'I do not know,' he said."

13.3.28 | "I do not know," I said, "if 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 lie for themselves." "Not even now," he said, "do I

understand."

13.3.29 | Οἵει γάρ τί με, ἔφην, σεμνὸν λέγειν' ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τὰ σόντα ψεύδεσθαι τε καὶ ἐψεῦσθαι καὶ ἀμαθῆ εἶναι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν τε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος πάντες ἥκιστ' ἀν δέξαιντο καὶ μισοῦσι μάλιστα αὐτὸν 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 being deceived about what is real, being ignorant, and having and holding on to lies."

13.3.30 | Πολύ γ', ἔφη. Άλλὰ μὴν ὄρθότατά γ' ἀν, δὲ 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 ἐστι παθήματος καὶ ὑστερον γεγονὸς εἴδωλον, οὐ πάνυ ἄκρατον ψεῦδος. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

13.3.30 | "Very much," he said. "But indeed, what I just said could be called a true lie: the ignorance in the soul of the deceived person. What is in words is a kind of imitation of what is in the soul, a feeling and later a false image, which is not completely a pure lie. Is that 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 μὴ ἄξιον εἶναι μίσους; ἢρ' οὐ πρός τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τῶν καλουμένων φίλων, ὅταν διὰ μανίαν ἢ τινα ἄνοιαν κακόν τι ἐπιχειρῶσι πράττειν, τότε ἀποτροπῆς ἔνεκα ὡς φάρμακον χρήσιμον γίγνεται;

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 some foolishness to do something wrong, it can become 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 ἀληθῆ τὸ ψεῦδος ὅτι μάλιστα, οὕτω χρήσιμον ποιοῦμεν; Καὶ μὲν λα, ἢ δ' δις, οὕτως ἔχει. Κατὰ τί δὴ οὖν τούτων τῷ θεῷ τὸ ψεῦδος χρήσιμον; πότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ παλαιὰ ἀφομοιῶν ἀν ψεύδοιτο;

13.3.32 | And in the stories we are now discussing, since we do not know where the truth lies about the ancients, do we make the lie most similar to the truth so useful? "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.

Γελοῖον μέντάν εῖη, ἔφη.

13.3.33 | Ποιητὴς μὲν ἄρα ἐν θεῷ ψευδὴς οὐκ ἔνι; Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. Ἄλλὰ δεδιώς τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἀν ψεύδοιτο; Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. Ἄλλὰ δι’ οἰκείων ἄνοιαν, ή μανίαν; Ἄλλ’ οὐδεὶς, ἔφη, τῶν ἀνοήτων καὶ μαινομένων θεοφιλής. Οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶν οὗ ἔνεκα ἀν θεὸς ψεύδοιτο; Οὐκ ἔστι. Πάντη ἄρα ἀψευδὲς 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 seems very unlikely. What about lying out of foolishness or madness for his own people? “But no one,” he said, “is loved by the gods if they are foolish or mad.” So, is there any reason for a god to lie? “There is not.” Therefore, the divine and the spirit are always truthful. “Indeed,” he said.

13.3.34 | Κομιδῆ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔν τ’ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ οὕτε αὐτὸς μεθέσταται, οὕτε ἄλλους ἔξαπατᾷ, οὕτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὕτε κατὰ σημείων πομπᾶς, οὕθ’ ὑπάρ οὕτ’ ὄναρ. Οὔτως, 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 γόντας ὄντας τῷ μεταβάλλειν ἐαυτοὺς μήθ’ ἡμᾶς ψεύδεσι παράγειν ἐν λόγῳ ή ἐν ἔργῳ; Συγχωρῶ.

13.3.34 | Therefore, the god is simple and true in both action and word. 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 asked, “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 Ὁμήρου ἐπανινοῦντες ἄλλα τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα, τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου πομπὴν ὑπὸ Διὸς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι· οὐδ’ Αἰσχύλου, ὅταν φῇ ή Θέτις, 5 τὸν Ἀπόλλωνέν τοῖς αὐτῆς γάμοις ἄδοντα ἐνδατεῖσθαι τὰς ἐὰς εὐπαιδίας, νόσων τ’ απείρους καὶ μακραίωνος τύχας Παιῶν ἐπευφήμησεν, εὐθυμῶν ἐμέ. κάγὼ τὸ Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα ἥλιπζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνῃ. δ’ αὐτὸς ὑμνῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών, αὐτὸς τάδ’ είπων,

13.3.35 | Therefore, when we remember 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 speaks of endless diseases and long-lasting fates.” Paean has spoken, making me joyful. I hoped that the divine and truthful mouth of Phoebus would be flowing with prophetic skill. But he himself, while singing and present at the feast, is the

αύτός ἔστιν ὁ κτανώντὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.

one who says these things. He 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 get 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 Ἐβραίων γραφὴν οὐδαμῶς μὲν μύθους αίσχροὺς περὶ Τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν θείων ἀγγέλων, οὐδέ γε περὶ τῶν θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄμοιώς ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς θεολογίαις περιέχουσαν, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκτεθέντα τύπον, δτι τε ἀγαθὸς ὁν ὁ θεὸς τυγχάνει, καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγονότα πάντα τοιαῦτα.

13.3.37 | These things are from Plato. However, 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. Instead, the ideas presented by Plato show that God is good and that everything that happens concerning him is like this.

13.3.38 | ἔφ' ἐκάστῳ δ' οὖν τῶν δημιουργημάτων ὁ θαυμάσιος Μωσῆς ἐπιλέγει “καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς δτι καλόν.” ἐπί τε πᾶσι τὸν περὶ πάντων συγκεφαλαιούμενος λόγον φησὶ “καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα ὄσα ἐποίησε, καὶ ίδοὺ 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· “φθόνω δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.”

13.3.38 | Therefore, in each of the 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 οίκειας προαιρέσεως κακὸν γεγενημένον. “ἔγὼ δὲ ἐφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον πᾶσαν ἀληθινὴν πῶς ἐστράφης εἰς τὰ ὄπίσω ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀλλοτρία;” εἴ δέ που λέγοιτο κακὰ τοῖς φαύλοις ἐκ θεοῦ συμβαίνειν, διμωνύμως ἀκουστέον, ὡς τῶν τιμωριῶν οὕτω κεκλημένων, ἃς ἀγαθὸς ὅν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν τιμωρουμένων, ἐπ’ ὥφελείᾳ δὲ καὶ συμφέροντι λέγεται ἐπάγειν· ὥσπερ ἀν καὶ ίατρὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν καμνόντων κακὰ νομίζοιτο προσφέρειν τὰς ἀλγεινὰς καὶ πικρὰς θεραπείας.

13.3.40 | διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐνθα εἴρηται κακὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐπάγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι λεκτέον, ὡς ὁ μὲν θεὸς δίκαια τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἰργάζετο, καὶ ὅτε τὰ σκυθρωπὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις κακὰ νενομισμένα τοῖς τούτων ἀξίοις ἐπῆγεν, οἱ δὲ ὀναντο κολαζόμενοι, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γραφὴν λέγουσαν “ὸν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος 25 παιδεύει· μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.”

13.3.41 | ὡς δ' ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ δίκην διδόντες, ἢν δ' ὁ δρῶν ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς, οὐκ ἔατέον λέγειν τὸν ποιητὴν, ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν ὅτι ἐδεήθησαν κολάσεως λέγοιεν ὡς ἄθλιοι κακοὶ, διδόντες δὲ δίκην ὥφελοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔατέον· κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον φάναι θεόν τινι γίνεσθαι, ἀγαθὸν ὅντα, διαμαχητέον παντὶ τρόπῳ.

13.3.39 | Therefore, the prophet says 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. A good God does not bring these 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 | Therefore, in the divine scripture where it is said that evils come to people from God, we must understand this in light of Plato, who says that God works justly and does good things. When he brings 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 the Lord loves, he disciplines; he scourges every son whom he receives."

13.3.41 | So, while the wretched ones are receiving punishment, it is God who is doing these things. It should not be said that the poet allows this, but if they claim that they deserve punishment as wretched evildoers, and that by receiving punishment they are helped by God, that can be accepted. However, to say that some good God is the cause of evils is something

that should be argued against in every way.

13.3.42 | ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἄλλοι θεοῦ σθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡ παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητείᾳ ὡδέ πη ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκει λέγουσα "διότι ἔγώ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἥλλοι ὑμαῖ." καὶ ἐν ταῖς θεολογίαις δὲ ὁ Δαβὶδ ἀναφωνεῖ λέγων "πάντες ὡς ἴματιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δέο αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἔκλεψουσιν."

13.3.43 | εἰ δέ πη τὸν θεοῦ λόγον εἰσάγουσιν ἐν εἴδει καὶ σχήματι ἀνθρωπείω παραφαινόμενον, λεκτέον ὡς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων μύθους ὅμοιώς Πρωτεῖ καὶ Θέτιδι καὶ Ἡρα, οὐδὲ ὡς οἱ θεοὶ οἵ περιερχόμενοι νύκτωρ πολλοῖς ζώοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἵνδαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸν 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 θεοῦ εἰς ἀνθρώπους πάροδον.

13.3.44 | ἐπεὶ οὖν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζώων οὐδὲν ἦν θεοφιλέστερον γένος ἀνθρώπου, συγγενές τε καὶ οίκειον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, παρ' οὐ καὶ λογικὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀπείργαστο, εἰκότως, οἷα φίλου ζώου κηδόμενον, τὸν ἐπουράνιον λόγον ἥκειν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ φασὶ παντὸς τού γένους, νόσον καὶ μανίαν ἔκτοπον ὑπομείναντος, ὡς μήτε τὸν πατέρα γινώσκειν θεὸν, μήτε τὴν οίκειαν τῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως ούσιαν, μήτ' αὐθεοῦ πρόνοιαν, σώτειραν τῶν ὅλων, εἰς

13.3.42 | But also about God not changing, 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 writings of theology, 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 present the word of God as appearing in human form, it should be noted that this 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 different forms. The words of the Hebrews show the word of God revealed to humans. However, as Plato himself says, it is sometimes necessary for the good of friends, when out of madness or foolishness they try to do something wrong, that the passage of God to humans becomes a helpful remedy for their avoidance.

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 formed, it is fitting, like a caring friend, that the heavenly word comes to heal all of humanity. This happens while people face illness and madness, so that neither does the father know God, nor does he understand the nature of the rational

άλογου δὲ ζώου σχεδὸν ὅσον παρατροπὴν ἥκοντος.

essence, nor the providence of God, the savior of all, as if he were almost like an irrational creature.

13.3.45 | διὸ δὴ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ιατρὸν ἐπιστῆναι λέγουσιν, οὐ μὲν δὴ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκστάντα φύσεως, ούδέ γε ψευσάμενον τοὺς ὄρῶντας, ἅμφω δὲ ἀληθῆ φυλάξαντα, τό τε ἀρανὲς καὶ τὸ ὄρώμενον. πῆ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῆς ἀνθρωπος ἐωρᾶτο, πῆ δὲ θεοῦ λόγος ἦν ἀληθῆς, οὐ γοητεύων, ούδὲ τοὺς θεωμένους ἔξαπατῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θεῖον ἀψευδὲς καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Πλάτωνι.

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 misleading those who beheld him, since it seemed good to Plato that the divine should be without deceit.

13.3.46 | κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἀπλοῦς ὧν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἔν τε ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίστατο, οὔτε ἄλλους ἔξηπάτα. οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὕθ' οὐδ' ὄναρ. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, οἷα λογικῶν ψυχῶν ιατρὸς, 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 καὶ ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας πᾶσιν ἡμῖν δωρούμενος.

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. However, he did not seem to negotiate through the means by which he became a man, but rather through the friendship and return to his own father, given to all of us through the revealed knowledge of God and true piety.

13.3.47 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλως λέγουσι χαλεπανοῦμέν τε καὶ χορὸν οὐ δώσομεν, ούδέ 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.

13.3.47 | And these are our matters; but to others, we say that we will not give a hard time or a performance, 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.

## Section 4

13.4.1 | "Αύτοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τυγχάνουσι νομίζοντες τὸν Δία τῶν θεῶν ἄριστον καὶ δικαιότατον, καὶ τοῦτον ὅμολογοῦσι τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα δῆσαι, ὅτι τοὺς υἱεῖς κατέπινεν οὐκέντι, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν γε αὖ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐκτεμεῖν δι' ἔτερα τοιαῦτα· ἐμοὶ δὲ χαλεπάνουσιν ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ ἐπεξέρχομαι ἀδικοῦντι, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐναντία λέγουσι περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

13.4.2 | "Ἄρα γε, ὦ Εὐθύφρον, 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 ἔχαμαρτάνειν. νῦν οὖν εἰ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖ τῷ εὗ εἰδότι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀνάγκη δὴ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν. τί γὰρ καὶ φήσομεν, οἵ γε [καὶ] αὐτοὶ ὅμολογούμεν περὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἰδέναι; ἀλλαμοι εἴπε πρὸς φιλίου, σὺ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡγῇ ταῦτα οὕτω γεγονέναι; Καὶ ἔτι τούτων θαυμασιώτερα, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἂ οἱ πολλοὶ οὐκ ἴσαστι.

13.4.3 | Καὶ πόλεμον ἄρα ἡγῆ [σὺ είναι] τῷ ὄντι 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 ιερὰ ἡμῖν καταπεποίκιλται καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις Πλαναθηναίοις ὁ πέπλος μεστὸς τῶν τοιούτων ποικιλμάτων ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἀκρότπολιν. ταῦτα ἀληθῆ εἶναι φῶμεν, ὦ Εὐθύφρον;

13.4.1 | For these people believe 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 contradictory things about the gods and about me.

13.4.2 | Therefore, oh Euthyphro, this is why I am avoiding the charge: 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 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 astonishing are those things that most people do not know, Socrates.

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? Indeed, the good writers have adorned our sacred things with these stories, and even at the great Panathenaea, the robe is filled with 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, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἄρτι εἴπον, καὶ ἄλλα σοι ἐγὼ πολλὰ, ἔαν περ βούλῃ, περὶ τῶν θεῶν διηγήσομαι, ἢ σὺ ἀκούων εῦ οἴδ’ ὅτι ἐκπλαγήσῃ.” Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Εύθυφρονι. διασαρεῖ 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 will amaze you.” This is what Plato says in the Euthyphro. Numenius explains the meaning in his work about the hidden teachings of Plato, saying it 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 ἄλλήλους, 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 ἄν δοκεῖ μοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἵτιαν πάλιν κακοῖς γενέσθαι ἀποκτείνασι καὶ αὐτὸν, ὡσπερ τὸν Σωκράτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἄν προείλετο μᾶλλον ἦ ἀληθεύειν, ἐώρα δὲ ζῆν τε καὶ ἀληθεύειν ἀσφαλῶς δυνησόμενος, ἔθηκεν ἐν μὲν τῷ σχήματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν Εύθυφρονα, ὅντα ἄνδρα ἀλαζόνα καὶ κοάλεμον καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος θεολογεῖ κακῶς, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Σωκράτην ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ σχήματισμῷ ἐν ὧπερ εἰωθότως ἥλεγχεν ἐκάστω προσο μίλων.”

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, along with 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 without telling the truth, and he saw that he could safely live and tell the truth, he portrayed Euthyphro as an arrogant and boastful man. And if anyone else speaks poorly about the gods, Socrates himself would confront and challenge them, as he usually does.

## Section 6

13.6.1 | “Ω φίλε Κρίτων, ἡ προθυμία σου πολλοῦ ἀξία, εἰ μετά τινος ὄρθοτητος εἴη· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅσῳ μείζων, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρᾳ. σκοπεῖσθαι οὖν χρὴ ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ταῦτα πρακτέον εἴτε μὴ, ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον νῦν,

13.6.1 | Oh dear Crito, your eagerness is very valuable, if it is based on some correctness. But if it is not, the greater it is, the harder it becomes. Therefore, we must consider whether we should do these

άλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτος οὗς τῶν ἔμῶν  
μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ πείθεσθαι ἢ τῷ λόγῳ δὲ ἂν μοι  
λογιζομένῳ βέλτιστος φαίνηται.

things or not, since 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 | τοὺς δὲ λόγους οὓς ἐν τῷ  
ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον οὐ δύναμαι νῦν  
ἐκβάλλειν, ἐπειδὴ μοι ἥδε ἢ τύχη γέγονεν,  
ἄλλὰ σχεδόν τι ὅμοιοι φαίνονταί μοι, καὶ  
τοὺς αὐτοὺς πρεσβεύω καὶ τιμᾶ οὔσπερ  
καὶ πρότερον· ὃν ἔὰν μὴ βελτίω ἔχωμεν  
λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εὖ ἵσθι ὅτι οὐ μή σοι  
συγχωρήσω, ούδ' ἀν πλείω τῶν νῦν  
παρόντων ἢ τῶν πολλόν δύναμις ὡσπερ  
παῖδας ἡμᾶς μορμολύττηται, δεσμούς τε  
καὶ θανάτους ἐπιπέμπουσα καὶ χρημάτων  
ἀφαιρέσεις.

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 death and taking away our possessions.

13.6.3 | πῶς οὖν ἀν μετριώτατα.  
σκοποίμεθα αύτά; εἰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον  
τὸν λόγον ἀναλάβοιμεν, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, τὸν  
περὶ τῶν δοξῶν, πότερον καλῶς ἔλέγετο  
ἐκάστοτε ἢ οὐ, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν δεῖ τῶν δοξῶν  
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ταῖς δὲ οὕτως ἢ πρὸν μὲν  
με δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν καλῶς ἔλέγετο, νῦν δὲ  
κατάδηλος ἄρα ἐγένετο ὅτι ἄλλως ἔνεκα  
λόγου ἔλέγετο, ἦν δὲ παιδιὰ καὶ φλυαρία  
ώς ἀληθῶς.

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? Should some beliefs be paid attention to while 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 nonsense?

13.6.4 | ἐπιθυμῶ δ' ἔγωγε ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὡς  
Κρίτων, κοινῇ μετὰ σοῦ, εἴ τί μοι  
ἄλλοιότερος φανεῖται, ἐπειδὴ ὡδὸς ἔχω, ἢ ὁ  
αύτὸς, καὶ ἔάσομεν χαίρειν ἢ πεισόμεθα  
αὐτῷ. ἔλέγετο δέ πως, ὡς ἔγῷμαι,  
ἐκάστοτε ὡδεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰομένων τι λέγειν  
ὡσπερ νῦν δὴ ἔγὼ ἔλεγον, ὅτι τῶν δοξῶν  
ἄς οἱ ἄνθωποι δοξάζουσι δέοι τὰς μὲν περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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. We will either let it be or be convinced by it. It was said, as I think, that each time people say something like I am saying now, some beliefs should be valued highly while others should not.

13.6.5 | τοῦτο πρὸς θεῶν, ὡς Κρίτων, οὐ δοκεῖ καλῶς σοι λέγεσθαι; σὺ γάρ, ὅσα γε τάνθρώπεια, ἔκτὸς εἴ τοῦ μέλλειν ἀποθνήσκειν αὔριον, καὶ οὐκ ἄν σε παρακρούοι ἡ παροῦσα συμφορά. σκόπει δὴ· οὐχὶ 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 φῆς; ταῦτα οὐχὶ καλῶς λέγεται; Καλῶς.

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 ψόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχει, ἥ ἐνὸς μόνου ἔκείνου ὃς ἄν τυγχάνῃ ἰατρὸς ἡ παιδοτρίβης ὁν; 'Ἐνὸς μόνου.

13.6.7 | Ούκοῦν φοβεῖσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ψόγους καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοὺς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἔκείνου, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν. Δηλαδή. Ταύτῃ. ἄρα αὕτῳ πρακτέον καὶ γυμναστέον, καὶ ἐδεστέον γε καὶ ποτέον, ἢ ἄν τῷ ἐνὶ δοκῇ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ καὶ ἐπαίοντι μᾶλλον ἡ ξύμπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἐστι ταῦτα. Εἶνεν. ἀπειθήσας δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀτιμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολλόν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπαιόντων ἄρα οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται; Πῶς γάρ οὕ; Τί δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο; καὶ ποῖ τείνει, καὶ εἰς τί τῶν τοῦ ἀπειθούντος; Δηλονότι εἰς τὸ σῶμα· τοῦτο γάρ διόλλυσι.

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 | Then should we honor good beliefs and not bad ones? Yes. Good beliefs are those of the wise, and bad beliefs are those of the foolish, right? How could they not be? Now, how were such things said? When a man is training, does he pay attention to the praise, 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 | 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 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 harmed.

13.6.8 | Καλῶς λέγεις. ούκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὡς 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, πότερον τῇ τῶν πολλῶν δόξῃ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔπεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὴν, ἢ τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς, εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐπαίων, ὃν δεῖ καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ξύμπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους; ἢ εἰ μὴ ἀκολουθήσομεν, διαφθεροῦμεν ἐκεῖνο καὶ λωβησόμεθα ὃ τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ βέλτιον ἐγίνετο, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ ἀπώλυτο. ἢ οὐδέν ἔστι τοῦτο; Οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ὡς Σώκρατες.

13.6.8 | You speak well. Then, Crito, we should also think about other matters this way, so that we do not chase after everything. And indeed, regarding what is 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 who praises, if such a person exists, and whom we should be more ashamed of and afraid of than all the others? If we do not follow him, we will ruin that and suffer harm, which benefits the just and is lost for the unjust. Or is this not true? I believe 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. Άρ' οὖν βιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἔστι μετὰ μοχθηροῦ καὶ διεφθαρμένου σώματος; Οὐδαμῶς.

13.6.9 | Come now, if we are made better by what is healthy and harmed by what is unhealthy, should we not follow the opinion of those who praise? Can we live with a body that is damaged? This body does exist, doesn't it? Yes. So, can we live with a bad and damaged body? Absolutely not.

13.6.10 | Ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄρα ἔστιν ἡμῖν βιωτὸν διεφθαρμένου ὃ τὸ ἀδικον μὲν λωβᾶται, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ὄνινησιν; ἢ φαυλότερον ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος ἐκεῖνο, ὃ τι ποτ' ἔστι τῶν ἡμετέρων, περὶ ὃ ἡ τε ἀδικία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἔστιν; Οὐδαμῶς. Ἀλλὰ τιμιώτερον; Πολύ γε.

13.6.10 | But is it possible for us to live with a body that is harmed, one that is hurt by injustice but benefits from justice? Or do we think that body is worse than our own, 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, ὃ εῖς, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὥστε

13.6.11 | Therefore, my best friend, we should not worry at all about what the many say about us, but rather what the one who understands justice and injustice says,

πρῶτον μὲν ταύτη ούκ ὄρθῶς είσηγῃ,  
είσηγούμενος τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης δεῖν  
ἡμᾶς φροντέζειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ  
καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων.”

along with the truth itself. So, first of all, it is not right to suggest that we should pay attention to the opinions 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 εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσιν ὄρθῶς πράττομεν οὐ σκοποῦντες τί ἡμᾶς οἴ πολοὶ ἐροῦσιν, 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 μορμολύττηται. τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ πάλαι παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἐν μαρτυρίῳ 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 desires. This word should be honored equally in judgment, both now and in the past, and should not be changed, even if the power of the many frightens us like children. Such were those who once shone among the Hebrews as witnesses.

## Section 7

13.7.1 | “Ούδενὶ τρόπῳ φαμὲν ἐκόντας ἀδικητέον εἶναι, ἢ τινὶ μὲν ἀδικητέον τρόπῳ, τινὶ δ' οὕ; ἢ οὐδαμῶς τό γε ἀδικεῖν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ὠμολογήθη; ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο. ἢ πᾶσαι ἡμῖν ἐκεῖναι αἱ πρόσθεν ὀμολογίαι ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐκκεχυμέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ πάλαι, ὡς Κρίτων, ἄρα τηλικοίδε γέροντες ἄνδρες πρὸς ἄλλίλους σπουδῇ διαλεγόμενοι ἐλάθομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παίδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες; ἢ παντὸς μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχει ὥσπερ τότε ἐλέγετο ἡμῖν, εἴτε φασὶν οἴ πολοὶ εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἴτε δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῶνδε χαλεπώτερα πάσχειν εἴτε καὶ πραότερα, δύμως τό γε ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀδικοῦντι καὶ κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν τυγχάνει

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 good or right at all 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, 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.

ὅν παντὶ τρόπῳ; φαμὲν ἢ οὕ; Φαμέν.

13.7.2 | Ούδαμῶς ἄρα δεῖ ἀδικεῖν. Οὐ δῆτα. Ούδὲ ἀδικούμενον ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἐπειδή γε ούδαμῶς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν; Ού φαίνεται. Τί δὲ δή; κακουργεῖν δεῖ, ὡς Κρίτων, ἢ οὕ; Ού δεῖ δήπου, ὡς Σώκρατες. Τί δέ; ἀντικακουργεῖν κακῶς πάσχοντα, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασι, δίκαιον, ἢ οὔ δίκαιον; Ούδαμῶς. Τὸ γάρ που κακὸν ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ούδεν 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. That does not seem true. 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 ούδενα ἀνθρώπων, ούδ' ἀν δτιοῦν πάσχῃ τις ὑπ' αύτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅρα, ὡς Κρίτων, ταῦτα καθομολογῶν ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὁμολογῆς. οἴδα γάρ ὅτι ὥλιγοις τισὶ ταῦτα καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ δόξει. οἵς οὖν οὕτω δέδοκται καὶ οἵς μὴ, τούτοις ούκ ἔστι κοινὴ βουλὴ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτους ἀλλήλων καταφρονεῖν, ὄρῶντας τὰ ἀλλήλων βουλεύματα. σκόπει δὴ οὖν καὶ σὺ εὗ μάλα, πότερον κοινωνεῖς καὶ συνδοκεῖ σοι καὶ ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι, ὡς ούδεποτε ὄρθως ἔχοντος οὕτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν οὕτε τοῦ ἀνταδικεῖν οὕτε τοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντα κακῶς· ἢ ἀφίστασαι καὶ οὐ κοινωνεῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ καὶ πάλαι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοκεῖ.

13.7.3 | Therefore, one should neither do wrong in return nor do evil to anyone, even if someone suffers because of them. But look, dear Criton, as you agree to these things, be careful not to agree just for the sake of it. I know that only a few think this way and will continue to think this way. So, for those who hold this belief and those who do not, there is no common agreement, and it becomes necessary for them to look down on each other's opinions. Therefore, consider carefully whether you agree and if it seems right to you. Let us start from here, believing that it is never right to do wrong, to do wrong in return, or to defend oneself against someone who is suffering badly by doing wrong to them. Or do you stand apart and 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' ἔμμενεις τοῖς προσθεν,

13.7.4 | And if you have been taught something different, speak and teach it; but

τὸν μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκουε. Ἀλλ’ ἔμμένω τε καὶ συνδοκεὶ μοι· ἀλλὰ λέγε. Λέγ δὴ αὖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶ, πότερον ἢ ἦν τις δημολογήσῃ τῷ δίκαιᾳ ὅντα ποιητεον, ἢ ἔξαπατητέον; Ποιητέον.”

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 “εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς” προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ἵνα γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅστις τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.” καὶ ἔτι τὸ “λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν, 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 ἡμην 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 εἰ δέοι τεθνάναι σε, ἀλλὰ ἥροῦ, ως ἔφησθα, πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς θάνατον· νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐντρέπῃ, ἐπιχειρῶν ἡμᾶς διαφθεῖραι· πράττεις τε ὅπερ ἂν δοῦλος ὁ φαυλότατος πράξειεν, ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειρῶν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τε καὶ δημολογίας καθ’ ἃς ἡμῖν συνέθου πολιτεύεσθαι.

13.8.1 | But back then, you were acting as if you weren’t angry about having to die, but you chose, as you said, death over exile. Now, however, you are not ashamed of those words, nor do you respect our laws, as you try to destroy us. You are doing what the most worthless slave would do, trying to escape against the agreements and promises under which we have agreed to live together.

13.8.2 | πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ

13.8.2 | First of all, we need to answer this:

άπόκριναι, εί τη λέγομεν φάσκοντές σε ώμολογηκέναι πολιτεύεσθαι καθ' ήμᾶς ἔργω, ἀλλ' ού λόγω, ή ούκ άληθή; τί φῶμεν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὡ Κρίτων; ἄλλο τι ή δομολογῶμεν; Ἀνάγκη, ὡ Σώκρατες. Ἄλλὰ τί οὖν, ἀν φαῖν, ή συνθήκας πρὸς ήμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δομολογίας παραβαίνεις, ούχ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης δομολογήσας, ούδὲ ἀπατηθεὶς, ούδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς βουλεύσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐν οἷς ἔξην σοι ἀπιέναι, εί μὴ ἡρέσκομεν ήμεῖς, μηδὲ δίκαιαι ἐφαίνοντό σοι αἱ δομολογίαι εἶναι.

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 if you claim 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 quickly. Instead, it has been 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 ούδεμίαν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ούδὲ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, ἄλλὰ ἐλάττω ἔξ αὐτῆς ἀπεδήμησας ή οἵ χωλοί τε καὶ 20 τυφλοί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνάπτηροι. οὕτω σοι διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἥρεσκεν ἡ πόλις τε καὶ ήμεῖς οἱ νόμοι δηλονότι· τίνι γὰρ ἀν πόλις ἀρέσκοι ἄνευ νόμων; νῦν δὲ δὴ ούκ ἐμμένεις τοῖς ώμολογημένοις; ἐὰν ήμιν γε πείθῃ, ὡ 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. Instead, you left for less than that, or you went away with the lame, the blind, and the other disabled. So, 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 ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διαφθορεὺς εἶναι. πότερον οὖν φεύξῃ τάς τε εύνομουμένας πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κοσμιωτάτους; καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι ἄρα ἄξιόν σοι ζῆν ἔσται; ή πλησιάσεις τούτοις καὶ ἀναισχυντήσεις διαλεγόμενός τινας λόγους, ὡ Σώκρατες, ή οὕσπερ ἐνθάδε, ὡς η ἀρετὴ καὶ η δικαιοσύνη πλείστου ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ οἱ νόμοι; καὶ ούκ οἴει ἀσχημον φανεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ

13.9.1 | For whoever corrupts the laws would seem to be a very corrupt person, especially to young and foolish people. So, will you flee from the well-governed cities and the most respectable men? Is it worthy for you to live by doing this? Or will you approach these people and shamelessly speak some words, Socrates, just like here, as if virtue and justice are the most valuable things to people, along with the laws and customs? And do you not think it will seem disgraceful for the actions of

Σωκράτους πρᾶγμα; οὕεσθαι γε χρή.

Socrates? You should think so.

13.9.2 | ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν τόπων ἀπαρεῖς, ἥξεις δὲ εἰς Θετταλίαν παρὰ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Κρίτωνος· ἔκεī γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία, καὶ ἵσως ἀνὴδέως σου ἀκούοιεν ὡς γελοίως ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἀπεδίδρασκες, σκευήν τέ τινα περιθέμενος ἢ διφθέραν λαβών ἢ ἄλλα οἷα δὴ εἰώθασιν ἐνσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυτοῦ μεταλλάξας.

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 there. Perhaps they would gladly hear how you foolishly ran away from prison, putting on some disguise, taking a cloak, or using other things that those who escape usually wear, and changing your appearance.

13.9.3 | ὅτι δὲ γέρων ἀνὴρ μικροῦ χρόνου τῷ βίῳ λοιποῦ ὄντος, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔτολμησας 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 εὐώχούμενος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀποδεδημηκώς εἰς Θετταλίαν. λόγοι δὲ ἔκεινοι οἱ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ποῦ ἡμῖν ἔσονται; ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν παίδων ἔνεκα βούλει ζῆν, ἔνα αὐτοὺς ἐκθρέψῃς καὶ παιδεύσῃς;

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 about this? 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 | τί δέ; εἰς Θετταλίαν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγών 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; οἴ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειοι οἱ σοὶ ἐπιμελήσονται αὐτῶν.

13.9.4 | What then? If you take them to Thessaly and raise and educate them, making them foreigners, will they enjoy that from you? Or will they be better raised and educated while you are alive, even if you are not 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

13.9.5 | But if you go away to Thessaly, they will be taken care of. But if you go away to

Ἄιδου ἀποδημήσῃς, ούχὶ ἐπιμελήσονται,  
εἴπερ γέ τι ὄφελος αὐτῶν ἔστι τῶν σοι  
φασκόντων ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι; οἵεδθαί γε  
χρή.

13.9.6 | ἀλλ', ὁ Σώκρατες, πειθόμενος ἡμῖν  
τοῖς σοῖς τροφεῦσι μήτε παῖδας περὶ  
πλείονος ποιοῦ μήτε τὸ ζῆν μήτε ἄλλο  
μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου, ἵνα εἰς Ἄιδου ἐλθῶν  
ἔχης ταῦτα πάντα ἀπολογήσασθαι τοῖς  
ἐκεῖ ἄρχουσιν· οὕτε γὰρ ἐνθάδε σοι  
φαινεται ταῦτα πράττοντι ἄμεινον εἶναι  
ούδε δικαιότερον ούδε δισιώτερον ούδε  
ἄλλω τῶν σῶν ούδενι, οὕτε ἐκεῖσε  
ἀφικομένῳ ἄμεινον ἔσται.

13.9.7 | ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἡδικημένος ἄπει, έὰν  
ἀπίης, ούχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑπ'  
ἀνθρώπων· ἔὰν δὲ ἔξέλθῃς οὔτως αἰσχρῶς,  
ἀνταδικήσας τε καὶ ἀντικακουργήσας, τὰς  
σαυτοῦ ὅμολογίας τε καὶ συνθήκας τὰς  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραβάτας· κακὰ ἐργασάμενος  
τούτους οὓς ἥκιστα c ἔδει, σαυτόν τε καὶ  
τοὺς φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς τέ  
σοι χαλεπανοῦμεν ζῶντι καὶ ἐκεῖ οὖ  
ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοί, οἱ ἐν Ἄιδου νόμοι, ούκ  
εύμενῶς σε ὑποδέξονται, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ  
ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησας ἀπολέσαι τὸ σὸν μέρος."

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 | But, oh Socrates, if you listen to us, your caretakers, do not value children more than justice, nor life, nor anything else. This way, when you go to Hades, you can defend all this to the rulers there. For it does not seem better, 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 | But now, if you go away feeling wronged, you will not be wronged by our laws, but by people. 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 you should have harmed the least—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 οὖν εἴποι τις, εἴτ' οὐκ  
αἰσχύνῃ, ὁ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα  
ἐπιτηδεύσας, ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ  
ἀποθανεῖν; ἔγὼ δὲ τούτῳ δίκαιον ἀν λόγον  
ἀντείποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὁ  
ἀνθρωπε, εἰ οἴει δεῖν κίνδυνον  
ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἀνδρα

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 respond fairly, saying that you do not speak well, oh man, if you think one should consider the danger of living or dying

ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελός ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
έκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ,  
πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἄδικα πράττει, καὶ  
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ.

based on some small benefit. Instead, one should look at whether, when acting, he is doing just or unjust things, and whether he is performing the actions of a good person or a bad one."

13.10.2 | φαῦλοι γὰρ ἂν 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 προθυμουμένω “Ἐκτορα ἀποκτεῖναι,  
θεὸς οὗσα, οὐτωσί πως, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ὡς παῖ,  
εἰ τιμωρήσεις Πατρόκλῳ τῷ ἑταίρῳ τὸν  
φόνον καὶ Ἐκτορα ἀποκτενεῖς, αὐτὸς  
ἀποθανῇ. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι φησὶ) μεθ’  
Ἐκτορα πότμος ἐτοῦμος. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο  
ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καὶ τοῦ  
κινδύνου ὀλιγώρησεν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον  
δείσας τὸ ζῆν κακὸς ὧν καὶ τοῖς φύλοις μὴ  
τιμωρεῖν, αὐτίκα, φησὶ, τεθναίην δίκην  
ἐπιθεὶς τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνθάδε μένω  
καταγέλαστος παρὰ νησὶ 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." Upon hearing this, he 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 οἶει φροντίσαι θανάτου  
καὶ κινδύνου; οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ω ἄνδρες  
Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὗ ἂν τις αὐτὸν τάξῃ,  
ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι, ἢ ὑπὸ<sup>το</sup>  
ἄρχοντος ταχθῇ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ως ἐμοὶ  
δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν  
ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο  
μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

13.10.3 | Do you not think he cares about death and danger? For this is the truth, oh 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, ω ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ὅτε μέν  
με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταττον, οὓς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε  
ἄρχειν μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν

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, Amphipolis, Delos, and

Ἄμφιπόλει καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, καὶ ἄλλοθι που, οὐκέτινοι ἔταττον ἔμενον ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλος τις καὶ ἐκινδύνευον ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τάττοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ φήθην τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, φιλοσοφοῦντά με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ ἔξετάζοντα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ φοβηθεὶς θάνατον ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν πρᾶγμα λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν.

elsewhere, 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 εἶη, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τότ’ ἂν με δικαίως εἰσάγοι τις εἰς δικαστήριον, ὅτι οὐ νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι ἀπειθῶν τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δεδιώκ θάνατον κοὶ οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὥν. τὸ γάρ τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ω̄ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἔστιν ἀ οὐκ οἴδεν. οἶδε μὲν γὰρ ούδεις τὸν θάνατον ούδ’ εί τυγχάνει. τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δὲ ὡς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἔστι. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθία ἔστιν αὕτη ἢ ἐπονείδιστος, ἢ τοῦ οἵεσθαι εἰδέναι ἀ 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 thinking one is wise without actually being so; it is believing 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 φαίνην εἶναι, τούτῳ ἀν, ὅτι οὐκ εἰδώς ίκανῶς περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀΐδου, οὕτω καὶ οἴομαι οὐκ εἰδέναι· τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ βελτίονι, καὶ θεῶς καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρόν ἔστιν οἴδα. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὃν οἴδα ὅτι κακά ἔστιν, ἀ μὴ οἴδα εἰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ὄντα τυγχάνει, οὐδέποτε φοβηθήσομαι, οὐδὲ φεύξομαι.

13.10.6 | But, oh men, I differ from most people in this way: even if I seem to be wiser than someone, it is because I do not know enough about what is in Hades, and I believe I do not know. However, I do 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’ εἴ με νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀφίετε, Ἀνύτῳ ἀπιστήσαντες, ὃς ἔφη ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν

13.10.7 | So, even if you now let me go, not believing Anytus, who said that I should not

ού δεῖν ἔμε δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν ἢ ἐπειδὴ εἰσῆλθον οὐχ οἶόν τε εἴναι τὸ μὴ οὐκ] ἀποκτεῖναί με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰ διαφευξούμην,, ἥδη ἀν ὑμῶν οὶ νιεῖς ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἢ Σωκράτης κράτης διδάσκει πάντες παντάπασι διαφθαρήσονται,) εἴ̄ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἴποιτε, ὁ Σώκρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἀνύτω ού πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ζητήσει διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῷς ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανῆ

come here or that since I have come, it is not possible for you not to 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 | εί̄ οῦν με, ὅπερ εἴ̄πον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφίοιτε, εἴ̄ποιμι ἀν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, ώ ἄνδρες Αθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ, πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἵως περ ἀν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἶός ώ τε ω, ού μὴ παύσομαι φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ὑμῖν παρακελευόμενός τε καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτῳ ἀν ἀεὶ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, λέγων οἶστερ εἴ̄ωθα." 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." After a short pause, he continues.

13.10.9 | ""Ἐννοήσωμεν δὴ καὶ τῇδε, ώς πολλὴ ἔλπις ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἴ̄ναι. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἔστι τὸ τεθνάναι· ἥ γὰρ οἶν μηδέν τι εἴ̄ναι μηδὲ αἴ̄σθησιν μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἥ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰ̄ς ἄλλον τόπον. καὶ εἴ̄τε δὴ μηδεμίᾳ αἴ̄σθησίς ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οἶν ὕπνος, ἐπειδάν τις καθεύδων μηδὲ ὄναρ μηδὲν ὄρᾳ, Θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἀν εἴ̄η [ό] θάνατος.

13.10.9 | Let us think about this: there is much hope that death is a good thing. For there are two possibilities when it comes to dying: either it is like being nothing at all, having no sense or feeling of anything, or, as it is said, there is some change and movement of the soul from this place to another. 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 οἶμαι, εἴ̄ τινα ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα ἐν ᾧ οὔτω κατέδαρθεν ὥστε μηδὲν ὄναρ ἴδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ

13.10.10 | For I think that 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

βίου τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ, εἰ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἴπεῖν πόσας ἄμεινον καὶ ἥδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἶμαι ἀν οὐχὶ ἴδιώτην τινὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἀν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας, εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἔστι, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω· καὶ γάρ οὐδὲν πλεῖον ὁ πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται οὕτως εἶναι ή μία νύξ.

13.10.11 | εἰ δ' αὖ οἶον ἀποδημῆσαι ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε είς 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 Ἐραδάμανθυς καὶ Αἴακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἐαυτῶν βίῳ, ἄρα φαύλη ἀν εἴη η ἀποδημία;

13.10.12 | ή αὖ Ὀρφεῖ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίω καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἀν τις δέξαιτ' ἀν ὑμῶν; ἔγὼ μὲν γάρ πολλάκις ἐθέλω τεθνάναι, εἴπερ ταῦτα ἔστιν ἀληθῆ, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστὴ ἀν εἴη η διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὃπότε ἐντύχοιμι Παλαμήδει καὶ Αἴαντι τῷ Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν· ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων, ως ἔγῷμαι, ούκ ἀν ἀηδέες εἴη· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἔξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφός ἔστι καὶ τίς οἰεται μὲν, ἔστι δ' οὐ· "

nights and days of their life to this night, they would find that 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 | 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, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus, Triptolemus, and others who were just demigods in their own lives. Then the journey would be a great thing.

13.10.12 | Or would someone want to meet Orpheus, the Muses, Hesiod, and Homer? For I often wish to die, if these 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, I think it would not be unpleasant. And indeed, the greatest thing would be to examine and investigate those there, just like we do 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, οίκιαν ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ὅτι τε ἐκδημοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐνδημοῦμεν τῷ κυρίῳ" ὃς 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.

## Section 11

13.11.1 | "Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ στρατείας ὃς ἀν εύδοκιμήσας τελευτήσῃ, ἢρ' 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. Διαπυθόμενοι ἄρα τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶς χρὴ τοὺς δαιμονίους τε καὶ θείους τιθέναι καὶ τίνι διαφόρῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταύτῃ θήσομεν ἢ ἀν ἔξηγῆται; 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 ἀν διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κριθῶσι."

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 that they will 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.

13.11.1 | And of those who die in battle, whoever dies having done well, shall we not first say that they belong to the golden race? Indeed, we will say so. But we will not be convinced by Hesiod when some from this race die, that the pure and good spirits are the guardians of mortal men. So we will be convinced. We will ask God how we should understand the demonic and divine, and in what way we should explain this. Why should we not? And from now on, how will we honor and worship the spirits 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 have been good in life.

13.11.2 | Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας οὐκ ἀν ἀμάρτοις εἰπὼν παραλαμβάνεσθαι. δῆθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παριέναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς παρὰ ταύταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς εὐλόγως καὶ τούτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένων.

13.11.2 | And these things are fitting for the end of the beloved ones, whom we would not be wrong to say should be honored as soldiers of true piety. Therefore, it is our custom to visit their graves and to offer prayers there, honoring their blessed souls, as it is right for us to do.

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' ἐτέροις, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεως προλαβόντες ἐφήψαντο καὶ ἄλλοι, εὖ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπισκέψασθαι δεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις πεπονημένα. παραθήσω δὲ πρώτου Ἀριστοβούλου, τοῦ ἐξ Ἐβραίων φιλοσόφου, τὰς οὕτως ἔχούσας φωνάς

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, and perhaps even from others. Since others have also explored 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 expressed in this way.

## 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 δ' ἐτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἔξαγωγὴν τὴν ἐξ 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, καθώς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δογματοποίαν κατεχώρισεν.

13.12.1 | It is clear that Plato followed our laws, and it is evident that he has carefully examined each part of them. Demetrius of Phalerum explains this through others, before the rule of Alexander and the Persians, both regarding the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, our own citizens, and the significance of all the events for them, as well as the control of the land and the explanation of the entire legislation. It is clear that the philosopher mentioned has taken much from these ideas. He became very knowledgeable, just as Pythagoras took many things from us and incorporated them into his own teachings.

13.12.2 | ή 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 | Εἶτα μεταξύ τινα εἰπών ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Δεῖ γάρ λαμβάνειν τὴν θείαν φωνὴν οὐ ὥητὸν 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 τούτῳ 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 πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν. λέγει δ' οὕτως

13.12.5 | φθέγξομαι οἵ θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμοὺς, θείοι τεθέντος πᾶσι νόμου· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε ΜήνηςΜουσαῖ· ἔξερέω γάρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὸνέν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσηείς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ

13.12.2 | But the complete 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 exploring these topics.

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 actions, just as Moses has explained to us the entire 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 studied by Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, who say that they hear the voice of God, closely observing 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, that all things exist, and that God is above 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. But you, child of the 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

προσέδρευε, ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος·  
εὐ δ' ἐπίβαινεάτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα  
κόσμοι τυπωτὴνάθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ  
λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει, εῖς ἔστ'  
αύτοτελῆς, αύτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται, ἐν  
δ' αύτοῖς αύτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις  
αύτὸν εἰσοράαται. αύτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητῶν. νῷ δ'  
εἰσοράαται. αύτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς  
κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλειάνθρωποις· αύτῷ δὲ  
χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὄπηδεῖ, καὶ πόλεμος καὶ  
λοιμὸς ἵδ' ἄλγεα δακρύσσεται, οὐδέ τις ἐσθ'  
ἔτερος· σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορήσαις, αἴ  
κεν ἴδῃς αύτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ  
γαῖαν, τέκνον ἐμὸν, δείξω σοι, ὅπηνίκα  
δέρκομαι αύτοῦ· ἔχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν  
κρατεροῦ θεοῦ. αύτὸν δ' οὐχ ὄρώω· περὶ  
γάρ νέφος ἐστήρικται λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ· στᾶσιν  
δὲ δέκα πτυχαὶ ἀνθρώποισιν· οὐ γάρ κέν τις  
ἔδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα, εἴ μὴ  
μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου  
ἄνωθεν ἔχαλδαίων· ἕδρις γάρ ἵην ἄστροιο  
πορείης, καὶ σφαιρῆς κίνημ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα ως  
περιτέλλει, κυκλοτερές δ' ἐν ἶσω, κατὰ δὲ  
σφέτερον κνώδακα· πνεύματα δ' ἡνιοχεῖ  
περὶ τ' ἡρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμανάματος·  
ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἴφιγενήτου. αύτὸς  
δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν  
ἐστήρικται χρυσέως εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ<sup>το</sup>  
ποσσὶ βέβηκε· χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ<sup>το</sup>  
τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο ἔκτετακεν· ὄρέων δὲ  
τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ, οὐδὲ φέρειν  
δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ  
πάντως αύτὸς ἐπουράνιος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ<sup>το</sup>  
πάντα τελευτᾶ, ἀρχὴν αύτὸς ἔχων καὶ  
μέσην ἡδὲ τελευτὴν, ως λόγος ἀρχαίων, ως  
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' ἐνὶ<sup>το</sup>  
τάξει. ὡς τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζεο,  
γλώσσης ἔπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ  
ἔνθεο φήμην."

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 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 mortal 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. He is circular and equal, and he drives the breath around the air and the flow of water. 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 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 ἔωσιν ἄρρητον· 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 δεξια 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, along with 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 ἔστιν 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 ἐπιζητούμενοις προενηνέγμεθα ταῦτα.

13.12.7 | I clearly think it has been shown that the power of God is present in all things. As we have been taught to recognize Zeus and the divine 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 δομολογεῖται ὅτι δεῖ περὶ θεοῦ διαλήψεις δοσίας ἔχειν, δὲ μάλιστα παρακελεύεται καλῶς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἱρεσίς. ἡ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κατασκευὴ πᾶσα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς περὶ εὔσεβείας τέτακται καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.”

13.12.8 | For all philosophers agree that there should be holy discussions about God, which our school especially encourages. The entire framework of the law is established for us regarding piety, justice, self-control, and the other good things that are based on truth.

13.12.9 | Τούτοις ἐξῆς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Ἐχομένως δ' ἔστιν ὡς ὁ θῶς τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κατεσκεύακε, καὶ δέδωκεν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ κακόπαθον εἶναι

13.12.9 | Next, he adds, “It is possible that the one who created the whole world has given us rest because everyone suffers from the troubles of life on the seventh day.

πᾶσι τὴν βιοτὴν τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἢ δὴ καὶ πρώτη φυσικῶς ἀν λέγοιτο φωτὸς γένεσις, ἐν ὧ τὰ πάντα συνθεωρεῖται.

13.12.10 | μεταφέροιτο δ' ἀν τὸ αύτὸ 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.

13.12.11 | 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.

13.12.12 | σημαίνει γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἔξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησε τὸν 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 καὶ [οὐ] μεταποιεῖ. διασεσάφηκε δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννομον ἔνεκεν σημείου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος, ἐνῷ γνῶσιν ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων.

13.12.13 | δι' ἐβδομάδων δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἀπάντων· τῷ δὲ σάββατον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι διερμηνεύεται

Or perhaps the first day could be called the natural birth of light, in which everything is seen together."

13.12.10 | It could also be said the same about wisdom, for all light comes from it. Some of those from the school of the Porch have said that it has a radiant order, and those who follow it will remain calm throughout their entire life.

13.12.11 | One of our ancestors, Solomon, expressed more clearly and beautifully that it is above the heavens and exists on earth. This agrees with what has been said before. What is explained through the law has put an end to the idea of 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 this way for all time.

13.12.12 | For it means that in six days he made the heavens and the earth and everything in them, to show the times and to declare the order of what comes first. Having arranged them, he holds them 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 | The whole world is organized into weeks, with all living things and plants. The Sabbath is called a rest. Both Homer and Hesiod explain this, having drawn from

άνάπαυσις ούσα. διασαφεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος, μετειληφότες ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἑράν εἶναι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὕτως· πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἥμαρ· καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἐβδομάτη δ' αὗτις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοι.

13.12.14 | Ὅμηρος δὲ οὕτω λέγει· ἐβδομάτη δῆπειτα κατήλυθεν, ἵερὸν ἥμαρ· καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομον ἥμαρ ἦν καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἄπαντακαί· ἐβδομάτη δ' ἡοῖ λίπομεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

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.

13.12.16 | Λίνος δέ φησιν οὕτως· ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἡοῖ 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 τῆς αὐτῆς εἴρηται ὑποθέσεως, γνοίης ἀν διὰ τούτων

our sacred books that it is holy. Hesiod says: "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 | 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 | 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 mentioned.

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 mark the years." So these are the teachings of Aristobulus. If you understand what 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 ἴδῃ παραστατέον. φασὶ γὰρ σῶμα εἶναι τὸν θεὸν οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ πνεῦμα κατ' οὐσίαν,

13.13.1 | Next, we must also clearly explain the Greek borrowing from the philosophy of the barbarian. For the Stoics say that god is both a body and a spirit by nature, just like the soul. You will find all these ideas

ώσπερ άμέλει καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. πάντα ταῦτα ἄντικρυς εὐρήσεις ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. μὴ γάρ μοι τὰς ἀλληγορίας αύτῶν ἔννοήσῃς τανῦν ὡς ἡ γνωστικὴ παραδίδωσιν ἀλήθεια, εἰ 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 λόγωποιητὴν.

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 ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας τῆς πρωτοκτίστου τῷ θεῷ. ναί, φασίν· ἀλλὰ ὥλην ὑποτίθενταιοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, οἵ τε Στωϊκοὶ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Περιπατητικός, οὐχὶ δὲ μίαν ἀρχήν. ἵστωσαν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην ὥλην ἅποιον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον λεγομένην πρὸς αύτῶν, τολμηρὸν δὲ εἴ μη ὁν πρὸς τοῦ Πλάτωνος είρησθαι, καὶ μή τι μυστικώτατα μίαν τὴν ὅντως οὖσαν ἀρχὴν είδως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ αύταῖς φησι ταῖς λέξεσι

13.13.3 | "Νῦν δὴ οῦν τό γε παρ' ἡμῶν ὥδε ἔχετω τὴν μὲν περὶ ἀπάντων, εἴτε ἀρχὴν εἴτε ἀρχὰς, εἴτε ὅπῃ δοκεῖ τούτων πέρι, τὸ νῦν οὐ ρητέον, δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, διὰ δὲ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τρόπον τῆς διεξόδου δηλῶσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα."

13.13.4 | "Ἄλλως τε ἡ λέξις ἡ προφητικὴ ἐκείνη 'ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος' ἀφορμὰς αύτοῖς ὥλικῆς

directly in the writings. Do not think of their allegories as if the gnostics are sharing the truth, showing something different, just as the ancient wise men hint at something else. They say that god exists throughout all of reality, while we call him only a creator and a maker in name.

13.13.2 | But they referred to the saying in Wisdom, "It goes through and moves through all things because of purity," since they did not understand that these words are 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 suggest a single principle. Therefore, let them understand that the so-called matter is described as formless and shapeless in relation to them, and it is bold if it is not said to relate to Plato. Let it not be something very secretive, knowing the one true principle as mentioned in the Timaeus with those words.

13.13.3 | Now, let it be this way from us: regarding all things, whether there is one principle or many principles, or wherever it seems to relate to these, it should not be stated now, not for any other reason, but because it is difficult to explain what seems to be the case in the current way of discussion.

13.13.4 | Moreover, that prophetic saying, "And the earth was invisible and unformed," gives them a starting point for

ούσίας παρέσχηται. ναὶ μὴν Ἐπικούρῳ μὲν  
ἡ τοῦ αὐτομάτου παρείσδυσις οὐ  
παρακολουθήσαντι τῷ ὅτῃ γέγονεν  
ἐντεῦθεν ‘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

material substance. Yes, indeed, for Epicurus, the idea of the automatic intrusion did not follow the stated concept, 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 αὐταῖς 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 ἑκτὸς ἐπ’  
ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες.” Οὗτοί μὲν γάρ  
ἄνδρες οἱ διάπυροι ἀγγέλους αὐτῷ  
βούλονται δηλοῦν, οἱ παραλαβόντες τοὺς  
ἀδίκους κολάζουσιν. “Ο ποιῶν φησὶ τοὺς  
ἀγγέλους πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς  
πῦρ φλέγον.”

13.13.5 | Also, the punishments after death and the punishment by fire come from barbarian philosophy, as does all poetic inspiration. But Greek philosophy has set them aside. 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, and those who take the unjust are punishing them. “He says that the angels are spirits and the ministers are burning fire.”

13.13.6 | “Ἐπεται δὲ τούτοις τὴν ψυχὴν  
εῖναι ἀθάνατον. τὸ γὰρ κολαζόμενον ἡ  
παιδευόμενον ἐν αἰσθήσει ὃν ζῆ, κάν  
πάσχειν λέγηται. τί δέ; οὐχὶ οἶδεν ὁ  
Πλάτων’ καὶ πυρὸς ποταμοὺς καὶ τῆς γῆς  
τὸ βάθος, τὴν πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων γέενναν  
καλουμένην, Τάρταρον ποιητικῶς  
ὄνομάζων, Κωκυτόν τε καὶ Ἀχέροντα καὶ

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

Πυριφλεγέθοντα καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα εἰς τὴν παίδευσιν σωφρονίζοντα παρεισάγων κολαστήρια; τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν καὶ ἐλαχίστων τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ὄρῶντας τὸν θεὸν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμὰς δι' ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἥκουσαν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔμφαίνων νῶν οὐκ ὄκνεῖ γραφειν Ἐπειδὴ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς τούς βίους ἡρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ ἔλαχον, ἐν τάξει προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν, ἐκείνην δὲ ἐκάστῳ, ὃν εἴλετο δαίμονα, τοῦτον φύλακα τοῦ βίου συμπέμπειν, καὶ ἀποπληρωτήν τῶν αἰρεθέντων. “Τάχα δὲ καὶ τῷ Σωκράτει τὸ δαιμόνιον τοιοῦτόν τι ἤνισσετο.”

these into education as punishments? And concerning the lesser beings, according to the text, the smallest of the angels who see God, as well as 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, to fulfill the chosen ones. “Perhaps Socrates hinted at something like this with his spirit.”

13.13.7 | “Ναὶ “Ναὶ μὴν γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν παραλαβόντες ἑδογμάτισαν οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ὅ γε Πλάτων’ ἄντικρυς εἴρηκε Πότερον ἵν ἀρχὴν ἔχων γενέσεως οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενος; δορατός τε γάρ ἀπτός τε καὶ σῶμα ἔχει.” “Αὕθις τε ὁπόταν εἴπῃ ‘τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον,’ οὐ μόνον γεννητὸν ἔδειξε τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι σημαίνει, ὡς ἀν ἐκ μόνου γενομένου καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ὑποστάντος.

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 suggests 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 οἵ 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, ἢ πλείους; Πλείους, ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν

13.13.8 | The Stoics also consider the world to be generated. And Plato speaks of the devil, which is discussed by barbarian philosophy, as the ruler of demons, saying that it is an evil spirit in the tenth book 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

άποκρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μέν 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, ἀλλά τις δαίμων ἔμιξε τοῖς πλείστοις ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ήδονήν. Ἀλλὰ κάν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων ἄντικρυς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν δείκνυσιν ἐκεῖνο ‘ούκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς’ ὥδε πως γράφων

13.13.10 | “Ἐπειδὴ γάρ συνεχωρήσαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλῶν μεστὸν ἀγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μῆτρας μάχη, φαμὲν, ἀθάνατός ἐσθ’ ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη.”

13.13.11 | Κόσμον τε αὗθις τὸν μὲν νοητὸν οἴδεν 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 γάρ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις, ὡς ἀν γόνιμος ἀριθμός, ἡ ἔξας καλεῖται. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ μονάδι συνίστησιν οὐρανὸν ἀόρατον καὶ γῆν ἀγίαν καὶ φῶς νοητὸν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γάρ, φησιν, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος.

13.13.12 | εἶτ’ ἐπιφέρει ‘καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.’ ἐν δὲ τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ τῇ αἰσθητῇ οὐρανὸν ἐδημιούργει· τὸ δὲ στερεὸν αἰσθητὸν, γῆν

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: “There are indeed other evils, but a certain demon mixes in with most of the immediate pleasures.” But in the tenth book 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 requires a wonderful guardian.

13.13.11 | The barbarian philosophy understands both the intelligible world and the sensible one; the former is the original, while 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 Pythagoreans, six is called a fruitful number. In the one, it establishes an unseen heaven, 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 | Then god said, “Let there be light,” and there was light. In the sensible creation, he made the heaven and the solid sensible things, including the visible earth

τε δρατὴν καὶ φῶς βλεπόμενον· ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων' ζῶων ίδέας ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἀπολείπειν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ εἴδη τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ τὰ γένη δημιουργεῖν τὰ νοητά;

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, ὃ γήινόν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' σκῆνος, ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν λογικὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμπνευσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον. ἐνταῦθα γάρ 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.

13.13.13 | Therefore, it is rightly said that Moses speaks of the body being formed 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 of god.

13.13.14 | είκὼν μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος ὁ Θεῖος καὶ βασιλικὸς, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής, είκὼν δ' εἰκόνος ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἐτέρω δ' εἰ βούλει παραλαβεῖν ὄνόματι τὴν ἔξομοίωσιν, εὔροις ἀν παρὰ τῷ Μωσεῖ ἀκολουθίαν ὄνομαζομένην θείαν. φησὶ γάρ 'οπίσω 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 is 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 mentioned in Moses. For he says, "You shall walk behind the lord your god and keep his commandments." I believe that all the virtuous are followers and servants of god.

13.13.15 | Ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ μὲν Στωϊκοὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν είρήκασιν, ὁ Πλάτων' δὲ ὄμοιώσιν θεῷ, ὡς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ παρεστήσαμεν Στρωματεῖ, Ζήνων τε ὁ Στωϊκὸς παρὰ Πλάτωνος λαβών, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πάντας ἀλλήλων εἶναι φίλους λέγει. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Φαιδρῷ Σωκράτης ὡς οὐχ εἵμαρται κακὸν κακῷ φίλον εἶναι, οὐδ'

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, influenced by 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

άγαθὸν ἀγαθῷ μὴ φίλον.

13.13.16 | ὅπερ κάν τῷ Λύσιδι ἀπέδειξεν ἱκανῶς, ὡς ἐν ἀδικίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθείη φιλία. καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος δόμοιώς φησὶ “Πρᾶξιν Πρᾶξιν εἶναι φίλην καὶ ἀκόλουθον θεῷ καὶ λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀρχαῖον, ὅταν τὸ μὲν δόμοιον τῷ ὄμοιῷ μετρίῳ ὄντι φίλον ἦ, τὰ δὲ ἄμετρα οὔτε τοῖς ἀμέτροις, οὔτε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῖν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἀν εἴη.”

13.13.17 | Εἶτα ὑποβὰς ἐπάγει Πλάτων “Πᾶς γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθῷ δόμοιος, κατὰ δὲ καὶ θεῷ ἐοικὼς ἀγαθῷ τε παντὶ φίλος ὑπάρχει καὶ θεῷ.” Ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κάκείνου ἀνεμνήσθην· ἐπὶ τέλει γὰρ τοῦ Τιμαίου λέγει Τῷ κατανοουμένῳ τὸ κατανοοῦν ἔξομοιῶσαι δεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν, δόμοιῶσαντα δὲ τέλος ἔχειν τοῦ προτεθέντος ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀρίστου βίου πρός τε τὸν παρόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.”

13.13.18 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει “Ἄδελφοὺς δ' εἶναι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἀν τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ ὄντας καὶ ἐνὸς διδασκάλου, φαίνεται που καὶ Πλάτων καλῶς ὥδε πως “Ἐστὲ μὲν γὰρ πάντες οἱ 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, ἄργυρον· σίδηρον δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς.”

13.13.19 | “Οθεν ἀνάγκη φησὶ γεγονέναι,

to not be a friend to another good person.

13.13.16 | This was also shown well in the 'Lysis,' that friendship cannot survive in injustice and wickedness. 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 each other, nor to the moderate; and god would be the measure of all things for us."

13.13.17 | Then Plato adds, "For every good person is similar to another 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. Once this similarity is achieved, it should lead to the best life for humans, as set by the gods, both for the present time and for the future.

13.13.18 | And shortly after, he adds, "We are brothers, as we are of one god and one teacher." Plato seems to express 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 | Therefore, he says it is necessary

άσπάζεσθαί τε καὶ φιλεῖν τούτους μὲν ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς γνῶσις, ἔκείνους δὲ ἐφ' οἷς 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, Ἐλλήνων δὲ τὴν τρίτην, Χριστιανῶν δὲ, οἷς ὁ χρυσὸς ὁ βασιλικὸς ἐγκαταμέμικται, τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα.

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 and three types of government, as some have thought. He describes the Jews as having silver, the Greeks as having bronze, 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 ὄρθων οὕτε ἀκούουσι. σπουδαὶ δὲ ἔταιρειῶν καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι, οὐδὲ ὅναρ πράττειν προσίστα ταῖ αὐτοῖς. εὗ δὲ ἢ κακῶς τι γέγονεν ἐν πόλει, ἢ τί τω κακόν ἔστι γεγονός ἐκ προγόνων, μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς λέληθεν ἢ οἵ τῆς θαλάσσης λεγόμενοι χόες. καὶ ταῦτα οὕθ' ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν οἴδεν, ἄλλα τῷ ὄντι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει κεῖται αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ πέταται, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, τὰ γᾶς ὑπένερθεν, οὐρανοῦ ρανοῦ τε ὑπερ ἀστρονομῶν καὶ πᾶσαν πάντη φύσιν ἔρευνώμενος."

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 during 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 know, but because their body is only present in the city, while they themselves fly away, as Pindar says, beneath the earth and above the heavens, studying the stars and exploring all of nature."

13.13.21 | "Πάλιν αὖτις τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἥττῷ τῷ ἔστω τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐκέτινα ἀπεικαστέον ἄλλά μοι ψεῦδός τε συγχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀφανίσαι οὐδαμῶς θέμις. τῷ τε περὶ τοῦ ὄμοσαι ἀπαγορεύσει συνάδει ἥδε ἡ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῳ

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

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.

and an oath concerning everything.' The teachings of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato emphasize listening to the voice of God, seeing the creation of all things as carefully made by God and always 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 | 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 αὐτοὺς λέγων ‘ώς πηλόν.

13.13.22 | Standing on the idea that man was created from the earth, philosophers call the body earthly. However, 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 | Καλλίμαχος δὲ διαρρήδην γράφει ἦν κεῖνος οὐνιαυτὸς, ὡς ποτὲ πτηνὸνκαὶ τούνθαλάσση καὶ τὸ τετράπουν οὔτωςέφθέγγεθ', ὡς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμηθέως πάλιν τε ὁ αὐτὸς ‘εἴ σε ἔφη ‘Προμηθεὺς ἔπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ ἔξετέρου γέγονας.’ Ἡσίοδός τε ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδώρας λέγει ‘Ηφαιστον δὲ κέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅττι τάχισταγαίαν ὕδει φύρειν, ἐν δ’ ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴνκαὶ νόον.

13.13.23 | Callimachus clearly writes that if that one, who once spoke to the bird, 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 speaks about Pandora, saying, "Hephaestus ordered that the famous earth be mixed quickly, and in it to place the voice and mind of a man."

13.13.24 | πῦρ μὲν οὖν τεχνικὸν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, τὴν φύσιν ὄριζονται οἱ Στωϊκοί· πῦρ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῆς γραφῆς. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ‘Ομηρος παραφράζων χωρισμὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν ἐμφανῆ τῆς ἔηρᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς Τηθύος καὶ τοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ λέγει ἥδη γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονταιεύνης καὶ

13.13.24 | Fire, then, is a craft, 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 dry land from Tethys and Ocean, say, "For they have long been apart from each other in love and

φιλότητος;

friendship?"

13.13.25 | πάλιν τὸ δυνατὸν ἐν πάσι  
προσάπτουσι καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι  
λογιώτατοι τῷ θεῷ· ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος,  
Πυθαγόρειος δὲ ἦν, λέγων οὐδὲν ἔκφεύγει  
τὸ θεῖον, τοῦτο γινώσκειν σε δεῖ· αὐτός ἐστ'  
ἀμῶν ἐπόπτης, ἀδυνατεῖ δ' οὐδὲν θεός. ὁ  
μελοποιὸς δὲ θεῷ δυνατὸν ἐκ  
μελαίνας νυκτὸς ἀμίαντον ὅρσαι  
φάος, κελαινεφεῖ δὲ σκότει  
καλύψαι καθαρὸν ἀμέρας σέλας. ὁ μόνος  
ἡμέρας ἐνεστώσης νύκτα ποιῆσαι  
δυνάμενος, φησὶ, θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν.

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 poet 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 can turn day into night.

13.13.26 | ἐν τε τοῖς Φαινομένοις  
ἐπιγραφομένοις ὁ Ἀρατος Ἐκ Διὸς  
ἀρχώμεσθα είπὼν τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες  
ἔωμεν ἄρρητον μεσταὶ δὲ Δῖος πᾶσαι μὲν  
ἀγνιαὶ, πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστὴ  
δὲ θάλασσα, καὶ λιμένες, πάντη δὲ Δῖος  
κεχρήμεθα πάντες, ἐπιφέρει τοῦ γὰρ καὶ  
γένος ἐσμὲν, οἶνον δημιουργίᾳ, ... ο δηπιος  
ανθρωποισιδεξιὰ σημαίνει αὐτὸς γὰρ τέ γε  
σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν, ἄστρα  
διακρίνας· ἐσκέψατο δεῖς  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἀστέρας, οἱ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα  
σημαίνοιεν ἀνδράσιν ὥραων, ὅφρ' ἔμπεδα  
πάντα φύηται· καὶ μιν ἀεὶ πρῶτον τε καὶ  
ὕστατον ἡλάσκονται χαῖρε, πάτερ, μέγα  
θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειρο. καὶ πρὸ  
τούτου δὲ Ὁμηρος ἐπὶ τῆς  
Ἡφαιστοτεύκτου ἀσπίδος κοσμοποιῶν  
κατὰ Μωσέα, ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ'  
οὐρανὸν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν, φησὶν ἐν δὲ τὰ  
τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.  
ὁ γὰρ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν  
καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων ἀδόμενος  
Ζεὺς τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρει.

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 strong. And they always honor him first and last. Hail, father, 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 of God.

13.13.27 | "Ηδη δὲ, ως είπεῖν, ὑπ' αὐγὰς ὁ Δημόκριτος εἶναι τινας ὀλίγους γράφει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὴ ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, οὓς νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἑλλήνες, πάντα Ζεὺς μυθεῖται, καὶ πάντα οὗτος οἵδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων. μυστικώτερον δὲ ὁ μὲν Βοιώτιος Πίνδαρος, ἄτε Πυθαγόρειος ὅν, 'ἐν ἀνδρῶν, 'ἐν θεῶν γένος, ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ ματρὸς πνέομεν ἄμφω, τῆς Ὕλης παραδίδωσι, καὶ ἔνα τὸν τούτων δημιουργὸν, τὸν ἀριστοτέχναν πατέρα λέγει, τὸν καὶ τὰς προκοπὰς κατ' ἀξίαν εἰς θειότητα παρεσχημένον.

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 he 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 hands 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 | σιωπῶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα, ἃ ἀντικρυς οὗτος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐραστὸν καὶ Κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ φαίνεται πατέρα καὶ οὐδὲν οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως ἐκ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν γραφῶν ἐμφαίνων, παρακελευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν, ἐπομνύντας σπουδῆτε ἅμα μὴ ἀμούσῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῇ παιδείᾳ τὸν πάντων θεὸν αἴτιον, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἴτιον πατέρα κύριον ἐπομηύντας, ὃν ἐὰν ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφῆτε, εἴσεσθε. ἢ τε ἐν Τιμαίῳ δημηγορίᾳ πατέρα λέγει τὸν δημιουργὸν, λέγουσα ὥδεπως 'Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν ἐγὼ πατῆρ δημιουργὸς τε ἔργων.'

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 come to know. The speech in the Timaeus calls the creator the father, saying, "Gods of gods, of whom I am the father and creator of works."

13.13.29 | ὥστε καὶ ἐπὰν εἴπῃ 'περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντα ἔστι, κάκείνου ἔνεκα τὰ πάντα, κα'κεīνο αἴτιον τῶν καλ[ν], δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα, οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἔξακούω ἢ τὴν ἀγίαν τριάδα μηνύεσθαι. τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν οὐλὸν δὲ δεύτερον, δι' οὓς 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 ἐστὶ Ζωρόαστρις αὐτὸς γούν ὁ Ζωρόαστρις γράφει ‘τάδε δυεέγραψε Ζωρόαστρις ὁ Ἀρμενίου, 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 ὁδὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γένεσίν φησι τὴν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι κάθισδον. ταῦτα ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος ἄθλα λέγεσθαι ιβ', μεθ', ἡ 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 recalls the story of Er, the Armenian, who is from 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 something else, as the path for souls to ascend happens through the twelve zodiac signs, and he also says that the descent into existence is the same. These ideas should be considered, and the labors of Heracles are said to be twelve, after which the soul is freed from 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 ἐστὶ τῆς δόξης, τὸν μὲν τινα κόσμον ἀίδιον εἶναι δοκιμάσας, τὸν δὲ τινα φθειρόμενον, τὸν κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν, εἰδὼς οὐχ ἔτερον ὅντα ἐκείνου 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 ἐστι, καὶ ἔσται, πῦρ ἀείζωον, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.’ ὅτι δὲ καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐδογμάτιζε 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

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 nature. He makes it clear that the eternal world, made from all existence, is not created by any gods or humans, but 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

λόγου καὶ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα δι' ἀέρος τρέπεται εἰς ὑγρὸν, τὸ ὡς σπέρμα τῆς διακοσμήσεως, ὃ καλεῖ θάλασσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου αὐθίς γίνεται νεταὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα. ὅπως δὲ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ ἐκπυροῦται σαφῶς διὰ τούτων δηλοῦ θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρέεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ὅκοιος πρόσθεν ἦν ἡ γενέσθαι. ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων τὰ αὐτά.”

13.13.32 | “Παραπλήσια τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἔλλογιμώτατοι τῶν Στωϊκῶν δογματίζουσι περὶ τε ἐκπυρώσεως ἔως διαλαμβάνοντες καὶ κόσμου διοικήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἴδιας ποιοῦ κόσμου τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ἐπιδιαμονῆς. πάλιν τε αὖ δὲ Πλάτων’ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῆς Πολιτείας τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἡμέραν νυκτεριέν νην ἡμέραν κέκληκεν διὰ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας, οἵμαι, τοῦ σκότους τούτου· ὅπνον 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 ‘ἔγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα· ἔξηγέρθην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντιλήψεται μου’ οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν μόνον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξ ὅπνου ἔγερσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰς σάρκα κάθισδον τοῦ κυρίου ὅπνον ἀλληγορεῖ.

13.13.33 | αὐτίκα δὲ αὐτὸς σωτὴρ παρεγγυᾷ, γρηγορεῖτε· οἶον, μελετᾶτε ζῆν καὶ χωρίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος πειρᾶσθε. τὴν τε κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας δὲ Πλάτων’ διὰ τούτων καταμαντεύεται “Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι ἐκάστοις ἐπτὰ ἡμέραι γένοιντο, ἀναστάντας ἐντεῦθεν δεῖ τῇ ὄγδοῃ πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀφικεῖσθαι τεταρταίους.” “Λειμῶνα μὲν οὖν ἀκουστέον τὴν ἀπλανῆ

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 spirit of the Savior 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.

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 explains 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, should be understood as the unchanging sphere, a peaceful place,

σφαῖραν, ὡς ἥμερον χωρίον καὶ προσηγένες καὶ τῶν δσίων 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.”

friendly, and a land of the holy; each of the seven days represents 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 | “Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ιερὰν οὐ μόνον οἱ Ἐβραῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες Ἰσασι, καθ' ἣν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ φυομένων ἀπάντων. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὖν οὕτω περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἐβδόμη ιερὸν ἥμαρ. καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομάτη δ' αὐθις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο. “Ομηρος δὲ ἐβδομάτη δῆπειτα κατήλυθεν ιερὸν ἥμαρ. καὶ ‘ἐβδόμη ἣν ιερή.’ καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομον ἥμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐθις ἐβδομάτη δ' ἡοῖ λίπομεν ρόον ἐξ Αχέροντος. ναὶ μὴν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ ποιητὴς γράφει ἐβδομάτη δ' ἡοῖ, καὶ οἱ ἐτέτυκτο ἅπαντα. καὶ πάλιν ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐβδόμη ἔστι γενέθλη. καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι καὶ ἐβδόμη ἔστι τελεία. καὶ ἐπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκτο ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι, ἐν κύκλοισι φανέντ’ ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς.”

13.13.34 | But both the Hebrews and the Greeks recognize 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 “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 ἐκθειάζουσι.” “Τὰ δὲ οὐχὶ παραπλήσια τῇ λεγούσῃ γραφῇ ‘ἄρωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ὁ Πλάτων’ μονονούχι προφητεύων τὴν σωτήριον οίκονομίαν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Πολιτείας οὕτω φησὶν “Οὕτω δὲ διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, ἐκκοπήσεται τῷ

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 speaks about in the second book of the Republic? He says, ‘Thus the just one, in this state, will be whipped, his eyes will be cut out, and in the end, suffering all evils, he will be revealed.’” “And the Socratic

όφθαλμώ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παῶν  
άνασκινδυλευθήσεται.” “Ο τε Σωκρατικὸς  
Ἀντισθένης παραφράζων τὴν προφητικὴν  
έκείνην γραφὴν ‘τίνι με ὡμοιώσατε; λέγει  
κύριος’ οὐδενὶ ἐοικέναι φησὶ, διόπερ αὐτὸν  
οὐδεὶς ἔκμαθεῖν ἔξι εἰκόνος δύναται. τὰ δὲ  
ὅμοια καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος κατὰ λέξιν  
λέγει ὃ γοῦν πάντα σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων,  
ὡς μὲν μέγας τις καὶ δυνατὸς φανερὸς,  
ὅποιος δ' ἐστὶ μορφὴν ἀφανῆς. οὐδὲ μὴν ὃ  
παμφαῆς δοκῶν εἶναι ἥλιος, οὐδὲ οὗτος  
ἔοικεν ὅρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἦν τις  
ἀναιδῶς αὐτὸν θεάσηται, τὴν ὅψιν  
ἀφαιρεῖται.” τίς γάρ σάρξ δύναται τὸν  
ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀληθῆόφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδειν  
θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς πόλον οίκει; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
ἀκτίνων κατ' ἑναντίον ἡελίοιο ἀνθρωποι  
στῆναι δυνατοί, θνητοὶ γεγαῶτες, προεῖπεν  
ἡ Σίβυλλα.

13.13.36 | εὗ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ  
Κολοφώνιος διδάσκων ὅτι εἴς καὶ  
ἀσώματος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει εἰς θεὸς ἐν τε  
θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, οὕτω  
δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίος, οὐδὲ νόημα. καὶ  
πάλιν — — ἀλλ' οἱ βροτοὶ δοκοῦσι  
γεννᾶσθαι θεοὺς. τὴν σφετέρην δ' ἐσθῆτα  
ἔχειν φωνὴν τε δέμας τε. καὶ πάλιν — —  
ἀλλ' εἴ χειρας ἔχον βόες, ἡὲ λέοντες, ἢ  
γράψαι χείρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ  
ἄνδρες, ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε  
βουσὶν ὅμοιοι, καί κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον,  
καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν τοιαῦθ', οἵον περ  
καύτοι δέμας εἴχον ὅμοιον.

13.13.37 | ἀκούσωμεν οὖν πάλιν  
Βακχυλίδου μὲν τοῦ μελοποιοῦ περὶ τοῦ  
θείου λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἀδμῆτες ἀεικελίων  
νούσων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναίτιοι, οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις

Antisthenes, paraphrasing that prophetic writing, ‘To whom have you likened me? says the Lord,’ states that it is like no one, for no one can learn about him from an image. 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 on 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, voice, and form.’ And again, ‘But if they had hands like cows or lions, or if they could write with their hands and do the works that men do, horses would create horses like themselves, and cows would create cows like themselves, and they would depict the forms of gods and create bodies like those they themselves have.’”

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

εῖκελοι. Κλεάνθους τε τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ ἐν τινὶ ποιήματι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα γεγραφότος ἄκουε τάγαθὸν ἔρωτᾶς μ' οἶόν ἐστ'; ἄκουε δῆτεταγμένον, δίκαιον, δῖσιν, εύσεβες, κρατοῦν ἐαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον, αὐτητηρὸν, αὐθέκαστον, ἀειζύμφορον, ἄφοβον, ἀλυπον, λυσιτελὲς, ἀνώδυνον, ὥφελιμον, εύάρεστον, ἀσφαλὲς, φίλον, ἔντιμον, ὅμοιογούμενον, εύκλεες, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελὲς, πρᾶον, σφοδρὸν, χρονιζόμενον, αμεμπτον, ἀεὶ διαμένον.

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 πολλῶν διαβάλλων είδωλολατρίαν ἐπιφέρει ἀνελεύθερος πᾶς ὅστις εἰς δόξαν βλέπει, ὡς δὴ παρ ἐκείνης τευχόμενός τινος καλοῦ. οὕκουν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν περὶ τοῦ θείου ὑποληπτέον· — — οὐδὲ γάρ λάθρα δοκῶ, φωτὸς κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμιμούμενον, σοὶ τίνδ' ἐς εύνην, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον, μολεῖν, Ἀμφίων λέγει τῇ Άντιόπῃ. ὁ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ εὐθυρρημόνως γράφει τὴν τοῦδε γάρ τοι Ζεὺς ἔγημε μητέρα, οὐ χρυσόμορφος, οὐδ' ἐπημφιεσμένος πτίλον κύκνειον, ὡς κόρην Πλευρωνίαν ὑπημβρύωσεν, ἀλλ' ὀλοσχερής ἀνήρ. εἴτα ὑπελθὼν καὶ δὴ ἐπήγαγε ταχὺς δὲ βαθμοῖς νυμφικοῖς ἐπεστάθηδό μοιχός. ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι φανερώτερον τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ μυθοποιουμένου Διὸς ὥδε πως ἐκδιηγεῖται ὁ δ' οὔτε δαιτὸς οὔτε χέρνιβος θιγώνπρὸς λέκτρον ἦει καρδίαν ὡδαγμένος, ὅλην δ' ἐκείνην εὐφρόνην ἔθόρυντο.

13.13.38 | "But he, in silence, reveals 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, 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 ἦ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ

13.13.39 | "Let these things be presented 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

πρῶτον. ὁ μελοποιὸς δὲ Μελανιππίδης  
ἄδων φησὶ κλῦθι μοι, ὡ πάτερ, θαῦμα  
βροτῶν, τάς ἀειζώου ψυχὰς μεδέων.  
Παρμενίδης τε ὁ μέγας, ὃς φησιν ἐν  
Σοφιστῇ Πλάτων, ὥδέ πως περὶ τοῦ θείου  
γράφει πολλὰ μάλ’ ὡς ἀγένητον ἔὸν καὶ  
ἀνώλεθρόν ἔστι οὐλόν, μουνογενὲς δὲ καὶ  
ἀτρεμὲς ἡδ’ ἀγένητον. ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἡσίοδος  
αὐτὸς γάρ πάντων φησὶ) βασιλεὺς καὶ  
κοίρανός ἔστιν ἀθανάτων, σέο δ’ οὐ τις  
έρήρισται κράτος ἄλλος.

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 truly ungenerated and indestructible, whole, unique, 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, ὃς φησιν Ἐκαταῖος ὁ τὰς ἴστορίας ρίας συνταξάμενος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀβραμον καὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους, ἄντικρυς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐκβοᾶ εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἰς ἔστιν θεὸς, δος οὐρανὸν τ’ ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὴν, πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα κάνέμων βίας. Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίαν πλανῶμενοι ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχὴν θεῶν ἀγάλματ’ ἐκ λίθων, ἡ χαλκέων, ἡ χρυσοτεύκτων, ἡ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους. Θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ καλὰς πανηγύρεις τέφοντες, οὕτως εύσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

13.13.40 | “Yes, indeed, tragedy teaches us to look up to heaven, separating ourselves from the idols. For Sophocles, as Hecataeus, who wrote the histories about Abraham and the Egyptians, 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, bronze, gold, or ivory. And by offering sacrifices and holding beautiful festivals for these, we think we are being pious.”

13.13.41 | Εὔριπίδης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σκηνῆς τραγῳδῶν ὀρᾶς φησὶ) τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ’ ἀπειρον αἴθέρα καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ’ ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις; τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ’ ἡγοῦ θεόν. ἐν τῷ Πειρίθῳ δράματι ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τάδε τρα γωδεῖ σὲ τὸν αὐτοψῆ, τὸν ἐν αἴθερίῳ ὅμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ’ ὅν πέρι μὲν φῶς, περὶ δ’ ὁρφναίαν ἄιολόχρως, ἄκριτός τ’ ἀστρωνόχλος ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει.

13.13.41 | “Euripides, on the same stage of tragedies, says, ‘Do you see this infinite ether above and the earth surrounding it in a 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 roar of the ether entangle all nature, around whom light shines, and around whom the dark night, colored by the winds, dances with

ένταῦθα 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 Εὔφορίωνος Αἰσχύλος ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνῶς σφόδρα φησὶ Ζεὺς ἔστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανὸς, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα, χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

countless stars.' Here, he speaks of the self-born creator, and then he arranges the rest concerning the cosmos, where 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 Ἡρακλείτῳ γράφοντι "ἐν τῷ σοφὸν μοῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἔθέλει, καὶ ἔθέλει Ζηνὸς οὐνομα." καὶ πάλιν "νόμος καὶ βουλῇ πείθεσθαι ἐνός." κἄν τὸ ῥῆτὸν 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' ἄντικρυς μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἀκοῦσαι ποθεῖς; Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρός ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ συγγράμματι κατὰ λέξιν ὥδε μοι μαρτυρήσει "μία ἀρχὰ πάντων ἔστιν ἀγένητος· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα ἔξ ἄς ἀ ἀρχὰ ἐγένετο." ἔρρυη γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ἡ δόξα ἡ ἀληθινὴ "ἄκουε (φησὶν) Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς ἔστι, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις." οὕτος ἴδού πάντεσσι σαφῆς ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει, ὡς φησιν ἡ Σίβυλλα.

13.13.42 | "I know, and Plato also confirms Heraclitus, who writes, 'The wise one does not wish to be called one, and he desires the name of Zeus.' And again, 'Let one obey the law and the will.' 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 wish 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 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 ὑπάτον Δία, τὸν δὲ νέατον καλῶν, ἔμφασιν πατρὸς ἀπολείπει καὶ υἱοῦ. καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, γινώσκειν φαίνεται τὸ θεῖον ὁ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς εἰσάγων τοὺς θεούς· ὃν οὐδ' οὐτως αἰδεῖται Ἐπίκουρος, φησὶ γοῦν τίπτε με, Πηλέος υἱὲ, ποσὶν

13.13.43 | "Xenocrates the Carthaginian says that the highest god is Zeus, and the youngest leaves behind both father and son. The most paradoxical thing is that he seems to understand the divine by introducing the gods with human feelings, which even Epicurus does not shy away

ταχέεσσι διώκεις, αύτὸς θνητὸς ἔων, θεὸν  
άμβροτον; οὐδέ νυ πώ μεξῆγνως ὡς θεός  
εἴμι. ούχ ἀλωτὸν γὰρ εἶναι θνητῷ οὐδὲ  
καταληπτὸν τὸ θεῖον οὕτε ποσὶν οὕτε  
χερσὶν οὕτε ὄφθαλμοῖς οὐδ' ὅλως τῷ  
σώματι δεδήλωκε. “τίνι ὠμοιώσατε κύριον;  
ἢ τίνι ὁμοιώματι ὠμοιώσατε αὐτόν;” φησὶν  
ἡ γραφή. “μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησε τέκτων, ἢ  
χρυσοχόος, χωνεύσας χρυσίον,  
περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν;” καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

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  
κυβερνᾷ, κατὰ τρόπον σώζει. εἴτα εἰ ἔστιν  
ἀνθρώπων λογισμὸς, ἔστι καὶ θεῖος λόγος. ὁ  
λόγος ἀνθρώπῳ πέφυκε περὶ βίου  
καταστροφάς. ὁ δέ γε τὰς τέχνας ἄπασι  
συνέπεται θεῖος λόγος, ἐκδιδάσκων αὐτὸς  
αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς, ὁ τι ποιεῖν δεῖ συμφέρον. οὐ  
γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τέχναν εὔρ', ὁ δὲ θεὸς  
ταύταν φέρει. ὁ δέ γε τάνθρωπου λόγος]  
πέφυκεν ἀπό γε τοῦ θείου λόγου.

13.13.44 | The comic poet Epicarmus clearly speaks 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 certain way.” If there is human reasoning, then there is also a divine reason. Reason is naturally concerned with the destruction of life. Indeed, divine reason is present in all the arts, teaching them what they should do for their benefit. For a human does not discover an art; rather, the god brings it forth. And indeed, human reason has come from divine reason.

13.13.45 | ναὶ μὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου  
πνεύματος κεκραγότος τί μοι πλῆθος τόν  
θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος, πλήρης εἴμι  
ὅλοκαυτωμάτων, καὶ στέαρ ἀρνῶν καὶ  
αἷμα ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι.” καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα  
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, ὁ Πάμφιλε, ταύρων

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 shortly after, he adds, “Wash yourselves, be clean, remove the evil from your souls.” About these things, Menander the comic poet writes: “If someone brings a sacrifice, O Pamphilus, a multitude of bulls

τι πλῆθος, ἢ ἔριφων, ἢ νὴ Δίαετέρων τοιούτων, ἢ κατασκευάσματα, χρυσᾶς ποιήσας χλαμύδας, ἢ τοι πορφυρᾶς, ἢ δι' ἐλέφαντος ἢ σμαράγδου ζώδια, εὔνουν νομίζει τὸν θεὸν καθεστάναι, πεπλάνητ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρένας κούφας ἔχει. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσιμον πεφυκέναι, 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 ἔγγίζων 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” ὡδέ πως γράφει μηδὲ βελόνης, ὡφίλτατ', ἐπιθυμήσῃς ἀλλοτρίας ποτέ. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς δικαίοις ἔργοις ἥδεται 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 ἔὰν ἀκούσῃς, μὴ φύγῃς, μηδὲν συνειδῶς αὐτὸς αὐτῶ, δέσποτα. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον παρών.

13.13.47 | “ἔτι σοῦ λαλοῦντος” φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ “ἐρῶ, ἵδιον πάρειμι.” Δίφιλος πάλιν ὁ κωμικὸς τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως διαλέγεται οἵει σὺ τοὺς θανόντας, ὡς Νικήρατε, τρυφῆς ἀπάσης μεταλαβόντας ἐν βίωπεφευγέναι τὸ θεῖον ὡς λεληθότας; ἔστιν δίκης ὁ φθαλμὸς, δος τὰ πάνθ' ὄρᾳ· καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ἀιδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν, μίαν δικαίων, ἐτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν εἴν' ὅρον. καὶ εἰ τοὺς δύο καλύψει ἡ γῆ φασὶ

or goats, or by Zeus, other such things, or preparations, making cloaks of gold or 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: “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, unaware of yourself, master. For the god sees you standing nearby.”

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.

τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ, ἀπελθών κλέπτ',  
ἀποστέρει, κύκα μηδὲν πλανηθῆς. ἔστι κάν  
Ἄιδου ἤνπερ ποιήσει θεὸς ὁ πάντων  
δεσπότης, οὗ τοῦ νομα φοβερὸν, οὐδ' ἂν  
ὄνομάσαιμ' ἑγώ. δις τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πρὸς  
μῆκος βίον δίδωσιν. εἴ τις δὲ θνητῶν οἰεται  
τούφημέραν κακόν τι πράσσων τοὺς θεοὺς  
λεληθέναι, δοκεῖ πονηρὰ καὶ δοκῶν  
ἀλίσκεται, δταν σχολὴν ἄγουσα τυγχάνῃ  
δίκη. δρᾶθ' ὅσοι δοκεῖτε οὐκ εἶναι  
θεόν. ἔστιν γάρ, ἔστιν. εἰ δέ τις πράττει  
κακῶς, κακός πεφυκὼς, τὸν χρόνον  
κερδαινέτω, χρόνῳ γάρ οὕτος ὕστερον  
δώσει δίκην.

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 dark day, while doing something bad, the gods are unnoticed, he is mistaken and gets caught in his own thoughts when justice takes 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 bring him justice."

13.13.48 | συνάδει δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ  
τραγῳδία διὰ τῶνδε ἔσται γάρ, ἔσται  
κεῖνος αἰώνος χρόνος, δταν πυρὸς γέμοντα  
θησαυρὸν σχάσηχρυσωπὸς αἴθήρ. ἡ δὲ  
βοσκηθεῖσα φλὸξάπαντα τάπιγεια καὶ  
μετάρσια φλέξει μανεῖσα καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα  
αῦθις ἐπιφέρει — — ἐπὰν ἐπὰν δὲ ἐκλίπῃ  
τὸ πᾶν, φροῦρος μὲν ἔσται κυμάτων ἄπας  
βυθὸς, γῇ δὲ ἐράνων ἔρημος, οὐδὲ ἄρ  
ἔτιπτερωτὰ φῦλα βλαστήσει  
πυρουμένη, κάπειτα σώσει πάνθ' ἀ πρόσθ'  
ἀπώλεσε.

13.13.48 | "And tragedy agrees with these things, for there will come a time in that age when the golden sky will break open, filled with the treasure of fire. The flame that has been fed will burn all the land and the sea, raging wildly. After a little while, it will spread again—when everything disappears, the entire depth of the waves will be empty, and the land will be a deserted wasteland. No winged creatures will sprout from the burned earth, and then it will restore everything that was lost before."

13.13.49 | τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κάν τοῖς  
Ὥρφικοῖς εὐρήσομεν ὡδέ πως γεγραμμένα  
πάντας γάρ κρύψας αῦθις φάος ἔς  
πολυγηθὲςέξει ἱερᾶς κραδίας ἀνενέγκατο,  
μέρμερα ρέζων. ἦν δὲ ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως  
διαβιώσωμεν, μακάριοι μὲν ἐνταῦθα,  
μακαριώτεροι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε  
ἀπαλλαγὴν, οὐ χρόνῳ τινὶ εύδαιμονίαν  
ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰώνι ἀναπαύσεσθαι  
δυνάμενοι, ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὄμέστιοι,

13.13.49 | "We will find similar things written in the Orphic texts, for having hidden everything, he brought forth light again from the sacred heart, performing wonders. If we live piously and justly, we will be blessed here and even more blessed after our release from this life. We will not have happiness for just a little while, but we will be able to rest in eternity, being companions of the immortal ones, self-

αύτοτράπεξοιέόντες, ἀνδρείων ἄχαιῶν  
(685) ἀπόκληροι ἀτειρεῖς, ἡ φιλόσοφος  
Ἐμπεδοκλέους λέγει ποιητική. οὐχ οὔτω τις  
μέγας ἔσται καὶ καθ' "Ελληνας ὡς  
ύπερέχειν τὴν δίκην, ούδε σμικρὸς ὡς  
λαθεῖν.

13.13.50 | ὁ δ' αύτὸς Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ταῦτα  
λέγει εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ  
προσέδρευε, ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος  
εὗ δ ἐπίβαινε ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα  
κόσμοιο ἀνακτα, ἀθάνατον. αὖθις τε περὶ  
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀόρατον αὐτὸν λέγων, μόνω  
γνωσθῆναι ἐνὶ τινὶ φησι τὸ γένος Χαλδαίω,  
εἴτε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ λέγων τοῦτον, εἴτε καὶ τὸν  
υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτων, εἰ μὴ  
μουνογενῆς τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου  
ἀνωθεν Χαλδαίων ἵδρις γάρ ἦν ἀστροιο  
πορείης, καὶ σφαίρης κίνη' ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς  
περιτέλλει, κυκλοτερές γ' ἐν ἴσω, κατὰ δὲ  
σφρέτεγρον κνώδακα· πνεύματι δ' ἡνιοχεῖ  
περὶ τ' ἡέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.

13.13.51 | εἶτα, οἶον παραφράξων τὸ "ὸ  
οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον  
τῶν ποδῶν μου" ἐπιφέρει αύτὸς δ' αὖ  
μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' πύρανὸν ἐστήρικται, χρυσέω  
ἐνὶ θρόωω· γαίῃ δ' ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκε, χεῦρα  
δὲ δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν  
Ὦκεανοῖο ἔκτέτακεν· ὁρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις  
ἔνδοθι θυμῷ, ούδε φέρειν δύναται  
κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντη ηὔτὸς  
ἐπουράνιος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα  
τελευτᾶ, ἀρχὴν αύτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσον ἡδὲ  
τελευτὴν. ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν·  
τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα ἐν νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου  
κραίνει, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις. διὰ γάρ τούτων  
δεδήλωκε πάντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ προφητικὰ "ὅς  
ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃ τὸν οὐρανὸν, τρόμος λήψεται·  
καὶ ἀπὸ σοῦ ὅρη τακήσεται, ὡς ἀπὸ

sufficient and free from the brave  
Achaeans, as the philosopher Empedocles  
says in his poetry. No one among the  
Greeks will be so great 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 stepped well on the  
path, but he only saw the immortal lord of  
the world. Again, speaking about the god,  
he says that he is invisible and claims that  
only one person from the Chaldeans knows  
him, whether he is speaking of Abraham or  
his son. Through these, if not some unique  
one from the Chaldeans, for he was wise in  
the journey of the stars. Just as the sphere  
moves around the earth, it is circular and  
equal, and beneath it is a base. 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  
earth is the footstool of my feet,' he himself  
is again firmly set high on the heavenly  
throne; the earth is placed beneath his feet.  
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 right to speak of you; I  
tremble at your limbs in thought. He rules  
from the highest, and over all that is  
beneath him. For through these, he has  
made clear all those prophetic words:

προσώπου πυρὸς τήκεται κηρός.” καὶ τὰ διὰ Ἡσαίου ‘τίς ἐμέτρησε τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ καὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί;’

‘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 αἱθέρος ἡδ' Άΐδου, πόντου, γαίης τε τύραννε, ὃς βρονταῖς σείεις βριαρὸν δόμον Ούλύμποιο, δαίμονες δὸν φρίσσουσι, θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος, ὡς Μοῖραι πείθονται, ἀμείλικτοί περ ἔοῦσαι· ἄφθιτε, μητροπάτωρ, οὐθυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται, ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλησι τε πάντα καλύπτεις, πρηστῆρσι σχίζων πλατὺν αἱθέρα. σὴ μὲν ἐν ἀστροιςτάξις ἀναλλάκτοισιν ἐφημοσύναισι τρέχουσα· σῶ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεστᾶσιν πολύμοχθοι ἄγγελοι, οἵσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται. σὸν μὲν ἔαρ λάμπει νέον ἀνθεσι πορφυρέοισι· σὸς χειμῶν, ψυχραῖσιν ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν, σάς ποτε βακχευτὰς Βρόμιος διένειμεν ὄπώρας.

13.13.52 | “Again, when the air, Hades, the sea, and the earth are in turmoil, he who shakes the strong house of Olympus with thunder makes the demons shudder, 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 moves among the stars with unchanging regularity. At your fiery throne stand the hardworking angels, who care for mortals as everything is completed. Your spring shines with new purple flowers; your winter, coming with cold clouds, is when we once shared the autumn with the Bacchic revelers.”

13.13.53 | εἴτα ἐπιφέρει, ὥητῶς παντοκράτορα ὄνομάζων τὸν θεὸν ἄφθιτον, ἀθάνατον, ὥητὸν μόνον ἀθανάτοισιν. ἐλθὲ, μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων, κρατερῇ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ, φρικτός, ἀήττητος, μέγας, ἄφθιτος, δὸν στέφει αἰθήρ. διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μητροπάτωρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἑκ μὴ δῆτων γένεσιν ἐμήνυσεν, ἐνδέδωκε δὲ ἀφορμὰς τοῖς τὰς προβολὰς εἰσάγουσι τάχα καὶ σύζυγον νοῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ· παραφράζει δὲ ἐκείνας τὰς προφητικὰς γραφὰς, τὴν τε διὰ Ὁσηὲ “ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντὴν, κτίζων πνεῦμα, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

13.13.53 | “Then he clearly names 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 provided opportunities for those who might 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

έθεμελίωσαν” καὶ τὴν διὰ Μώσεως “ἴδετε ἕδετε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἔτερος πλὴν ἐμοῦ. ἐγώ ἀποκτενῶ, καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω· πατάξω, κάγῳ ίάσομαι. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἔξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.” αὐτὸς δ’ ἔξ αγαθοῦ κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύεικαὶ πόλεμον κρυόντα, κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα.

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 δὲ ἔργον ἔκ ἀνθρώπους ὥρᾶξελωργά τε καὶ ἀθέμιστα. πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀσάτω ὁ Ὀρφεὺς Ὀρφεὺς χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος Ωκεανοῖο πάντοθεν ἑκτέτακεν· γαίη δὲ ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκε. ταῦτα ἐμφανῶς ἐκεῖθεν εἴληπται “κύριος σώσει κατοικουμένας, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην δλην καταλήψεται τῇ χειρὶ 5 ὡς νοσσιάν, κύριος δὲ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἴσχυί· 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 ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακὸν ἀνέρος ἐκλύσασθαι.

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; the earth has been placed beneath his feet. These things are clearly taken from there: ‘The Lord will save those who dwell in the land, and he will seize the whole inhabited world with his hand, like a nest; the Lord who made the earth with his strength,’ as Jeremiah says, ‘and he will restore the inhabited world with his wisdom.’ Furthermore, Phocylides calls the angels demons, some of whom are good, while others are wicked. For we have also encountered some rebels, but indeed, there are demons among men, sometimes good and sometimes bad, who come to bring harm to the wicked.”

13.13.55 | καλῶς οὖν καὶ Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν ἔκκοπτει διὰ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν οὐδεμία τύχη θεὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτοματον ὃ γίγνεταιώς ἔτυχον ἔκάστω, προσαγορεύεται τύχη. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς οὐδὲ θεοῖς λέγει) αὐθαίρετα πάντα πέλονται, νόσφι Διός· κεῖνος γάρ ἔχει τέλος ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν. δὲ τὸν Ὀρφεὺς ἵεν κράτος, εἷς δαίμονων γένετο, μέγας οὐρανὸς αἴθων, ἐν δὲ

13.13.55 | “Therefore, Philemon the comic poet rejects idolatry with these words: ‘There is no luck from the gods for us; there is none. What happens is simply 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

τὰ πάντα τέτυκται, ἐνῷ τάδε πάντα  
κυκλεῖται, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τούτοις.

13.13.56 | Πίνδαρος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς οὗτος  
ἐκβακχεύεται ἄντικρυς εἰπὼν τί θεός; ὅτι  
τὸ πάντα καὶ πάλιν θεός ὁ πάντα τεύχων  
βροτοῖς. ἐπάντι δὲ εἴπη τί ἔλπει σοφίαν  
όλιγον τοι ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν; τὰ θεῶν  
βουλεύματα ἐρευνᾶσαι βροτέᾳ φρενὶ<sup>2</sup>  
δύσκολον· θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ ματρός ἔφρ.,  
ἔκειθεν ἔσπακε τὴν διάνοιαν τίς ἔγνω νοῦν  
κυρίου; ἡ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;

13.13.57 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσίοδος δι' ὧν γράφει  
συνάδει τοῖς προειρημένοις, μάντις δ'  
οὐδείς ἐστιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπωνδστις  
ἄντι εἰδείη Ζῆνός νόον αἰγιόχοιο. 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  
καὶ πόνους διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τέξεσθαι  
τὴν γυναικα προφητεύσαντος ποιητής τις  
οὐκ ἄσημος γράφει Οὐδέ ποτ'  
ῆμαρπαύσονται καμάου καὶ οἰζύος, οὐδέ τι  
νύκτωρΣτεινόμενοι χαλεπάς δὲ θεοὶ<sup>3</sup>  
δώσουσι μερίμνας.

13.13.59 | ἔτι Ὅμηρος μὲν εἰπὼν αὐτὸς δὲ  
χρύσεια παήρο ἐπίταινε τάλαντα· δίκαιον  
τὸν θεὸν μηνύει. Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς  
ἀγαθὸν ἐρμηνεύων τὸν θεόν φησιν, ἀπαντι  
δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταταιεύθὺς

created, where all things are surrounded:  
fire, water, earth, and all that is upon  
them.”

13.13.56 | “Pindar the composer boldly  
asks: ‘What is a god? Whatever is  
everything, and again, a god who creates all  
things for mortals.’ But when he says: ‘Why  
do you hope that one man has more  
wisdom than another? It is hard to  
understand the plans of the gods with a  
mortal mind; for he was born of 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  
unknown, writes about Moses: ‘They will  
never stop their toil and suffering, nor will  
they find rest at night, being troubled. The  
gods will give them difficult 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

γενομένω μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου ἀγαθός· κακὸν γὰρ δαίμονος οὐ νομιστέονεῖναι, βίον βλάπτοντα χρηστόν. εἴται ἐπιφέρει ἀπαντα δ' ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν· ἡτοι πάντα θεὸν ἀγαθὸν λέγων, ἦ, ὥπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐν πᾶσι τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.

guides him in life; for a bad spirit should not be thought to harm a good life.' Then he adds: 'All that is good comes from the god.' Either he means that every god is good, or, more likely, that in all things the god is good."

13.13.60 | Πάλιν αὖ Λίσχύλος μὲν ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς τὴν Δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ παρατιθέμενος οὐκ ὄκνεῖ καὶ ὑψιστὸν Αὔτὸν προσαγορεύειν διὰ τούτων χώριζε θνητῶν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ μὴ δόκειδομοιον αὐτῷ σάκινον καθεστάναι. οὐκ οἰσθά γ' αὐτόν. ποτὲ μὲν ὡς πῦρ φαίνεται, ἀπλατος ὄρμῃ, 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 πελώριος βυθὸς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὄρέων ὑψος, [ἔπι] μέγα ἐπάν έπιβλέψῃ γοργὸν ὅμμα δεσπότου· πάντα δυνατὴ γὰρ δόξα ὑψιστού θεοῦ. ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐκεῖνο παραφράζειν τὸ "ἀπὸ παροιώπου κυρίου τρέμει ἡ γῆ;"

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. He becomes like wild beasts, like wind, like clouds, like lightning, like thunder, and like rain. The sea serves him, and the rocks, and every spring, and all bodies of water. The mountains tremble, and the earth, and the vast depths of the sea, and the heights 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 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μαντικώτατος Ἀπόλλων, μαρτυρῶν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγειν ἀναγκάζεται περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἥνικα ἔπι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευον οἱ Μῆδοι, ὡς ἐδεῖτο τε καὶ ἱκέτευε τὸν Δία περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. ἔχει δὲ ὡδεὶς ὁ χρησμὸς οὐ δύναται Πάλλας Δί' Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι, λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις, καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ. πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει, οἵ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ὢεεύμενοι ἐστήκασι, δείματι παλλόμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

13.13.61 | "On this matter, the most prophetic Apollo, witnessing to the glory of the god, is compelled 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 clever tricks. He will give many temples of the immortals to fierce fire, where they now stand, dripping with sweat and trembling with fear,' and the rest of it."

13.13.62 | Θεαρίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως γράφει “Αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴ μὲν ὄντως ἀληθινὰ μία. κείνα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τέ ἔστιν ἐν καὶ μόνον.” οὐδέ τις ἔσθ’ ἔτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος, Ὁρφεὺς λέγει· φτειθόμενος ὁ κωμικὸς Δίφιλος μικωτατα Τὸν ὄντα πάντων φησὶ) πατέρα,. . . . — τοῦτον διὰ τέλους τίμα, μόνονάγαθῶν 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, following his lead, 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’ ἔθιζει τὰς βελτίστας φύσεις ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ μάθημα, ὃ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν εἶναι μέγιστον, ἴδειν τε τάγαθὸν καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάβασιν. τοῦτο δὴ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ὄστρακου 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 πάντῃ εἰς.

13.13.63 | Therefore, it is fitting that Plato teaches that the best natures reach the study, which we mentioned earlier as the greatest, to see the good and to ascend that path. This, it seems, is not just 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. Those who take part in this are considered to be of the golden race, so that all are truly brothers, he says; but those of the golden race are the most precise 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 φρόβῳ καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὄχούμενα, τὰ δὲ αὐτεξουσίω λογισμῷ. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντες Ἑλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, γένος δ’ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῶν γεωργούντων οὔτε νομάδων, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν δύναται ζῆν, μὴ προκατειλημένον τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος

13.13.64 | Thus, the father and creator of all things naturally and without teaching understands everything in relation to all. Inanimate things share feelings, while among living creatures, some are already immortal, and others work each day. Among mortals, some are still held in fear by their mother while in the womb, while others have free will and reasoning. 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

πίστει. διὸ πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος ἐῶν, πὰν δὲ ἑσπερίων ἀπτόμενον ἡγόνων, 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 αύτοῦ διαπεφοίτηκεν ἐπ' ἵσης πάντα.

13.13.65 | Πολὺ δὲ πλέον οἱ παρ' Ἔλλησι 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 κατηχθεῖεν χηθεῖεν πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐδέ' 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 Ἐβραίων δόγμασιν, (ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἀγάμεθα τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τοῦ ἀληθοῦς εὐγνωμοσύνης,) ὕρα ἐπιθεωρῆσαι τίνα ταῦτ' εἶναί 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 ἀνθρωπον δυνάμεως περιέχοντα, θεόν τε αύθέντην ἐπιγραφόμενα, καὶ πιστούμενά γε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν διὰ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων

those who inhabit the lands of the West, North, and 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 ideas were not taught to us, they would not know, nor would they understand how to think about the divine. However, 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 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 power or human strength, referring to the true God. They believe in the promise through the predictions of what is to come, as well as

προρρήσεως, διά τε τῶν συμφώνων τοῖς θεοπίσμασιν ἀποτελεσμάτων, πάσης λέγεται διεψευσμένης διανοίας ἐκτὸς τυγχάνειν. τὰ γοῦν θεῖα λόγια ἀγνὰ, καὶ ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον, δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ, κεκαθαρισμένον ἐπταπλασίως, ἀνείρηται.

through the agreements with the established laws. It is said that all of this is beyond 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 | ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος τοιαῦτα, ούδὲ 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 συνεπηγκαντο, ὡς μὴ ἀνευρεῖν ἀπάτης καθαρὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μάθημα.

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, making it impossible for them to find a pure lesson free from deception within themselves.

13.14.3 | αὐτίκα γοῦν βραχύ τι τῆς φιλαυτίας εἰ ἔθελήσαις ὑφεῖναι, καὶ φῶς αὐτὸ δυνάμει λογικῆς ούσιας ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, γνοίης ἀν τὸν θαυμάσιον φιλόφιλόσοφον αὐτὸν ἔκεινον, τὸν δὴ μόνον πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀληθείας προθύρων ψαύσαντα, ὑλῇ φθαρτῇ καὶ ξοάνοις βαναύσων χερσὶν εἰς ἀνδρείκελον σχῆμα κατεσκευασμένοις τὴν τῶν θεῶν προσηγορίαν καταισχύνοντα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ μέγα τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας ὕψος, δι' ἣς τὸν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν είδέναι τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς διετείνατο, ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐξ ὑπερκοσμίων ἀψίδων εἰς τὸν κατωτάτω βυθὸν τῆς θεομισοῦς είδωλολατρίας τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνωθούμενον· ὡς μὴ διατρέπεσθαι τὸν Σωκράτην καταβῆναι φάντα εἰς Πειραιᾶ προσευξόμενον τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον ἐօρτὴν τοὺς πολίτας τότε πρῶτον ἐπιτελοῦντας θεασόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ θῦσαι

13.14.3 | Indeed, if you are willing to let go of a little of your self-love and 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 hands of craftsmen into a statue that dishonored the names of the gods. 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. He also offered a rooster to Asclepius while acknowledging the divine guide of

όμοιογοῦντα προστάξαι, τόν τε πάτριον  
Ἐλλήνων ἔξηγητὴν, τὸν ἐγκαθήμενον ἐν  
Δελφοῖς δαίμονα, θειάζοντα.

13.14.4 | διὸ καὶ εἰκότως 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

the Greeks, the spirit that resides in Delphi, who speaks the truth.

13.14.5 | “Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἴπειν καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ήμᾶς. πιστευτέον δὲ τοῖς είρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προγόνους είδόσιν· ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἔκείνους ἡμῖν ἢ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχετω καὶ λεγέσθω· Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὄκεανός 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 ἐκγόνους.”

13.14.6 | Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπολειπτέος ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ συμφώνως, τὰς μυθικὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γενεαλογίας καθυποκρινάμενος.

13.14.4 | Therefore, it would be reasonable to attribute the cause of superstitious deception to the unphilosophical worship of the godless. So take 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 causes of the divine, and with the intelligible and immortal essences, established the universal law, saying...

13.14.5 | Now, to talk about the other gods and to understand their origins is more 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 since they claim their own, we should believe them as they follow the law. So, let us discuss the origins of these gods: from Earth and Sky, Oceanus and Tethys were born. From them came Phorkys, Cronus, and Rhea, and all those who followed. From Cronus and Rhea came Zeus, Hera, and all those we know as their siblings, along with the other descendants of these.

13.14.6 | Because of these things, the philosopher should be left to us, not in a philosophical way, nor agreeing with himself, pretending to accept the mythical

αύτοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀκοῦσαι φάντος ἐν Πολιτείᾳ τάδε. “ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν, ἦν δ’ ἔγω, μύθοις ὄψόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον εἶναι καὶ ταύτὸν δύνασθαι τούς τε μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους· ἡ οὐκ οἴει; ”Εγωγε, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔννοῶ 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.

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 αύτοῦ ἦν καὶ τὰ δι’ ὃν ἔφησεν Εξαλείψομεν ἄρα, ἦν δ’ ἔγω, ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐπους ἀρξάμενοι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, βουλοίμην κ’ ἐπάρουρος ἔών θητευέμεν ἄλλω, καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς δι’ ὃν 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 like 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 Ἄχιλλέα θεὰς παῖδα, ἄλλοτ’ ἐπὶ πλευρᾶς κατακείμενον, ἄλλοτε δ’ αὐτεύπτιον, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα. οἵς ἐπάγει

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, along with the things that follow.”

13.14.9 | “Ἡ Δία, καθευδόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τε ἀνθρώπων ὡς μόνος ἐγρηγορώς, ἀ ἐβουλεύσατο, τούτων πάντων ḥαδίως ἐπιλαθόμενον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκπλαγέντα ἴδοντα τὴν Ἡραν, ὡστε 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 λήθοντε τοκῆας, οὐδὲ

13.14.9 | “Or Zeus, while the other gods and humans were sleeping, was the only one awake. He easily forgot all that he had planned because of his desire for pleasure. When he saw Hera, he was so amazed that he didn’t even want to go into the bedroom; instead, he wanted to lie down on the ground like a helmet. He said he was overcome by desire, just like when they first came together, forgetting their parents, and neither Ares nor Aphrodite

"Ἄρεος τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμὸν δι' ἔτερα τοιαῦτα."

were bound by Hephaestus for such things."

13.14.10 | Όν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον είρημένων τί δῆτα βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα φωνὴ τοὺς μὲν ποιητὰς θεῶν παῖδας ὀνομάζουσα, καὶ τό τε ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατου εἶναι φήσασα, χαίπερ ἀνευ εἰχότων καὶ ἀναγχαίων αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξεων τοὺς περὶ δεῶν μύδους πλάσαι μαρτυραμένη;

13.14.10 | "After saying these things, what does the voice want from him? It calls the poets the children of the gods and claims that it is impossible to disbelieve them, even though they have no proof and cannot provide evidence to create myths about the gods."

13.14.11 | Τίδè ἡ ἄλογος ἐδέλει πί στις, δέει τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας προβεβλη μένη; πῶς δὲ δεῶν Οὐρανὸς χαὶ Γῆ πρῶτοι, ἐπειτα τούτων ἔκγονοι, Ὁκεανὸς καὶ Τηθὺς, Κρόνος τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸς Ὄμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου μυδευόμενοι παῖδες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἔκγονοι τούτων, ὅπότε ταῦτα αὐτὰ ἀνήρει λέγων

13.14.11 | "What does the unreasonable one fear, being threatened with punishment from the laws? And how did Uranus and Gaia, the first gods, and then their children, Oceanus and Tethys, Cronus, and all those mentioned by Homer and Hesiod as their children, siblings, and descendants, respond when he speaks these same things?"

13.14.12 | "Οπερ, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, χρὴ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα Μέμφεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τις μὴ καλῶς ψεύδηται. Τί τοῦτο; "Οταν εἴκαζῃ τις κακῶς τῷ λόλῷ περὶ δεῶν Τε καὶ ήρωων, οἷοί είσιν, ὥσπερ γραφεὺς μηδὲν ἔοικότα γράφων οἵς ἂν ὁμοια βουληθῇ γράψαι." Καὶ πάλιν "Πρῶτον μὲν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ Τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος δὲ εἰπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Οὐρανός τε εἰργάσατο ἡ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὃ τε αὖ Κρόνος ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτὸν" καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἔξῆς.

13.14.12 | "Therefore, I said, it is necessary first and foremost to speak of Memphis, or else someone might not speak well of the gods and heroes. What does this mean? When someone wrongly imagines things about the gods and heroes, they are like a writer who writes nothing that resembles what they want to express. And again, I said, the greatest lie about the greatest matters is that the one who said it did not speak truthfully, as Uranus did what Hesiod claims 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

13.14.13 | "How can the false and untruthful poets still be called the children

ἔκγονοι λέγοιντ' ἄν; 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  
εὔσεβείας. Θέα δὴ καὶ ἄλλο.

of the gods? But for the sake of these, this one must indeed be excluded, as he deceives the people of Athens. However, Moses should be honored, since the Hebrew writings are completely free from anything but 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 Εἰς νοερὰς 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 πὰν τὸ τῆς ἑναντίας καὶ μοχθηρὰς ἐνεργείας εἴδος εἰσάγουσι.

13.15.1 | “The Hebrews say that the middle nature of rational beings is generated, but not ungenerated. They divide this into intelligible essences and refer to the spirits, powers, angels of God, and archangels by this name. From their fall and deviation, they introduce the race of demons and all kinds of opposing and evil forces.”

13.15.2 | διόπερ οὐδὲ θεοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς μὴ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀχώριστον τῆς φύσεως ἐπαγομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι οὐ παρ' ἐαυτῶν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ πάντων αἵτιού ἐπενηγμένους, τό τε εὐ εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, αὐτό τε τὸ ἀθάνατον, οὕτε τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ ὄμοιώς οὕτε τῷ δὶ' οὐ τὰ πάντα συνέστη ἐπιφερομένους.

13.15.2 | “Therefore, they do not allow those who do not bring forth the good and beautiful to be considered gods. They also say that existence 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 to the god above all nor to those through whom all things were created.”

13.15.3 | ὁ δέ γε Πλάτων' ἀσωμάτους μὲν καὶ νοητὰς ούσιας τὰς λογικὰς φύσεις Ἐβραίοις ὑφίστησι, διαπίπτει δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγεννήτους εἶναι φάσκων αὐτὰς, ὥσπερ καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, ἐπειτα ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς τοῦ πρώτου αἵτιού 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 by first claiming that they are ungenerated, just like every soul, and then saying that they exist from the overflow of the first cause. He does not want to admit 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 αἴτιου τῷ λόγῳ ὑφιστάμενος· εἶναι τε ἀγαθὰς τὴν φύσιν, οὐδαμῶς οἴας τε τῆς οἰκείας ἐκστῆναι ἀρετῆς, ἔνθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι δοξάζει.

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 εἶναι τε καὶ ὄνομάζεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τὰ Ἐβραίοις δοκοῦντα τοῦτον ὑποθέμενος τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν δόπθεν ὑποστῆναι φάναι εἰκὸς τοὺς δαίμονας.

13.15.6 | ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὅλης οὐδεὶς ἀν νοῦν ἔχων εἶποι· ἄλογος γὰρ αὐτῇ λογικὰ δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἔξ ἀλόγου τεχθείη, λογικοὶ δὲ οἱ δαίμονες. εἰ δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπορροίας οὗτοι, καὶ πῶς οὐ θεοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς γεγενηκόσιν ἔξ ἵσου; πῶς δ' ἀγαθῆς οὕσης πηγῆς οὐχ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς; κακίας δ' ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις ἡ βλάστη πόθεν ἔξεψυ τῆς βίζης ἀναθεν ἔξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δι' ἀγαθῶν ιούσης;

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 ἔξ ἀπορροίας λέγοιτ' ἀν τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων

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 that it does not lack its own virtue, from which he believes they are considered gods.”

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 toward the worse. Among them, some are good, while others are bad and are named accordingly. However, he does not explain where it seems likely that demons come from, while suggesting this way of thinking among the Hebrews.”

13.15.6 | “For no one with reason would say that demons come from the material of bodies, because that is without reason. Something rational could never come from something irrational, yet demons are rational. If they come from the overflow of superior beings, then how can they not be gods themselves, equal to those who gave birth to them? And if there is a good source, how can what comes from it not be similar? Where does the growth of evil in the second beings come from, if it arises from the good root above and through good?”

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

φύσεως; εί δὲ ἐκ τῆσδε ἦν, οὐδ' ἀν ἔτραπη τῆς οἰκείας λήξεως· εἰ δ' ἡλλοίωται, οὐδ' ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπαθέτην φύσιν· εἰ δ' οὐ τοιάδε ἀδεῖ ἦν, καὶ πῶς θεοὶ εἶν, οἱ· δὴ φαύλης οἶοί τε εἰσὶ μετέχειν μοίρας;

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, how could they be gods, who are believed to share in the fates of lesser beings?"

13.15.8 | ἀλλ' εἰ μήτε τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπορροίας μήτ' αὖτε τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὕλης εἴεν, ὥρα ἡ ἀγεννήτους λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ ὕλῃ τῶν σωμάτων τρίτον στῖφος λογικῶν ἀγεννήτων ἀντιπαρατάττειν τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκέτι τε τὸν θεὸν πάντων εἴναι 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 makes sense to say they are of low birth and to place a third group of irrational beings alongside the lowly material of bodies in opposition to God. This would no longer allow for God to be the creator and maker of all things, nor would it agree with the idea that He creates what does not exist, as the words of the Hebrews also suggest."

13.15.9 | τίνα δὲ οἵδε περὶ τῶνδε ἔκδιδάσκουσι; τὴν μέσην τῶν λογικῶν φύσιν οὕτ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὕλης οὕτ' ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσης οὔσιας ὑποστῆναι φασι· μὴ οὖσαν δὲ πρότερον δυνάμει δραστηρίω 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 substance, which is always the same. They claim it does not exist before it has the power to act as the cause of all things."

13.15.10 | ταῦτη τε μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι, 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' ἀν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῆς περὶ τὸ κρεῖττον σχολῆς, ἣν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος αὐτῷ κατείργασται, τῆς οἰκείας ὀρμῆς 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 believe they deserve this title, because their nature is not equal to that of the one who made them, nor is the good inseparable from God. The good is opposed to the beautiful, and they would accept a disregard for the study of what is greater, which each person has shaped for themselves, guided by their own impulses and opinions. These things are also true regarding these matters. But let us

move on to other topics.”

## Section 16

13.16.1 | Ἐβραίοις ὅμοίως τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὅμοίαν αὐτὴν εἰπών, οὐκέτ' ἀκολούθως αὐτοῖς ποτὲ μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν ούσιαν σύνθετον εἶναι φησιν, ὡς ἀν μέρος μέν τι ἐπαγομένης τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχούσης αἴτιας, καὶ μέρος περὶ τὰ σώματα μεριστῆς φύσεως.

13.16.2 | λέγει δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μασιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ “Ο δὲ καὶ γενέσει καὶ ἀρετῇ προτέραν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴν σώματος, ὡς δεσπότιν καὶ ἄρξουσαν ἀρξομένου, συνεστήσατο ἐκ τῶνδε καὶ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχούσης ούσιας, καὶ τῆς αὖ περὶ τὰ σώματα γινομένης μεριστῆς, τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ συνεκεράσατο ούσιας εἶδος, τῆς τε ταυτοῦ φύσεως αὖ πέρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου, καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ συνέστησεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ἀμεροῦς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ σώματα μεριστοῦ. καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὄντα συνεκεράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ίδεαν, τὴν θατέρου φύσιν δύσμικτον οὖσαν εἰς ταύτην ξυναρμόττων βίᾳ.”

13.16.3 | “Ἐνθεν εἰκότως αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ παθητικὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ούσιας αὐτῇ συνηπται. ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ὥδε περὶ ψυχῆς ούσιας διείληφε, τοτὲ δὲ ἄλλο τι χεῖρον περιτίθησιν αὐτῇ ἀτόπημα, τὴν θείαν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐράνιον, τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ λογικὴν, τὴν θεῷ ὅμοίαν καὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς μέγεθος τὰς οὐρανίους ὑπερπαίουσαν ἀψίδας, ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν

13.16.1 | “The Hebrews also believe that the soul is immortal and say it is similar to God. They no longer consistently claim that its essence is made up of parts, as if it were a piece taken from the indivisible and always the same causes, and a piece from the divisible nature of bodies.”

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. Thus, it was created from both the indivisible and the divisible. Taking these three existing things, he mixed them into one complete idea, forcing together the challenging nature of the other into the same form.’”

13.16.3 | “From this, it makes sense that the passive aspect is linked to the essence itself. However, sometimes he divides the essence of the soul in this way, and at other times he adds something worse to it—this divine and heavenly quality, which is incorporeal and rational, similar to God and surpassing the heavenly spheres through virtue. He claims that it comes down from

ύπερκοσμίων 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 εἴκος, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥθη, ὅποια ἄτταν καὶ μεμελετηκυῖαι τύχωσιν ἐν βίῳ.

13.16.5 | Τὰ ποῖα δὴ ταῦτα λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες; Οἶον τοὺς μὲν τὰς γαστριμαργίας τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ φιλοποσίας μεμελετηκότας καὶ μὴ διευλαβουμένους εἰς τὰ τῶν ὄνων γένη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων θηρίων εἴκος ἐνδύεσθαι· ἥ οὐκ οἴει; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἴκος λέγεις.

13.16.6 | Τοὺς δέ γε ἀδικίας καὶ τυραννίδας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς προτετιμηκότας εἰς τὰ τῶν λύκων τε καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ ἵκτίνων γένη· ἥ ποι ἄν ἄλλοσε φαῖμεν τὰς τοιαύτας ίέναι; Άμέλει, ἔφη ὁ Κέβης, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ούκοῦν, ἥ δ' ὅς, δῆλα δὴ καὶ τἄλλα, ἥ ἐκάστη ἵοι κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ὄμοιότητας τῆς μελέτης.

13.16.7 | Δῆλον δὴ, ἔφη· πῶς δ' οὕ; Ούκοῦν εὔδαιμονέστατοι, στατοι, ἔφη, καὶ τούτων είσὶ καὶ εἰς βέλτιστον τόπον ίόντες οἵ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες, ἥν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἔξ ἔθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγονυῖαν, ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ; νοῦ; δὴ οὗτοι εὔδαιμονέστατοι;

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 physical form. They enter, as is likely, into habits similar to those 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 similar beasts, don't you think? Indeed, you are quite right."

13.16.6 | "Those who have chosen injustice, tyranny, and robbery will take on the forms of wolves, hawks, and other similar creatures; or where else would we say they go? 'Certainly,' said Kebes, 'into such forms.' 'Well then,' he said, 'it is clear that 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 they not the happiest? It seems likely that they

“Οτι τούτους είκός έστιν είς τοιοῦτον πάλιν  
άφικνεῖσθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ ἥμερον γένος,  
ἥπου μελιττῶν ἢ σφηκῶν ἢ μυρμήκων, ἢ  
καὶ εἰς αὐτό γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον  
γένος.”

13.16.8 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαιδρῷ δὲ ἐπάκουουσον  
ὅποια διέξεισιν “Εἴς μὲν γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ δόθεν  
ἥκει ψυχὴ οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἔτῶν μυρίων· οὐ  
γὰρ πτεροῦται πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου, πλὴν  
ἡ τοῦ φιλοσοφήσαντος ἀδόλως ἢ  
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 είς τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς  
δικαιωτήρια ἐλθοῦσαι δίκην τίνουσιν, αἱ δὲ  
εἰς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τινὰ τόπον ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης  
κουφισθεῖσαι διάγουσιν ἀξίως οὖν ἐν  
ἀνθρώπου εἴδει ἐβίωσαν βίου. τῷ δὲ  
χιλιοστῷ ἀμφότεραι ἀφικνούμεναι ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
κλήρωσίν τε καὶ αἱρεσιν τοῦ δευτέρου  
βίου, αἱροῦνται δὸν ἀν ἐθέλη ἐκάστη. ἐνθα  
δὴ καὶ εἰς θηρίου βίον ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ<sup>2</sup>  
ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐκ θηρίου, ὃς ποτε  
ἀνθρωπος ἦν, πάλιν είς ἀνθρωπον.”

13.16.9 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Φαιδρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ  
Πολιτείᾳ τοιάδε γράφοντος ἄκουε Ἰδεῖν  
μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ψυχὴν τήν ποτε Ὄρφέως  
γενομένην κύκνου βίον αἱρουμένην, μίσει  
τοῦ γυναικείου γένους διὰ τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνων  
θάνατον οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν γυναικί<sup>3</sup>  
γεννηθεῖσαν γενέσθαι. Ἰδεῖν δὲ τὴν  
Θαμύρου ἀηδόνος ἐλομένην· Ἰδεῖν δὲ  
κύκνου μεταβάλλοντα εἰς ἀνθρωπίνον βίον  
αἱρεσιν, καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα μουσικὰ ὠσαύτως,

will return to a gentle and social 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  
reach 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 truly philosophized 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 beneath 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 enter the  
life of a beast, and from a beast, one who  
was once human can return to being  
human.’”

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. It also saw the soul of Thamyris,  
the nightingale, choosing its life. It saw a  
swan changing into a choice of human life,  
and other musical creatures in the same

ώς τὸ είκος.

way, as is fitting."

13.16.10 | τὴν δὲ λαχοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἐλέσθαι λέοντος βίον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου, φεύγουσαν ἄνθρωπον 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 Ἄταλάντης ψυχὴν, κατιδοῦσαν μεγάλας τιμὰς ἀθλητοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ δύνασθαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ λαβεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἴδειν τὴν Ἐπειοῦ τοῦ Πανοπέως εἰς τεχνικῆς γυναικός ιοῦσαν φύσιν πόρρω δὲ ἐν ὑστάτοις ἴδειν τὴν τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ Θερσίτου πίθηκον ἐνδυομένην.

13.16.10 | "And the soul that chose the life of a lion was that of Ajax, son of Telamon, who was fleeing to become human, remembering the judgment of the arms. The one that chose the life of an eagle was also hostile to the human race because of its sufferings. In the middle, the soul of Atalanta chose, seeing the great honors of a male athlete, unable to pass by but wanting to take them. After her, it saw the soul of Epicaste, daughter of Panopaeus, going into the nature of a skilled woman. Lastly, it saw the monkey of Thersites, the jester, dressed up."

13.16.11 | κατὰ τύχην δὲ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως λαχοῦσαν πασῶν ὑστάτην, αἱρησομένην ίέναι· μνήμῃ δὲ τῶν προτέρων πόνων φιλοτιμίας λελωφηκυῖαν ζητεῖν περιποῦσαν χρόνον πολὺν βίον ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ ἀπράγμονος, καὶ μόγις εὐρεῖν κείμενόν που καὶ παρημελημένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἴδοῦσαν 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 ἄδικα εἰς τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ δὲ δίκαια εἰς τὰ ἥμερα μεταβαλόντα, καὶ πάσας μίξεις μίγνυσθαι."

13.16.11 | "By chance, the soul of Odysseus chose last of all, wanting to go. Remembering its earlier labors, it sought to find a long life as a private man, someone who does not meddle in affairs, and it could hardly find one lying somewhere, neglected by others. It said, seeing that this is what it would have done if it had chosen first, and it was glad to choose. Likewise, the other souls of animals went into humans and into each other, with the unjust ones becoming wild animals and the just ones changing into tame ones, and all mixtures being mixed together."

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' αὐτὸς δι' ἀποδείξεων ἐνεχείρησε τῷ προβλήματι. τοσοῦτον δ'

13.16.12 | "Regarding the soul, Plato clearly uses Egyptian words; for it is not the speech of the Hebrews, since it is not even friendly to the truth. However, it is not the right time to refute this, as he himself does not provide proofs; he has relied on the

εύλογως τις ἀν ἐπισημήναιτο, ὡς οὐκ ἦν σύμφωνα τὸν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἄμα τῇ τελευτῇ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαττομένας δίκας εἰς "Ἄιδου ὅν ἔδρασαν διδόναι κάκεῖσε τιμωρεῖσθαι εἰς ἄπειρον, καὶ πάλιν φάσκειν αὐτὰς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα βίους κατὰ γνώμην οἴκείαν αἰρεῖσθαι.

problem. Yet, one could reasonably point out that it is inconsistent to say at the same time that the souls of the wicked, being released from here, must give accounts for their deeds in Hades and be punished there endlessly, while also claiming that those souls choose their lives here based on their own judgment."

13.16.13 | ἐνδεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὰς εἰς 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, ἔθελοντάς ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθόντας. εἴτα Ὁρφέως μὲν ψυχὴν κύκνον εἶναι θελῆσαι· Θαμύρου δὲ ἀηδόνος, Θερσίτην δὲ πιθήκου βίον ἐλέσθαι.

13.16.13 | "For he says that they are driven by the desire for a physical form. Those who are raised in arrogance and gluttony become donkeys, while others take on the bodies of different wild animals, based on their own judgment, but not according to justice. The unjust and greedy become wolves and vultures, willingly choosing 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 | 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 ὁ δαίμων ἔκαστον κομίζει... καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀν δόξωσι μέσως βεβιωκέναι, πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα, ἀναβάντες ἢ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὄχήματά ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τούτων ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἔκει οίκοϋσί 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, ἥ ιεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἥ φόνους ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμονς πολλοὺς ἔξειργασμένοι, ἥ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα τυγχάνει ὄντα, τούτους δὲ ἥ

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 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 believe they are hopeless because of the seriousness of their sins—whether they have committed many and serious sacrileges or many unjust and illegal murders, or any other such things—

προσήκουσα μοῖρα ὥιπτει εἰς τὸν  
Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὐ ποτε ἐκβαίνουσι.”

these are cast by their fitting fate into  
Tartarus, from which they never escape.”

13.16.15 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὡδέ  
πη διῆλθε. περὶ δὲ τῶν εύσεβῶν ἐπάκουουσον  
ῷς φησι “Τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφίᾳ  
ἰκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε καμάτων ζῶσι  
τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, καὶ εἰς  
οἰκήσεις ἔτι τούτων καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται,  
ἄς οὕτε ὁράδιον δηλῶσαι οὕτε ὁ χρόνος  
ἰκανὸς 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  
completely without toil into the next time,  
and they reach even more beautiful homes  
than these, which are not easy to describe,  
nor is the present time enough for it.’”

13.16.16 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ Γοργίᾳ δὲ πρόσχες τί<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ φησι Τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον  
διελθόντα καὶ ὀσίως, ἔπειδαν τελευτήσῃ,  
εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα οἰκεῖν ἐν  
πάσῃ εύδαιμονίᾳ ἑκτὸς κακῶν, τὸν δὲ  
ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως τε καὶ  
δίκης δεσμωτήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον  
καλοῦσιν, ιέναι... 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  
όδυνηρότατα καὶ φοβερώτατα πάθη  
πάσχοντας τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀτεχνῶς  
παραδείγματα ἀνηρτημένους ἐκεῖ “Ἄιδουέν  
τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων  
ἀφικνουμένοις θεάματα καὶ νουθετήματα.”

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 they themselves no  
longer find relief, being without hope.  
Others, however, find relief by seeing them  
suffer the greatest, most painful, and most  
terrifying punishments for all time, serving  
as clear examples hanging there in Hades'  
prison, for those who always arrive from  
the unjust, witnessing 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>2</sup>  
χρόνον μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε τελευτὴν ὑφέξει,  
καὶ πάλιν οἴα τις ἀνειμένη καὶ δεσμῶν

13.16.17 | How could these things fit with  
what is said about the exchange of bodies,  
which they claim the soul chooses? For how  
could the same punishment and prison,  
along with such a great penalty, be endured  
forever after death? And again, how could  
someone who is freed from chains choose

έλευθέρα βίους ἔλοιτ' ἀν οὓς ἀν ἔθέλη 5 εί 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.

lives as they wish? 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 think about regarding this matter, but it is not the right time to go into detail.

13.16.18 | καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλισθημα τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος περὶ τῶνδε δόξης ταύτη πῃ πέφανται· τὸ δ' ἔτερον τῆς τοῦ δόγματος διασκευῆς, δι' οὗ τὸ μέν τι θεῖον καὶ λογικὸν εἶναι τῆς Ψυχῆς, τὸ δέ τι μέρος αὐτῆς ἄλογον καὶ παθητικὸν τυγχάνειν ὡρίσατο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ γνωρίμων κατέγνωσται, ὡς μαθεῖν ἔνεστιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε λόγων

13.16.18 | And the first mistake of Plato regarding these beliefs has been revealed; the second is the way he arranged his doctrine. He defined one part of the soul as divine and rational, while another part is irrational and passive. Among those who share his views, it has been acknowledged that it is possible to learn from such ideas.

## Section 17

13.17.1 | “Περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα Ψυχῆς, ἣν φησιν ἔξ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ παθητῆς ούσιας συστῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος τῶν μέσων τι χρωμάτων, ἐκεῖνα ἔχομεν εἴπειν, ὅτι ἀνάγκη χρόνῳ διαστάσεως αὐτῶν γιγνομένης ἀφανισθῆναι αὐτὴν, ὡς τὴν τοῦ μέσου χρώματος σύστασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ οίκειά ἐκάστου ἔξ ὃν συνέστη ἐν χρόνῳ φύσει χωρίζομένου. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, φθαρτὴν ἀποφανοῦμεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθάνατον τὴν Ψυχήν.

13.17.1 | Regarding the soul according to Plato, which he claims 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 fade away over time, just as a mixture of colors does, separating into the individual parts from which it was formed in nature. If this is true, then we declare the soul to be perishable, but not immortal.

13.17.2 | εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖται, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει ὄντων ἄνευ τοῦ ἐναντίου εἶναι, τά τε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων φύσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκοσμῆσθαι, φιλίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐμποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ, οἷον τῷ ξηρῷ πρὸς τὸ

13.17.2 | For if this is accepted, 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,

ύγρὸν, 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 μαλακὸν, 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, ή δὲ ψυχὴ ἐξ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ παθητῆς οὐσίας γεγονέναι ὑποκείσεται, ἀνάγκῃ ὡς τὸ μέσον χρῶμα οὕτω καὶ ταύτην ἐν χρόνῳ φύσει ἀφανισθῆναι, τῶν ἐν τῇ συστάσει αὐτῆς ἐναντίων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἐπειγομένων.

the heavy with the light, the white with the black, the sweet with the bitter, and the hard with the soft. All such pairs have a mutual relationship. The unchanging substance relates to the changing one, and the things that are mixed can be separated from each other over time. The soul, having come from both the unchanging and changing substances, must necessarily fade away over time, just like a mixed color, as the opposites in its composition push towards their own nature.

13.17.3 | ή γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὸ φύσει βαρὺ, κανὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἥ τινος ἔξωθεν φυσικῆς προσγενομένης αὐτῷ κουφότητος ἄνω φέρηται, ὡς αὐτὸ δομοίως ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν κάτω βιάζεται; δομοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ φύσει κοῦφον κατὰ τὰς δομοίας ἔξωθεν αἴτιας κάτω φερόμενον, ὡς αὐτὸ δομοίως 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.

13.17.3 | For we do not see a heavy object being lifted up, even if it is made lighter by us or by some external natural cause; it is still pushed down towards its own nature. Similarly, a light object, when brought down by similar external causes, is also pushed up towards what is higher. It is impossible for two opposites to exist together in the same thing without the presence of a third substance that always exists between them.

13.17.4 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ψυχὴ τρίτον τι πρᾶγμα ἐκ δύο ἐναντίων ἄλλήλοις σύνθετον, ἀπλοῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φύσει ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀσώματον· ὅθεν Πλάτων' καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀθανατον αὐτὴν ἔφασαν εἶναι.

13.17.4 | But the soul is not a third thing made up of two opposites; it is simple and has the same nature, being unchanging and immaterial. Therefore, Plato and his followers said that it is immortal.

13.17.5 | ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος κοινός ἔστι πάντων λόγος γεγονέναι, τὰ δ' ἐν ἡμῖν ἄνευ σώματος ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀκουσίως γιγνόμενα πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι λέγεται, οἵ μὲν πολλοὶ

13.17.5 | Since a 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

τούτῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι παθητὴν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν αύτῆς, θνητὴν αύτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ σωματοειδῆ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀσώματον.

13.17.6 | ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' τῷ φύσει αύτῆς ἀπαθεῖ προσηναγκάσθη τὴν παθητὴν οὐσίαν προσυφᾶναι. ὅτι δὲ μηδετέρως ἔχει, ἐξ ὧν ἐκάτεροι είρήκασι, Πλάτων τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, πειρασόμεθα τῷ λόγῳ, τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργούσας δυνάμεις παραθέντες, προσβιβάσαι.”

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.

## 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 αἴτίου πεποιημένα μετέχειν τε τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς οὐσίας συνέστη, οὐκέθ' ὅμοίως Ἐβραίοις σέβειν αὐτὰ νομοθετεῖ καὶ θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥδε φάσκων ἐν Ἐπινομίδι

13.18.2 | “Τίνα δὴ καὶ σεμνύνων ποτὲ λέγω Θεὸν, ὁ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία; σχεδὸν οὐρανὸν, ὃν καὶ δικαιότατον, ὡς ξύμπαντες ἄλλοι δαίμονες ἄμα καὶ θεοὶ, τιμᾶν τε καὶ εὔχεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴτιον ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡμῖν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πάντες ἂν ὀμολογοῦμεν.”

that the essence of the soul is changeable, saying that it is mortal and has a physical nature, but not immaterial.

13.17.6 | But Plato, being by nature unchanging, was led to say that the essence of the soul is changeable. To show that neither claim is true, based on what each has said, we will try to reason through it, presenting the active powers within us to support our argument.

13.17.7 | Let these things be taken from Severus the Platonist's work On the Soul. Also, think about this regarding the heavens and the stars within them.

13.18.1 | Agreeing with the Hebrews, he explains the heavens and the visible stars, saying that created things share 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 see them as gods, as he states here in the Epinomis.

13.18.2 | “What kind of god am I talking about, O Megillus and Cleinias? Almost the entire 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 | Εἶθ' ὑποβὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ προστίθησι ταῦτα "Θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὄρατους, μεγίστους καὶ τιμιωτάτους καὶ ὀξύτατον ὄρῶντας πάντη, τοὺς πρώτους τὴν τῶν ἀστρῶν φύσιν λεκτέον, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τούτων αἰσθανόμεθα γεγονότα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἔξῆς δαίμονας, ἀέριον δὲ γένος, ἔχον ἔδραν τρίτην καὶ μέσην, τῆς ἐρμηνείας αἴτιον, εὐχαῖς τιμᾶν μάλα χρεὼν χάριν τῆς εύφήμου διαπορείας."

13.18.4 | Διὰ τούτων θεοὺς είπὼν είναι τοὺς δηλωθέντας περὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν συστάσεως φυσιολογῶν ἐν Τιμαιώ τάδε διεξέρχεται "Ο τι πυρ' πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα, τοῦτο ἀὴρ πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅ τι ἀὴρ 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 ὁμολογῆσαν, φιλίαν τε ἔσχεν ἐκ τούτων, ὡστ' εἰς ταύτὸν αὐτῷ ξυνελθὸν ἄλυτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξυνδήσαντος γενέσθαι."

13.18.5 | Εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει "Ψυχὴν δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ θεὶς διὰ παντός τε ἔτεινε καὶ ἔτι ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ περιεκάλυψε, καὶ κύκλῳ δὴ κύκλον στρεφόμενον οὐρανὸν ἔνα μόνον ἔρημον κατέστησε."

13.18.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ὑποβὰς ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Ἐξ οὗν λόγου καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ τοιαύτης πρὸς χρόνου γένεσιν, ἔνα γενηθῆ χρόνος, ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἀστρα, ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα πλάνητες, τες, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου

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 talk about 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. It is necessary to honor them with prayers for a safe 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. Because of these, the body of the universe was created from such things, and they agreed on the number four. 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 at its center, he stretched it throughout and covered the body from the outside with it. Thus, he established one single heaven, turning in a circular motion."

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 to measure and keep track of time. The god

γέγονε· σώματα δὲ αύτῶν ἐκάστων ποιήσας δὲ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφορὰς, ἀς ἡ θατέρου περίοδος ἦει.”

13.18.7 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Δεσμοῖς τε ἐμψύχοις σώματα δεθέντα ζῷα τό τε προσταχθὲν ἔμαθε.”

13.18.8 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων καθόλου περὶ πάσης ψυχῆς ἀποφαίνεται λέγων ὅδε “Μεταβάλλει μέντοι γε 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 ἥθῶν μεταβαλόντα ἐλάττω κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα μεταπεσόντα εἰς βάθος.”

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 αύτοὺς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεούς φησι, καίπερ ἐν σώματι φθαρτῷ ὄντας καὶ λυθῆναι οἶους τε;

13.18.10 | λέγει δ’ οὖν πάλιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ ‘Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν πάντες ὅσοι τε περιπολοῦσι φανεγένεσιν ρῶς καὶ ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ’ ὅσον ἀν ἔθέλωσι θεοὶ ἔσχον, λέγει πρὸς αύτοὺς δὲ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας τάδε· θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἀλυτα ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ

made each of their bodies and set them in their orbits, which the other period followed.”

13.18.7 | And he adds, “Having bound living bodies with ties, the creatures learned what was commanded.”

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. 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, while those that change more and are more unjust fall deeper.”

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 they are eternal and for this reason gods, even though they exist in a perishable body and can be destroyed?

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

δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν· τό γε μὴν καλῶς  
ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εῦ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ.  
δι’ ἂν καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν  
οὖν οὐκ ἔστε, οὐδὲν ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν· οὕτι  
μὲν δὴ λυθῆσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε  
θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως  
μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου  
λαχόντες ἔκεινων οἵς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε  
ξυνεθεῖσθε.”

otherwise.’ Therefore, everything that is bound can also be 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 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. εἰκότως δῆτα  
Μώσης καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια σέβειν μὲν  
ἀπαγορεύει ταῦτα καὶ θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ἃνω  
δὲ πρὸς τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἀνάγοντα,  
αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνης καὶ  
ἄστρων ὅλου τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου  
δημιουργὸν, τὸν δὴ τὰ πάντα θείω 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.”

13.18.11 | 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 | ἐρμηνεύει δὲ ταῦτα διασαφῶν  
εἰς πλάτος ὁ τὰ Ἐβραίων πεπαιδευμένος  
Φίλων ὅδε πῃ λέγων πρὸς λέξιν “Τινὲς  
ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας  
ὑπέλαβον εἶναι θεοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἵς  
τὰς τῶν γιγνομένων ἀπάντων αἰτίας  
ἀνέθεσαν. Μωσεῖ δ' ὁ κόσμος ἔδοξεν εἶναι  
καὶ γεννητὸς, καὶ πόλις ἡ μεγίστη 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.

13.18.12 | Philo, who was educated in the 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 nature.”

13.18.13 | τοὺς δὲ λεχθέντας ἄρχοντας 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. Ὡν τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὁ Ἱερώτατος νομοθέτης εἰς ἐπιστήμην μεθαρμόζεται λέγων ὥδε “μὴ ἴδων τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλανηθεὶς προσκυνήσῃς.”

13.18.14 | εύθυνβόλως πάνυ καὶ καλῶς πλάνον εἶπε τὴν τῶν είρημένων ὡς θεῶν ἀποδοχήν. οἱ γὰρ ίδόντες ἥλιον μὲν προσόδοις καὶ ἀναχωρήσει τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας συνισταμένας, ἐν αἷς αἱ ζῷων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις ὠρισμέναις χρόνων περιόδοις τελεσφοροῦνται, σελήνην δ' ὑπηρέτιν καὶ διάδοχον ἥλιον νύκτωρ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀνειληφυῖαν ὡν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἥλιος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τάπιγεια συμπάθειαν μυρίᾳ 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 ὄδοῦ, κἀν εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι καθάπερ αἴσθησις ὑποδιάκονος νοῦ γέγονε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ αἴσθητοὶ πάντες ὑπηρέται τοῦ νοητοῦ συνέστησαν.

13.18.13 | The rulers mentioned are not independent but exist under one father of all. They do not gain 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 in control are misled into thinking they are the creators of the things that happen in the world. The most sacred lawgiver turns 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 | 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, based on their relationship to the earth, are many and active in the workings of the whole universe. Misled, they thought these were the only gods.

13.18.15 | But if they had tried to walk the straightforward path, and if they had quickly realized that just as perception is a helper of the mind, in the same way, all things that can be sensed are helpers of the things that can be understood.

13.18.16 | Καὶ ἐπάγει λέγων “Ωσθ’  
ὑπερβάντες τῷ λογισμῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρατὴν  
οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀειδοῦς καὶ ἀοράτου  
καὶ μόνη διανοίᾳ καταληπτοῦ τιμὴν ἴωμεν,  
ὅς οὐ μόνον θεός ἔστι νοητῶν τε καὶ  
αἰσθητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπάντων δημιουργός.  
Ἐὰν δέ τις τὴν τοῦ ἀιδίου καὶ ποιητοῦ  
Θεραπείαν ἄλλῳ προσνέμῃ νεωτέρῳ καὶ  
γεννητῷ, φρενοβλαβής ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ  
ἔνοχος 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, εἴ καὶ μὴ τὰ ἵσα  
διόλου, πεφρονηκότα, Μωσέως δὲ ἐν  
παραθέσει καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἐβραίοις  
προφητῶν τὸ ἑλλιπὲς ἐπιδεικνὺς αύτοῦ τῆς  
διανοίας.

13.18.18 | καίτοι παρῆν τῷ καταμέμφεσθαι  
παρεσκευασμένῳ μυρί’ ἄττα καταιτιᾶσθαι,  
οἷα τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ σοφὰ αὐτῷ περὶ  
γυναικῶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ διατεταγμένα, ἢ οἶα  
τὰ περὶ ἔρωτος ἐκθέσμου  
σεσεμνολογημένα ἐν Φαίδρῳ. σὺ δέ, εἴ καὶ  
τούτων ἐπακοῦσαι ποθεῖς, ἀνάγνωθι τάσδε  
αύτοῦ λαβών τὰς φωνάς

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 gives the care of the eternal and the creator to something younger and created, let them be considered 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 go on and bring to light the other ideas of Plato when I can now draw conclusions from these that I have kept silent about? Indeed, I do not say 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 pointed out the shortcomings of his understanding in the writings of Moses and the prophets among the Hebrews.

13.18.18 | And yet, there were many things ready to be criticized, like the serious and wise ideas he arranged about women in the Republic, or the serious discussions about love in the Phaedrus. But if you want to hear any of these, read his words as they are.

## Section 19

13.19.1 | “Ισως δὴ, εἶπον, παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός γελοῖα ἀν φαίνοιτο πολλὰ περὶ τὰ νῦν δὴ λεγόμενα, εἰ πράξεται ἡ λέγεται. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Τίδ', ἦν δ' ἔγών, γελοιότατον αὐτῶν ὅρᾶς; ἡ δῆλα δὴ ὅτι γυμνὰς τὰς γυναικας ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις γυμναζομένας μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ μόνον τὰς νέας, ἀλλ' ἥδη 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 being said now would seem ridiculous if they happen as described.” “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, even when they are not pleasant to look at but still enjoy exercising?”

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 οἴδεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐφ' ᾧ γελᾷ.”

13.19.2 | And he continues, “The man who laughs at women training naked for the best reason, as if he is reaping the fruit of foolish 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 παιςὲν ὄρχησται, ταῖς δὲ ὄρχηστρίδες ἀν εἴεν πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδειότερον.” Τίθησι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε “Η δὲ αὖ που παρ' ἡμῖν κόρη καὶ δέσποινα, εὐφρανθεῖσα τῇ τῆς χορείας παιδείᾳ, οὐκ ὡήθη δεῖν κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀθύρειν, κανοπλίᾳ δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα οὕτω τὴν ὄρχησιν διαπεραίνειν· ἡ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη κόρους τε ἄμα καὶ κόρας.”

13.19.3 | He also says in the seventh book of the Laws, “Therefore, it will be necessary for boys and girls to learn to dance and to exercise naked. The boys will be dancers, and the girls will also be dancers, equally suited for hard work.” He adds, “But the girl and mistress among us, delighted by the education of dance, did not think it necessary to be empty-handed. Instead, fully equipped, she completes the dance, which would certainly be fitting to imitate for both boys and girls.”

13.19.4 | Καὶ πολεμεῖν δὲ γυναιξὶν ὥδε πῃ νομοθετεῖ “Ἐν δὲ τούτοις μισθοῖς, οίκοῦντας ξένους, διδάσκειν τε πάντα ὅσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμόν ἔστι μαθήματα τοὺς φοιτῶντας ὅσα τε πρὸς μουσικὴν, οὐχ ὃν μὲν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ βούληται, φοιτῶντα, ὃν δ'

13.19.4 | And about women in war, the lawgiver says this: “In these matters, for those living as foreigners, it is necessary to teach everything related to war and music. This should not depend on whether the father wants them to learn or not, but all

άν μὴ, ἔῶντα τῆς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

13.19.5 | ταυτὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ περὶ θηλειῶν ὁ μὲν ἑμὸς νόμος ἄν εἴποι πάντα, ὅσαπερ καὶ περὶ τῶνἀρρένων, ἵσα καὶ τὰς θηλείας ἀσκεῖν δεῖν· καὶ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς εἴποιμ' ἄν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὕτε ἱππικῆς οὔτε γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἀνδράσι μὲν πρέπον ἄν εἴη, γυναιξὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄν πρέπον.”

13.19.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ἔξῆς ὑποβάς φησι  
“Γυμνάσια τιθῶμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον 25 πάντα τοῖς σώμασι διαπονήματα τοξικῆς τε καὶ πάσης ρίψεως καὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ ἀπάσης ὀπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων τακτικῶν καὶ ἀπάσης πορείας στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατοπεδεύσεων καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἱππικὴν 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 γυναῖκας πάντων τούτων ἐπιστημονας· κόρας μὲν οὖσας ἔτι πάσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ὅρχησιν καὶ μάχην μεμελετηκυίας, γυναῖκας δὲ διεξόδων καὶ τάξεων καὶ θέσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως ὅπλων ἡμμένας.”

13.19.7 | Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἐβραίων ἐπινεύσει λόγος, ἀντιφθέγξεται δὲ τάναντία, μηδ' ἐπ' ἄνδρῶν ῥώμαις, 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 οίκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οίκοδομοῦντες αὐτόν. ἔὰν μὴ

men and children should be allowed to learn as much as they can. They belong more to the city than to their parents, and they must be educated out of necessity.”

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: neither horseback riding nor gymnastics would be fitting for men, but they would not be fitting for women either.

13.19.6 | And again, he continues, “Let us establish exercises and everything related to war, including training for archery and all forms of throwing, as well as for light-armed fighting and all types of combat, tactics, and all movements of camps and encampments, and everything that involves horseback riding. For all these things, there must be common teachers who receive pay from the city, and the students should include the children and men in the city, as well as girls and women, all of whom should be knowledgeable. The girls should be trained in dancing and preparing for battle while in armor, and the women in tactics, positions, and handling weapons.”

13.19.7 | But the words of the Hebrews do not agree with this; instead, they speak the opposite. They do not even consider men, nor do they say that women are responsible for success in wars. Rather, they attribute everything to God and the alliance from Him. It says, “If the lord does not build the house, the builders labor in

κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, είς μάτην  
ήγρύπνησεν δὲ φυλάσσων.

13.19.8 | δέ γε θαυμαστὸς φιλόσοφος θέα  
ώς καὶ εἰς τὸν γυμνικὸν εἰσάγει τὰς  
γυναικας ἀγῶνα, ὡδέ πη λέγων “Γυναιξὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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 ἑτῶν μηδ' ἔλαττον ὁκτωκαΐδεκα·  
πρεπούσῃ δὲ στολῇ ταύταις ἐσταλμέναις  
καταβατέον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμιλλαν τούτων τῶν  
δρόμων.

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, ἵνα τε  
πρὸς ἓνα διαμαχομένους καὶ δύο πρὸς  
δύο.”

13.19.10 | Καὶ ἔξῆς είπων “Ταυτὸν δὴ καὶ  
τοὺς περὶ ὄπλομαχίαν 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 ἔξῆς  
συνάψας τοὺς περὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ  
παγκρατίου καὶ τόξου λίθων τε ἐκ χειρὸς  
βολῆς καὶ διὰ σφενδόνης νόμους, ἵππων τε  
περὶ ἀγῶνος, πάλιν κάνταῦθα περὶ τῶν  
θηλειῶν ἐπάγει λέγων ‘Θηλείας δὲ περὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τούτων νόμοις μὲν καὶ ἐπιτάξεσιν οὐκ ἄξια

vain. If the lord does not guard the city, the  
watchman stays awake in vain.”

13.19.8 | But the wonderful philosopher  
includes women in the gymnastic  
competition, saying this: “For women, girls  
who are not yet married should compete in  
running, in the double flute, in horseback  
riding, and in the long race, while  
competing in the same events. As for those  
who are between thirteen and twenty years  
old, they should not be in the community  
longer than twenty years or less than  
eighteen. These girls should come to the  
competition in proper attire for these  
events.”

13.19.9 | Let the events related to running  
be for both men and women. But for  
strength, instead of wrestling and other  
heavy events, there should be fighting in  
armor, with one person against one and  
two against two.

13.19.10 | After saying this, “Indeed, those  
who are skilled in fighting with armor  
should be encouraged to create laws,” he  
adds, “Let the same rules also be made for  
women who are not yet married.”

13.19.11 | Then again, after discussing the  
use of shields, pankration, throwing stones  
by hand and with a sling, and horse  
competitions, he brings up the women once  
more, saying, “Women should not be forced  
into these laws and rules. However, if their  
nature allows them to participate in these

βιάζεσθαι τῆς κοινωνίας· ἔὰν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν παιδευμάτων εἰς ἔθος ιόντων ἡ φύσις ἐνδέχηται καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνῃ παῖδας ἡ παρθένους κοινωνεῖν, ἔὰν καὶ μὴ ψέγειν.”

earlier trainings without difficulty, they should be permitted to do so and not criticized.”

13.19.12 | Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὰ περὶ γυναικῶν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος ὅδε τυγχάνει νόμος Ἐάν 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 ἄρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὄμφαλοῦ μέχρι θεώμενος τὰς θηλείας.” Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἔορταῖς δεῖν αὐτάς φησι γυμνὰς χορεύειν ἐν ἕκτῳ τῶν Νόμων λέγων οὕτως

13.19.12 | So far are Plato's thoughts about women. 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. The judge should 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.” He also says that during the festivals, they should dance naked, as mentioned in the sixth book of the Laws.

13.19.13 | “Τῆς οὖν τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἔνεκα χρὴ καὶ τὰς παιδιάς ποιεῖσθαι χορεύοντάς τε καὶ χορευούσας, κούρους τε καὶ κόρας, καὶ ἅμα δὴ θεωροῦντάς τε καὶ θεωρουμένους μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἡλικίας τινὸς ἔχούσης είκυίας προφάσεις, γυμνοὺς καὶ γυμνὰς μέχρι περ αἵδους σώφρονος ἐκάστων.”

13.19.13 | Therefore, for the sake of such seriousness, it is necessary to have the children dance, both boys and girls, while also watching them and being watched. This should happen with some appropriate discussion and age-related reasons, while they are naked up to the point of modesty for each individual.

13.19.14 | Πρὸς τούτοις ἄπασιν ἐπάκουουσον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ περὶ τοῦ κοινᾶς εἴναι τὰς γυναικας νόμου. “Τούτῳ, ἦν δὲ ἐγὼ, ἐπεται νόμος καὶ τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ὅδε. Τίς; Τὰς γυναικας ταύτας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων πάντων πάσας εἴναι κοινᾶς, ἴδιᾳ δὲ μηδενὶ μηδεμίᾳ συνοικεῖν· καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοὺς κοινοὺς, καὶ μήτε γονέα ἔκγονον είδεναι τὸν αὐτοῦ μήτε

13.19.14 | Listen to all these things and also to what is said in the Republic about women being shared 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 shared, and no one should live with any of them privately. The children should also be shared, so that neither parent knows their own child nor child

παῖδα γονέα.”

13.19.15 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Εἴκος, ἔφη. Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὕτω καὶ τὰς γυναικας ἑκλέξας παραδώσεις καθόσον οὗτον τε δημοφυεῖς· οἱ δὲ, ἀτε οἰκίας τε καὶ ξυσσίτια κοινὰ ἔχοντες, ἴδιᾳ δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον κεκτημένου, ὅμοι δὴ ἔσονται, ὅμοι 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, ή δ' ὅς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις, αἱ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκείνων δριμύτεραι εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πείθειν τε καὶ ἔλκειν τὸν πολὺν λεών.”

13.19.16 | Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἵσως τις ἐτέρως διηγήσεται τὴν τοῦ λόγου διάνοιαν, μὴ τὸ νομιζόμενον φὰς ὑποβάλλειν. μὴ γάρ ἀδιαστόλως εἴπειν πάσας εἶναι κοινὰς τὰς γυναικας, ὡς καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀκολασταίνειν ἔξειναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔξουσίᾳ κεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας διανέμησιν αὐτῶν. οὕτω γάρ εἶναι κοινὰς, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα φαίη τις εἶναι κοινὰ, οἵς προσήκει διανεμόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτετραμμένων. καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως. ἔχέτω.

13.19.17 | τί δ' ἀν εἴποις μαθὼν ὡς καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν εἰς φῶς τὰ κυούμενα προστάττει, λέγων ὅδε; “Γυναικὶ μὲν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ἀρξαμένῃ ἀπὸ είκοσαέτιδος μέχρι τεσσαρακονταέτιδος τίκτειν τῇ πόλει· ἀνδρὶ δὲ, ἐπειδὰν τὴν ὄξυτάτην δρόμου ἀκμὴν παρῇ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου γεννᾶν τῇ

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. Those who have common households and common meals, having nothing privately, will be together. Mixing in the gymnasiums and in other forms of nourishment, out of necessity, I think, will naturally lead to them coming together. 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, without suggesting what is commonly thought. For it should not be said without distinction that all women are shared, as if anyone were allowed to act immorally with them. Rather, the sharing of them should be under the authority of the rulers. In this way, they are shared, just as someone might say that public funds are shared, which should be distributed among those appointed to manage them. And indeed, let it be so.

13.19.17 | What would you say if you learned that it is also ordered not to reveal 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 his prime, he should father children for the city until he

πόλει μέχρι πεντεκαιπεντηκονταέτους.”

is fifty-five years old.”

13.19.18 | Οῖς ἐπιλέγει “Οταν δὲ δὴ, οἶμαι, αἱ τε γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ γεννᾶν ἔκβῶσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀφήσομέν που ἑλευθέρους αὐτούς συγγίνεσθαι ἢ ἀν ἔθέλωσι.” Καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Διακελευσάμενοι προθυμεῖσθαι μάλιστα μὲν μὴ εἰς φῶς ἐκφέρειν κύημα μηδὲν, ἐὰν γένηται· ἐὰν 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 both women and men reach the age for having children, I think we will allow them to come together freely as they wish.” And he adds, “Having instructed them to be very eager not to reveal any conception, if it happens; but if someone is forced, then to handle it in such a way that there is no food for that child.” And these are the matters concerning the upbringing of women. As for the matters about love, listen to what follows.

## 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 ῥεύματος ἐκείνου πηγὴ, ὃν ἤμερον Ζεὺς Γανυμήδους ἔρων ὠνόμασε, πολλὴ φερομένη πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν ἡ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔδυ, ἡ δ' ἀπομεστούμενου ἔξω ἀπορρεῖ· καὶ οἷον πνεῦμα ἡ τις ἡχὼ ἀπὸ λείων τε καὶ στερεῶν ἀλλομένη πάλιν ὅθεν ὡρμήθη φέρεται, οὕτω τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ῥεῦμα πάλιν εἰς τὸν καλὸν διὰ τῶν ὄμμάτων ἴὸν, ἣ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ίέναι ἀφικόμενον, καὶ ἀναπτερῶσαν τὰς διόδους τῶν πτερῶν, ἄρδει τε καὶ ὥρμησε πτεροφυεῖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔρωμένου αὖ ψυχὴν ἔρωτος ἐνέπλησεν. ἔρᾳ μὲν οὖν, ὅτου δὲ ἀπορεῖ, καὶ οὕθ' ὅ τι πέπονθεν οἴδεν, οὐδ' ἔχει φράσαι, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀπ' ἄλλου ὄφθαλμίας ἀπολελαυκῶς πρόφασιν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει.”

13.20.1 | When this goes on 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 called desire for Ganymede, carries much toward the lover. One part enters him, while the other flows out, having been rejected. Just like a breeze or an echo bouncing back from smooth and solid surfaces, the flow of beauty returns to the beautiful through the gaze, as it naturally seeks to reach the soul. It arrives and opens the pathways of the wings, both nourishing and urging it to take flight, filling the soul of the beloved with love. Therefore, the one who loves does not know what he lacks, nor does he understand 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 ἑκείνῳ παραπλησίως μὲν, ἀσθενεστέρως δὲ, ὅρᾶν, ἄπτεσθαι, φιλεῖν, συγκατακεῖσθαι· καὶ δὴ, οἷον εἰκός, 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· ὃ δὲ τῶν παιδικῶν ἔχει μὲν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, σπαργῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν περιβάλλει τὸν ἔραστὴν καὶ φιλεῖ, ὡς σφόδρα εὔνουν ἀσπαζόμενος· ὅταν τε συγκατακέωνται, οἶός ἐστι μὴ ἀπαρνηθῆναι τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Χαρίσασθαι τῷ ἔρῶντι, εἰ δεηθείη τυγχάνειν....

13.20.3 | ἔὰν μὲν δὴ οὖν εἰς τεταγμένην δίαιταν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν νικήσῃ τὰ βελτίω τῆς διανοίας, μακάριον καὶ ὀμονοητικὸν τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον διάγουσιν, ἐγκρατεῖς ἐαυτῶν καὶ κόσμιοι ὄντες.”

13.20.4 | Εἶτα μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Εὰν δὲ διαιτή φορτικωτέρα τε καὶ φιλοτίμω δὲ χρήσωνται, τάχ' ἄν που ἐν μέθαις ᾗ 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, ἀτε οὐ πάσῃ δεδογμένα τῇ διανοίᾳ πράττοντες.

13.20.5 | φίλω μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτῳ, ἤττον δὲ ἑκείνων ἄλλήλοιν διά τε τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ ἔξω γενομένω διάγουσι, πίστεις τὰς μεγίστας ἡγουμένω ἄλλήλοιν δεδωκέναι τε καὶ δεδέχθαι, ἀς οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι λύσαντας

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 intensity. 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 young one has nothing to say, and feeling weak and confused, he embraces the lover and kisses him, as if warmly welcoming him. When they lie down together, he cannot refuse to share his part with the one who loves him, if he happens to be asked...”

13.20.3 | If he indeed 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 | Then he adds, “If they follow a more indulgent and ambitious lifestyle, they might quickly find themselves in drunkenness or some other carelessness, taking on the reckless burden of their souls and bringing them together as 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 | Therefore, they love each other, but less than those others. Through love and their outside lives, they live together, valuing the greatest trusts given and received between them, which it is not

είς ἔχθραν ποτὲ ἐλθεῖν.

13.20.6 | ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄπτεροι μὲν, ὡρμηκότες δὲ πτεροῦσθαι ἐκβαίνουσι τοῦ σώματος, ὥστε οὐ σμικρὸν ἄθλον τῆς ἑρωτικῆς 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' ἀλλήλων πορευομένους, καὶ ὅμοπτέρους ἔρωτος χάριν. ταῦτα τοσαῦτα, ὡς παῖ, καὶ οὕτω θεῖά σοι δωρήσεται ἡ παρ' ἔραστοῦ φιλία.”

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 γυναικός, βδέλυγμα ἐποίησαν ἀμφότεροι· θανάτῳ θανατούσθωσαν, ἔνοχοί είσι.” καὶ “ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κοιμώμενος μετὰ ἄρσενος κοίτην γυναικός.” τί δεῖ τανῦν ἀπελέγχειν, ὡς παρεὶς ὁ σοφώτατος τὸν παιδεραστὴν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ἡξίωσε κατὰ παιδεραστῶν θανάτου δίκην ὁρίσασθαι, 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' ἂν ὁ θεὸς, φησὶν, ἀναιρῆ περὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τοῦ κινήσαντος, τοῦθ' ἡ πόλις ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς μαντείαις δράτω τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἔὰν μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὁ

right to break and turn into hatred.

13.20.6 | In the end, those without wings, driven to fly out of the body, carry a great burden of passionate madness. For it is not lawful for those already freed from the earthly journey to enter into darkness and the way beneath the earth. Instead, they lead a visible life, finding happiness as they travel together, 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 | Such are the views of Plato, but not those of Moses, who clearly legislates against these things, loudly stating the punishment 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, 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 someone else. But listen to this, and do not think that I am slandering you.

13.21.1 | Whatever the god takes away concerning property and the one who caused it, let the city follow the oracles of the god. If the informer is free, let him gain

μηνύσας ἦ, δόξαν άρετῆς κεκτήσθω, μὴ μηνύων δὲ κακίας· δοῦλος δὲ ἀνὴρ, ὁ μηνύσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄρθως γίγνοιτο· ἀν., ἀποδιδούσης τῷ δεσπότῃ τὴν τιμήν· μὴ μηνύων δὲ θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.”

a reputation for virtue, not for revealing wrongdoing. But if he is a slave, the city should treat the informer well, giving honor to the master. If he does not inform, let him be punished with death.

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 φονεύσειε. λέγει δ’ οὗν “Δοῦλον δὲ κτείνας ἐαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλοτριον θυμῷ, διπλῇ τὸ βλάβος ἐκτισάτω τῷ κεκτημένῳ.”

13.21.2 | And here, the one who is punished with death is not the one who encouraged any of the forbidden acts, but the one who did not report 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 | Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπάκουουσον αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων, οὓς περὶ φονέων διετάξατο “Ἄρα τις αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, δὲ πεπραγμένον ἀπροβούλευτως ὄργῃ τινι γένηται πραχθὲν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ ἄνευ θυμοῦ κτείναντι προσῆκε τῷ πάσχειν, πασχέατω· δύο δ’ ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἔτη φευγέτω, κολάζων τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμόν.”

13.21.3 | And listen to this from the laws about murder: “If someone kills a free person in anger without planning, let him suffer the same as if he had killed without anger; but let him flee for two years, punishing his own anger.”

13.21.4 | Καὶ τούτῳ προστίθησιν ἔξῆς ἔτερον 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.”

13.21.4 | And he adds another law like this: “If someone kills in anger but with planning, let him suffer the same as before, but let him flee for three years, being punished more for the greater anger.”

13.21.5 | Εἴθ’ ἔξῆς περὶ τοῦ δεύτερον φονεύσαντος τοιάδε νομιθετεῖ “Ἐὰν δὲ αὐθίς ποτε κατελθὼν ὀπότερος αὐτοῖν ἡττηθεὶς ὄργῃ πράξῃ ταύτὸν τοῦτο, φυγὼν

13.21.5 | Then he makes a law about the second murderer like this: “If someone comes down again and, being overcome by anger, does the same thing, let him not

μηκέτι κατέλθῃ.”

13.21.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ἔξῆς φησιν “Εὰν δὲ, ὃ γίγνεται μὲν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ, διὰ θυμὸν πατήρ ἢ μήτηρ νιὸν ἢ θυγατέρα πληγαῖς ἢ τινι τρόπῳ βιαίῳ κτείνῃ, καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαίρεσθαι καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαυτεῖν, κατελθόντων δὲ τῶν κτεινάντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γυναικά τε ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς, καὶ μήποτ’ ἔτι κοινῇ παιδοποιήσασθαι.”

13.21.7 | Καὶ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει “Γυναικα δὲ γαμετὴν ἔὰν ἀνὴρ δι’ ὄργην κτείνῃ τινὰ, ἢ γυνὴ τις ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ταύτὸν τοῦτο ὠσαύτως ἐργάσηται, καθαίρεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρμοὺς, τριετεῖς δὲ ἀπενιαυτήσεις διατελεῖν. κατελθών δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτό τι δράσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν Ἱερῶν μὴ κοινωνείτω, μηδὲ ὅμιτράπεζος γιγνέσθω ποτέ.

13.21.8 | καὶ ἔὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν θυμῷ κτείνῃ, τὰ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ ἀπενιαυτήσεων, καθάπερ εἴρηται τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἑκγόνοις, εἰρήσθω δεῖν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τούτοις ὃν 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 ἔὰν ἀδελφὸν κτείνῃ ἐν στάσει μάχης γενομένης, ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ, ἀμυνόμενος ἄρχοντα χειρῶν πρότερον, καθάπερ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας

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 hitting them or in some violent way, let them be purified like the others and spend three years apart. And when those who killed return, 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 his 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 apart. And when someone does such a thing, let them not share in sacred things with their own children, nor let them ever sit at the same table with them.”

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 apart be required, just as it was said for the parents and their children. And let it be stated that those who have lost brothers and parents should never sit at the same table with them, nor share in sacred things.

13.21.9 | And if a brother kills a brother in a fight, or in a similar way while defending himself against an attacker, let him be considered pure, just as if he had killed an

ἔστω καθαρός. καὶ ἔὰν πολίτης πολίτην ὡσαύτως, ἢ ξένος ξένον. ἔὰν δὲ ἀστὸν ξένος, ἢ ξένον ἀστὸς ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστω τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι· καὶ ἔὰν δοῦλος δοῦλον, ὡσαύτως. ἔὰν δὲ αὖ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις. —

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 someone who has killed a father.

13.21.10 | "Ος ἀν ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἀδίκως δὸντιναοῦν τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτόχειρ κτείνῃ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νομίμων είργέσθω, μήτε ἀγορὰν μήτε ιερὰ μήτε λιμένας μήτε ἄλλον κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μιαίνων, ἔὰν τέ τις ἀπαγορεύῃ τῷ δράσαντι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔὰν μή. ὁ γάρ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει. .. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπεξιών δέον ἢ μὴ προαγορεύων εἰργέσθω τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος—τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὑπόδικος τῷ θέλοντι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γιγνέσθω.—Γυνὴ δὲ ἄνδρα ἔαυτῆς ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τρώσασα, ἢ ἀνήρ τὴν ἔαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν."

13.21.10 | Whoever kills someone from their own people with premeditation and unjustly should be barred from all public places, including 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 held responsible 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, 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, ἐπάκουσον οἴα περὶ τῶν φονικὸν διατάττεται "ἔὰν τίς τινα, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. εἰ δὲ οὐχ ἐκῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δώσω σοι τόπον οὗ φεύξεται ἐκεῖ ὁ φονεύσας. ἔὰν δὲ ἐπίθηται τις τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι. δις τύπτει πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἢ μητέρα αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. ἔὰν δὲ λοιδορῶνται δύο

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

άνδρες, καὶ πατάξῃ τις τὸν πλησίον αύτοῦ λίθῳ ἢ πυγμῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, κατακλιθῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, ἔὰν ἔχαναστάς ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιπατήσῃ ἔξω ἐπὶ ράβδου αύτοῦ, ἀθῷος ἔσται ὁ πατάξας· πλὴν τῆς ἀργίας αύτοῦ ἀποτίσει καὶ τὰ ιατρεῖα. ἔὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τὸν παῖδα αύτοῦ ἢ τὴν παιδίσκην αύτοῦ ἐν ράβδῳ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αύτοῦ, δίκη ἐκδικηθήσεται. ἔὰν δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν ἢ δύο βιώσῃ, οὐκ ἐκδικηθήσεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον αύτοῦ ἔστιν. ἔὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν τοῦ οἰκέτου, ἢ τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν τῆς θεραπαίνης αύτοῦ, καὶ ἐκτυφλώσῃ αύτὸν, ἐλευθέρους ἔξαποστελεῖ αύτοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄφθαλμοῦ αὐτῶν.”

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 laziness 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 set them free in place of their eye.

13.21.12 | τοιαῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ Μώσεως. αὐθίς δὲ ὁ Πλάτων' τίνα τρόπον καὶ δι' ὅποια πληγαῖς ἀπαραιτήτοις αἰκίζεσθαι τὸν οἰκέτην προστάττει ἐπάκουουσον “Οταν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα ὄπωρίζειν βούληται, ἔὰν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὀπόταν βούληται καρπούσθω· ἔὰν δὲ ἔξ ἄλλων πείσας, ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὅ τι μὴ κατέθετο, ἐκεῖνος ἀεὶ ζημιούσθω. ἔὰν δὲ δοῦλος μὴ πείσας τὸν δεσπότην τῶν χωρίων ἄπτηται του πῶν τοιούτων, κατὰ ῥᾶγα βιστρύων καὶ σῦκον συκῆς ἴσαριθμους πληγὰς τούτοις μαστιγούσθω.”

13.21.12 | These are also the laws of Moses. Again, Plato explains 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 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 them be beaten with equal blows of grapes and figs.”

13.21.13 | Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τῶνδε οὐκ ἄξια τῆς Πλάτωνος μεγαλονοίας. ὡς δὲ σεμνὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τὰ παρὰ Μωσῆ μάθοις ἀν ἐπακούσας ὥδε πῃ λέγοντος “ἔὰν δὲ εἰσέλθῃς εἰς ἀμπελῶνα τού πλησίον, φαγῇ σταφυλὴν, ὅσον ψυχήν σου ἐμπλησθῆναι, εἴς τ' ἄγγος οὐκ ἐμβαλεῖς.”

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 enough grapes to satisfy your hunger, you shall not put any in your basket.” And again, “If you enter your

καὶ πάλιν “έὰν 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.”

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 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ. δῆλα δὲ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐν οἷς μυρία εὑροις ἀν ἀνεπίληπτα, 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 Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνώκαμεν, ὥρα καὶ τὰ τῆς λοιπῆς ὑποσχέσεως εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ τάς γε ἄλλας αἱρέσεις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπιθεωρῆσαι φιλοσοφίας.

13.21.14 | And these are the things from Moses. Clearly, in Plato's works, you would find countless ideas that are not overlooked, especially those that are serious and most important, which we say are far from those who do not think this way. But now that we have discussed these matters, and the reason 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 close 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 ἦν ἀμφὶ τῆς 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 ἄν τις

14.1.1 | Introduction. Regarding what has been said and heard about Plato's philosophy and its agreement with the Hebrew writings, which leaves us in awe of the man, and also about the disagreement with them, which no one who thinks clearly

αύτὸν εὗ φρονῶν ἀποδέξαιτο, διελθὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου, μέτειμι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαβοηθέντων.

14.1.2 | καὶ τούτων αὕτη πάλιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅλισθον οὐκ αὔτὸς οὐδὲ παρ' ἔμαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φωνῶν μαρτυρίας, σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν θήσω· οὐ μὲν δὴ τισὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεχθόμενος, ὃν γε καὶ μέγα θαῦμ' ἔχειν ὅμοιογῶ, ὅταν δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἵαπερ ἀνθρώποις, παραβάλλω τοὺς ἄνδρας·

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 εὔσεβῶν δογμάτων τε ἀληθῶν διδασκαλίαν καταβεβλημένω, οὐκέτ' οἷμαί τινα δεῦν εὐλόγως ἐπιμέμψασθαι, εἰ θεὸν πρὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν πρὸ θνητῶν λογισμῶν τε καὶ στοχασμῶν τιμώμεθα.

14.1.4 | τοῦτο δέ μοι πᾶν ὁ τῆς παρούσης Προπαρασκευῆς δείξειν πεφιλοτίμηται λόγος, εἰς ἀπόκρισιν ὅμοιος καὶ ἀπολογίαν τῶν δὴ πευσομένων, τί δὴ ἄρα καλὸν ἡ σεμνὸν ἴδοντες ἐν τοῖς βαρβάρων γράμμασι τῆς πατρώας καὶ εὐγενοῦς φιλοσοφίας, τῆς Ἑλλήνων λέγω, προκρίνειν αὐτὰ διανενοήμεθα. ἀλλὰ γάρ ηδη δι' ἔργων ή ἀπόδειξις ήμīν χωρείτω.

could accept, having covered what came before this, I will now turn to the other schools of philosophy that have been discussed among the Greeks.

14.1.2 | And again, I will not share my own opinion about the fall from the truth of these matters, but instead, through the testimony of their own Greek voices, I will present this to those who come across them. Truly, I do not harbor any hatred toward certain men, of whom I acknowledge there is great wonder, when I compare them to others, just like any other human beings.

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, as well as to the teachings of pious sciences and true doctrines that have been established, I do not believe it is fair 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 to what will indeed be asked: what is beautiful or noble that we see in the writings of the barbarians, in the ancestral and noble philosophy, meaning that of the Greeks, we have decided to choose. But truly, let the proof come to us through actions.

## 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 ὅποιων 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 αύτῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι, ἐπιθεωρῆσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεων 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 οἰκείους τε καὶ διαδόχους ἄλλοι· καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὅπως οἱ Πλάτωνος ἐταῖροι τὰ σοφὰ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους πολυνοίας ἀπήλεγχον· ὅπως θ' οἱ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τὸν Περίπατον αὐχοῦντες τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν πρεσβεύοντι τὸ μηθὲν ὄντα παρίστων.

14.2.3 | καὶ τὰ δεινὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκριβῆ τῆς τῶν Στωϊκῶν λεπτολογίας ὑφ' ἐτέρων αὖ πάλιν ὄψει καταγελώμενα, πάντας τε πανταχόθεν κατὰ τῶν πέλας κονιομένους καὶ μάχην καὶ πάλην ἀνδρικώτατα συνισταμένους, ὡς διὰ Χειρῶν ἥδη καὶ γλώττης, ἥ μᾶλλον διὰ καλάμου καὶ μέλανος, τὸν κατὰ ἄλλήλων αύτοὺς πόλεμον ἐπιτειχίζεσθαι, μονονουχὶ

14.2.1 | I believe we should first start from the very beginning with the first teachings of the philosophers among the Greeks. We need to learn about those who were called natural philosophers before Plato, who they were, and what kind of philosophy they followed. 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 among other schools and the changes in their beliefs, where the noble and ambitious thinkers, like actors on a stage, compete with one another.

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. Again, let us see how Plato's companions challenged 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 | And the terrible and precise details of the Stoics will again be seen as a source of laughter by others. Meanwhile, those nearby are bravely standing in battle and struggle, as if through hands and tongues, or rather through pen and ink, they are fortifying their conflict against each other, only throwing and being thrown at with the

βάλλοντας καὶ βαλλομένους τοῖς διὰ λόγων  
δόρασί τε καὶ παντευχίαις.

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 ἔξ 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 | In this contest of truth, we find ourselves surrounded by those who oppose the dogmatic philosophers, like those around Pyrrho, who claim that nothing can be truly known among humans. There are also those who follow Aristippus, saying that only 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 remove those around Xenophanes and Parmenides, who take the opposite side and reject the senses.

14.2.6 | οὐ παρήσομεν δὲ ούδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἡδονῆς προμάχους, ἄλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὸν ἀριστέα Ἐπίκουρον σὺν τοῖς είρημένοις καταλέξομεν. πρὸς ἄπαντας δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν βέλεσι τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντιθήσομεν ἔλεγχον.

14.2.6 | We will not overlook the champions of pleasure, but we will also include their best, Epicurus, along with those already mentioned. Against all of them, we will present an argument that challenges their beliefs.

14.2.7 | καὶ τῶν ἐπίκλην δὲ φυσικῶν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν τε δογμάτων τὰς διαφωνίας καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τὴν ἀχρηστομάθειαν εἰς φανερὸν οἴσω, οὕτι που μισέλλην ούδὲ μισόλογος τις ὁν, πολλοῦ γε δέω, διαβολῆς δ' αἵτιαν ἀπολυόμενος, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἥκιστα μεταποιηθέντες τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια προτετιμήκαμεν.

14.2.7 | 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 spreads slander—far from it—but as one who clears away the blame for such slander. This is 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 είπεῖν, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας τὴν εύσέβειαν καὶ ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνηρευνηκότες, ἀκήρατον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μετέπειτα ταύτην διατετηρήκασι, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς θησαυρὸν λόγων ἀληθῶν ὑποδεξάμενοί τε καὶ φυλάξαντες, ὡς μήτ' ἐπιθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν τινὰ τοῖς ἅπαξ κεκριμένοις τολμῆσαι.

14.3.2 | οὕτ' οὖν ὁ πάνσοφος Μώσης, πάντων μὲν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβύτατος ἀποφανθεὶς διὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, πάντων δὲ ὑστατος 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,

14.3.3 | οὕθ' οἱ μετὰς τόνδε προφῆται, μυρίαις ὃσαις ὑστερον ἔτῶν περιόδοις ἐκλάμψαντες, διάφωνόν τι ῥῆμα πρός τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς τὰ Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέσι νομισθέντα προέσθαι τῇ φωνῇ τετολμήκασιν.

14.3.4 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλεῖον, ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ὀρμώμενον καὶ δι' ἐνθέου δυνάμεως ὅμοῦ πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα τε καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον ἐμπλῆσαν, διάφωνόν τι τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐμπεριείληφεν, εἴ μή τις φαίη ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς θεολογίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ βίου

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. This ensures that no one would dare to add or take away anything from what has been hidden once.

14.3.2 | Therefore, the all-wise Moses, who is the oldest of all the Greeks mentioned earlier and the youngest in age among the earlier Hebrews, did not think to change or alter anything from the beliefs of his ancestors about theology. Instead, he aimed to establish a way of life suitable for the people under him and to create a form of government.

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 beloved 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 claims that it not only teaches the doctrines of theology but also passes down

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  
ὅμοι 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  
οὗτ' ἔχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαὶ οὕτι πολεμίων  
πολλάκις ἀκονηθέντα ξίφη κρείττονα τῆς  
ῶν 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 ἦ  
Πλάτωνα διαλάμψαι λεγόμενοι ὅπως πρὸς  
ἄλλήλους ἐστασίασαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν  
ἔστι τοῦ Πλάτωνος· ὃς δὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ  
Πρωταγόραν Ἡράκλειτόν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς  
Παρμενίδην καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν διαμάχην  
ἔξελέγχει.

14.3.7 | ὁ μὲν γάρ 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' ὅποιοι 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 καί φησι  
μηδὲν μᾶλλον τὸ ὄν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι· ὅτι

the same way of life to the God-beloved  
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. Neither the  
arrangements of laws nor the plots of  
enemies nor the many 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 challenged. 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  
themselves to learn from him. He, in turn,  
examined those around Protagoras,  
Heraclitus, and the debate with  
Parmenides, along with those who argued  
about him.

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 described the full as something  
solid and real, while the empty is not real.

τε ἔξ αἰδίου τὰ ὄντα ἐν τῷ κενῷ συνεχῶς καὶ ὀξέως κινεῖται.”

Therefore, he also claimed that nothing is more real than what is not real, because from eternity, 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 ὡρίσθαι 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. Everything is in a state of change, and time is marked by the process of everything returning to fire and the generation that comes from it.

14.3.9 | οἵδε μὲν οὖν πάντα κινεῖσθαι ἔφασαν· ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης, τὸ γένος Ἐλεάτης ὃν, 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 διοῖα ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ διέξεισιν ἀκουε

14.3.9 | These thinkers claimed that everything is in motion; however, Parmenides, who was from Elea, argued that everything is one, ungenerated, and unmoving, existing in a spherical form. Melissus, a companion of Parmenides, shared the same beliefs. Regarding these ideas, listen to what Plato discusses in the *Theaetetus*.

## Section 4

14.4.1 | “Ἐκ δὲ δὴ φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως καὶ κράσεως πρὸς ἄλληλα γίνεται πάντα ἂ δὴ φαμεν εἶναι, οὐκ ὄρθῶς προσαγορεύοντες. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν, ἀεὶ δὲ γίνεται. καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἔξαισιοι σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου ξυμφέρεσθον, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὁμηρος, εἴπων Ὡκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν, πάντα εἴρηκεν ἔκγονα ροῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγειν;

14.4.1 | “From the combination of motion, movement, and mixture, everything we say exists comes into being, though we do not name them correctly. For nothing ever is, but everything always becomes. About this, all the wise men agree, except for Parmenides: Protagoras, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, along with the poets, such as 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 | "Ἔμοιγε. Τίς οῦν ἀν ἔτι πρός γε τοσοῦτον στρατόπεδον καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὅμηρον δύναιτο ἀμφισβήτησας μὴ καταγέλαστος γενέοθαι;" Εἴθ' ἔξῆς προϊὼν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιφέρει λέγων

14.4.3 | "Προσιτέον οὖν ἔγγυτέρω, ὡς δὲ ὑπὲρ Πρωταγόρου λόγος ἐπέταττε, καὶ σκεπτέον τὴν φερομένην ταύτην ούσιαν διακρούοντα, εἴτε ὑγίες εἴτε σαθρὸν φθέγγεται. μάχη δ' οὗν περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ φαύλη ούδ' ὄλιγοις γέγονε. Πολλοῦ καὶ δεῖ φαύλη εἶναι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὴν c Ἰωνίαν ἐπιδίδωσι πάμπολυ. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτον ἐταῖροι χορηγοῦσι τούτου τοῦ λόγου μάλα ἐρρωμένως. Τῷ τοι, ω φίλε Θεόδωρε, μᾶλλον σκεπτέον καὶ ἔξ ἀρχῆς 9 ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὑποτείνονται.

14.4.4 | Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. καὶ γὰρ, ω Σώκρατες, περὶ τούτων τῶν Ἡρακλειτείων, ἡ ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις Ὅμηρείων τε καὶ ἔτι παλαιοτέρων, αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ὅσοι προσποιοῦνται ἔμπειροι εἶναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τε διαλεχθῆναι ἡ τοῖς οἰστρῶσιν. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται, τὸ δὲ ἐπιμεῖναι ἐπὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐρωτήματι καὶ ἡσυχίως ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνασθαι τε καὶ ἐρέσθαι, ἥττον αὐτοῖς ἔνι ἡ τὸ μηδέν· μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερβάλλει τὸ ούδ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ σμικρὸν ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡσυχίας. ἀλλ' ἂν τινά τι ἔρῃ, ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας βηματίσκια αἰνιγματώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι, καὶ ἀν τούτου ζητῆς λόγον λαβεῖν, τί εἴρηκεν, ἐτέρῳ πεπλήξῃ καινῶς μετωνομασμένῳ, περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν πρὸς οὐδένα αὐτῶν, οὐδέ γε ἐκεῖνοι

14.4.2 | "To me, who could still argue 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 come closer, as the argument about Protagoras suggests, and examine this being that is being discussed, whether it speaks of something healthy or something rotten. The debate over this is not trivial and has involved more than just a few people. It must be important, especially concerning the Ionian. For the followers of Heraclitus strongly support this argument. So, my friend Theodorus, we should think more carefully and start from the beginning, just as they themselves recommend."

14.4.4 | "Absolutely. And indeed, Socrates, regarding 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. They are swept along by the writings, but to stay on a topic and to answer and ask questions calmly and in turn is less in them than nothing. In fact, they go beyond the idea of nothingness in their lack of calmness. If someone asks a question, they shoot out puzzling phrases like arrows from a quiver. If you try to understand what has been said, you will be hit by something newly named, and you will never reach anything with any of them, nor will they with each other. They hold nothing firmly, whether in their words or in their own souls, believing,

αύτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλήλους, ἀλλ' εὗ πάνυ φυλάττουσι τὸ μηδὲν βέβαιον ἔὰν εἴναι μήτ' ἐν λόγῳ μήτ' ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς, ἡγούμενοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸ στάσιμον εἴναι. τούτῳ δὲ πάνυ πολεμοῦσι, καὶ καθ' ὅσον δύνανται πανταχόθεν ἐκβάλλουσιν.

14.4.5 | "Ισως, ὦ Θεόδωρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας μαχομένους ἐώρακας, εἰρηνεύουσι δὲ οὐ συγγέγονας· οὐ γάρ σοι ἐταῖροί είσιν. ἀλλ', οἷμαι, τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ σχολῆς φράζουσιν, οὓς ἂν βούλωνται ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι. Ποίοις μαθηταῖς, ὡς δαιμόνιες; οὐδὲ γίγνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἔτερος ἐτέρου μαθητὴς, ἀλλ' αὐτόματοι ἀναφύονται, ὀπόθεν ἂν τύχῃ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἐνθουσιάσας, καὶ τὸν ἔτερον ὁ ἔτερος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖται πάρα μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὅπερ ηα ἔρων, οὐκ αν ποτε λάβοις λόγον οὕτε ἐκόντων οὕτε ἀκόντων· αὐτοὺς δὲ δεῖ παραλαβόντας ὥσπερ πρόβλημα ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι.

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 Ὦκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ῥεῦμα τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων, ἄτε σοφωτέρων, ἀναφανδὸν ἀποδεικνυμένων, ἵνα καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι αὐτῶν τὴν σοφίαν μάθωσιν ἀκούσαντες καὶ παύσωνται ἡλιθίως οἴόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔστάναι, τὰ δὲ κινεῖσθαι τῶν ὅντων, μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι πάντα κινεῖται τιμῶσιν αὐτούς; ὄλγου δὲ ἐπελαθόμην, ὦ Θεόδωρε, ὅτι ἄλλοι αὖ τάναντία τούτοις ἀπεφήναντο, Οἶον ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ πάντ' ὄνομ' εἴναι, Καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα Μέλισσοι τε καὶ Παρμενίδαι ἐναντιούμενοι Πᾶσι

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. I think such things are explained to the students in a relaxed manner, whom they want to make similar to themselves. What kind of students, dear friend? No one of this kind becomes a student of another; instead, they arise spontaneously, each one inspired from wherever they happen to be. The other thinks nothing of the other. So, whatever one may desire, you will never receive an answer, whether they want to give one or not; rather, they must be treated as a problem to be examined."

14.4.6 | "And you speak reasonably. The problem we are discussing 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. However, the later thinkers, being wiser, clearly show that even the shoemakers among them can learn wisdom by listening 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, saying that the unmoving is what everything is named. Many others, like Melissus and Parmenides, argue against all

τούτοις δισχυρίζονται, ώς ἐν τε πάντα ἔστι καὶ ἔστηκεν αὐτὸν 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 μὴ πῃ ἀμυνόμενοι διαφύγωμεν, δίκην δώσομεν ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις διὰ γραμμῆς παίζοντες, ὅταν ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ληφθέντες ἔλικωνται εἰς τάναντία.

14.4.8 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ. Μεταβὰς δὲ ἔξῆς ἐπὶ Τὸν Σοφιστὴν αὐθις 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 ποῖα ἔστι. — Μῆθόν τινα ἔκαστος φαίνεται μοι διηγεῖσθαι, παισὶν ὡς οὖσιν ἡμῖν. ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίστε αὐτῶν ἄττα πῃ, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα γιγνόμενα γάμους τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν ἔκγόνων παρέχεται· δύο δὲ ἔτερος είπων, ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν ἢ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν, συνοικίζει τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκδίδωσι. τὸ δὲ παρ’ ἡμῖν Ἐλεατικὸν ἔθνος ἄπαν, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων, οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις. Ιάδες δὲ τινες καὶ Σικελικαὶ ὑστερὸν Μοῦσαι ξυνενόησαν ὅτι συμπλέκειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἀμφότερα καὶ λέγειν ὡς τὸ δύν πολλά τε καὶ ἵν ἔστιν, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ φιλίᾳ συνέχεται. διαφερόμενον γάρ ἀεὶ ξυμφέρεται, φασὶν αἴ συντονώτεραι τῶν Μουσῶν· αἱ δὲ μαλακώτεραι τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν

these ideas, 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 should we do about these things? We have moved a little forward and have fallen into the middle of both sides. If we do not somehow defend ourselves and escape, we will face the consequences just like those who play in the wrestling arena when they are caught by both sides and pulled in opposite directions.”

14.4.8 | “These ideas are found in the Theaetetus. Moving on to the Sophist, he speaks again about the earlier natural philosophers: ‘It seems easy to me that Parmenides has chosen us, and anyone who has ever encouraged us to judge what exists and how many kinds there are. Each one seems to tell a certain story, as if to children. One says there are three kinds of being, and they sometimes fight against each other, but at other times they come together in marriage, give birth, and provide nourishment for their offspring. Another says there are two kinds, wet and dry or hot and cold, and combines them. The Eleatic school, starting from Xenophanes and even earlier, argues that everything is called one being. Some Ionians and Sicilian thinkers later agreed that it is safer to combine both views and to say that being is both many and one, connected by enmity and friendship. They say that what differs always comes together, claiming that the Muses are more harmonious; but the softer ones have relaxed this view, saying that these things

έχαλασαν· ἐν μέρει δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν εἶναι φασὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ φύλον ὑπ' Ἀφροδίτης, τοτὲ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτῷ αὐτῷ διὰ νεῖκός τι. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἦ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε, χαλεπὸν καὶ πλημμελές οὕτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς ἄνδρασιν ἐπιτιμᾶν.”

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 conflict. If any of these ideas were truly said or not, it is difficult and unfair to blame such great and famous ancient thinkers.”

14.4.9 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει “Τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν διακριβολογουμένους ὅντος τε πέρι καὶ μὴ πάντας μὲν οὐ διεληλύθαμεν, ὅμως δ' ἵκανῶς ἔχέτω· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως λέγοντας αὖ θεατέον, ἵν' ἐκ πάντων ἴδωμεν ὅτι τὸ ὄν τοῦ μὴ ὅντος οὐδὲν εὐπορώτερον εἴπειν ὅ τι ποτέ ἔστιν. Οὐκοῦν πορεύεσθαι χρὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους. Καὶ μὴν ἔοικέ γε ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷον γιγαντομαχίᾳ τις εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς ἄλλήλους.

14.4.9 | “And after a short while, he adds, ‘Therefore, we have not fully examined those who argue about what exists and what does not exist, but let that be enough. As for those who speak differently, we should observe them, so that we can see that saying what is not being is no easier than saying what is. Therefore, we must also approach these people. Indeed, it seems that there is a kind of battle among them because of their disagreements about being with one another.’”

14.4.10 | Πῶς; Οἱ μὲν είς γῆν ἔξ ούρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἔλκουσι, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρῦς περιλαμβάνοντες. τῶν γάρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων δισχυρίζονται τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει πρόσθ βολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, ταύτὸν σῶμα καὶ ούσιαν δοριζόμενοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἴ τις φήσει μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες τὸ παράπαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔθέλοντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν. Ἡι δεινοὺς εἴρηκας ἄνδρας· ἥδη γάρ καὶ ἔγω τούτων πλέον οἵς προσέτυχον.

14.4.10 | “How? Some pull everything down from the sky and the unseen, grabbing rocks and trees with their hands without any skill. By touching such things, they insist that this is the only thing that provides support and contact, defining it as the same body and essence. But if anyone says that there is something without a body, they completely dismiss it and do not want to hear anything else. You have mentioned terrible men; for I too have already come across more of them.”

14.4.11 | Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα εὔλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ποθὲν ἀμύνονται, νοητὰ ἄττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη βιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν ούσιαν εἶναι· τὰ δὲ ἔκείνων σώματα καὶ τὴν λεγομένην

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. However, they break down the

ύπὸ τούτων ἀλήθειαν κατὰ σμικρὰ διαθραύοντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις γένεσιν ἀντὶ οὐσίας φερομένην τινὰ προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀπλετος ἀμφοτέρων μάχη τις, ὡς Θεαίτητε, ἀεὶ ξυνέστηκεν.

Ἄληθῆ.”

14.4.12 | Διὰ δὴ τοσούτων τοὺς πρὸ αύτοῦ 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.

14.4.13 | Καὶ τοὺς αύτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διαδόχους φέρε τῷ λόγῳ θεωρήσωμεν. Πλάτωνά φασιν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συστησάμενον τὴν διατριβὴν πρῶτον Ακαδημαϊκὸν κληθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ὄνομασθεῖσαν Ακαδημαϊκὴν φιλοσοφίαν συστήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ Πλάτωνα Σπεύσιππον τὸν ἐξ ἀδελφῆς Πλάτωνος, τῆς Ποτώνης, εἶτα Ξενοκράτην, ἐπειτα Πολέμωνα τὴν διατριβὴν ὑποδέξασθαι.

14.4.14 | τούτους δὲ ἀφ' ἔστιας ἀρξαμένους εύθὺς τὰ Πλατωνικά φασι παραλύειν, στρεβλοῦντας τὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ φανέντα ξένων εἰσαγωγαῖς δογμάτων, ὡστε σοι μὴ εἰς μακρὸν ἐλπίζειν τὴν τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἔκείνων διαλόγων ίσχὺν 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

bodies of those people and their so-called truth into small parts in their arguments, calling something that is carried a generation instead of essence. In the midst of this, there is always a great battle between both sides, oh Theaetetus, that continues on.”

14.4.12 | “Because of this, Plato has discredited the natural philosophers who came before him. The view he presented about the topics we discussed is different from those before him, as we show that he agrees with the teachings of the Hebrews and aligns with Moses in his ideas about being.”

14.4.13 | “And let us consider the successors of Plato in his teachings. It is said that Plato established the school in the Academy, which was first called the Academic, and that he created what is known as Academic philosophy. After Plato, Speusippus, who was Plato's nephew, took over, then came Xenocrates, and afterward Polemon continued the school.”

14.4.14 | “Starting from these, it is said that those who came after him immediately distort the Platonic teachings, twisting the ideas revealed by the teacher with foreign doctrines. So, do not expect 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

ζηλοῦν ἀσπαζομένους οὐδένας μὲν ὅντας,  
πλὴν εἰ μὴ εἴς που ἡ δεύτερος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ  
βίῳ, ἡ καὶ τινες ἄλλοι κομιδῇ βραχεῖς τὸν  
ἀριθμὸν, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πάμπαν ἀλλότριοι τῆς  
ἐπιπλάστου σοφιστείας· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ  
πρόσθεν τὸν Πλάτωνα διαδεξάμενοι  
τοιοίδε τινες διαβέβληνται.

same ideas as him are rarely found, except for maybe one or two throughout all of history, 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, ὃν 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  
ἄλλῃσι, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δὲ ἀπίστους  
εἶναι καὶ πάντα λόγον. ἐπήνει γοῦν  
Ἡσιόδου τουτὶ τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα κρύψαντες  
γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ νόον ἀνθρώποισιν.  
ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ καὶ παράδοξά τινα  
ἀνακαινίζειν.

14.4.15 | "For they say that Polemon succeeded Arcesilaus, who set aside the teachings of Plato and, as they say, established a second Academy. He claimed that one must have opinions about everything, for everything is incomprehensible, and the arguments on each side are equally strong against each other. He also believed that the senses are untrustworthy and that all reasoning is uncertain. He praised 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  
άμφὶ Καρνεάδην καὶ Κλειτόμαχον, τῆς τῶν  
προτέρων δόξης ἀποτραπέντας, τρίτης  
Ἀκαδημίας αἵτιους 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 οἵδε τὸν τρόπον, ἀνάγνωθι τὰς  
ῶδε ἔχουσας Νουμηνίου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου  
φωνὰς, ἃς τέθειται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὕν  
ἐπέγραψε 'Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν  
πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαστάσεως.'

14.4.16 | "After Arcesilaus, it is said 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 mention a fifth Academy related to Antiochus. This is how the succession from Plato unfolded. If you want to learn about how these people came to be, read the writings of Numenius the Pythagorean, titled 'On the Disagreement of the Academics with Plato.'"

## 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 πολλαχῆ παραλύοντες, τὰ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες, οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ πρώτῃ διαδοχῇ ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀπ' ἑκείνου καὶ θᾶττον καὶ βράδιον διίσταντο προαιρέσει ἡ ἀγνοίᾳ, τὰ δὲ δή τινι αἰτίᾳ ἄλλῃ οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμῳ ἵσως.

14.5.2 | καὶ οὐ μὲν βούλομαί τι φλαῦρον είπεῖν διὰ Ξενοκράτην, μᾶλλον μὴν ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος ἔθέλω. καὶ γάρ με δάκνει ὅτι μὴ πᾶν ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ἔδρων σώζοντες τῷ Πλάτωνι κατὰ πάντα πάντη πᾶσαν ὁμοδοξίαν. καίτοι ἄξιος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πλάτων', οὐκ ἀμείνων μὲν Πυθαγόρου τοῦ μεγάλου, οὐ μέντοι ἵσως οὐδὲ φλαυρότερος ἑκείνου, ὡς συνακολουθοῦντες σεφθέντες τε οἱ γνώριμοι ἐγένοντο πολυτιμητίζεσθαι αἰτιώτατοι τὸν Πυθαγόραν.

14.5.3 | τοῦτο δὲ οὗτοί Επικούρειοι οὐκ ὥφελον μὲν, μαθόντες δ' οὖν ἐν οὐδενὶ μὲν ὥφθησαν Ἐπικούρῳ ἐναντία θέμενοι οὐδαμῶς, ὁμολογήσαντες δὲ εἶναι σοφῶς συνδεδογμένοι καὶ αὐτὸι διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέλαυσαν τῆς προσρήσεως εἰκότως· ὑπῆρξε τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα Ἐπικουρείοις μηδ' αὐτοῖς εἴπεῖν πω ἐναντίον οὕτε ἀλλήλοις οὕτε Ἐπικούρῳ

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. While they were breaking down many things and twisting others, they did not stay true to the original succession. 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 significance.”

14.5.2 | “And I do not want to say anything trivial about Xenocrates; instead, I want to speak in favor of Plato. It pains me that not everything he experienced and taught has been preserved for Plato in every way and in every agreement. And yet, Plato was worthy of respect; he was not inferior to the great Pythagoras, but perhaps he was not even less significant than him. Those who followed him and spoke of him became highly respected because of their connection to Pythagoras.”

14.5.3 | “However, the Epicureans did not benefit from this, as they were never seen opposing Epicurus in any way. They agreed that they were connected to a wise man, and for this reason, they enjoyed a good reputation without question. No later Epicurean would dare to speak against one another or against Epicurus on any matter, nor even mention it. This was seen as

μηδὲν είς μηδὲν, ὅτου 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· ἀστασιαστοτάτῃ, κοινὸν ἵνα νοῦν, μίαν γνώμην ἔχούσῃ· ἀφ’ ἣς ἡσαν καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔσονται φιλακόλουθοι.

worthy, but rather as a wrongdoing, and it was condemned as something new. Because of this, no one even dares to speak out, 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, with a common understanding and a single opinion; from which they were, 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 ἀγαπόντως ὑπὸ δυσμενοῦς ἐλέγχου, οἱ μέν τινες αὐτὸν ἐμμεμενηκότες ἔτι, οἱ δὲ ἡδη μεταθέμενοι. εἴζασιν οὖν οἱ πρῶτοι ὀλιγαρχικωτέροις, 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 γάρ οὗτοι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τῇ τε πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τοῖς τε σκαριψηθμοῖς ἐπετίμων θάττον.

14.5.4 | “The Stoics, on the other hand, have become divided, starting with their leaders and still not coming to an end, even now. They are facing harsh criticism from an unfriendly judgment; some still hold on to their beliefs, 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 differ from one another; and the more they seem focused on technical matters, the more they appear to be petty. For these individuals, by surpassing others in their busy involvement, were quicker to criticize the details.”

14.5.5 | πολὺ μέντοι τούτων πρότερον ταύτα ἔπαθον οἵ ἀπὸ Σωκράτους ἀφελκύσαντες διαφόρους τοὺς λόγους, ίδιᾳ μὲν Ἀρίστιππος, ίδιᾳ δὲ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ίδιᾳ οἱ Μεγαρικοί τε καὶ Ἐρετρικοί, ἥ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτων.

14.5.5 | “Indeed, many of these people experienced the same things before, having drawn different ideas from Socrates. Individually, there was Aristippus, and separately, Antisthenes. In other places, there were the Megarians and the Eretrians, or perhaps there were others after them.”

14.5.6 | αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι τρεῖς θεοὺς τιθεμένου Σωκράτους καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐκάστῳ ρυθμοῖς, οἱ διακούσαντες τοῦτο μὲν ἡγνόουν, ὕστο δὲ λέγειν πάντα αὐτὸν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νικώσης αἱέι προστυχῶς ἄλλοτε ἄλλης τύχης, ὅπως πνέοι.

14.5.7 | ὃ δὲ Πλάτων' πυθαγορίσας, ἢδει δὲ τὸν Σωκράτην μηδαμόθεν ἥ ἔκειθεν διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα είπεν τε καὶ γνόντα είρηκέναι,) ὥδε οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεδήσατο σατο τὰ πράγματα, οὕτε εἰώθοτας, οὕτε δὲ εἰς τὸ φανερόν διαγαγὼν δὲ ἔκαστα ὅπῃ ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ δῆλα εἶναι καὶ μὴ δῆλα, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἐγράψατο, αὐτὸς δὲ αἵτιαν παρέσχε τῆς μετ' αὐτὸν στάσεως τε ἄμα καὶ διολκῆς τῶν δογμάτων, οὐ φθόνῳ μὲν, οὐδέ γε δυσνοίᾳ· ἀλλ' οὐ βούλομαι ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι πρεσβυτέροις είπεν βήματα οὐκ ἐναίσιμα.

14.5.8 | τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ μαθόντας ἡμᾶς ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔκεισε μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προυθέμεθα χωρίζειν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Ζήνωνος, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς ἀντιλάβηται, Χωρίζοντες ἔάσομεν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ νῦν εἶναι Πυθαγόρειον· ὡς νῦν μανικώτερον ἥ Πενθεῖ τινι προσῆκε διελκόμενος πάσχει μὲν κατὰ μέλη, ὅλος δ' ἐξ ὅλου ἐαυτοῦ μετατίθεται τε καὶ ἀντιμετατίθεται οὐδαμῶς.

14.5.9 | ὅπως οὖν ἀνὴρ μεσεύων

14.5.6 | “The reason is that, while Socrates was presenting three gods and discussing them in the proper rhythms for each, those who heard him did not understand. They thought he was speaking randomly and by chance, as if he were just blowing air.”

14.5.7 | “But Plato, influenced by Pythagoras, understood that Socrates would not express the same ideas from anywhere or for the same reasons. Therefore, he arranged the matters in this way, neither in the usual manner nor clearly. He examined each topic where he thought it belonged, concealing in the middle what was clear and what was not. He wrote it down carefully, but he himself provided the reasoning for his position and the way he presented the ideas, not out of envy or difficulty in understanding. However, I do not wish to speak words that are not suitable for older men.”

14.5.8 | “We must learn to express our opinion there more strongly, and just as we previously distinguished Aristotle and Zeno from the beginning, so now, if the god helps, we will allow him to stand alone as a Pythagorean. Now, he suffers more wildly than Pentheus, being torn apart in pieces, but as a whole, he changes and exchanges himself in no way.”

14.5.9 | “Therefore, as a man balancing

Πυθαγόρου καὶ Σωκράτους, τοῦ μὲν τὸ σεμνὸν ὑπαγαγών μέχρι τοῦ φιλανφρώπου, τοῦ δὲ τὸ κομψὸν τοῦτο καὶ παιγνιῆμον ἀναγαγών ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας εἰς ἄξιωμα καὶ ὅγκον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κεράσας Σωκράτει Πυθαγόραν, τοῦ μὲν δημοτικώτερος, τοῦ δὲ σεμνότερος ὥφθη.

between Pythagoras and Socrates, he brought the serious side of the former to a more friendly level, and he raised the clever and playful side of the latter from irony to significance and depth. By blending these two, he made Socrates seem more ordinary and Pythagoras appear more serious."

14.5.10 | "Ἄλλ' "Άλλ' οὐ γάρ τι ταῦτα διαιτήσων περὶ τούτων οὕστης νῦν μοι τῆς ζητήσεως· ἂ δὲ προυδέδοκτο καὶ εἴμι ἐκεῖσε, ἡ δὴ φροῦδος ἀναδραμεῖν δοκῶ μοι, μὴ καί που ἀποκρουσθῶμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς φερούσης.

14.5.10 | "But I am not going to discuss these things now that my inquiry is focused on this. As for what was previously agreed upon, I will go there, or I think I might run away for nothing, so that we do not get pushed off the path that leads us."

14.5.11 | Πολέμωνος δὲ ἔγένοντο γνώριμοι Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ Ζήνων· πάλιν γὰρ αὐτῶν μνησθήσομαι ἐπὶ τέλει. Ζήνωνα μὲν οὖν μέμνημαι εἰπών Ξενοκράτει, εἴτα δὲ Πολέμωνι φοιτήσαι, αὗθις δὲ παρὰ Κράτητι κινίσαι· νυνὶ δὲ αὐτῷ λελογίσθω ὅτι καὶ Στίλπωνός τε μετέσχε καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν Ἡρακλειτέων.

14.5.11 | "Among the followers of Polemon, Arcesilaus and Zeno became well-known. I will mention them again at the end. I remember Zeno talking about Xenocrates, then going to Polemon, and later hunting with Cratylus. But for now, let it be noted that Stilpo also took part in the discussions about Heraclitus."

14.5.12 | ἐπεὶ γὰρ συμφοιτῶντες παρὰ Πολέμωνι ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ἀλλήλοις, συμπαρέλαβον εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχην ὃ μὲν Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Στίλπωνα ἄμα καὶ Κράτητα, ὃν ὑπὸ μὲν Στίλπωνος ἔγένετο μαχητῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡρακλείτου αὐτηρὸς, κυνικὸς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτητος· ὃ δ' Ἀρκεσίλαος Θεόφραστον ἵσχει καὶ Κράντορα τὸν Πλατωνικὸν καὶ Διόδωρον, εἴτα Πύρρωνα, ὃν ὑπὸ μὲν Κράντορος πιθανουργικὸς, ὑπὸ Διοδώρου δὲ σοφιστὴς, ὑπὸ δὲ Πύρρωνος ἔγένετο παντοδαπὸς καὶ ἵτης καὶ οὐδέν.

14.5.12 | "When they were living together with Polemon, they became competitive with each other. They engaged in debates: Heraclitus and Stilpo along with Cratylus. Stilpo was a fighter, Heraclitus was strict, and Cratylus was cynical. Arcesilaus studied under Theophrastus, Crantor the Platonist, and Diodorus, and then Pyrrho. Under Crantor, he was persuasive; under Diodorus, he was a sophist; and under Pyrrho, he became diverse and uncertain."

14.5.13 | ὁ 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  
ἐξαρτυθῆναι, εἴπερ γε δή φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ  
τῇ μὲν ἔχων Μενεδήμου ὑπὸ στέρνοισι  
μόλυβδονθεύσεται, ἢ Πύρρωνα τὸ πὰν  
κρέας, ἢ Διόδωρον.

14.5.13 | "It was said about him 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 claims that he was trained in argumentation by Menedemus, if he indeed says that Menedemus will cover him with lead under his chest, or that Pyrrho will cover him with all the meat, or that Diodorus will do so."

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 ἄμα καὶ  
παρακεκινδυνευμένος, ούδέν τε είδὼς, ὡς  
αὐτὸς ἔφη, γενναῖος ὥν· εἴτα πως  
ἔξεβαινεν ὅμοιος τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὑπὸ  
σκιαγραφίας τῶν λόγων παντοδαπὸς  
πεφαντασμένος."

14.5.14 | "Therefore, since Diodorus was a dialectician, he mixed the arguments of Pyrrho with skeptical ideas, decorating them with a cleverness that resembled Plato's nonsense. He would speak and respond, rolling back and forth from one side to the other, wherever he happened to be, being contradictory, hard to understand, and confusing. He claimed to know nothing, yet he acted bravely. Then, somehow, he would emerge like those who know, appearing in different ways under the shadow of words."

## Section 6

14.6.1 | Τοῦ τε Ὄμηρικοῦ Τυδείδου  
ὅποτέροις μετείη ἀγνοούμενου, οὔτε εί  
Τρῶσίν ὄμιλέοι οὕτε εί καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, ούδὲν  
ῆττον Ἀρκεσίλαος ἡγνοεῖτο. τὸ γὰρ ἔνα τε  
λόγον καὶ ταύτον ποτ' είπεῖν οὐκ ἔνην ἐν  
αὐτῷ, ούδέ γε ἡξίου ἀνδρὸς εἶναι πω τὸ  
τοιοῦτο δεξιοῦ ούδαμῶς. ὀνομάζετο οὖν  
δεινὸς σοφιστὴς, τῶν ἀγυμνάστων  
σφαγεύς.

14.6.1 | "When it came to the Homeric Tydeus, whether he was speaking to the Trojans or even to the Achaeans, Arcesilaus remained unknown. He could not express the same idea in one argument, nor did he believe it was fitting for a man to do such a thing at all. Therefore, he was called a terrible sophist, a butcher of the untrained."

14.6.2 | ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἔμπουσαι ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι τοῖς τῶν λόγων ὑπὸ παρασκευῆς τε καὶ μελέτης ἐφάρματτεν, ἔγοήτευεν, οὐδὲν εἶχεν εἰδέναι οὕτε αὐτὸς οὕτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐᾶν ἐδειμάτου δὲ καὶ κατεθορύβει, καὶ σοφισμάτων γε καὶ λόγων κλοπῆς φερόμενος τὰ πρῶτα κατέχαιρε τῷ ὄνείδει, καὶ ἡβρύνετο θαυμαστῶς, δτι μήτε τί αἰσχρὸν ἡ καλὸν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν μήτε αὖ κακόν ἐστι τί ἥδει, ἀλλ’ ὅποτερον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς πέσοι τοῦτο εἴπων, αὗθις μεταβαλῶν ἀνέτρεπεν ἀν πλεοναχῶς ἡ δι’ ὅσων κατεσκευάκει.

14.6.2 | “For just as those skilled in the illusions of words would prepare and practice, he would enchant others, knowing nothing himself and not allowing others to know either. He would be frightened and cause a commotion, and when accused of tricks and stealing words, he would cling to the first things with shame. He was greatly arrogant because he did not know what was shameful or beautiful, nor what was good or bad. But whenever he spoke about what might touch the souls, he would change and overturn it more than he had prepared.”

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 εὐπρόσωπον ὅντα θεωμένοις· ἦν οὖν ἀκούμενος καὶ βλεπόμενος ἥδιστος, ἐπεὶ τε προσειθίσθησαν ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους ιόντας ἀπὸ καλοῦ προσώπου τε καὶ στόματος οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅμιμαι φιλοφροσύνης.

14.6.3 | “He was like a hydra, cutting himself and being cut by himself, with both sides hard to tell apart and without considering what was needed. Yet to those who listened, he was pleasing, appearing friendly to the audience. Therefore, he was most enjoyable to hear and see, as 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 ὃδε ἔξ ἀρχῆς. συμβαλῶν γὰρ ἐν παισὶ Θεοφράστῳ, ἀνδρὶ πράω καὶ οὐκ ἀφυετά τὰ ἐρωτικὰ, διὰ τὸ καλὸς εἶναι, ἔτι ὧν ὠραῖος, τυχῶν ἔραστοῦ Κράντορος τοῦ Ἀκαδημαικοῦ, προσεχώρησε μὲν τούτῳ, οἷα δὲ τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἀφυῆς, τρεχούσῃ χρησάμενος αὐτῇ ἥραδίᾳ, θερμουργὸς ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας, μετασχῶν μὲν ρου εἰς τὰ πεπανουργημένα πιθάνια ταῦτα τὰ κομψὰ, ὡμιληκώς δὲ Πύρρωνι· (ὸ δὲ Πυρρῶν ἐκ Δημοκρίτου ὤρμητο ὅποθεν γέ ποθεν) οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἔνθεν καταρτυθεὶς, πλὴν τῆς

14.6.4 | “It is important to hear these things not just simply, but to understand them from the beginning. For he came together with Theophrastus, a gentle man who was knowledgeable about matters of love, because he was beautiful and still in his prime. After meeting the lover Crantor from the Academy, he approached him, easily using his nature and being warm-hearted due to rivalry. He took part in the clever arguments that had been crafted and associated with Pyrrho. (Pyrrho was inspired by Democritus, no matter where

προσρήσεως, ἐνέμεινε Πύρρωνι, ώς τῇ πάντων ἀναιρέσει.

14.6.5 | Μνασέας γοῦν καὶ Φιλόμηλος καὶ Τίμων οὗ σκεπτικοὶ σκεπτικὸν αὐτὸν προσονομάζουσιν, ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡσαν, ἀναιροῦντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ πιθανόν.

14.6.6 | λεχθεὶς οὖν αἵτια τῶν Πυρρωνείων Πυρρώνειος, αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἔραστοῦ ὑπέμεινε λέγεσθαι Ακαδημαϊκὸς ἔτι. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν Πυρρώνειος, πλὴν τοῦ ὄνόματος· Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς δ' οὐκ ἦν, πλὴν τοῦ λέγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ 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, ὡσπερ δὲ τὸ μέλαν τῆς σηπίας προβαλέσθαι πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ τὴν ἐποχήν. τοῦτ' οὖν ἔγὼ οὐ πείθομαι.

14.6.7 | οἱ 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 ὁμφαλόεσσαι επληντ' ἀλλήλησι, πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὄρώρει. ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ ἐδνοπάλιζεν.

he came from.) This man, having been shaped by these experiences, stayed with Pyrrho, as he was involved in the rejection of all things."

14.6.5 | "Indeed, Menaseas, Philomelus, and Timon call him a skeptic, just as they were, rejecting both what is true and what is false, as well as what seems plausible."

14.6.6 | "Therefore, being called a Pyrrhonian because of the Pyrrhonians, he modestly accepted being called an Academic as well. So, he was indeed a Pyrrhonian, except for the name; he was not an Academic, aside from being called one. I do not believe that Diocles of Knidos, in his titled Discourses, claimed that Arcesilaus was afraid of Theodorus and Bion the Sophist when they approached the philosophers and were not hesitant to challenge everything. I think Diocles was cautious so that he wouldn't face any problems, showing no doctrine, just like the blackness of the cuttlefish appearing before it. Therefore, I do not believe this."

14.6.7 | "So, those who were inspired from there, both Arcesilaus and Zeno, with the help of such supporters, were engaged in a battle of words. They forgot the beginning from which they were driven by Polemon. After separating and preparing themselves, they charged in with their shields and spears, standing like men in bronze armor. The shields with their central bosses clashed against each other, and a great uproar arose. A shield pressed against a

ἔνθα δ' ἄμ' οίμωγή τε καὶ εύχωλὴ πέλεν  
ἀνδρῶνόλλυντων τε καὶ ὀλυμένων, τῶν  
Στωϊκῶν·

shield, a helmet against a helmet, and a man against a man as they fought fiercely. Then, there arose both wailing and prayers from the men who were falling and perishing, the Stoics."

14.6.8 | οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ γὰρ οὐκ  
ἐβάλλοντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀγνοούμενοι ἡ ἡσαν  
ἀλῶναι δυνατώτεροι. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ, τῆς  
βάσεως αὐτοῖς σεισθείσης, εἰ μήτε ἀρχὴν  
ἔλοιεν μήτε μάχεσθαι ἀφορμήν. ἡ μὲν δὴ  
ἀρχὴ ἦν τὸ μὴ Πλατωνικὰ λέγοντας αὐτοὺς  
έλεγχαι· τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἔχειν τινὰ ἀφορμήν, ἥν  
εἴπον μόνον ἔν τι μετέστρεψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ὅρου τοῦ περὶ τῆς καταληπτικῆς  
φαντασίας ἀφελόντες.

14.6.8 | "The Academics were not attacked by them, as they were unaware of where they could be more easily defeated. They were trying to see if, when their foundation was shaken, they could neither find a starting point nor a reason to fight. The starting point was that they would not allow themselves to be refuted for speaking in a Platonic way. However, they had no reason at all, as they only shifted away from the definition concerning what can be grasped, removing it."

14.6.9 | ὅπερ νῦν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι μηνύειν μοι  
ἐν καιρῷ, μνησθήσομαι δ' αὐτοῦ αὕθις  
ἐπάν κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενέσθαι μέλλω.  
διαστάντες δ' οὖν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἔβαλλον  
ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἷ δύο, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος τὸν  
Ζήνωνα. ὁ γὰρ Ζήνων εἶχε δή τι τῇ μάχῃ  
σεμνὸν καὶ βαρὺ καὶ Κηφισοδώρου τοῦ  
ρήτορος οὐκ ἄμεινον· ὃς δὴ ὁ  
Κηφισόδωρος, ἐπειδὴ ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους  
βαλλόμενον ἐαυτῷ τὸν διδάσκαλον  
Ίσοκράτην ἔώρα, αὐτοῦ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους  
ἢν ἀμαθῆς καὶ ἀπειρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ  
καθορᾶν ἔνδοξα τὰ Πλάτωνος ὑπάρχοντα,  
οἴηθεὶς κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην  
φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐπολέμει μὲν Ἀριστοτέλει,  
ἔβαλλε δὲ Πλάτωνα, καὶ κατηγόρει  
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδεῶν, τελευτῶν εἰς τὰ  
ἄλλα, ἢ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἥδει, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
νομιζόμενα ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἥ λέγεται  
ὑπονοῶν.

14.6.9 | "Now, it is not the right time for me to reveal this, but I will remember it again when the moment is most fitting. So, they stood apart and attacked each other, not both of them, but Arcesilaus attacked Zeno. For Zeno had something serious and weighty in the fight, and he was not worse than Cephisodorus the orator. Cephisodorus, when he saw his teacher Isocrates being attacked by Aristotle, thought that Aristotle was ignorant and inexperienced, while he recognized the famous ideas of Plato. Believing that Aristotle was following Plato's philosophy, he waged war against Aristotle but attacked Plato instead, starting his accusations from the ideas and moving on to other matters that he did not even understand himself, merely hinting at what was commonly believed about them."

14.6.10 | πλὴν οὗτος μὲν ὁ ὥ ἐπολέμει μὴ μαχόμενος, ἐμάχετο ὥ μὴ πολεμεῖν ἔβούλετο. ὁ μέντοι Ζήνων καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθίετο, εἴ μὲν μηδὲ Πλάτωνι ἐπολέμει, λέμει, ἐφιλοσόφει δήπου ἐμοὶ κριτῇ πλείστου ἀξίως, ἔνεκά γε τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης. εἴ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν ἵσως τὰ Ἀρκεσιλάου, τὰ μέντοι Πλάτωνος ἀγνοῶν, ὡς ἔξ ὕπον αὐτῷ ἀντέγραψεν ἐλέγχεται, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐναντία καύτὸς, μήτε ὅν ἦδει πλήττων, ὅν τε οὐκ ἔχρην ἀτιμότατα καὶ αἴσχιστα περιυβρικώς, καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ κάκιον ἥ προσήκει κυνί.

14.6.10 | “But this one, while not fighting against the one he was at war with, was battling 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 a way that I believe is most valuable, for the sake of this peace. However, if he was perhaps unaware of Arcesilaus's ideas but ignorant of Plato's, as he seems to have copied from them, he acted against himself, neither striking the one he knew nor treating the one he should not have insulted in the most disgraceful way. This was much worse than what a dog would deserve.”

14.6.11 | πλὴν διέδειξέ γε μὴν μεγαλοφροσύνη ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου. ἥτοι γάρ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἔκεινου, ἥ δέει τῶν Στωϊκῶν, πολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῦ ἀπετρέψατο ἄλλῃ εἰς Πλάτωνα. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Ζήνωνι είς Πλάτωνα καλῶς τε καὶ αἰδημόνως οὐδαμῶς νεωτερισθέντων είρήσεται μοι αὐθίς ποτε, ἐὰν φιλοσοφίας σχολὴν ἀγάγω. μή ποτε μέντοι ἀγάγοιμι σχολὴν τοσαύτην, τούτου γοῦν ἔνεκεν, εἴ μὴ ὑπὸ παιδιᾶς.

14.6.11 | “But he certainly showed great pride by distancing himself from Arcesilaus. For either through ignorance of his ideas or lacking the Stoics, he turned away from the great threat of war toward Plato. As for 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 for this reason, unless it is due to childishness.”

14.6.12 | τὸν δ' οὖν Ζήνωνα ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀντίτεχνον καὶ ἀξιόνικον ὑπάρχοντα θεωρῶν τοὺς παρ' ἔκεινου ἀποφερομένους λόγους καθήρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ὕκνει.

14.6.12 | Therefore, Arcesilaus, seeing Zeno as a rival and a worthy opponent, criticized the arguments coming from him without any hesitation.

14.6.13 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἄ  
ἐμεμάχητο ἔκεινῳ οὕτ' ἵσως εἰπεῖν ἔχω,  
εἴτε καὶ εἶχον, οὐδὲν ἔδει νῦν αὐτῶν

14.6.13 | And about the other things he argued against him, I might not have anything to say, whether I did or not, and

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. ὃ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστέρῳ ὧν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγων, οὐδενάμενος ἀδικεῖσθαι, Ἀρκεσιλάου μὲν ἀφίετο, πολλὰ ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἥθελε, τάχα δὲ μᾶλλον ἄλλως, πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὐκέτι ἐν ζῶσιν ὅντα Πλάτωνα ἐσκιαμάχει, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ἀμάξης πομπείαν πᾶσαν κατεθορύβει, λέγων ὡς οὕτ' ἀν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀμυνομένου, ὑπερδικεῖν τε αὐτοῦ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ μέλον· εἴτε μελήσειεν Ἀρκεσιλάω, αὐτός γε κερδανεῖν ὥστο ἀποτρεψάμενος ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον. τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη καὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν Συρακόσιον ποιήσαντα τὸ σόφισμα ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

there is no need to mention them now. But this doctrine, first discovered by him, and seeing the name itself honored in Athens, he used every means to support the understanding of the imagination. However, being weaker and living in peace, unable to be wronged, he let go of Arcesilaus, even though he had much to say, but he did not want to. Perhaps he did this for another reason, and he argued against Plato, who was no longer alive, and he disrupted 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. I also knew about Agathocles the Syracusan, who made a clever argument against the Carthaginians.

14.6.14 | οἱ Στωϊκοὶ δὲ ὑπῆκουον ἐκπεπληγμένοι. ἡ μοῦσα γάρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τότε ἦν φιλολόγος οὐδὲ ἐργάτις χαρίτων, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος τὰ μὲν περικρούων, τὰ δὲ ὑποτέμνων, ἄλλα δ' ὑπὸ σκελίζων, κατεγλωττίζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν. τοιγαροῦν πρὸς οὓς μὲν ἀντέλεγεν ἡττωμένων, ἐν οἷς δὲ λέγων ἦν καταπεπληγμένων, δεδειγμένον πως τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ὑπῆρχε μηδὲν εἶναι μήτ' οὖν ἔπος, μήτε πάθος, μήτε ἔργον ἐν βραχὺ, μηδὲ ἄχρηστον τούναντίον ὄφθηναί ποτ' ἀν, εἴ τι μὴ Ἀρκεσιλάω δοκεῖ τῷ Πιταναίω· τῷ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲν ἐδόκει οὐδὲ ἀπεφαίνετο οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡ ῥηματίσκια ταῦτ' εἶναι καὶ φόβους."

14.6.14 | The Stoics were stunned and listened. For their muse was neither a scholar nor a creator of graces at that time, by whom Arkesilaus would either applaud some things or cut others down, making them seem foolish and convincing. Therefore, against those he argued with, they were defeated, while in 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 Arkesilaus to come 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 βούλομαι 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 ἔδεῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐποίει πάντα δι’ αὐτουργίας, οὕτι που αὐτάρκειαν ἔπαινων, οὐδ’ ἄλλως πενίᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδ’ ἀπορίᾳ δούλων, ὡς γε ὑπῆρχον δοῦλοι ὀπόσοι γοῦν· τὴν δὲ αἵτίαν ἔξεστιν εἰκάζειν.

14.7.2 | ἐγὼ δὲ ὃ ὑπεσχόμην τὸ ἡδὺ διηγήσομαι. ταμιεύων γάρ αὐτὸς ἔσαυτῷ τὴν μὲν κλεῖδα περιφέρειν ἐφ’ ἔαυτοῦ οὐκ ὥστε δεῖν, ἀποκλείσας δὲ κατετίθει μὲν ταύτην εἰς τι κοῦλον γραμματεῖον· σημηνάμενος δὲ δακτυ λίω τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον κατεκύλιε διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου ἔσω εἰς τὸν οἴκον μεθιεῖς, ὥσθ’ ὕστερον ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐλθών ἀνοίξει τῇ κλειδὶ δυνησόμενος ἀνελών τὸν δακτύλιον, αὖθις μὲν ἀποκλείειν, εἴτα δὲ σημαίνεσθαι, εἴτα δ’ ἀναβάλλειν ὅπισω πάλιν ἔσω τὸν δακτύλιον διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου.

14.7.3 | τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σοφὸν οἱ δοῦλοι κατανοήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ προίοι Λακύδης εἰς περίπατον ἦ ὅποι ἄλλοσε, καὶ αὐτὸὶ ἀνοίξαντες ἄν, κἄπειτα ὡς σφίσιν ἦν θυμὸς, τὸ μὲν φαγόντες, τὰ δ’ ἐμπιόντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἀράμενοι ἐκ περιόδου ταῦτα ἐποίουν, ἀπέκλειον μὲν, ἐσημαίνοντο δὲ, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον πολλά γε αὐτοῦ καταγελάσαντες εἰς τὸν οἴκον διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου ἡφίεσαν.

14.7.4 | ὁ οὖν Λακύδης πλήρη μὲν

14.7.1 | I want to share something nice about Lacidus. If Lacidus is indeed a bit slippery and is considered economical, this man is well-regarded by many. He opens the treasury and closes it himself. He also chooses what he needs and does all these things through his own efforts, not praising self-sufficiency anywhere, nor using poverty in any way, nor needing slaves, as he had as many slaves as he wanted. The reason for this can be guessed.

14.7.2 | But I will share the nice thing that I promised. As the treasurer, he did not think it necessary to keep the key on him. After locking it, he would place it in a hollow writing box. Then, signaling with his finger, he would roll the ring inside through the keyhole into the house. Later, when he returned, he would be able to open it with the key, lift out the ring, lock it again, signal once more, and then throw the ring back inside through the keyhole.

14.7.3 | So, the clever slaves, noticing this, would open it themselves when Lacidus went out for a walk or somewhere else. Then, as they pleased, 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,

καταλιπών, κενὰ δὲ εὐρισκόμενος τὰ σκεύη, ἀπορῶν τῷ γιγνομένῳ, ἐπειδὴ ἥκουσε φιλοσοφεῖσθαι παρὰ τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀκαταληψίαν, ὡς τὸ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν περὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον. ἀρξάμενός τε ἔνθεν ἐφιλοσόφει παρὰ τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, μηδὲν μήτε ὄρᾶν μήτε ἀκούειν ἐναργὲς ἢ ὑγιές· καί ποτε ἐπισπασάμενος τῶν προσομιλούντων αὐτῷ τινα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἴσχυρίζετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς, ὡς ἐδόκει, τὴν ἐποχὴν, καὶ ἔφη “τοῦτο μὲν ἀναμφίλεκτον ἔγώ σοι ἔχω φράσαι, αὐτὸς ἀπ’ ἔμαυτοῦ μαθὼν, οὐκ ἄλλου πειραθείς.”

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. From that point on, he began to philosophize with Arkesilaus, seeing and hearing nothing clear or healthy. Sometimes, he would pull one of those talking to him into the house and insist strongly, as it seemed, about the situation. He said, “This I can tell you without a doubt, having learned it from myself, not having been tested by anyone else.”

14.7.5 | κάπειτα ἀρξάμενος περιηγεῖτο τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ταμιείου συμβᾶσαν αὐτῷ πάθην. τί οὖν ἀν, εἶπεν, ἔτι Ζήνων λέγοι πρὸς οὔτως ὅμολογουμένην διὰ πάντων φανεράν μοι ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε ἀκαταληψίαιν; ὃς γάρ ἀπέκλεισα μὲν ταῖς ἔμαυτοῦ 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.

14.7.5 | Then, starting from there, he began to think about all the experiences related to the treasury. “So, what,” he said, “would Zeno say about such a widely accepted idea of the nature of things? I locked it with my own hands, I signaled myself, I left the ring inside, and then, when I came back, I opened it and saw the ring inside, but not the other things. How could I not justly distrust what was outside? I would not dare to say that someone came in and stole these things while the ring was still inside.”

14.7.6 | καὶ ὃς ἀκούων, ἦν γάρ ὑβριστής, ἐκδεξάμενος 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 οὐκέτι μὲν τὸν δακτύλιον ἔσω ἐνέβαλλεν, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦ ταμιείου ἔχρητο ἀκαταληψίᾳ, ἄλλα κατελάμβανε τὰ ἀφειμένα, καὶ μάτην ἐπεφιλοσοφήκει.

14.7.6 | And he, hearing this—since 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 revealed his vanity. So, from then on, Lacidus no longer put the ring inside, nor did he rely on the idea of the nature of the treasury. Instead, he accepted the things that were given up, and he philosophized in vain.

14.7.7 | οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ οὕτως παῖδες φόρτακες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτοὶ, οἵτινες οὐδὲ οὗτοι οἱ κωμῳδικοί τε καὶ Γέται καὶ Δάκοι, κάκις τῆς Δακικῆς λαλεῖν στωμαλήθρας κατεγλωττισμένοι, ἐπειδή τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς τὰ σοφίσματα ἥκουσαν, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἐκμαθόντες, εύθὺν τοῦ τολμήματος ἤσαν, καὶ παρελύοντο αὐτοῦ τὴν σφραγῖδα, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐτέραν ἀντ' ἔκεινης ὑπετίθεσαν, τοτὲ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλην, διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι ἔκεινων γε ἀκατάληπτα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλως.

14.7.7 | But indeed, those boys were thieves, and they were not caught in any other way. They were like comic actors and the Getae and Dacians, who, having learned to speak in a strange way from the Dacian language, when they heard the teachings of the Stoics, or learned in some other way, immediately thought of the boldness of their actions. They would break his seal, sometimes putting another in its place, and sometimes not even replacing it, because they believed it would be incomprehensible to him, and they did this in other ways as well.

14.7.8 | ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἐσκοπεῖτο· ἀσήμαντον δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον θεωρῶν, ἦσαν σεσημασμένον μὲν, σφραγῖδι δ' ἄλλῃ, ἡγανάκτει· τῶν δὲ σεσημάνθαι λεγόντων, αὐτοῖς γοῦν τὴν σφραγῖδα ὀρᾶσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἡκριβολογεῖτο ἀντὶ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυε· τῶν δ' ἡττωμένων τῇ ἀποδείξει καὶ φαμένων εἰ μή τι ἔπεστιν ἡ σφραγὶς αὐτὸν ἵσως ἐπιλελῆσθαι καὶ μὴ σημήνασθαι· καὶ μὴν αὐτός γε ἔφη σημηνάμενος μνημονεύειν, καὶ ἀπεδείκνυε, καὶ περιήει τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐδεινολογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οἰόμενος παίζεσθαι, καὶ προσώμνυεν.

14.7.8 | But he, having entered, was observing. Seeing the document as insignificant or marked with a different seal, he became angry. When they claimed it had been marked, he insisted that they look for his own seal. Those who were defeated by the evidence would say that if there was any seal, it might have been overlooked and not noticed. Indeed, he himself said that he would remember what was marked, and he would show it. He continued with his argument and argued fiercely with them, thinking they were joking, and he swore an oath.

14.7.9 | οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες τὰς προσβολὰς ἔκείνου αὐτοί γε ὠντοῦ ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ παίζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ σοφῶς γε ὅντι δεδόχθαι τῷ Λακύδῃ εἶναι ἀδοξάστῳ ὥστε καὶ ἀμνημονεύτῳ· μνήμην γάρ εἶναι δόξαν· ἔναγχος γοῦν τοῦ χρόνου ἔφασαν ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους.

14.7.9 | But they, having taken up his challenges, thought he was joking with them, since it was believed that Lacidus was so foolish that he was also forgetful. After all, memory is a kind of opinion. They even claimed that they had heard these things from him in front of his friends not long ago.

14.7.10 | τοῦ δ' ἀναστρέφοντος αύτοῖς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ λέγοντος οὐκ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ, αύτοὶ φοιτῶντες εἰς Στωϊκῶν τινος τὰ λεκτέα ἐαυτοῖς ἀνεμάνθανον, κάκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀντεσοφίστευον, καὶ ἡσαν ἀντίτεχνοι κλέπται Ἀκαδημαϊκοί· δὲ δὲ Στωϊκοῖς ἐνεκάλει· οὗ 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 went to learn something from the Stoics and began to argue back. They were clever thieves in the Academic style. But he called them Stoics. Those boys dismissed the accusations against him because of their confusion, not without using some tricks.

14.7.11 | διατριβαὶ οὖν ἡσαν πάντων ἔκει καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀντιλογίαι· καὶ ἐν οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κατελείπετο, οὐκ ἄγγειον, οὐ τῶν ἐν ἀγγείῳ τιθεμένων, οὐχ ὅσα εἰς οίκιας κατασκευὴν ἄλλ' ἔστι συντελῆ.

14.7.11 | So there were discussions of all kinds there, including words and arguments. Nothing at all was left out, neither a container nor anything placed inside 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 τάμήχανον τοὺς γείτονας ἐκεκράγει καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ ίοὺς ίοὺς, καὶ φεῦ φεῦ, καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ νὴ τὰς θεὰς, ἄλλαι τε ὅσαι ἐν ἀπιστίαις δεινολογουμένων είσὶν ἄτεχνοι πίστεις, ταῦτα πάντα ἐλέγετο βοῆ καὶ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ.

14.7.12 | And Lacidus, at first, was confused, not seeing any benefit for himself in the support of his own beliefs. He wondered if 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 talked about in times of doubt. All these things were said loudly and urgently.

14.7.13 | τελευτῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ μάχην εἶχεν ἀντιλεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς οίκιας, αύτὸς μὲν ἀν δήπουθεν ἐστωικεύετο πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, τῶν παίδων δὲ τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ ἴσχυριζομένων, ἵνα μηκέτι πράγματα ἔχοιεν, οίκουρὸς ἦν φύλος τοῦ ταμιείου προκαθήμενος. οὐδὲν δὲ εἰς οὐδὲν ὥφελῶν,

14.7.13 | Finally, when he was having a debate at the house, he was surely acting like a Stoic toward the children, while the children insisted on Academic ideas, hoping to avoid any more issues, as if a housekeeper or a friend of the treasury were sitting there. Not helping at all, he

ύπιδόμενος οὗ τὸ σοφὸν αὐτῷ ἔρχεται, ἀπεκαλύψατο. ἄλλως, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὡς παῖδες, ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς λέγεται ἡμῖν, ἄλλως δὲ ζῶμεν."

14.7.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λακύδου. τούτου δὲ γίνονται ἀκουσταὶ πολλοὶ, ὅν εἰς ᾧν διαφανής ὁ Κυρηναῖος Ἀρίστιππος. ἐκ πάντων δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν γνωρίμων τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο Εὔανδρος καὶ οὗ μετὰ τοῦτον.

14.7.15 | μεθ' οὓς Καρνεάδης ὑποδεξάμενος τὴν διατριβὴν τρίτην συνεστήσατο Ἀκαδημίαν. λόγων μὲν οὖν ἀγωγῇ ἔχρήσατο ἥ 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 ἀνθρωπὸν 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 ηὔξηθη, τοῦ φαινομένου τοῖς πολλοῖς πιθανοῦ, ἄλλ' οὐ τῆς ἀληθείας στοχαζόμενος· δθεν καὶ πολλὴν παρέσχε τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἀηδίαν. γράφει δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Νουμήνιος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα

pretended to be wise, but he revealed the truth. "In another way," he said, "these things, oh children, are said to us in discussions, but we live differently."

14.7.14 | These things are about Lacidus. Many stories are told about him, one of which is about the clear thinker, Aristippus from Cyrene. Among all his followers, Euandros and those with him carried on his teachings.

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 practiced examining both sides and looked closely at everything said by others. However, he differed mainly in the discussion about suspension of judgment, claiming it is impossible for a person to hold an opinion about everything. He pointed out that there is a difference between what is unclear and what is incomprehensible, stating that while everything can be incomprehensible, not everything is unclear. He also took part in Stoic arguments, standing against them and growing in strength, seeming convincing to many, but not seeking the truth; as a result, he caused much annoyance to the Stoics. Numenius also writes about him.

## Section 8

14.8.1 | "Καρνεάδης δὲ ἐκδεξάμενος παρ' Ἡγησίνου, οὓς χρεών φυλάξαι ὅσα ἀκίνητα καὶ ὅσα κεκινημένα ἦν, τούτου μὲν ἡμέλει, εἰς δ' Ἀρκεσίλαον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀμείνω εἴτε καὶ

14.8.1 | Carneades, having received from Hegesinus the task of guarding what is motionless and what is in motion, focused on this. As for Arcesilaus, whether he was

φαυλότερα ἦν, ἐπανενεγκών διὰ μακροῦ τὴν μάχην ἀνενέαζε.”

better or worse, he brought back the argument after a long time and renewed the debate.

14.8.2 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Ὕγε δ' οὗν 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 οὗον ποταμὸς ὥδης, πάντα καταπιμπλάς τὰ τῆδε καὶ τάκεῖθι, καὶ εἰσέπιπτε καὶ συνέσυρε τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ θορύβου.

14.8.2 | And then he also took the lead, presenting arguments and subtle twists, mixing them into the debate. He both denied and affirmed, being argumentative from both sides. If at any point there was something remarkable in the arguments, he would surge forth like a raging river, filling everything around, and he would rush in and sweep away the listeners with his noise.

14.8.3 | τοιγαροῦν ἀπάγων τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἀνεξαπάτητος, ὃ μὴ προσῆν τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ περιερχόμενος τῇ φαρμάξει τοὺς συγκορυβαντιῶντας ἔλαθεν ἐαυτὸν πρῶτον ἔξηπατηκώς μὴ ἡσθῆσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι δ' ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἀ λέγει διὰ τῆς ἀπαξαπάντων ἀναιρέσεως χρημάτων.

14.8.3 | Therefore, while leading the others away, he himself remained undeceived, which was not true for Arcesilaus. For Arcesilaus, wandering about with his tricks, first deceived himself without realizing it, and he was convinced that what he said was true by completely rejecting everything.

14.8.4 | κακὸν δὲ ἦν ἀν κακῷ ἐπανακείμενον, ὁ Καρνεάδης τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, μὴ χαλάσας τι σμικρὸν, ὑφ' οὐ οὐκ ἄπρακτοι ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, κατὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πιθανοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ θετικάς τε καὶ ἀρνητικάς φαντασίας, τοῦ εἶναι τόδε τι ζῶν ἢ μὴ ζῶν εἶναι.

14.8.4 | But it would be unfortunate if something bad rested upon something bad, as Carneades was to Arcesilaus, without having broken anything minor, which would leave them helpless. This was based on the arguments presented to him, both affirming and denying, about whether this thing is a living being or not.

14.8.5 | τοῦτο οὖν ὑπανεὶς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀναχάζοντες θῆρες βιαιότερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐαυτοὺς ιεῖσιν εἰς τάς αίχμας, καύτος ἐνδοὺς δυνατώτερον ἐπελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ τε ὑποσταίτε καὶ εῦ τύχοι, τηνικαῦτα ἥδη

14.8.5 | Therefore, having approached this, just like wild beasts that, when cornered, rush more violently and fiercely into the spears, he himself would come upon them with greater force. And if he were to be

καὶ οὐ προυδέδεκτο ἐκῶν ἡμέλει καὶ οὐκ  
ἔμεμνητο.

supported and have good fortune, at that moment he would already be there, not having expected it willingly and not remembering it.

14.8.6 | τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές τε καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνεῖναι συγχωρῶν, ὥσπερ ξυνεργαζόμενος τῆς ζητήσεως τρόπῳ,  
παλαιιστοῦ δεινοῦ λαβὴν δοὺς περιεγίγνετο ἐνθεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πιθανοῦ ὥσπερ  
ἐκάτερον παρασχών οὐδέτερον εἶπε  
βεβαίως καταλαμβάνεσθαι. ἢν γοῦν ληστὴς  
καὶ γόης σοφώτερος.

14.8.6 | For both truth and falsehood to exist in matters, allowing them to work together in the pursuit of knowledge, he would grasp the ancient difficult problem from there. According to the balance of what is probable, neither one would be firmly caught by the other. Indeed, he would be like a clever thief and a sorcerer.

14.8.7 | παραλαβών γὰρ ἀληθεῖ μὲν ὅμοιον  
ψεῦδος, καταληπτικῇ δὲ φαντασίᾳ  
καταληπτὸν ὅμοιον, καὶ ἀγαγών εἰς τὰς  
ἴσας, οὐκ εἴασεν οὕτε τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι οὕτε  
τὸ ψεῦδος, ἢ οὐ μᾶλλον τὸ ἔτερον τοῦ  
ἔτερου, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πιθανοῦ.

14.8.7 | For he took truth to be similar to falsehood, and he presented a comparable idea that could be understood. When he brought them to equality, he did not allow either the truth to be true or the falsehood to be false. He did not favor one over the other; instead, he treated them both equally based on what seemed probable.

14.8.8 | ἢν οὖν ὄνειρατα ἀντὶ ὄνειράτων,  
διὰ τὸ δημοίας φαντασίας ἀληθέσιν εἶναι  
τὰς ψευδεῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ὠοῦ κηρίνου πρὸς τὸ  
ἀληθινὸν θινὸν ὡόν.

14.8.8 | If dreams are instead of dreams, it is because the false ones look similar to the true ones, like a wax egg compared to a real egg.

14.8.9 | συνέβαινεν οὖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ πλείω.  
καὶ μέντοι λέγων ὁ Καρνεάδης ἐψυχαγώγει  
καὶ ἡνδραποδίξετο. ἢν δὲ κλέπτων μὲν  
ἀφανής, φαινόμενος δὲ ληστής, αἰρῶν καὶ  
δόλω καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς καὶ πάνυ σφόδρα  
παρεσκευασμένους.

14.8.9 | So, bad things happened and even more. Indeed, while he spoke, Carneades was charming and would captivate others. He was hidden while stealing but appeared as a robber, taking by trickery and force from those who were very well prepared.

14.8.10 | πάσα γοῦν Καρνεάδου διάνοια

14.8.10 | Certainly, every thought of

ένίκα καὶ ούδεμία ἡτισοῦν ἄλλως, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
οἵ προσεπολέμει ἥσαν εἴπεῖν  
ἀδυνατώτεροι.

Carneades prevailed, and no other thought was stronger, since even those he argued against were said to be weaker.

14.8.11 | Ἀντίπατρος γοῦν ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν γενόμενος ἔμελλε μὲν ἀγωνιᾶν τι γράφειν, πρὸς δ' οὗν τοὺς ἀπὸ Καρνεάδου καθ' ήμέραν ἀποφερομένους λόγους οὕποτε ἐδημοσίευσεν, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις, οὐδὲ εἶπεν, οὐδὲ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ τις αὐτοῦ, φασὶν, οὐδὲ γρῦ· ἀντιγραφὰς δὲ ἐπανετείνετο καὶ γωνίαν λαβὼν βιβλία κατέλιπε γράψας τοῖς ὑστερον, οὕτε νῦν δυνάμενα, καὶ τότε ἦν ἀδυνατώτερα πρὸς οὔτως ἄνδρα ὑπέρμεγαν φανέντα καὶ καταδόξαντα εἶναι τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις τὸν Καρνεάδην.

14.8.11 | Certainly, Antipater, who came after him, intended to write something, but he never published the speeches that were brought daily from Carneades. He did not speak in discussions, nor during walks, and no one heard him, they say, nor did he write anything. Instead, he was preparing copies and took a corner, leaving behind books he had written for those who came later. These were neither possible to find now, nor were they strong enough at that time against such a man who appeared very great and was well-known to the people of that era, Carneades.

14.8.12 | ὅμως δὲ, καίτοι καύτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Στωϊκῆς φιλονεικίας εἰς τὸ φανερὸν κυκῶν, πρός γε τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἐταίρους δι' ἀπορρήτων ὡμολόγει τε καὶ ἡλήθευε καὶ ἀπεφαίνετο ἢ κἄλλος τῶν ἀπιτυχόντων."

14.8.12 | However, even though he himself was caught up in the open conflict with the Stoics, he openly admitted and spoke honestly to his own companions about things that others who had failed would not.

14.8.13 | Εἶτα ἐξῆς φησι "Καρνεάδου δὲ γίνεται γνώριμος Μέντωρ μὲν πρῶτον, οὐ μὴν διάδοχος· ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν Καρνεάδης ἐπὶ παλλακῇ μοιχὸν εὐρών, οὐχ ὑπὸ πιθανῆς φαντασίας, οὐδ' ὡς μὴ κατειληφώς, ὡς δὲ μάλιστα πιστεύων τῇ ὄψει καὶ καταλαβὼν παρητήσατο τῆς διατριβῆς. ὃ δὲ ἀποστὰς ἀντεσοφίστευε καὶ ἀντίτεχνος ἦν, ἐλέγχων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκαταληψιαν."

14.8.13 | Then he continues, "Carneades first became known through Mentor, but he was not a successor. While Carneades was still alive, he found a mistress, not swayed by a convincing idea, nor did he seem to be caught. Instead, believing strongly in what he saw and having understood, he avoided the discussion. The one who left, however, became a clever debater and was skilled at opposing him, challenging the 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, dressed himself in lies and hid the truths beneath them. So, he used curtains of falsehoods and spoke truthfully while remaining hidden, more like a petty dealer. He experienced 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 ὁ Νουμήνιος μνημονεύει ταύτα

14.8.15 | These things are also said about Carneades. The successor of his school is Clitomachus, along with whom Philo is mentioned by Numenius.

## 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 ηὗξε, καὶ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἐκορύσσετο νώροπι χαλκῶ.

14.9.1 | But this Philo, having received the teaching with joy, was amazed and gave thanks as he honored it. He also supported Clitomachus in his teachings and adorned the Stoics with a bronze crown.

14.9.2 | ὡς δὲ προί·όντος μὲν τοῦ χρόνου, ἔξιτήλου δ' ὑπὸ συνηθείας οὕσης αὐτῶν τῆς ἐποχῆς, οὐδὲν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστῶ ἐνόει, ἡ δὲ τῶν παθημάτων αὐτὸν ἀνέστρεψεν ἐνάργειά τε καὶ ὄμολογίᾳ. πολλὴν δῆτ' ἔχων ἥδη τὴν διαίσθησιν ὑπερεπεθύμει, εῦ οἴσθ' ὅτι, τῶν ἐλεγχόντων τυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐδόκει μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν αὐτὸς ἐκών φεύγειν.

14.9.2 | As time went on, and because of the habits of his time, he did not think about the same things for himself. However, 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 challenged him. He did not want it to seem like he was running away willingly, having turned his back.

14.9.3 | Φίλωνος δὲ γίνεται ἀκουστῆς Ἀντίοχος, ἐτέρας ἄρξας Ἀκαδημίας.

14.9.3 | Antiochus became a student of Philo, starting a new Academy. He indeed

Μνησάρχω γοῦν τῷ Στωϊκῷ σχολάσας  
έναντία Φίλων τῷ καθηγητῇ ἐφρόνησε,  
μυρία τε ξένα προσῆψε τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ.'

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 ὄμοιού καὶ  
ἀντιδοξίας ἐπισκέψασθαι, οἱ τὴν πολλὴν  
γῆν πλανηθέντες, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς  
εὑρεσιν περὶ πλείστου πεποιημένοι, ταῖς τε  
τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπάντων δόξαις  
καθωμαληκότες, καὶ τάκριβες 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 ἂν μάθοιμεν εἴ τι θεοπρεπὲς  
εἰς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
κατῆλθεν.

14.9.5 | ἔκρατει μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐκ  
παλαιοῦ αἰώνος παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡ  
πολύθεος δεισιδαιμονία, νεώ τε καὶ ἱερά  
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 εὐ  
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 ἀλλήλοις καὶ  
μάχεσθαι, ἡ τὴν μακρὰν ὄδὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω

studied under Menedemus, the Stoic, and  
opposed Philo, the teacher, bringing many  
foreign ideas to the Academy.

14.9.4 | Many things similar to these are  
mentioned regarding 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, long  
before the Greeks, in theology. They sought  
to discover what valuable insights they  
could gain from them, so that we might  
learn if anything divine was passed down  
to them from the elders.

14.9.5 | For a long time, polytheistic  
superstition held sway among the nations,  
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 need 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 struggle, or to wander up

περιτρέχειν πλανᾶσθαι τε καὶ τὰ  
βαρβάρων ὑποσυλᾶν, οἵκοι δέον μένοντας  
παρὰ θεῶν ἐκμανθάνειν, εἰ δή τινες ἥσαν  
θεοὶ, ἢ παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς  
ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀδιαπτώτους περὶ τῶν  
ἐπιζητούμενων ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγους, περὶ  
ῶν μυρία ὅσα μοχθήσαντες διηνέχθησαν,  
μακρῷ τῆς τάληθοῦ εὐρέσεως  
ἀφυστερήσαντες;

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? Or from  
the true and unchanging words of the  
theologians about the things sought in  
philosophy, about which many had toiled  
and suffered, missing the truth by a long  
way?

14.9.7 | τί δὲ καὶ περὶ θεῶν νεώτερα χρῆν  
ἐπιζητεῖν τολμᾶν, ἢ στασιάζειν καὶ  
διαπυκτεύειν ἄλλήλοις, εἰ δὴ ἀσφαλής καὶ  
βεβαία θεῶν εὑρεσις καὶ γνῶσις εύσεβείας  
ἀληθῆς ἐν τελεταῖς καὶ μυστηρίοις τῇ τε  
ἄλλῃ τῶν παλαιτάτων περιείχετο θεολογίᾳ,  
αὐτὴν ἔκεινην παρὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ  
διμολογουμένην συμφώνως περιέπειν;

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 there  
was already a safe and certain  
understanding of the gods? True piety was  
found in the rituals and mysteries of the  
ancient theology, which was already  
established and agreed upon.

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 ἢ καταλήψει  
κεχρημένοι, τί χρὴ λοιπὸν μὴ ούχι  
συνομολογεῖν τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν ἔθνῶν  
θεολογίαν μηδὲν πλέον τῆς ἀποδοθείσης ἐν  
τοῖς πρὸ τούτου συγγράμμασιν ἴστορίας  
ἐπέχειν;

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  
through understanding, why should they  
not agree with the ancient theology of the  
nations and hold nothing more than what  
was passed down in the earlier writings of  
history?

14.9.9 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἀνθρωπίνων  
στοχασμῶν καὶ πολλῆς λογομαχίας καὶ  
πλάνης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τινος ἀκριβοῦς  
καταλήψεως, ἢ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὑπέστη  
φιλοσοφία, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀνεβώ τὸν  
Αἴγυπτιον ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Πορφυρίου  
μάθοις ἀν, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσας  
διμολογοῦντος 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 it.

## Section 10

14.10.1 | “Αρξομαι δὲ τῆς πρὸς σὲ φιλίας ἀπὸ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε τούτοις συγγενῶν φιλοσοφημάτων, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται μὲν πλεῖστα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις, εἴρηται δὲ ἐκ στοχασμοῦ τὸ πλέον τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντα τῆς πίστεως.”

14.10.2 | Καὶ ὑποβὰς ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων “Παρὰ μὲν γάρ ἡμῖν λογομαχία τίς ἐστι πολλὴ, ἅτε ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ είκαζομένου· οἵδε μεμηχάνηται ἡ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον συνουσίᾳ, εἰ παρεῖται τὸ μέρος τοῦτο εἰς ἐξέτασιν, μάτην αὐτοῖς ἡ σοφία ἐξήσκηται.”

14.10.3 | Άλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀντέγραψε Βοηθῷ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ αὐτὸς ὃδε γράφων ὅμολογεῖ πρὸς λέξιν Ως τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ τὰ τῆς ιστορίας ἀναμφιλέκτως συνίστησι τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀθάνατον· οἵδε δὲ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων κομισθέντες λόγοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι εὐανάτρεπτοι, διὰ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐρεσιλογίαν τῶν ἐριστικῶν. τίς γάρ λόγος τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσιμος τοῖς ἐτεροδόξοις, ὅπου καὶ περὶ τῶν δοκούντων ἐναργῶν ἐπέχειν αὐτῶν τισιν ἐδόκει;”

14.10.4 | Καὶ ἐν οἷς δὲ ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας” διαρρήδην ὅμολογεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πεπλανῆσθαι, ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος τὸν ἐαυτοῦ θεὸν, ὃς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ χρησμῶν ἐξειπόντος, καὶ βαρβάροις μᾶλλον ἡ Ἑλλησι τὴν εὑρεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας

14.10.1 | I will begin my friendship with you by discussing the good gods and spirits related to these philosophical ideas. Many things have been said about them by the Greek philosophers, but most of it comes from guesses that form the basis of belief.

14.10.2 | And stepping down, he continues to say, “For among 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 | But even in what he wrote to Boethius about the soul, he himself admits here, saying that the ideas and the history clearly show that the soul is immortal. However, the arguments brought by the philosophers seem to be easily overturned because of the clever reasoning found 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 | 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 it was also said by Apollo through oracles. He shows that the discovery of truth was more confirmed by non-Greeks than by Greeks,

έπιμαρτυρήσαντος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐβραίων μνημονεύσαντος ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρηθεῖσι.

14.10.5 | μετὰ γοῦν τὴν τοῦ χρησμοῦ παράθεσιν ἔξῆς τούτοις κέχρηται τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις “Ἀκήκοας πόσος πόσος πόνος, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σώματός τις τὰ καθάρσια θύσῃ, οὐχ ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔξεύρῃ; χαλκόδετος γάρ ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς ὀδὸς αἰπεινή τε καὶ τραχεῖα, ἵνα πολλὰς ἀτραποὺς βάρβαροι μὲν ἔξεῦρον, Ἐλληνες δὲ ἐπλανήθησαν, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες ἥδη καὶ διέφθειραν· τὴν δὲ εὑρεσιν Αἴγυπτίοις ὁ θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε Φοίνιξ τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις Ἀσσύριοι γάρ οὗτοι) Λυδοῖς τε καὶ Ἐβραίοις.”

14.10.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ αὐτοῦ θεός. ἂρ' οὖν ἄξιον μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμψασθαι, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς πεπλανημένους Ἐλληνας καταλείψαντες τὰ Ἐβραίων εἰλόμεθα, τῶν ἐξ ἀληθείας καταλήψει μεμαρτυρημένων;

14.10.7 | τί δὲ χρὴ παρὰ φιλοσόφων μαθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν; ἢ ποία ἐλπὶς τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀφελείας, εἰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ στοχασμῶν καὶ εἰκασμῶν τὸ πλέον τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντα τῆς πίστεως τυγχάνει; λογομαχίας δὲ τίς ὁ καρπός, εἰ δὴ πάντες οἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων λόγοι εύανάτρεπτοι καθεστήκασι διὰ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐρεσιλογίαν; ταῦτα γάρ οὐ ἡμῶν ἀρτίως, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν είρημένα ἥκούτεο.

14.10.8 | διόπερ εὖ μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἐξητασμένης, οὐχὶ δ' ἀλόγως, ὡς

and he even mentions the Hebrews in the testimonies.

14.10.5 | After mentioning 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, and many paths have been discovered by non-Greeks, while the Greeks have been misled, and those in power have already destroyed it. But the god has testified to the discovery among the Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, who are the Assyrians, as well as the Lydians and Hebrews.”

14.10.6 | These things are said by the philosopher, or rather by his god. Is it then right for us to complain after this, that we have chosen the Hebrews, leaving behind the misled Greeks, of whom the truths have been 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 can be 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

ἄν τοιούτων καταπεφρονηκέναι, τὰ δὲ παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἡγαπηκέναι, οὐχ ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος μεμαρτύρηται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς ἐνθέου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως μέτοχα ὄντα ἀποδείκνυται.

reason, to look down on such things, but to love what comes from the Hebrews. This is not because it has been testified by a spirit, but because it demonstrates a share in divine virtue and power.

14.10.9 | ἔνα δ' οὖν καὶ αύτοῖς ἔργοις τάς τῶν θαυμαστῶν φιλοσόφων λογομαχίας μάθοις, τάς τε περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως διαφωνίας μικρὸν μὲν ὑστερὸν ἐκθήσομαι σοι τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς.

14.10.9 | Now, if you learn about the arguments of the great 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 | πρῶτον δ' ἐπειδὴ περιφέρουσιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦντες τὰ μαθήματα, δεῖν ἔξ ἄπαντος φάσκοντες τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐν πειρᾷ 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 ἀποτελεσθῆναι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἀληθείας ψαῦσαι, μὴ τούτων ἐν ψυχῇ τῆς γνώσεως προτυπωθείσης·) εἴτ' ἐπανατεινάμενοι τῇ μαθήσει τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μονονούχῳ τοῦ αἱθέρος βαίνειν μετέωροι ἀρθέντες οἴονται, ὡς δὴ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς περιφέροντες, ἡμᾶς τε, ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὄμοια ζηλοῦμεν, βισκημάτων κατ' οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγοῦνται, ταύτῃ δέ φασι μηδὲ θεὸν, μηδέ τι τῶν σεμνῶν ἡμάς δύνασθαι εἰδέναι· φέρε τοῦτο πρῶτον οὐκ ὄρθως ἔχον ἀπευθύνωμεν, τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἀντὶ φωτὸς αύτοῖς παραβάλλοντες.

14.10.10 | First, since they wander around discussing various 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 person or philosopher, nor grasp the truth of what exists, unless these are impressed upon 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 to be no different from cattle because we do not seek the same things, and they say that through this, we cannot know either God or anything sacred. Therefore, let us first correct this misunderstanding by comparing the true word to their light.

14.10.11 | ὁ δὲ μυρίους μὲν Ἔλληνας, μυρία δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων γένη, τοὺς μὲν σὺν τοῖς

14.10.11 | But among countless Greeks and countless races of barbarians, those who

είρημένοις μαθήμασιν οὕτε θεὸν οὕτε σώφρονα βίον οὕθ' ὅλως τι τῶν βελτίστων καὶ συμφερόντων ἐπιγνόντας ἀποδεῖξει, τοὺς δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων ἔκτὸς πάντων εύσεβεστάτους καὶ φιλοσοφωτάτους γεγονέναι. ὁ γοῦν παρὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀδόμενος Σωκράτης ὅπως ποτὲ ἐδόξαζε περὶ τῶνδε μάθοις ἀν Ξενοφῶντι πιστεύσας ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ὥδε πῃ ἴστοροῦντι

study the subjects mentioned will not show knowledge of either God or a wise life, nor anything at all that is best and most beneficial. In contrast, those who are 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 matters, as you can learn from Xenophon, who writes about this in his *Memorabilia*.

## Section 11

14.11.1 | “Εδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρις ὅτου δέοι ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἐκάστου πράγματος τὸν ὄρθως πεπαιδευμένον. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη δεῖν μανθάνειν, ἔως ἱκανός τις γένοιτο, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, γῆν μέτρῳ ὄρθως ἡ παραλαβεῖν ἡ παραδοῦναι ἡ διανεῖμαι, ἡ ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι. οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο ὥρδιον εἶναι μαθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν τῇ μετρήσει ἄμα τὴν τε γῆν διπόσῃ ἔστιν εἰδέναι, καὶ ὡς μετρεῖται ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι.

14.11.1 | He taught that until someone needs to be experienced in each matter, they must first learn geometry. He said that one should study 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 demonstrate a task. This is easy to learn, so that anyone focusing their mind on measurement can know how much land there is and how it is measured.

14.11.2 | τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῶν δυσχυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεωμετρίαν μανθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν’ ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ὀφελοίη ταῦτα οὐκ ἔφη ὥραν· καίτοι οὐκ ἀπειρός γε αὐτῶν ἦν. ἔφη δὲ ἱκανὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι ἀνθρώπου βίον κατατρίβειν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τε καὶ ὀφελίμων μαθημάτων ἀποκωλύειν.

14.11.2 | But he rejected learning geometry concerning the difficult shapes. He said that he did not see how these would be useful. Yet, he was not completely inexperienced in them. He claimed that they are enough to waste a person's life and to prevent them from many other useful studies.

14.11.3 | ἑκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρονομίας ἔμπειρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γινώσκειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ πορείας τε καὶ πλοοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἡ νυκτὸς ἡ μηνὸς ἡ ἐνιαυτοῦ

14.11.3 | He also urged that one should become experienced in astronomy and understand it in relation to the times of night, the month, and the year, for the sake of travel, sailing, and safety. To have evidence for whatever happens at night, in

πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίοις  
χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἱρημένων  
διαγινώσκοντα. καὶ ταῦτα δέ ḥάδια μαθεῖν  
παρά τε νυκτοθηρῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ  
ἄλλων πολλῶν, οἵς ἐπιμελὲς ταῦτα εἰδέναι.

the month, or in the year, one should be able to recognize the hours of these events. This knowledge is easy to learn from night hunters, sailors, and many others who take care to understand these things.

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 αἴτιας αὐτῶν ζητοῦντα  
κατατρίβεσθαι, ἴσχυρῶς ἀπέτρεπεν.  
ώφελειαν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις  
ἔφη ὅρᾶν· καίτοι οὐδὲ τούτων γε ἀνήκοος  
ἡν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἰκανὰ εἶναι  
κατατρίβειν ἀνθρώπου βίον καὶ πολλῶν  
καὶ ώφελίμων ἀποκωλύειν.

14.11.4 | But he strongly discouraged learning astronomy beyond this point, including understanding 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 their movements. He claimed he saw no benefit in these matters. Yet, he was not completely ignorant of them. He also stated that this knowledge is enough to waste a person's life and to prevent them from many other useful studies.

14.11.5 | ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων ἦ ἔκαστα ὁ  
θεὸς μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι  
ἀπέτρεπεν· οὕτε γὰρ εὐρετὰ ἀνθρώποις  
αὐτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι οὕτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς  
ἄν ἡγεῖτο τὸν ζητοῦντα, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι  
σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν. κινδυνεῦσαι  
δ' ἦν ἔφη καὶ παραφρονῆσαι τὸν ταῦτα  
μεριμνῶντα οὐδὲν ἦττον ἦ Αναξαγόρας  
παρεφρόνησεν, δὲ μέγιστον φρονήσας ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῷ τὰς τῶν θεῶν μηχανᾶς ἔξηγεῖσθαι.

14.11.5 | Overall, he discouraged becoming a thinker about the heavens and how each thing is created by the gods. He believed that these matters 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 warned that one could risk going mad by worrying about these topics, just as Anaxagoras did, who thought he was wise for explaining the workings of the gods.

14.11.6 | ἐκεῖνος γὰρ λέγων μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ  
εἶναι πῦρ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἡγνόει ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦρ  
οἱ ἀνθρωποι ḥαδίως καθορῶσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν  
ἥλιον οὐ δύνανται ἀντιβλέπειν· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν  
τοῦ ἥλιου καταλαμπόμενοι τὰ χρώματα  
μελάντερα ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οὕ.  
ἡγνόει δὲ καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων

14.11.6 | For he, claiming 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. When illuminated by the sun, colors appear darker, but they do not under fire. He also did not realize that nothing growing from the earth can

ἄνευ μὲν ἡλίου αύγῆς ούδεν δύναται καλῶς αὔξεσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς θερμαινόμενα πάντα ἀπόλλυται· φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἡλιον λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἡγνόει ὅτι λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὧν οὕτε λάμπει οὕτε πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, δὲ δὲ ἡλιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον πάντων λαμπρότατος ὧν διαμένει.

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, while 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 ὠφελίμου πάντα καὶ αὐτὸς συνεσκόπει καὶ συνδιεξήει τοῖς συνοῦσι.” Ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν. ἐν ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τῇ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην 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 truly useful. He himself examined and discussed everything with those present.” These words are written by Xenophon in his *Memorabilia*. In a letter to Aeschines about Plato and those boasting about the nature of everything, he writes similar things.

## Section 12

14.12.1 | “Οτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεῖα ὑπὲρ ἡμάς παντὶ δῆλον· ἀπόχρη δὲ τῷ κρείττονι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοὺς σέβειν· οἷοι δέ εἰσιν οὕτε εὐρεῖν ἥράδιον οὕτε ζητεῖν θεμιτόν. ούδὲ γὰρ δεσποτῶν φύσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν δούλοις εἰδέναι πλέον ὑπηρεσίας προσήκει. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσῳ χρὴ ἄγασθαι τάνθρώπινα διαπονούμενων, τοσῷδε τοῖς δόξῃς ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκαίρων καὶ κενῶν γλιχομένοις ἄχθος φέρει. πότε γὰρ, ὡ Αἴσχινη, Σωκράτους ἀκήκοε τις οὐρανίων πέρι λέγοντος; ἢ γραμμὰς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν παραινοῦντος μανθάνειν; μουσικὴν μὲν γὰρ ἴσμεν αὐτὸν μέχρι ὡτῶν συνιέντα· διετέλει δὲ ἐκάστοτε αὐτοῖς λέγων τί καλὸν καὶ τί ἀνδρεία δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλλαι ἀρεταί. ἀνθρώπινα γοῦν αὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκάλει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις ἀλῶναι ἔφασκεν, ἢ μύθων εἶναι συγγενῆ, μετ' ὄφρύος σοφιστῶν παίγνια διεξιόντων.

14.12.1 | “For it is clear that the divine is 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 right to seek them. For it is not fitting for slaves to know the nature or actions of their masters beyond their service. 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 others 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

καὶ οὐκ ἔλεγε μὲν ταῦτα, οὐχὶ δὲ ἔπραττε. γράφειν δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα εἰδότι σοι, καίπερ ούκ ἀηδὲς ἐσόμενον, χρόνον ἔχει, ἀνέγραψά τε ἄλλοθι. παυσάσθωσαν οὖν ἔλεγχόμενοι, ἢ πρὸς τὸ είκὸς ἵτωσαν, οἵς Σωκράτης ούκ ἤρεσεν, ὡς ζῶντι μὲν ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν ἔμαρτύρησεν, οἱ δὲ κτείναντες τῆς μετανοίας ἀποκάθαρσιν οὐχ εὗρον. τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἄρα, Αἴγυπτου ἥράσθησαν καὶ τῆς Πιθαγόρα τερατώδους σοφίας, ὃν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ μὴ μόνιμον ἐπὶ Σωκράτει ἤλεγξεν 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

myths related to the tricks of sophists. 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 those whom Socrates did not please, to whom the god testified wisdom while those who killed him found no cleansing from regret. Indeed, they were enamored with the beauty 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 οὓν εἴη, ὃ αύκων, μάθημα ψυχῆς ὀλκὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν; τόδε δ' ἐννοῶ λέγων ἄμα· ούκ ἀθλητὰς μέντοι πολέμου ἔφαμεν τούτους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νέους ὄντας; ”Εφαμεν γάρ. Δεῖ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο προσέχειν τὸ μάθημα ὃ ζητοῦμεν πρὸς ἔκεινῷ. Τὸ ποῖον; Μὴ ἄχρηστον πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν εῖναι.

14.13.1 | What then would it be, O speaker, a lesson of the soul from what is becoming to what is being? This is what 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 ἐν γε τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἡμῖν. Ἡν ταῦτα, ἔφη. Καὶ γυμναστικὴ μέν που περὶ γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον τετεύτακε· σώματος γάρ αὔξης καὶ φθίσεως ἐπιστατεῖ. Φαίνεται. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ούκ ἀν εἴη ὃ ζητοῦμεν

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

μάθημα. Ού γάρ. Άλλ' ἄρα μουσικὴ ὅσην τὸ πρότερον διήλθομεν;

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 | Άλλ' ἦν ἐκείνη γ', ἔφη,  
ἀντίστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησαι,  
ἔθεσι παιδεύουσα τοὺς φύλακας, κατά τε  
ἀρμονίαν εύαρμοστίαν τινὰ, οὐκ  
ἐπιστήμην, παραδιδοῦσα, καὶ κατὰ ῥυθμὸν  
εύρυθμίαν, ἐν τε τοῖς λόγοις ἔτερα τούτων  
ἀδελφὰ ἔθη ἄττα ἔχουσα, καὶ ὅσοι  
μυθώδεις τῶν λόγων καὶ ὅσοι  
ἀληθινώτεροι ἥσαν· μάθημα δὲ πρὸς  
τοιοῦτον τι ἄγον, οἶον σὺ 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 similar to these, some that were more mythical and others 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 | Άκριβέστατα, ἦν δ' ἔγὼ,  
ἀναμιμνήσκεις με· τῷ γάρ ὅντι τοιοῦτον  
οὐδὲν εἶχεν. Άλλ' ὡς δαιμόνιε Γλαύκων, τί ἀν  
εἴη τοιοῦτον; αἱ τε γὰρ τέχναι βάναυσοί  
που ἄπασαι ἔδοξαν εἶναι. Πῶς δ' οὔ;

14.13.4 | “Very true,” I said, “you remind me; for in reality, it had nothing like that. But, oh, dear Glaucon, what could such a thing be? For all the arts seemed to be worthless. How could they not?”

14.13.5 | Εἴθ' ἐξῆς προϊών ἐπιλέγει Μή ποτ'  
αὐτῶν τι ἀτελὲς ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἡμῖν μανέν  
Θανεῖν οὓς θρέψομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆκον  
ἐκεῖσε ἀεὶ οἱ πάντας δεῖ ἀνήκειν, οἶον ἄρτι  
περὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας ἐλέγομεν. ἢ οὐκ οἴσθ  
ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἀρμονίας ἔτερον τοιοῦτον  
ποιοῦσι; τὰς γάρ ἀκουομένας αὐ  
συμφωνίας καὶ φθόγγους ἀλλήλοις  
ἀναμετροῦντες ἀνήνυτα ὡσπερ οἱ  
ἀστρονόμοι ποιοῦσι.

14.13.5 | “Then, moving on from there, he said, ‘Let them not attempt anything incomplete with us, those whom we raise, and they should not always come from there, as I say all must belong, just like we talked about astronomy. Or do you not know that they also create another similar 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 ὄνομάζοντες καὶ  
παραβάλλοντες τὰ ὡτα, οἶον ἐκ γειτόνων  
φωνὴν θηρευόμενοι, οἱ μέν φασιν ἔτι

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 they are hunting for a voice from the neighbors.

κατακούειν ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ ἡχὴν καὶ σμικρότατον εἶναι τοῦτο διάστημα ὡς μετρητέον, οἴ δ' ἀμφισβητοῦντες ὡς ὅμοιον ἥδη φθεγγομένων, ἀμφότεροι ὡτα τοῦ νοῦ προστησάμενοι.

Some say they can still hear a certain echo in the middle, and this distance is very small to measure, while others argue that it is already similar to the sounds being made, with both groups focusing their ears 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. ἵνα 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' ἐκείνους οὓς ἔφαμεν νῦν δὴ περὶ ἀρμονίας εἰρῆσθαι.

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 picture longer, since there are strikes made with the plectrum, along with accusations, denials, and the arrogance of the strings, I will stop here. I am not referring to these, but to those we mentioned earlier who should be discussed in relation to harmony.”

14.13.8 | ταύτὸν γὰρ ποιοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς συμφωνίαις ταῖς ἀκουομέναις ἀριθμοὺς ζητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προβλήματα ἀνίστην, ἐπισκοπεῖν τίνες ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοὶ καὶ τίνες οὖ, καὶ διὰ τί ἐκάτεροι.

14.13.8 | “For they do the same thing as those in astronomy. Those who study these harmonies seek numbers, but they do not raise problems. Instead, they look to see which numbers are harmonious and which are not, and why each one is so.”

14.13.9 | Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν πρὸ ὀδοῦ κείσθω, ἀπολογουμένοις δτι μὴ δίχα διανοίας ὄρθης καὶ τῆς τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀχρηστομαθείας ὠλιγωρήσαμεν. σκεψώμεθα δῆτα λοιπὸν ἥδη ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι τὰς τῶν είρημένων φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων δογματικὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιδοξίας, γράφει δὴ ἀθρόως ἀπάντων τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ Πυθαγορείων τῶν τε ἔτι πρεσβυτέρων φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπικεκλημένων καὶ αὖ πάλιν τῶν νεωτέρων Περιπατητικῶν τε καὶ Στωϊκῶν καὶ Ἐπικουρείων τὰς δόξας

14.13.9 | “But let these things rest before us as we explain that we did not overlook the difference between correct thinking and the useless knowledge of such matters. Let us now consider the opposing views of the natural philosophers mentioned earlier. Plutarch wrote about all the Platonic and Pythagorean philosophers, both the older natural philosophers and the newer Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, gathering their beliefs in a work titled ‘On What Pleases Natural Philosophers.’ From

συναγαγών ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε  
“Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις  
φυσικῶν δογμάτων,” ἐξ ὧν παραθήσομαι  
ταῦτα

## Section 14

14.14.1 | “Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, εἶς τῶν ἐπτὰ  
σιφῶν, ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι  
τὸ ὕδωρ. δοκεῖ δὲ ὃ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀρξαὶ τῆς  
φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ή Ιωνικὴ  
αἱρεσις προσηγορεύθη· ἔγένοντο πλεῖσται  
διαδοχαί. φιλοσοφήσας δὲ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ  
πρεσβύτερος ἥλθεν εἰς Μίλητον. ἐξ ὕδατος  
δέ φησι πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ πάντα  
ἀναλύεσθαι. στοχάζεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου  
πρῶτον ὅτι πάντων ζώων ή γονὴ ἀρχή  
ἔστι, ὑγρὰ οὖσα· οὕτως είκος καὶ τὰ πάντα  
ἐξ ὑγροῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. δεύτερον, ὅτι  
πάντα τὰ φυτὰ ὑγρῷ τρέφεται τε καὶ  
καρποφορεῖ, ἀμοιροῦντα δὲ ξηραίνεται.  
τρίτον δὲ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου  
καὶ τῶν ἀστρῶν ταῖς τῶν ὄντων  
ἀναθυμιάσεσι τρέφεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
κόσμος. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ “Ομηρος ταύτην τὴν  
γνώμην ὑποτίθεται περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος,  
Ωκεανὸν, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι  
τέτυκται. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Θαλῆς.”

14.14.2 | “Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος  
φησι τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ  
ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ  
εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ  
γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν  
φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται. λέγει δ'  
οὗν, διότι τὸ ἀπέραντόν ἔστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν  
έλλείπῃ καὶ ἡ γένεσις ἡ ὑφισταμένη.  
ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος μὴ λέγων τί ἔστι τὸ  
ἄπειρον, πότερον ἀήρ ἔστιν, ή ὕδωρ, ή γῆ, 7  
ή ἄλλα τινὰ σώματα· ἀμαρτάνει οὖν τὴν  
μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν

this work, I will present these ideas.”

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 be the first philosopher, and from him, the Ionian school got its name; many successors followed him. After studying in Egypt, he returned to Miletus as an elder. He says that everything comes from water and returns to water. First, he believes that the origin of all living things is moisture; therefore, it is likely that everything has its beginning in the wet. Second, he states that all plants are nourished and bear fruit from moisture, but they dry up when they lack it. Third, he claims that even fire, from the sun and stars, is fed by the vapors of water, as is 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 | “Anaximander of Miletus says that the beginning of all things is the infinite. 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 claims that because it is infinite, nothing is lacking, and the existing generation is maintained. However, he makes a mistake by not explaining what the infinite is—whether it is air, water, earth, or some other substance. He fails to define the

αῖτιον ἀναιρῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν ἄλλο  
ἡ ὑλὴ ἔστιν· οὐ δύναται δὲ ἡ ὑλὴ εἶναι  
ένεργείᾳ, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑπόθηται.”

material cause while denying the efficient cause. The infinite is nothing other than matter; matter cannot be active unless the efficient cause is assumed.”

14.14.3 | “Ἀναξιμένης 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 ἔστι· συγκρατεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς· καὶ ὅλον δὲ  
τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀήρ ἐμπεριέχει·  
λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀήρ καὶ πνεῦμα.  
ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐξ ἀπλοῦ καὶ  
μονοειδοῦς ἀέρος καὶ πνεύματος δοκῶν  
συνεστάναι τὰ ζῷα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀρχὴν  
μίαν τὴν ὑλὴν τῶν ὄντων ὑποστῆναι· ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον χρὴ τιθέναι. οἷον, οὐκ  
ἄργυρος ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔκπωμα γενέσθαι,  
ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ἦ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ  
ἄργυροκόπος· ὅμοίως 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. From this, everything comes into being and returns to it. He says that our soul is air because it holds us together. The whole world is filled with breath and air, and they are considered 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; the efficient cause must also be taken into account. For example, silver alone is not enough to make a cup unless there is a maker, that is, the silversmith. The same applies to bronze, wood, and other materials.”

14.14.4 | “Ἡράκλειτος 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  
ἔκπυρώσει. ἀρχὴ οὖν τὸ πῦρ, δτι ἐκ τούτου  
τὰ πάντα, τέλος δὲ καθότι εἰς τοῦτο  
ἀναλύεται τὰ πάντα.”

14.14.4 | “Heraclitus and Hippasus of Metapontum say that the beginning of all things is fire. 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 | ”Δημόκριτος, ὃ μετὰ πλεῖστον Ἐπίκουρος ἡκολούθησεν, ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων σώματα ἄτομα, λόγῳ δὲ θεωρητὰ, ἀμέτοχα κενοῦ, ἀγέννητα, ἀΐδια, ἄφθαρτα, οὐδὲ θραυσθῆναι δυνάμενα, οὕτε διαπλασμὸν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν λαβεῖν, οὕτε ἀλλοιωθῆναι, εἶναι δ’ αὐτὰ λόγῳ θεωρητὰ, ταῦτα μέντοι κινεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κενῷ καὶ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ· εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κενὸν ἅπειρον καὶ τὰ σώματα ἅπειρα. συμβεβηκέναι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τρία ταῦτα, σχήματα, μέγεθος, βάρος, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Δημόκριτος ἔλεγε δύο, μέγεθος καὶ σχῆμα· ὁ δὲ Ἐπέκουρος τούτοις καὶ τρίτον βάρος προσέθηκεν. ἀνάγκη γάρ, φησὶ, κινεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα τῇ τοῦ βάρους πληγῇ, ἐπεὶ οὐ κινηθήσεται. εἶναι δὲ τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἀτόμων περιληπτὰ, οὐκ ἅπειρα· μὴ γάρ εἶναι μήτε ἀγκιστροειδεῖς, μήτε τριαινοειδεῖς, μήτε κρικοειδεῖς· ταῦτα γάρ τὰ σχήματά ἔστιν εὔθραυστα, αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι ἀπαθεῖς, ἀθραυστοι· ἵδια δὲ ἔχειν σχήματα λόγῳ θεωρητά. καὶ εἴρηται ἄτομος οὐχ ὅτι ἔστιν ἐλαχίστη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐ δύναται τμηθῆναι, ἀπαθής οὖσα καὶ ἀμέτοχος κενοῦ· ὥστε ἐὰν εἴπῃ ἄτομον, ἀθραυστὸν λέγει, ἀπαθή, ἀμέτοχον κενοῦ. ὅτι δὲ ἔστιν ἄτομος σαφές· καὶ γάρ ἔστι στοιχεῖα καὶ ζῶα κενὰ καὶ ἡ μονάς.”

14.14.5 | “Democritus, whom Epicurus followed the most, said that the beginnings of things are atoms, which can be understood through reason. They are indivisible, empty, ungenerated, eternal, and imperishable. 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. 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; 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 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 μὲν ἔστιν ἐνωτική, τὸ δὲ διαιρετικόν. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως τέσσαρα τῶν πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε· Ζεὺς ἀργῆς, ‘Πρη τε φερέσβιος, ἡδὲ Ἀΐδωνεύς, Νῆστίς θ’, ἦ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον. Δία μὲν γάρ λέγει τὴν ζέσιν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα,

14.14.6 | “Empedocles of Acragas said that there are four elements: fire, air, water, and earth, along with 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, Persephone, Hades, and the Nymph, who moistens the mortal world with tears.’ He calls the bright one the ether and the air, Hades he calls the earth, and

“Ηραν δὲ φερέσβιον τὸν ἀέρα· τὴν γῆν τὸν  
Ἄιδωνέα· Νῆστιν δὲ καὶ κρούνωμα  
βρότειον, οἰονεὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ύδωρ.”

the Nymph represents 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. They also do not acknowledge gods, incorporeal powers, intellectual natures, rational substances, or anything beyond the senses in their principles.”

14.14.8 | μόνος δ' οὖν 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 γάρ μόνον περὶ τῆς πάντων οὐσίας ἀπεφήνατο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν αἴτιου.

14.14.8 | “Only Anaxagoras is remembered among the Greeks as the first to declare that mind is the cause of everything. It is said that he admired natural philosophy more than those before him. He made his own region known for this, and he was the first among the Greeks to organize the discussion about the principles. 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 ἥγαγε.” Θαυμάσαι δ' ἔστιν ὡς οὗτος πρῶτος παρ' Ἐλλησι τοῦτον θεολογήσας τὸν τρόπον, δόξας Ἀθηναίοις ἄθεος εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἔθεολόγει, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον 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 remarkable that he was the first among the Greeks to express this way of thinking about the divine. The Athenians considered him an atheist because he did not worship the sun, but rather the creator of the sun. He was not well understood and eventually died.”

14.14.10 | λέγεται δὲ μηδὲ οὗτος σῶον φυλάξαι τὸ δόγμα. ἐπιστῆσαι μὲν γὰρ νοῦν

14.14.10 | “It is said that he did not manage to preserve his teachings. He was able to

τοῖς πᾶσι, ούκέτι δὲ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λογισμὸν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀποδοῦναι φυσιολογίαν. ἐπάκουουσον δ' οὖν οἴα ὁ Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Περὶ ψυχῆς αἰτιᾶται τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν τούτοις

understand mind in all things, but he could no longer explain natural philosophy using mind and reason. So, pay attention to how Socrates, in Plato's 'On the Soul,' questions the man about these matters."

## Section 15

14.15.1 | "Ἄλλ' ἀκούσας μέν ποτε ἐκ βιβλίου τινὸς, ὡς ἔφη, Ἀναξαγόρου ἀναγινώσκοντος, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς ἄρα νοῦς ἔστιν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, ταύτη δὴ τῇ αἴτιᾳ ἥσθην τε καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι τρόπον τινὰ εὖ ἔχειν τὸ τὸν νοῦν εἶναι πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ ἡγησάμην, εἰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, τὸν γε νοῦν κοσμοῦντα πάντα κοσμεῖν καὶ ἔκαστον τιθέναι ὅπῃ ἀν βέλτιστα ἔχῃ.

14.15.1 | "But once, I heard from some book, as he said, while Anaxagoras was reading and stating that mind is the one who organizes and is the cause of all things. I was pleased by this idea and thought that it makes sense for mind to be the cause of everything. I believed that if this is true, then mind, by organizing everything, places each thing where it is best."

14.15.2 | εἰ οὖν τις βούλοιτο τὴν αἴτιαν εὐρεῖν περὶ ἐκάστου, ὅπῃ ἡ γίνεται ἢ ἀπόλλυται ἢ ἔστι, τοῦτο δεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐρεῖν, ὅπῃ βέλτιστον αὐτόν ἔστιν ἡ εἶναι ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν πάσχειν ἢ ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκοπεῖν προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἀναγκαῖον δὴ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον εἰδέναι· τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ εἶναι ἐπιστήμην περὶ αὐτῶν.

14.15.2 | "If someone wants to find the cause of each thing, whether it comes into being, disappears, or exists, they must discover what is best for it, whether that means being, experiencing, or doing 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 also necessary to understand both what is good and what is worse; for the knowledge about them is the same."

14.15.3 | ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος ἄσμενος εὐρηκέναι ὡμην διδάσκαλον τῆς αἴτιας περὶ τῶν ὄντων κατὰ νοῦν ἔμαυτῷ, τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ μοι φράσειν πρῶτον μὲν πότερον ἡ γῆ πλατεῖά ἔστιν ἢ στρογγύλη, ἐπειδὴ δὲ φράσειν, ἐπεκδιηγήσασθαι τὴν αἴτιαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, λέγοντα τὸ

14.15.3 | "Thinking about these things, I was happy to believe that I had found a teacher for myself, Anaxagoras, who could explain the causes of things according to reason. I wanted him to first explain whether the earth is flat or round. After he explained that, I hoped he would go on to

άμεινον, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἄμεινον ἦν τοιαύτην εῖναι· καὶ εἰ ἐν μέσῳ φαίη εἶναι αὐτὴν, ἐπεκδιηγήσεσθαι ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ εῖναι· καὶ εἴ μοι ταῦτα ἀποφαίνοιτο, παρεσκευάσμην ὡς ούκέτι ποθεσόμενος αἰτίας ἄλλο εἶδος.

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. If he could show me these things, I would be ready to no longer desire to know about any other kind of cause."

14.15.4 | καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἥλιου 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 αύτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἢ ὅτι βέλτιστον αύτὰ οὕτως ἔχειν ἔστιν ὡσπερ ἔχει.

14.15.4 | "So I also got ready to ask about the sun, the moon, and the other stars, eager to know how each of them is best and what they do and experience. I never thought he would say they were arranged by reason and give them any other cause than that it is best for them to be as they are."

14.15.5 | ἔκάστου ούν [αύτῶν] ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι τὸ ἔκάστω βέλτιστον ὥμην καὶ τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσιν ἐπιδιηγήσασθαι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ούδ' ἀν ἀπεδόμην πολλοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ πάνυ σπουδῆ λαβών τὰς βίβλους ὡς τάχιστα οὗτος τ' ἦν ἀνεγίνωσκον, ἐν' ὡς τάχιστα εἰδείην τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον. ἀπὸ δὴ θαυμαστῆς, ὡς ἐταῖρε, ἐλπίδος ώχόμην φερόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊὼν καὶ ἀναγινώσκων δρῶ ἄνδρα τῷ μὲν νῷ αὐδὲν χρώμενον ούδε τινας αἰτίας ἐπαιτιώμενον εἰς τὸ διακοσμεῖν τὰ πράγματα, ἀέρας δὲ καὶ αἰθέρας καὶ ὕδατα αἰτιώμενον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἀτοπα.

14.15.5 | "I thought that if he explained the cause for each of them and also told everyone what is best for each, he would share the common good for all. I would not give up my hopes, so I eagerly took the books and read them as quickly as I could, wanting to know what is best and what is worse. I was filled with a wonderful hope, my friend. But as I continued reading, I saw a man who, using his reason, did not blame anything for arranging things. Instead, he blamed air, ether, water, and many other strange things."

14.15.6 | καί μοι ἔδοξεν ὁμοιότατον πεπονθέναι, ὡσπερ ἀν εἴ τις λέγων ὅτι

14.15.6 | "It seemed to me very much like an experience, as if someone were to say

Σωκράτης πάντα ὅσα πράττει νῷ πράττει,  
κακοί πειται ἐπιχειρήσας λέγειν τὰς αἰτίας  
ἐκάστων ὃν πράττω, λέγοι πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι  
ἐνθάδε διὰ ταῦτα νῦν κάθημαι, ὅτι  
σύγκειται μου τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ὄστῶν καὶ  
νεύρων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄστα ἔστι στερεὰ καὶ  
διαφυὰς ἔχει χωρὶς ἀπ' ἄλληλων, τὰ δὲ  
νεῦρα οἷα ἐπιτείνεσθαι καὶ ἀνίεσθαι,  
περιαμπέχοντα τὰ ὄστα μετὰ τῶν σαρκῶν  
τε καὶ δέρματος, διὰ συνέχειν αὐτά.

that Socrates does everything with his reason. Then, trying to explain the causes of each thing he does, he 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 everything together."

14.15.7 | αἱώρουμένων 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 αἰτίαν συγκαμφθεὶς ἐνθάδε  
κάθημαι. καὶ αὖ περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ὑμῖν  
ἐτέρας τοιάσδε αἰτίας λέγοι, φωνάς τε καὶ  
ἀέρας καὶ ἀκοὰς καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα μυρία  
τοιαῦτα αἰτιώμενος, ἀμελήσας τὰς ὡς  
ἀληθῶς αἰτίας λέγειν, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίοις  
ἔδοξε βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι,  
διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ βέλτιον αὖ δέδοκται  
ἐνθάδε καθῆσθαι, καὶ δικαιότερον  
παραμένοντα ὑπέχειν τὴν δίκην, ἢν ἀν  
κελεύσωσιν,

14.15.7 | "So, just as the bones are held together in their connections and the nerves stretch and bend, it seems that my limbs are like this now, and because of this cause, I am sitting here. Again, when I speak to you, I could mention other causes like sounds, air, and hearing, blaming many such things while neglecting to discuss the true causes. For when the Athenians thought it was better to vote against me, it was also considered better for me to sit here and justly accept the trial that they command."

14.15.8 | ἐπεὶ νὴ τὸν κύνα, ὡς ἐγῷ μαι,  
πάλαι ἀν ταῦτα τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰ ὄστα ἥ  
περὶ Μέγαρα ἥ περὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἦν, ὑπὸ  
δόξης φερόμενα τοῦ βελτίστου, εἰ μὴ  
δικαιότερον ὥμην καὶ κάλλιον εἶναι πρὸ  
τοῦ φεύγειν τε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν ὑπέχειν  
τῇ πόλει δίκην ἥντιν' ἀν τάττῃ.

14.15.8 | "By the dog, as I believe, these nerves and bones were either around Megara or around the Boeotians, influenced by the idea 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 | ἀλλ' αἴτια μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν  
λίαν ἀτοπον· εἴ δέ τις λέγοι ὅτι ἄνευ τοῦ τὰ  
τοιαῦτα ἔχειν καὶ ὄστα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὅσα  
ἄλλα ἔχω, οὐκ ἀν οὗτος τε ἥ ποιεῖν τὰ

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 possess, they would not be

δόξαντά μοι, ἀληθῆ ἀν λέγοι· ώς μέντοι διὰ ταῦτα ποιῶ ἢ ποιῶ, καὶ ταῦτα νῷ πράττω, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ τοῦ βελτίστου αἰρέσει, πολλὴ ἀν καὶ μακρὰ ῥᾳθυμία εἴη τοῦ λόγου."

able to do what seems right to me, they would be speaking the truth. However, I do what I do and act this way, but not because of the choice of what is best; it would be a long and lazy argument."

14.15.10 | Εἶτα ἐπιλέγει Διὸς δὴ καὶ ὁ μέν τις δίνην περιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τού οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν, ὃ δὲ ὥσπερ καρδόπω πλατείᾳ βάθρον τὸν ἄέρα ὑπερείδει· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὡς οἴοντα τε βέλτιστα αὐτὰ τεθῆναι δύναμιν οὕτω νῦν κεῖσθαι, ταύτην οὔτε ζητοῦσιν οὔτε τινὰ οἴονται δαιμονίαν ἴσχυν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ἡγοῦνται τούτου ἀν ποτε Ἀτλανταί ισχυρότερον καὶ ἀθανατώτερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἅπαντα συνέχοντα ἔξευρεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δέοντα ξυνδεῖν καὶ συνέχειν οὐδὲν οἴονται."

14.15.10 | "Then he concludes that some, by spinning the earth, make it stay under the sky, while others, like a broad base of a heart, hold up the air above. But they do not seek or believe that there is any power capable of arranging these things in the best way. Instead, they think that at some point they will find a stronger and more immortal Atlas to hold everything together, and they do not believe that truly good and necessary things can be connected and held together."

14.15.11 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου δόξης. ἦν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου μὲν διάδοχος τῆς τε διατριβῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς δόξης Ἀρχέλαος, Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἀκουστῆς γεγονέναι λέγεται Σωκράτης. πλὴν ἀλλὰ φυσικοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι Ξενοφάνης καὶ Πυθαγόρας, συνακμάσαντες Ἀναξαγόρᾳ, ἀφθαρσίας θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας ἐφιλοσόφησαν ἐκ τούτων τε καὶ μετὰ τούτους αἱ τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ὑπέστησαν αἰρέσεις, τῶν μὲν τοῖσδε, τῶν δὲ ἐτέροις ἔξηκολουθηκότων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ ἴδιας δόξας ἐπινεοηκότων. πάλιν δ' οὖν ὁ Πλούταρχος τὰς περὶ θεῶν ὑπολήψεις τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον γράφει τὸν τρόπον

14.15.11 | "Socrates spoke a lot about the ideas of Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras had a successor named 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 thrived alongside Anaxagoras, discussed the immortality of the soul and the incorruptibility of the divine. From these thinkers and those who followed them, different schools of thought in Greek philosophy emerged, some continuing these ideas while others developed their own beliefs. Again, Plutarch writes about the views of these 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, claim that there are no gods at all. Callimachus hints at Euhemerus in his iambics. Euripides, the tragic poet, did not want to reveal this directly, fearing the anger of Ares, but he suggested it in this way: he introduced Sisyphus as a supporter of this belief and agreed with his view.”

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. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων’ οὐχ ἔστηκότα ὑπέθετο τὰ πρῶτα σώματα, ἀτάκτως δὲ κινούμενα· διὸ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήσας ὡς τάξις ἀταξίας ἔστι βελτίων, διεκόσμησεν αὐτά.”

14.16.2 | “On this topic, he again brings up Anaxagoras, first stating that he thought correctly about the divine. He says: ‘Anaxagoras claims 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 suggest that the first bodies were set in place; instead, he said they were moving chaotically. Therefore, he argues, the god, realizing that order is better than chaos, arranged them.’”

14.16.3 | Οἶς 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 είς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευήν.

14.16.3 | “To this, he adds, ‘Both are wrong because they made the god turn away from human matters and, for this reason, create the world. The blessed and immortal being, filled with all good things and not accepting any evil, is completely 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 creating the world.’”

14.16.4 | καὶ πάλιν, ὁ θεὸς ὃν λέγουσιν, ἥτοι τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αἰῶνα οὐκ ἦν, ὅτε ἦν ἀκίνητα τὰ σώματα, ἥ ὅτε ἀτάκτως ἐκινεῖτο, ἥ ἐκοιμᾶτο, ἥ ἐγρηγόρει, ἥ οὐδέτερον τούτων. ἥ οὕτε τὸ πρῶτον ἔστι δέξασθαι· πᾶς γὰρ θεὸς αἰώνιος· οὕτε τὸ δεύτερον· εἴ γὰρ ἐκοιμᾶτο ἐξ αἰῶνος ὁ θεὸς, ἐτεθνήκει· αἰώνιος γὰρ ὑπνος θάνατός ἔστιν. ἄλλα 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 είς εύδαιμονίαν, ἥ πεπλήρωτο ἐν μακαριότητι. καὶ οὕτε κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστι μακάριος ὁ θεός· τὸ γὰρ ἐλλεῖπον είς εύδαιμονίαν 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 ἄνθρωπον οίκονομεῖται, τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εύτυχεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀστεῖον τὸ ἐναντίον πάσχει; Ἀγαμέμνων τε γὰρ ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής, ὑπὸ μοιχοῦ καὶ μοιχαλίδος ἡττηθεὶς ἐδολοφονήθη· καὶ ὁ τούτου δὲ συγγενῆς Ἡρακλῆς, πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιλυμανομένων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καθαρὰς, ὑπὸ Δηϊανείρας φαρμακευθεὶς ἐδολοφονήθη.”

14.16.6 | “Θαλῆς τὸν κόσμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν. Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους θεούς. Δημόκριτος θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδῆ 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

14.16.4 | “And again, the god they mention either did not exist in the past age when the bodies were motionless, or when they were moving chaotically, or was asleep, or was awake, or neither of these. The first option cannot be accepted; for every god is eternal. The second option also cannot be accepted; 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 it.”

14.16.5 | If the god was awake, then either he lacked happiness or he was filled with bliss. The god is not happy in the first case; for lacking happiness is not blissful. He is also not 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 while the unfortunate thrive? For Agamemnon, both a good king 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 | 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 made of fire. Pythagoras considered the one to be 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

ύλικὸν πλῆθος, [έστὶ καὶ ὄρατὸς ὁ κόσμος.]”

represents evil, which relates to 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 ὅν ἀγαθόν. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ὄνομάτων εἰς τὸν νοῦν σπεύδει. νοῦς οὖν ὁ θεὸς χωριστὸν εἶδος, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἀμιγὲς πάσης ὕλης καὶ μηδενὶ παθητῷ συμπεπλεγμένον.

14.16.7 | After these, the young thinkers believed the following: “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 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλούμενον διηρημένου δὲ τούτου κατὰ σφαιρὰς τῇ μὲν φύσει συναφεῖς, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ κεχωρισμένας, ἐκάστην οὔεται 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’ ἐνέργειαν.

14.16.8 | Aristotle described the highest god as a separate form, connected to the sphere of the whole, which he called an etheric body, or the fifth element. He believed that while this is divided into spheres, each sphere is connected by nature but separated by reason. He thought 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 and the cause of motion in action.

14.16.9 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πῦρ τεχνικὸν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμου, περιειληφότος πάντας τοὺς σπερματικὸν 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 αἰθέρι.

14.16.9 | The Stoics declare a rational god, a creative fire, moving along the path of the world's creation and containing all the seed-like reasons, through which everything happens according to fate. A spirit flows through the entire 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 | Ἐπίκουρος ἀνθρωποειδεῖς μὲν [πάντας] τοὺς θεοὺς, λόγω δὲ πάντας θεωρητοὺς διὰ τὴν λεπτομέρειαν τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων φύσεως, ὃ δ' αὐτὸς ἄλλας τέσσαρας φύσεις κατὰ γένος ἀφθάρτους τάσδε, τὰ ἄτομα, τὸ κενὸν, τὸ ἄπειρον, τὰς ὁμοιότητας, αὗται δὲ λέγονται ὁμοιομέρειαι, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα.”

14.16.10 | Epicurus saw all the gods as human-like, but he believed 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, as well as the elements.

14.16.11 | Τοιαῦται μὲν δὴ τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ αἱ περὶ θεοῦ διαστάσεις τε καὶ δυσφημίαι, ὡν 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·

14.16.11 | 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 seen as the children of their times, during which the most recent events of Hebrew history are recorded.

14.16.12 | οὐκ ἦν ἄρα παλαιτάτη παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς πρόπαλαι τὴν πολύθεον δεισιδαιμονίαν παρά τε Φοίνιξι καὶ Αἴγυπτοις εἰσηγησαμένοις μένοις ἢ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσις, ἦν πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων ληνῶν Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔξήνεγκαν. καὶ μὴν τὰ τῆς πολυθέου δεισιδαιμονίας πάντων ἔθνων ἐκράτει· ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τὴν ἀληθῆ περιέχοντα θεολογίαν, ἀλλ' ἦν Αἴγυπτοι καὶ Φοίνικες πρῶτοι πάντων συστήσασθαι ἐμαρτυρήθησαν.

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 Anaxagoras and those around him. 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 ἦν θεοὺς μὲν οὐδαμῶς, οὐδέ τινας θείας δυνάμεις, ἄνδρας δὲ ἥδη πάλαι ἐν νεκροῖς κειμένους θεολογοῦσα, ὡς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας πάλαι ἀπέδειξε λόγος. φέρ' οὖν πάλιν ἀναλάβωμεν τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν πάντα κατέβαλλον ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, οἱ δ'

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. Some of the natural philosophers based everything on the

αῦ πάλιν τούτοις ἀνθεῖλκον, ως οἶ περὶ τὸν  
Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον καὶ  
Παρμενίδην Ἐλεάτην, οἱ δὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις  
ἀνήρουν, μηδὲν εἶναι φάσκοντες  
καταληπτὸν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει, διὸ μόνω δεῖν  
πιστεύειν τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
ἀντειρημένα διασκεψώμεθα.

senses, while others opposed them, like Xenophanes of Colophon and Parmenides of Elea, who denied the senses and claimed 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’ ἔγένοντο τούτοις τὴν φωνὴν ἀφίεντες, οἴονται γάρ 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, ὑστερὸν δ’ οἱ περὶ Στίλπωνα καὶ τοὺς Μεγαρικούς. ὅθεν ἡξίουν οὗτοί γε τὸ δὸν ἐν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον 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. 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, 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· νυνὶ μέντοι τοσοῦτον λεκτέον εἴποιμεν γάρ ἀν ως ὁ μὲν λόγος ἡμῶν εἴη τὸ θειότατον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ δεῖ γε καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ὥσπερ γε δὴ καὶ σώματος. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις ἀληθεύειν πέφυκε δῆλον· οὐ γάρ οἶόν τε τὸν αἰσθανόμενον μὴ οὐχὶ πάσχειν τι· πάσχων δὲ τὸ πάθος ἀν εἰδείη· γνῶσις οὖν τίς ἔστι καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις.

14.17.2 | Now, we will engage more with these ideas as philosophers. However, we 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 can reveal the truth; for it is impossible for someone who senses not to feel something. And by feeling, they come to know the experience. So, what is knowledge, and what is sensation?

14.17.3 | ἄλλὰ μὴν εἰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι πάσχειν τί ἔστιν, ἄπαν δὲ τὸ πάσχον ὑπό 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· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν τὸ ὃν οὐκ ἔσται·

14.17.3 | But if sensing means to feel something, then everything that is felt must be felt by someone. This means that the one who feels and the one who is felt must be completely different. Therefore, what is being said would be different. For example,

καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀκίνητον· ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησίς ἔστι κίνησις.

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 | ταύτη δὲ βούλεται πᾶς τις κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν τάς αἰσθήσεις, ἄτε δὴ πιστεύων, οἷμαι, ταῖς ὑγιαινούσαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς νοσούσαις. εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ δεινός τις ἔρως αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐντέτηκεν. οὐδείς γέ τοι μὴ μεμηνώς ἔλοιτ’ ἀν ποτε μίαν αἴσθησιν ἀποβάλλειν, ὅπως αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο.

14.17.4 | Everyone wants to have their senses in a natural way, believing, I think, that healthy senses are better than sick ones. It makes sense that a strong desire for them has been placed in us. After all, 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 αύτὰς ἔχρην, πεπεισμένους γε διότι μάτην ἔχοιεν αύτὰς, εἰπόντας ἄπερ ὁ Πάνδαρος λέγει παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ περὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τόξων, αὐτίκ’ ἔπειτ’ ἀπ’ ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς, εἰ μὴ ἔγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῷ ἐν πυρὶ θείην, χερσὶ διακλάσσας, ἀνεμώλια γάρ μοι ὄπηδε, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο διαλυμήνασθαι πάσας τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐαυτῶν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ διδάσκουσιν ὡς είς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιντο.

14.17.5 | Those who slander them should be convinced that they have them for no reason, echoing what Pindar says about Homer's own bows: "Immediately, 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, because in this way, someone might believe that their actions teach that none of them are necessary.

14.17.6 | νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀτοπώτατόν ἔστι· ἀχρήστους γὰρ ἀποφαίνοντες αύτὰς τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ μάλιστα χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν αύταῖς.

14.17.6 | But now this is the strangest thing: they claim that they are useless with their words, while they use them the most in their actions.

14.17.7 | ὅ γέ τοι Μέλισσος ἔθέλων ἐπιδεικνύαι διότι τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐν ὄψει τούτων οὐδὲν εἴη τῷ ὄντι, διὰ τῶν φαινομένων ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῶν· φησὶ γοῦν, εἰ γάρ ἔστι καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ πῦρ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ χρυσὸς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζῶν, τὸ

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

δὲ τεθνηκὸς, καὶ μέλαν καὶ λευκὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα φασὶν ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρθῶς ὄρῶμεν καὶ ἀκούομεν, εἶναι ἔχοντας τὸ ὄν τοιοῦτον οἶν πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ μεταπίπτειν, μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ἔτερον, ἀλλ’ εἶναι ὅμοιον οὗτον περ ἔστιν ἔκαστον. νῦν δὲ φαμὲν ὁρθῶς 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, ἢπ’ οὖν ὅτι [δὲ νῦν] θερμόν ἔστι κακπειτα τοῦτο γίνεται ψυχρὸν οὐκ αἴσθόμενος ἔγνως; ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ὅπερ γάρ ἔφην, εὐρεθείη ἄν οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀναιρῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων διὰ τὸ μάλιστα πιστεύειν αὐταῖς.

14.17.9 | ἄλλὰ γάρ οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι λόγοι σχεδὸν ἰκανὰς ἥδη δεδώκασιν εύθύνας· ἔξιτηλοί γε τοι γεγόνασιν, ὡς εἰ μηδὲ ἐλέχθησαν τὸ παράπαν. ἥδη μέντοι θαρροῦντες λέγωμεν ὁρθῶς 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, ὃς δὴ λέγεται συνακμάσαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. Ξενοφάνους δὲ ἀκούστης γέγονε Παρμενίδης τούτου Μέλισσος, οὗ Ζήνων, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ Πρωταγόρας καὶ Νεσσᾶς· δὲ Νεσσᾶ

say are real, and we see and hear correctly, then what is real should be exactly as it first seemed to us. It should not change or become something else, but remain the same as it is. However, we now say that we see, hear, and understand correctly; yet it seems to us that the hot becomes cold, the cold becomes hot, 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 reasonably ask, “So, if what is now hot later becomes cold, did you not realize this?” The same applies to other things. For what I said would turn out to be nothing more than denying the senses and proving them wrong, even though they trust them the most.

14.17.9 | But indeed, such arguments have already provided 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, considering both the senses and reason for understanding the nature of things.

14.17.10 | Such are those around Xenophanes, who is said to have flourished alongside Pythagoras and Anaxagoras. Parmenides became a student of Xenophanes; from him came Melissus, from him Zeno, from him Leucippus, from him Democritus, and from him Protagoras and

Μητρόδωρος, οὗ Διογενής, οὐ Άναξαρχος. Άναξάρχου 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 ὄριζομένους, ἐπέχοντας δ' ἐν πᾶσιν, ὅπως ἀπήλεγχον οἱ ἀντιδοξάζοντες μαθεῖν πάρεστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλωθέντος συγγράμματος ὥδε πῃ πρὸς λέξιν ἔχοντος

Nessa. Nessa was the teacher of Metrodorus, from whom came Diogenes, and from him Anaxarchus. Anaxarchus became known for Pyrrho, from whom the school of Skeptics got its name. They claimed that nothing at all can be understood, neither through sensation nor through reason, but they believed 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 | "Άναγκαίως δ' ἔχει πρὸ παντὸς διασκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γνώσεως· εἴ γάρ αὖ μηδὲν πεφύκαμεν γνωρίζειν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκοπεῖν.

14.18.1 | It is necessary to first think about 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 | ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς οἵ ἀφέντες τήνδε τὴν φωνὴν, οἷς ἀντείρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης. ἴσχυσε μέντοι τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ Πυρρῶν ὁ Ἡλεῖος· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν γραφῇ καταλέλοιπεν, ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων φησὶ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα εὐδαιμονήσειν εἰς τρία ταῦτα βλέπειν· πρῶτον μὲν 5 ὅποια πέφυκε τὰ πράγματα· δεύτερον δὲ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ήμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὰ διακεῖσθαι· τελευταῖον δὲ, τί περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι.

14.18.2 | Some of the ancient thinkers left behind this view, which Aristotle opposed. However, Pyrrho of Elis also spoke strongly about these ideas; yet he himself left nothing in writing. His student Timon says that a person who wants to be happy in the future should consider these three things: first, what things are like by nature; second, how we should relate to them; and finally, what will happen to those who are in such a state.

14.18.3 | τὰ μὲν οὗν 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 οὗν μηδὲ πιστεύειν αὐταῖς δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀδοξάστους καὶ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀκραδάντους εἶναι, περὶ ἐνὸς

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 remain without opinions, unyielding, and steady. We should say about each thing that it is

έκάστου λέγοντας ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλόν ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ καὶ ἔστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ οὕτε ἔστιν οὕτ' οὐκ ἔστιν.

14.18.4 | τοῖς μέντοι διακειμένοις οὕτω περιέσεσθαι Τίμων φησὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφασίαν, ἔπειτα δ' ἀταραξίαν, Αἰνησίδημος δὲ ἡδονήν."

14.18.5 | "Τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια τῶν λεγομένων ἔστι ταῦτα· σκεψώμεθα δ' εἰ όρθως λέγουσιν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα πάντα φασὶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κελεύουσι μηδενὶ προστίθεσθαι, μηδὲ δοξάζειν, είκότως ἀν, οἴμαι, πύθοιτό τις αὐτῶν, ἄρα γε διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ διαφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες ἢ οὕ; πάντως γάρ, εἰ μὲν ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οὐκ όρθως ὑπολαμβάνοιεν ἄν. ὥστε ἀνάγκη λέγειν αὐτοῖς εἶναί τινας τοὺς τὰ ψευδῆ περὶ τῶν ὄντων δοξάζοντας· αὐτοὶ τοίνυν εἶν άν οἱ τάληθη λέγοντες οὕτω δὲ b εἴη ἄν ἀληθές τι καὶ ψεῦδος. εἰ δ' οὐχ ἀμαρτάνομεν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ὄντα διαφέρειν οίόμενοι, τί παθόντες ἐπιπλήττουσιν ἡμῖν; αὐτοὶ γάρ ἀμαρτάνοιεν ἄν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ διαφέρειν αὐτά.

14.18.6 | καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ δοίμεν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα πάντα εἶναι, δῆλον ως οὐκ ἄν διαφέροιεν ούδ' αὐτοὶ τῶν πολλῶν. τίς οὖν εἴη ἄν αὐτῶν ἡ σοφία; καὶ διὰ τί Τίμων τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις λοιδορεῖται πᾶσι, Πύρρωνα δ' ὑμνεῖ μόνον;

14.18.7 | ἔτι γε μὴν εἰ ἐπ' ἵσης ἔστιν ἀδιάφορα πάντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μηδὲν

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 experience silence, then peace of mind, while Aenesidemus says they will find pleasure.

14.18.5 | These are the main points of what is said; let us consider if they are correct. Since they claim that all things are equal and indistinguishable, and for this reason they urge us not to add anything or to have opinions, I think someone might ask them: are those who believe things are different mistaken or not? If they are mistaken, then they are not 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 false. But if we are not mistaken in thinking that things are different, why do they challenge 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 most people 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

δοξάζειν, ούκ ἀν ούδε ταῦτα διαφέροι· λέγω δὲ τὸ διαφέρειν ἢ μὴ διαφέρειν, καὶ τὸ δοξάζειν ἢ μὴ δοξάζειν. τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τοιαῦτά ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν; ἡ, ὡς φησι Τίμων, διὰ τί ναὶ 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 ούδενὸς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δέοι, κάπειτα ἀποφαινόμενοι· καὶ ἀξιοῦσι μὲν μηδενὶ συγκατατίθεσθαι, πείθεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς κελεύουσιν· εἴτα λέγοντες μηδὲν εἰδέναι πάντας ἐλέγχουσιν ὡς εὗ εἰδότες.

14.18.8 | ἀνάγκη τε τοὺς φάσκοντας ὡς ἄδηλα πάντα εἴη δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ σιωπᾶν ἢ ἀποφαίνεσθαί τι καὶ λέγειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοιεν, δῆλον ὅτι πρός γε τοὺς τοιούτους ούδεις ἀν εἴη λόγος· εἰ δὲ ἀποφαίνοιντο, πάντη τε καὶ πάντως τῶς ἢ εἶναί τι φαῖεν ἀν ἢ μὴ εἶναι, καθάπερ ἀμέλει νυνὶ φασιν ὡς εἴη πάντα ἄγνωστα καὶ νομιστὰ πᾶσι.

14.18.9 | ὡς δ' ούδὲν τοῦτο τοίνυν ὁ ἀξιῶν ἦτοι δηλοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἔνεστιν αὐτὸ συνεῖναι λεγόμενον, ἢ οὐκ ἔνεστιν. ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν ού δηλοῖ, καθάπαξ ούδεις ούδ' οὕτω πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀν εἴη λόγος. εἰ δὲ σημαίνοι, πάντως ἢ ἄπειρα λέγοι ἀν ἢ πεπερασμένα· καὶ εἴ μὲν ἄπειρα, ούδ' οὕτως ἀν εἴη λόγος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπείρου γὰρ γνῶσις οὐκ ἔστι· πεπερασμένων δὲ ὅντων τῶν δηλουμένων ἢ ἐνδὲς ὅτουοῦν ὁ

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 stayed far from the truth, urging us not to have opinions while at the same time telling us to do just that. They say it is necessary to make statements about nothing, and then they make statements themselves. They demand that no one agree with them, but they urge us to follow them; then they claim that everyone knows nothing while insisting they know everything.

14.18.8 | It is necessary for those who say that everything is unclear to either be silent or to say something. If they were to keep quiet, it is clear that no one would talk to 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 accepted by everyone.

14.18.9 | Now, if nothing here shows what is true and whether it can be understood, then if it does not show anything, 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, because there is no knowledge of the infinite. But if the things being indicated

τοῦτο λέγων ὅρίζει τι καὶ κρίνει. πῶς οὖν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἀνεπίκριτα πάντα εἴη ἂν; εἰ δὲ φαίη ταύτῳ καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἔσται ταύτῳ καὶ ἀληθὲς καὶ ψεῦδος, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔρει τι καὶ οὐκ ἔρει, καὶ λόγω χρώμενος ἀναιρήσει λόγον, ἔτι δὲ ὅμιλογῶν ψεύδεσθαι πιστεύειν ἐαυτῷ φησι δεῖν.

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, using reason to 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 γὰρ εἰδέναι πρότερον αὐτοὺς τί δή ποτ' ἔστι τὸ δῆλον· οὕτω γοῦν ἀν ἔχοιεν λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἴη τὰ πράγματα τοιαῦτα. πρῶτον γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ τὴν κατάφασιν, εἶτα τὴν ἀπόφασιν. εἰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦσιν ὁποῖόν 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. 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 διεξήγει τρόπους (κατὰ τοσούτους γὰρ ἀποφαίνειν ἄδηλα τὰ πράγματα πεπείραται) πότερον αὐτὸν φῶμεν εἰδότα λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα; φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ζῶα 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 λυμαίνόμενα 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.

14.18.11 | Whenever Aenesidemus explains the nine ways in his outline (for he tries to show that things are unclear in this many ways), do we see him saying this with knowledge or without knowledge? He says that living beings differ, as do we ourselves, cities, ways of life, customs, and laws. He also mentions that our senses are weak, and many outside things harm our 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 | πάντα γὰρ εἶναι συγκεχυμένα καὶ πρός τι λεγόμενα. ταῦτα δὲ, φημὶ, καὶ

14.18.12 | For everything is mixed up and said in relation to something. I say that if

τὰ τοιαῦτα κομψολογοῦντα αύτὸν ἡδέως  
ἄν τις ἥρετο, πότερον εὐ εἰδώς λέγοι διότι  
τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ἥ  
ἀγνοῶν· εἴ μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἥδει, πῶς ἀν ἡμεῖς  
αὐτῷ πιστεύομεν; εἴ δ' ἐγίνωσκε, κομιδῇ  
τις ἦν ἡλίθιος ἄμα μὲν ἄδηλα πάντα  
ἀποφαινόμενος, ἄμα δὲ τοσαῦτα λέγων  
εἰδέναι.

someone were to ask him about these things, they would want to know whether he speaks with understanding of why things are this way or without understanding. 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 | καὶ μὴν ὅπότε γε τοιαῦτα  
διεξίοιν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἥ 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, οὐδὲν ἀν  
ἡμεῖς προσέχειν αὐτοῖς βουληθείημεν.

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 | Ὁ γε μὴν Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι  
διηγεῖται, μακρὸν τινα κατατείνας λόγον,  
ώς ἐντύχοι τῷ Πύρρωνι βαδίζοντι Πυθοῖδε  
παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τοῦ Αμφιαράου, καὶ τίνα  
διαλεχθεῖεν ἀλλήλοις. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ εὐλόγως  
ἄν τις αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγγράφοντι παραστάς  
εἴποι, τί, ὡς πονηρὲ, ἐνοχλεῖς σεαυτῷ ταῦτα  
συγγράφων καὶ ἂ μὴ οἶσθα διηγούμενος; τί  
γάρ μᾶλλον ἐνέτυχες αὐτῷ ἥ οὐκ ἐνέτυχες,  
καὶ διελέχθης ἥ οὐ διελέχθης;

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 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 experience with him than not experiencing him, and did you talk with him or not?"

14.18.15 | αὐτός τε ἐκεῖνος ὁ θαμαστὸς  
Πυρρῶν ἄρα γε ἥδει τὸ διὰ τί βαδίζοι Πύθια  
θεασόμενος; ἥ καθάπερ οἵ μεμηνότες  
ἐπλανᾶτο κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν; ἡνίκα δὲ ἥρξατο  
κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς  
ἀγνοίας αὐτῶν, ἄρα γε φῶμεν αὐτὸν ἀληθῆ  
λέγειν ἥ μὴ, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα παθεῖν τι καὶ

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? Did Timon feel something and agree

συγκαταθέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ἢ μὴ προσέχειν;  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπείσθη, πῶς ἀντὶ χορευτοῦ  
φιλόσοφος ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα  
διετέλεσε θαυμάζων; εἰ δὲ συγκατλέθετο  
τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἄτοπος ἀν εἴη τις, αὐτὸς  
μὲν φιλοσοφῶν, ἡμᾶς δὲ κωλύων.

with his words, or did he 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 σίλλοι καὶ αἱ κατὰ πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων βλασφημίαι, καὶ αἱ μακραὶ<sup>1</sup>  
στοιχειώσεις εἰς Αίνησιδήμου, καὶ αἱ πᾶς ὁ  
τοιοῦτος ὄχλος τῶν λόγων τί δήποτε  
βιούλεται αὐτοῖς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱόμενοι  
κρείττους ἡμᾶς ἀπεργάσεσθαι ταῦτα  
γεγράφασι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντας οἴονται  
δεῖν ἔλέγχειν ὅπως παυσώμεθα  
φλυαροῦντες, βούλονται δηλονότι τὴν  
ἀλήθειαν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι  
τοιαῦτα εἴη τὰ πράγματα καθάπερ ἀξιοῖ  
Πυρρῶν. ὥστε εἰ 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 insults against all  
people, as well as the long arguments of  
Aenesidemos, and wonder what this crowd  
of words really wants. For if they think they  
have written better things than we have,  
and for this reason 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 οὖν ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα τὰ  
πράγματα καὶ ἀνεπίκριτα δύναιτ' ἀν εἶναι;  
καὶ πῶς ἀσυγκατάθετο καὶ ἀδόξαστοι  
γενοίμεθ' ἄν; εἰ δ' οὐδὲν ὅφελός ἐστι τῶν  
λόγων, τί ἡμῖν ἐνοχλοῦσιν; ἢ διὰ τί Τίμων  
φησὶν οὐκ ἀν δὴ Πύρρωνί γ' ἐρίσσειεν  
βροτὸς ἄλλος; οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον Πύρρωνα  
θαυμάσαι τις ἀν ἢ τὸν Κόροιβον ἐκεῖνον ἢ  
τὸν Μελητίδην, οἱ δὴ δοκοῦσι μωρίᾳ  
διενεγκεῖν.

14.18.17 | How then could things be equal,  
indifferent, and unchallenged? And how  
could we become disagreeable and  
dishonorable? If none of the words are  
useful, why do they bother us? Or why does  
Timon say that no other person 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 | ἐνθυμεῖσθαι μέντοι χρὴ καὶ  
ταῦτα. ποῖος γὰρ ἀν γένοιτο πολίτης, ἢ  
δικαστὴς, ἢ σύμβουλος, ἢ φίλος, ἢ ἀπλῶς

14.18.18 | One must think about these  
things. What kind of citizen, judge, advisor,  
or friend could someone like that be? And

είπεν ἄνθρωπος, ὅ γε τοιοῦτος; ἢ τί τῶν κακῶν οὐ τολμήσειν ἀνὸ μηδὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰόμενος εἶναι κακὸν, ἢ αἰσχρὸν, ἢ δίκαιον, ἢ ἄδικον; οὐδὲ γάρ ἐκεῖνο φαίνεται, ἃν, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους δεδοίκασι καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας οἵ τοιοῦτοι πᾶς γάρ οἴ γε ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀτάραχοι, καθάπερ αύτοί φασιν, ὄντες;

what kind of evil would someone who truly believes that 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 | ὁ γέ τοι Τίμων ταῦτα καὶ λέγει περὶ τοῦ Πύρρωνος ἀλλ' οἴον τὸν ἄτυφον ἔγω ἵδον ἡδ' ἀδάμαστονπᾶσιν ὅσοι δαμνᾶτε βροτῶν ἄφατοι τε φατοί τελαῶν ἔθνεα κοῦφα, βαρυνόμεν' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθαέκ παθέων, δόξης τε καὶ είκαίης νομοθήκης.

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 both 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 | ὀπόταν μέντοι φῶσι τὸ σοφὸν δὴ τοῦτο, ὅτι δέοι κατακολουθοῦντα τῇ φύσει ζῆν καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι, μηδενὶ μέντοι συγκατατίθεσθαι, πάνυ τινές είσιν εύήθεις. εἰ γάρ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τούτῳ γοῦν αὐτῷ δεῖ συγκαταθέσθαι καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν οὕτως ἔχειν αὐτό. τί δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι δεῖ κατακολουθεῖν ἢ οὐ δεῖ, μὴ εἰδότας γε δὴ μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἔχοντάς τι ὅτῳ κρινοῦμεν;

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 with themselves and believe that this is how things are. 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 γάρ καὶ παντάπασίν ἔστιν ἥλιθιον, ἐπειδὴν λέγωσιν ὅτι καθάπερ τὰ καθαρτικὰ φάρμακα συνεκκρίνει μετὰ τῶν περιττωμάτων καὶ ἐαυτὰ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πάντα ἀξιῶν εἶναι λόγος ἄδηλα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ἐαυτόν. εἰ γάρ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέγχοι, ληροῖεν ἀνὸ οἴ χρώμενοι τούτῳ. βέλτιον οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδὲ

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 with this. Therefore, it is better for them to stay quiet and not even open their

τὸ στόμα διαίρειν.

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 ἀεὶ μόνος γὰρ οὗτος εἴη ἀν ὁ ποιῶν ἀσυγκαταθέτους.

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 ἵδεῖν ἀπέψησε τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ καὶ προσῆλθεν ἐγγύτερον καὶ ἐπηλυγάσατο.

14.18.24 | καὶ μὴν ἡδόμενοί γε καὶ πονοῦντες ἴσμεν· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὸν καιόμενον ἢ τεμνόμενον ἀγνοεῖν. τὰς δὲ δὴ μνήμας καὶ τὰς ἀναμνήσεις τίς οὐκ ἀν φαίη μεθ' ὑπολήψεως γίγνεσθαι; περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν, ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, τί λέγοι τις ἄν; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τούτων, εἴ μη ἐπεφύκειμεν ὑπολαμβάνειν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐῶ τἄλλα τοῖς μέντοι λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τούτων ἔάν τε πιστεύωμεν, ἔάν τε ἀπιστῶμεν, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δοξάζειν πάντη τε καὶ πάντως.”

14.18.25 | “Οτι μὲν οὖν ἀμήχανόν ἐστι φιλοσοφεῖν τρόπον τοῦτον φανερόν· ὅτι δὲ

mouths.

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 what keeps them from agreeing with others.

14.18.23 | That they do not think a person can be without reputation is how someone learns. For it is impossible for a being that feels not to feel. And to feel is to know something. It is clear that they also believe in all their senses; for wanting to see more clearly, they closed their eyes and moved closer to look more closely.

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 unaware. But who would not say that memories and reminders come with understanding? Regarding common ideas, like the fact that such a person is human, and also about knowledge and skills, what could anyone say? There would be nothing of these if we did not naturally come to understand. But I will leave the rest to those being spoken about; whether we believe them or not, it is necessary to have opinions in every way and about everything.

14.18.25 | That it is impossible to philosophize in this way is clear; we would

καὶ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὡδὶ<sup>1</sup>  
κατίδοιμεν ἄν. εἰ γάρ αὖ τῷ ὄντι τὰ  
πράγματα τοιαῦτα εἴη, τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἡ  
καθάπερ ἐν ὑπνῳ ζῆν ἡμᾶς εἴκῃ καὶ  
έμπλήκτως; ὥστε φλυαροῖεν ἀν οἱ  
νομοθέται καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ  
παισεύοντες. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν οὗ μὲν  
ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν,  
μόνοι μέντοι τετυφῶσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ  
μεμηνέναι μανίαν ἐρρωμένην οὗ ταῦτα  
ληροῦντες.

also see things that go against nature and the laws like this. For if things were truly as they say, what else would there be but to live as if in a dream, aimlessly and confusedly? So the lawmakers, generals, and those who deceive would be talking nonsense. But it seems to me that all other people live according to nature, while only they are blinded, and instead have become mad by saying 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 δ'  
ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων εἰπεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν εἴη  
ἄνθρωπον 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  
τοῖς λόγοις οὐδ' ἄξια τῆς ἀπαθείας, εἰπεῖν  
αὐτὸν, ἐν γοῦν γυναικὶ οὐ δεῖ τῆς ἀπόδειξιν  
αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι δικαίως ἀν εἶπεν ὁ  
φίλος ὅτι, ὡς μάταιε, καὶ ἐν γυναικὶ καὶ κυνὶ<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ πᾶσιν, εἴ τι δή σοι τῶν λόγων τούτων  
ἔστιν ὄφελος.”

14.18.26 | Indeed, one could learn this very well from there. Antigonus of Karystos, writing about the same time, 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, saying that one should not prove this with a woman. And yet, the friend could rightly say, “Oh foolish one, whether with a woman, a dog, or anything else, 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  
έξήλωσεν αὐτός. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πύρρων  
Ἀναξάρχου τινὸς ἐγένετο μαθητής, δις τὸ  
μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ζωγράφος, οὐδ' οὕτως  
εύτυχης, ἐπειτα τοῖς Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις  
ἐντυχὼν χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτε εὗρεν  
οὕτε συνεγράψατο, κακῶς δὲ πάντας εἶπε

14.18.27 | It is important to learn who admired him and who he rejected. Pyrrho became a student of Anaxarchus, who was first a painter but not very successful. Later, he came across the books of Democritus, but he found nothing good nor wrote anything useful. Instead, he spoke poorly of everyone, both gods and humans.

καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους· αὐτὸς δ'  
ὑστερὸν τοῦτον τὸν τύφον  
περιβαλλόμενος καὶ καλῶν ἄτυφον ἐαυτὸν  
οὐδὲν ἐν γραφῇ κατέλιπεν.

However, later on, he himself, being surrounded by this blindness, left nothing in writing that was clear or good.

14.18.28 | ἐγένετο δὲ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων Φλιάσιος, δὅς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔχόρευεν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἔπειτα δ' ἐντυχὼν αὐτῷ συνέγραψεν ἀργαλέας παρωδίας παρωδίας καὶ βωμολόχους, ἐν αἷς βεβλασφήμηκε πάντας τοὺς πώποτε φιλοσοφήσαντας. Ιὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοὺς σίλλους γράψας καὶ λέγων σχέτλιοι ἀνθρώποι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἴοντοι ἔκ τ' ἐρίδων ἔκ τε στοναχῶν πέπλασθε, καὶ ἀνθρωποι κενεῆς οἰήσιος 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. 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, ἔχθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Αίνγισίσημός τις ἀναζωπυρεῖν ρεῖν ἥρξατο τὸν ὕθλον τοῦτον. καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ μὲν κράτιστοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι τῶν τὴν ὁδὸν βεβαδικότων ταύτην εἰσὶν οὗτοι.

14.18.29 | With none of them turning back, as if they had never existed at all, yesterday and the day before in Alexandria, Egypt, a certain Ainsisimus began to rekindle this movement. And almost those who seemed to be the best among those following this path are these.

14.18.30 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην εἴτε αἱρεσιν εἴτε ἀγωγὴν λόγων εἴτε ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως ἐθέλει τις καλεῖν αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς ἀν εὗ φρονῶν ὄρθὴν εἶναι φαίη δῆλον. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίαν οἴομαι δεῖν ὀνομάζειν αὐτὴν, ἀναιροῦσάν γε δὴ τὰς τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρχάς."

14.18.30 | Therefore, no one who thinks clearly would say that such a thing, whether it is 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 foundations of studying philosophy.

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

14.18.31 | These things are about those who are thought to be following Pyrrho. They would also relate to the arguments against those who follow Aristippus of Cyrene, who claimed that only pleasures

πάθη καταληπτά. Σωκράτους δ' ἐταῖρος ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἦν, ὁ τὴν καλουμένην Κυρηναϊκὴν συστησάμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀφ' ἣς τὰς ἀφορμὰς Ἐπίκουρος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέλους ἔκθεσιν εἴληφεν. 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 τού λέγειν τέλος εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν.

14.18.32 | τούτου γέγονεν ἀκουστὴς σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρήτη· ἡτις γεννήσασα παῖδα ὠνόμασεν Ἀρίστιππον, ὃς είσαχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰς λόγους φιλοσοφίας μητροδίδακτος ἐκλήθη· ὃς καὶ σαφῶς ὠρίσατο τέλος εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν, ἡδονὴν ἐντάττων τὴν κατὰ κίνησιν. τρεῖς γὰρ ἔφη καταστάσεις εἶναι περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σύγκρασιν· μίαν μὲν καθ' ἣν ἀλγοῦμεν, ἐοικῦνταν τῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν χειμῶνι· ἐτέραν δὲ καθ' ἣν ἡδόμεθα, τῷ λείω κύματι ἀφομοιουμένην· εἶναι γὰρ λείαν κίνησιν τὴν ἡδονὴν, οὐρίω παραβαλλομένην ἀνέμῳ· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μέσην εἶναι κατάστασιν, καθ' ἣν οὕτε ἀλγοῦμεν οὕτε ἡδόμεθα, γαλήνῃ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν. τούτων δ' οὖν καὶ ἔφασκε τῶν παθῶν μόνων ἡμᾶς τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχειν, πρὸς οὓς ἀντιλέλεκται ταῦτα.

## Section 19

14.19.1 | “Εξῆς δ' ἀν εἰεν οὶ λέγοντες μόνα τὰ καταληπτά· τοῦτο δ' εἶπον ἔνιοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Κυρήνης. οὗτοι δ' ἤξιον, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κάρου πιεζόμενοί τινος, οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τὸ παράπαν, εἴ μή τις παραστὰς αὐτοὺς παίοι

are understandable. Aristippus was a companion of Socrates and 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. Instead, he said that the essence of happiness lies in pleasures. He always made arguments about pleasure, leading those who approached him to believe 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 introduced to 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 calm wave; for pleasure is a smooth movement, like 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, which are the subject of these arguments.

14.19.1 | Next, those who say that only the understandable things exist would be like this; some from Cyrene said this. These people believed that, just like someone pressed down by a weight, they knew

καὶ κεντώη· καιόμενοι γάρ ἔλεγον ἡ  
τεμνόμενοι γνωρίζειν ὅτι πάσχοιέν τι·  
πότερον δὲ τὸ καῖον εἴη πῦρ, ἢ τὸ τέμνον  
σίδηρος, οὐκ ἔχειν είπεῖν.

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 experiencing something; but whether the thing that burns is fire or the thing that cuts is iron, they could not say.

14.19.2 | τοὺς δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντας εύθὺς  
ἔροιτό τις ἀν εἰ δὴ τοῦτο γοῦν ἵσασιν αὐτοὶ,  
διότι πάσχουσί καὶ αἰσθάνονται. μὴ εἰδότες  
μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' είπεῖν δυνηθεῖν ἀν ὅτι μόνον  
ἵσασι τὸ πάθος· εἰ δ' αὖ γνωρίζουσιν, οὐκ  
ἀν εἴη μόνα τὰ πάθη καταληπτά. τὸ γὰρ  
“έγώκαίομαι” λόγος ἦν καὶ οὐ πάθος.

14.19.2 | Someone might immediately ask those who say these things if they at least know this themselves, since they suffer and feel. If they do not know, 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 just a feeling.

14.19.3 | ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη γε τρία ταῦτα  
συνυφίστασθαι τό τε πάθος αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ  
πιοιῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. ὁ τοίνυν  
ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τοῦ πάθους πάντως  
αἰσθάνοιτ' ἀν καὶ τοῦ πάσχοντος. οὐ γὰρ  
δὴ ὅτι μὲν εἰ τύχοι, θερμαίνεται γνωριεῖ,  
πότερον δ' αὐτὸς ἢ ὁ γείτων, ἀγνοήσει· καὶ  
νῦν ἢ πέρυσι, καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ,  
καὶ ζῶν ἢ τεθνεὼς, ἔτι δὲ ἀνθρωπος ὃν ἢ  
λίθος.

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 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 who is causing it; they would be unaware. And whether it is 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' αὖ  
τεχνῆται τὰ ἐργαλεῖα τὰ αὐτῶν οἴδασι, καὶ  
οἱ ἰατροὶ καὶ ναυτικοὶ σημειοῦνται τὰ  
μέλλοντα, καὶ τῶν θηρίων οἵ κύνες

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. Among animals, dogs can find

εύρισκουσι τοὺς στίβους.

14.19.5 | ἔτι γε μὴν ὁ πάσχων τι πάντως ή ὡς οἰκείου τινὸς ή ὡς ἀλλοτρίου πάθους ἀντιλαμβάνεται. πόθεν οὖν ἔξει λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἔστιν ἡδονὴ, τοῦτο δὲ πόνος; ή ὅτι γενόμενος ἡ ὄρῶν ἡ ἀκούων πάσχοι τι; καὶ τῇ μὲν γλώσσῃ γενόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὅμμασιν ὄρῶν, τοῖς δ' ὀστὶν ἀκούων; ή πῶς ἵσασιν ὅτι τοδὶ μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι χρή, τοδὶ δὲ φεύγειν; εἴ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γνοῖεν, οὐχ ἔξουσιν ὄρμὴν οὐδ' ὄρεξιν οὕτω δ' οὐδ' ἀν ζῷα εἶεν. γελοῖοι γάρ είσιν, ὀπότε λέγοιεν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν β αύτοῖς συμβέβηκεν, οὐ μὴν ἵσασί γε πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον. οὗτοι γάρ οὐδ' εί ἄνθρωποι πεφύκασιν, οὐδ' εί ζῶσιν, ἔχοιεν ἀν εἴπειν· ούκοῦν οὐδ' εί λέγουσί τι καὶ ἀποφαίνονται.

14.19.6 | πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους τίς ἀν εἴη λόγος; Θαυμάσαι μέντοι τις ἀν εί ἀγνοοῦσι πότερον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς είσιν ἡ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πολλῷ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον εί οὐκ οὔδασι, καὶ ταῦτα φάσκοντες φιλοσοφεῖν, ἄρα γε τὰ τέτταρα πλείονά ἔστιν ἡ τὰ τρία, καὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὰ δύο πόσα ἔστιν. οὐδὲ γάρ διόποτες ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν δακτύλους οὗτοί γε δύνανται είπειν, οὐδὲ πότερον ἔκαστος αὐτῶν είς ἔστιν ἡ πλείους.

14.19.7 | ὥστε οὐδὲ τούνομα τὸ ἴδιον είδειν ἀν, οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστιππον. ούκοῦν οὐδὲ τίνας φιλοῦσιν ἡ μισοῦσιν, οὐδὲ τίνων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· οὐδ' εί γελάσαιεν ἡ δακρύσαιεν ἔξουσιν εἴπειν ὅτι τόδε μὲν εἴη γελοῖον, τὸ δὲ λυπηρόν. δῆλον

the tracks of wild beasts.

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 they taste, see, or hear 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. It is silly to say that these things have happened to them, yet they do not know how or in what way. Such people would not even be human, nor would they be alive, and they would not be able to speak.

14.19.6 | So, what kind of argument can be made against such people? It would be 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 still claim to be philosophers. Are four greater than three, and how many are one and two? 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, their homeland, or 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

οῦν ώς ούδε τί νυνὶ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς συνίασιν. ούδεν οὖν οἴ γε τοιοῦτοι διαφέροιεν ἀνέμπιδων ἢ μυιῶν, καίτοι κάκεῖνα γνωρίζει τὰ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πάρα φύσιν."

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 | Πρὸς δὴ τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους εἰ καὶ μυρία λέγειν ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ γε καὶ ταῦτα. ἔπειται τούτοις συνεξετάσαι καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἐναντίαν βαδίσαντας, καὶ πάντα χρῆναι πιστεύειν ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσιν ὅρισαμένους, ὃν εἶναι Μητρόδωρον τὸν Χῖον καὶ Πρωταγόραν τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην.

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 these are Metrodorus the Chian and Protagoras the Abderite.

14.19.9 | τὸν μὲν οὖν Μητρόδωρον Δημοκρίτου ἔφασαν ἀκηκοέναι, ἀρχὰς δὲ ἀποφήνασθαι τὸ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενόν· ὃν τὸ μὲν ὁν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὁν εἶναι. γράφων γέ τοι περὶ φύσεως εἰσβολῇ ἔχρήσατο τοιαύτῃ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ούδεν οἶδεν, οὐδὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο πότερον οἴδαμεν, ἢ οὐκ οἴδαμεν.' ἥτις εἰσβολὴ κακὰς ἔδωκεν ἀφορμὰς τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένῳ Πύρρωνι. προβάς δέ φησιν ὅτι πάντα ἔστιν, ὃ ἄν τις νοήσαι.

14.19.9 | They say that Metrodorus heard from Democritus and explained the principles of the full and the empty; that is, what is being and what is not being. When it comes to writing about nature, no one among us knows anything about this, nor do we know whether we know it or not. This inquiry gave poor reasons to Pyrrho, who came after them. He claims that everything exists, whatever someone may think.

14.19.10 | τὸν δὲ Πρωταγόραν λόγος ἔχει κειλῆσθαι ἄθεον. γράφων γέ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ θεῶν εἰσβολῇ τοιᾶδε ἔχρήσατο 'περὶ μὲν οὖν θεῶν οὐκ οἴδα οὕθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὕθ' ὀποῖοι τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γάρ ἔστι τὰ κωλύοντά με ἔκαστον τούτων εἰδέναι.' τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖον φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατέκαυσαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἴδε μόναις δεῖν ἔφασαν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι πιστεύειν, τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιρρήσεις θεασώμεθα.'

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 whether 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 look at the objections against them.

## Section 20

14.20.1 | “Γεγόνασι δέ τινες οὶ ἀξιοῦντες τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις μόναις δεῖν πιστεύειν. ἔνιοι μέντοι φασὶ καὶ τὸν “Ομηρον 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 ἄλλ’ ἄντικρύς γε Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

14.20.2 | οὗτος γὰρ ἔφη μέτρον εἶναι πάντων χρημάτων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, τῶν μὲν ὅντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δ’ οὐκ ὅντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν· ὅποια γὰρ ἐκάστῳ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ εἶναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι διυχρίσασθαι.

14.20.3 | πρὸς δὲ τούτους εἴποι τις ἀν ἂ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ· πρῶτον μὲν, τί δήποτε, τοιούτων γε δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅντων, ἡξίωσαν εἶναι μέτρον τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ἄλλ’ οὐ σὺν ἡ κυνοκέφαλον; ἔπειτα δὲ πῶς ἔλεγον εἶναι σοφοὺς ἐαυτοὺς, εἰ δὴ πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μέτρον ἔστι τῆς ἀληθείας; ἡ πῶς ἔλέγχουσι τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴπερ ἐκάστῳ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές ἔστιν; ἀγνοοῦμέν τέ τινα, καίτοι πολλάκις αἰσθανόμενοι, καθάπερ ἔπειδαν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκούωμεν;

14.20.4 | ὅ γε μὴν θεασάμενος ὄτιοῦν, εἴτα μεμνημένος, οἶδε μὲν, αἰσθάνεται δ’ ούκέτι. καὶ εἰ θατέρω μὲν ὄφθαλμῷ μύσαι, θατέρω δ’ ὄρψῃ, δῆλον ὅτι ταύτῳ καὶ εἴσεται καὶ οὐκ εἴσεται.

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 how things are; and about other things, we cannot say 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 of truth, if such things exist? Is it man or a creature with the head of a dog? Then, how can they say they are wise if everyone is the measure of truth for themselves? Or how do they argue against 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 | For when he sees something and then remembers it, he knows it, but he no longer senses it. And if one eye is closed while the other sees, it is clear that he will both know and not know the same thing.

14.20.5 | πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ 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.

14.20.6 | καὶ μὴν οἱ γε τεχνῖται τῶν ἀτέχνων διαφέρουσι καὶ οἱ ἔμπειροι τῶν ἀπείρων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προορᾶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι κυβερνήτης καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ στρατηγός.

14.20.7 | 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 ταύτὸ καὶ ὅν καὶ οὐκ ὅν. οὔδὲν γάρ κωλύει ταύτὸ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ εἶναι· καὶ ταύτὸ ἀν εἴη ἄνθρωπος καὶ ξύλον· ἔσθ' ὅτε γάρ φαίνεται ταύτὸ τῷδε μὴν ἄνθρωπος, τῷδε δὲ ξύλον.

14.20.8 | ἄπας τε λόγος ἀληθής ἀν εἴη, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ψευδής· καὶ οἱ βουλευόμενοι καὶ δικάζοντες οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιεν οὔδὲν ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ δεινότατον, ἔσονται γάρ οἱ αὐτοὶ σπουδαῖοι καὶ μοχθηροὶ καὶ ταύτὸ κακία καὶ ἀρετή. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτά τις ἀν ἔχοι λέγειν· ἀλλὰ γάρ οὔδὲν δεῖ πλειόνων λόγων πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ οἰομένοὺς ἔχειν νοῦν καὶ λόγον.”

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 | And indeed, those skilled in their crafts are different from those who are unskilled, and the experienced are different from the inexperienced. For this reason, the pilot, the doctor, and the general are better at predicting what will happen in the future.

14.20.7 | These people simply remove the ideas of more and less, necessary and possible, natural and unnatural. Thus, what is and what is not could be seen as the same. Nothing stops something from seeming the same to some people while appearing different to others. A person and a piece of wood could be considered the same; sometimes a person seems the same as this piece of wood, and at other times, they seem different.

14.20.8 | Every true statement could also be false for this reason. Those who think and judge would not be able to do anything. The most terrible part is that they would be both serious and wicked at the same time, and the same thing could be seen as both vice and virtue. There are many other similar ideas that one could mention. But there is no need for more words for those who do not think or reason.

14.20.9 | Εἰθ' ἔξῆς “Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι νῦν είσι τινες οἵ πᾶσαν καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντες εἶναι, μικρὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων εἴπωμεν. ἐοίκασι γάρ οὗτοί γε δεδουκέναι μήποτε, εἰ ψευδεῖς εἴποιεν αἱσθήσεις εἶναι τινας, οὐκ ἀν σχοῖν τὸ κριτήριον καὶ τὸν κανόνα βέβαιον ούδ' ἔχεγγυον· οὐχ ὁρῶσι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀν φθάνοιεν οὕτω γε καὶ τὰς δόξας ἀπάσας ἀληθεῖς ἀποφαίνοντες· πολλὰ γάρ 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 ἄν ούδε τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀψευδές οὐδὲν, οἷον λέγω ζυγὸν, ἢ τόρνον, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ἀλλ' ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ὡδὶ μὲν ἔχον ὑγιές ἔστιν, ὡδὶ δὲ μοχθηρόν· καὶ τουτονὶ μὲν χρώμενον τὸν τρόπον ἀληθεύει, τουτονὶ δὲ ψεύδεται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε πᾶσα αἱσθησίς ἀληθὴς ἦν, οὐκ ἔδει τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν αὐτάς. ἄλλαι γάρ είσιν ἐγγύθεν καὶ πόρρωθεν, καὶ νοσούντων καὶ ἐρρωμένων, καὶ τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀτέχνων, καὶ φρονίμων καὶ ἀφρόνων. τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν μεμηνότων παντάπασιν ἄν εἴη ἄτοπον λέγειν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν παρορώντων καὶ παρακουόντων· εὕηθες γάρ ἀν ἦν τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ὁ παρορῶν ἥτοι ὁρᾶ ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶ· φαίη γάρ ἄν τις ὅτι ὁρᾶ μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁρθῶς.

14.20.11 | ὅπόταν μέντοι φῶσιν ὡς ἡ μὲν αἱσθησίς οὖσα ἄλογος οὐδὲν προστίθησιν

14.20.9 | Next, “Since there are still some who claim that every single perception is true, let's talk a little about these ideas. These people seem to be afraid that if they say some perceptions are false, they would lose a firm standard or rule. They do not realize that they would not be able to find the truth while insisting that all opinions are true. Indeed, we have become used to judging many things. Yet, they still believe that some perceptions are true and others are 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 similar. Each of them can be correct in one way and wrong in another. Using one might lead to the truth, while using another might lead to falsehood. If every perception were true, they would not differ so much. Some perceptions are close, while others are far away; some come from those who are sick, while others come from those who are healthy; some are from skilled people, while others are from unskilled ones; some are from wise individuals, while others are from foolish ones. 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. It would be silly to claim that someone who misperceives either sees or does not see; someone might say they see, but not correctly.

14.20.11 | Whenever they claim that perception is irrational and adds nothing or

ούδ' ἀφαιρεῖ, φαίνονται τάμποδῶν οὐχ  
δρῶντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἔρετμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ  
ὕδατι, κάπι τῶν γραφῶν καὶ μυρίων  
ἄλλων, ἡ αἴσθησίς ἔστιν ἡ ἀπατῶσα. διὸ  
καὶ μεμφόμεθα πάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
οὐ τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φαντασίαν.  
έλέγχει γὰρ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄξιων  
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.

takes nothing away, they do not see the obstacles. For in the case of the oar in the water, and in many other images, it is perception that deceives. That is why we all criticize such things, not our reason, but our imagination. Reason itself shows that it considers every perception to be completely true. However, our perception, through which we do not believe everything is like that, proves to be completely false. Therefore, it turns out that they say every perception is both true and false.

14.20.12 | καθόλου δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσιν  
ἀξιοῦντες ὅποια ἀν ἡμῖν φαίνηται τὰ  
πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ εἶναι. τούναντίον  
γὰρ, ὅποια πέφυκε, τοιαῦτα φαίνεται, καὶ  
οὐχ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ποιοῦμεν οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀλλ'  
ύπ' ἔκεινων αὐτοὶ διατιθέμεθά πως. ἐπεὶ  
καὶ γελοῖον εἴη ἂν εἰ διανοηθείμεν ήμεῖς,  
ὡσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται, σκύλακας  
ἢ χιμαίρας, ἀξιοῦν εύθὺς εἶναι ταῦτα, καὶ  
διὰ τοῦτο φαντάζεσθαι καθάπερ εύτρεπτή  
παρεστῶτα."

14.20.12 | In general, they are wrong to think that things are as they seem to us. On the contrary, things appear as they naturally are, and we do not make them that way; instead, we are somehow influenced by those things. It would be silly if we believed, like painters and sculptors, that dogs or chimeras should be considered real right away, and because of this, we imagine them as if they are easily present.

14.20.13 | Διότι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὄρθῶς  
λέγουσιν οἱ φάσκοντες εἶναι πᾶσαν  
αἴσθησιν καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ  
δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τούτων  
οὕτως ἔχοντων αὐθις οἱ περὶ τὸν  
Ἐπίκουρον ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστίππου διαδοχῆς  
δρμώμενοι πάντα ἡδονῆς ἔξηπτον καὶ  
αἰσθήσεως, μόνα τὰ πάθη καταληπτὰ καὶ  
τέλος ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὀριζόμενοι.

14.20.13 | Therefore, it is clear that those who say that all perception and all imagination are true are not speaking correctly. Even with these things being the case, those who follow Epicurus from the teachings of Aristippus insist that everything comes from pleasure and sensation, defining pleasure as the only true good and the only goal of life.

14.20.14 | λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ὑπὸ μέν  
τινων μηδενὸς ἀκηκοέναι, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ τοῖς  
τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν ὑπὸ τινων δ'

14.20.14 | It is said that Epicurus has not heard anything from anyone, but he has come across the writings of the ancients.

ὅτι ἥκουσε Ξενοκράτους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ναυσιφάνους τοῦ Πύρρωνος γενομένου γνωρίμου. τίνα δὴ οὖν τὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντειρημένα τυγχάνει θεασώμεθα.

Some say that he learned from Xenocrates, and later from Nausiphanes, who became a follower of Pyrrho. So, let us look at the arguments that have been made against him.

## Section 21

14.21.1 | “Ἐπειδὴ ἔστι γνῶσις διττή, ἡ μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἡμῖν αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν, ἔνιοί 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 about things and the other about what we choose and avoid—some say that we have a standard and a criterion for our choices: pleasure and pain. Indeed, even now, those who follow Epicurus say such things. Therefore, it is necessary to think about this too.

14.21.2 | τοσούτου τοίνυν ἔγωγε δέω λέγειν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ κανόνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὸ πάθος, ὥστ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τοῦτο αὐτὸν κριτηρίου δεῖσθαι. διότι μὲν γάρ ἔστιν ἐαυτὸν δείκνυσιν, διότον δ' ἔστιν ἐτέρου δεῖ τοῦ κρίνοντος. εἴ μὲν γάρ 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 way to be judged. For it shows itself, but it needs someone else to decide what it is. If perception says something is familiar or strange, then reason decides whether it should be chosen or avoided.

14.21.3 | αὐτοί γε τοί φασιν οὐ πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ πάντα πόνον ἐκτρέπεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ συμβέβηκε καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. τὰ μὲν γάρ κριτήρια καὶ ἐαυτὰ δείκνυσι καὶ τὰ κρινόμενα, τὸ μέντοι πάθος ἐαυτὸν μόνον. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἔχει μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτοί. καίπερ γάρ ἀξιοῦντες ἄπασαν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλγηδόνα κακὸν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀεί φασι δεῖ τὴν μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ φεύγειν· μετρεῖσθαι γάρ αὐτὰ τῷ ποσῷ καὶ οὐ τῷ ποιῷ.

14.21.3 | They say that not every pleasure should be embraced and not every pain should be avoided. This makes sense and seems very reasonable. For the criteria show both themselves and what is being judged, but feeling shows only itself. They prove that this is the case. Although they claim that every pleasure is good and every pain is bad, they do not always say that one should choose every pleasure and avoid every pain. They measure them by how much there is, not by what kind they are.

14.21.4 | δῆλον οὖν ὡς τό γε πιστὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ὁ λόγος κρίνει τὸ γὰρ ἀμεινόν ἐστιν ὑπομεῖναι τούσδε τινὰς τοὺς πόνους, ὅπως ἡσθείημεν ἡδονὰς μείζους, καὶ τὸ συμφέρει τῶνδέ τινων ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀλγῷμεν ἀλγηδόνας χαλεπωτέρας' καὶ πάντα τὰ λόγος ὁ κρίνων ἐστίν.

14.21.5 | τὸ δ' ὅλον αἴ μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ αἱ φαντασίαι καθαπερεὶ κάτοπτρα καὶ εἰκόνες ἔοικασι 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 ἀνὴρ ἔκεīνα, τοιαύτας ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τὰς φαντασίας, τὰ δὲ πάθη ποιὰ ἄττα γίνεται δι' ἡμάς καὶ ὡς ἀνὴμεῖς 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 τὰς τῆς γνώσεως ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθεμένους δόποσοι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸν νοῦν παραλαμβάνουσιν.

14.21.7 | ἔοικε 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 ἀμεινον φιλοσοφεῖν οἵεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς μήτε

14.21.4 | It is clear, then, that only reason judges the amount. For it is better to endure some pains so that we can enjoy greater pleasures, and it is wise to avoid certain pleasures so that we do not suffer worse pains. In every case, it is reason that makes the judgment.

14.21.5 | Now, perception and imagination seem to be like mirrors and images of things. However, feelings, pleasures, and pains are changes and shifts within ourselves. In this way, while we perceive and imagine, we look outward, but when we feel pleasure or pain, we turn our attention 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 less so. If we want to look into this, we will find that those who present the best ideas about knowledge also consider 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 deeply about these things without relying on the senses or accepting feelings as they come,

ταῖς αίσθήσεσιν, ὡς ἔτυχε, χρωμένους μήτε τὰ πάθη παραλαμβάνοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τάληθοῦς διάγνωσιν. ή δεινόν γ' ἀν εἴη πεφυκότας ἀνθρώπους ἡδοναῖς καὶ πόνοις ἀλόγοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀφέντας τὸν θειότατον κριτὴν νοῦν.” Ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοκλέους.

in order to reach true understanding. It would be terrible for people to let themselves be ruled by irrational pleasures and pains, ignoring the highest judge, which is the mind.” These ideas come from Aristotle.

## Section 22

14.22.1 | Καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον τοίνυν τῶν τριῶν πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν κρίνωμεν. δεῖ γάρ ίδεῖν ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον ξυγγενὲς ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἀπονεμούμεν. Κάλλους καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ μετριότητος πέρι λέγεις; Ναί. πρῶτον δέ γε ἀληθείας λαβοῦ, ὡς Πρώταρχε, καὶ λαβόμενος, βλέψας εἰς τρία, νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἡδονὴν, πολὺν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἀπόκριναι σαυτῷ πότερον ἡδονὴ ξυγγενέστερον ή νοῦς ἀληθείᾳ.

14.22.1 | Now, let us examine each of the three in relation to pleasure and the mind. We need to find out which of them is more closely connected. Are you referring to beauty, truth, and moderation? Yes. First, focus on truth, O Protarche, and after thinking about the three—mind, truth, and pleasure—take your time to reflect and answer for yourself whether pleasure is more closely related to truth or to the mind.

14.22.2 | Τί δὲ χρόνου δεῖ; πολὺ γάρ, οἶμαι, διαφέρετον. ἡδονὴ μὲν γάρ ἀπάντων τὸ ἀλαζονέστατον· ὡς δὲ λόγος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, αἱ δὲ μέγισται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν συγγνώμην εἰληφε παρὰ θεῶν, ὡς καθάπερ παίδων τῶν ἡδομένων νοῦν οὐδὲ τὸν ὄλιγιστον κεκτημένων· νοῦς δὲ ἥτοι ταύτων καὶ ἀλήθειά ἔστιν ή πάντων ὁμοιότατόν τε καὶ ἀληθέστατον.

14.22.2 | What need is there for time? I believe it makes a significant 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 been forgiven by the gods for its excess, just like children who are enjoying themselves have very 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, ή φρόνησις ἡδονῆς πλείω κέκτηται; Εὕσκεπτόν γε καὶ ταύτην σκέψιν προβέβληκας. οἶμαι γάρ ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ περιχαρείας οὐδὲν τῶν πεφυκός

14.22.3 | Therefore, after this, think about moderation in the same way: is pleasure a form of understanding, or does understanding contain more pleasure? You have raised a clear question about this. For I believe that nothing is more excessive by

άμετρότερον εύρειν ἂν τινα, νοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐμμετρότερον οὐδ' ἀν ἔν ποτε.

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, ὥστε εἶναι καλλίω νοῦν ἡδονῆς, ἢ τούναντίον; 'Αρ' οὖν φρόνησιν μὲν καὶ νοῦν, Σώκρατες, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὕθ' ὑπάρ οὕτ' ὄντας αἰσχρὸν οὔτε εἶδεν οὕτω ἐπενόησεν οὐδαμοῦ οὐδαμῶς, οὕτε γιγνόμενον οὕτε ὄντα οὕτε ἐσόμενον; 'Ορθῶς.

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 is it the other way around? Surely, Socrates, no one has ever thought that either existence or 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 δήπου, καὶ ταύτας σχεδὸν τὰς μεγίστας, ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἡδόμενον ὀντινοῦν, ἢ τὸ γελοῖον ἐπ' αύταῖς ἢ τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον ἐπόμενον ὀρῶντες αὐτοί τε αἰσχυνόμεθα καὶ ἀφανίζοντες κρύπτομεν ὅτι μάλιστα, νυκτὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διδόντες, ὡς φῶς οὐ δέον ὀρᾶν αύτά.

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 we can. At night, we keep all such things hidden, as if it is not right to see them in the light.

14.22.6 | Πάντη δὴ φήσεις, ὡς Πρώταρχ, ὑπό τε ἀγγέλων πέμπων καὶ παροῦσι φράζων ὡς ἡδονὴ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον οὐδ' αὖ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν πῃ περὶ μέτρον καὶ τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ καίριον καὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσα χρὴ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν τὴν ἀΐδιον ἡρῆσθαι φύσιν. Φαίνεται γοῦν ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων.

14.22.6 | Indeed, you will say, O Protagoras, that angels send messages and show that pleasure is not a possession, neither first nor second. But first, it is about 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.

14.22.7 | Δεύτερον μὲν περὶ τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ίκανὸν καὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσα τῆς γενέσεως αὖ ταύτης ἔστι. "Εοικε γοῦν.

14.22.7 | Secondly, it is about the harmonious, the beautiful, the perfect, the sufficient, and all such things that belong to this existence. It seems so.

14.22.8 | Τὸ τοίνυν τρίτον, ὡς ἡ ἐμὴ μαντεία, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν τιθεὶς οὐκ ἀν μέγα τι τῆς ἀληθείας παρεξέλθοις. "Ισως.

14.22.8 | So then, thirdly, as my insight suggests, if you focus on reason and understanding, you would not stray far from the truth. Perhaps.

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 ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡδονῆς ξυγγενῆ, Τάχ' ἄν.

14.22.9 | Are not then the fourth things, which I have set for the soul itself, the knowledge, skills, and correct opinions that have been mentioned? These are the four alongside the three, if indeed they are more connected to the good than to pleasure. Surely.

14.22.10 | Πέμπτας τοίνυν ἀς ἡδονὰς ἔθεμεν ἀλύπους ὄρισάμενοι, καθαρὰς ἐπονομάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστήμας, ταῖς δὲ αἰσθήσειν ἐπομένας. "Ισως.

14.22.10 | Then for the fifth, we have defined certain pleasures as chains, linking them to the pure knowledge of the soul itself, while following the senses. Perhaps.

14.22.11 | "Εκτῇ δ' ἐν γενεᾷ, φησὶν Ὄρφεὺς, καταπαύσατε κόσμον αοιδῆς, ἀτὰρ κινδυνεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐν ἔκτῃ καταπεπαυμένος εἶναι κρίσει. τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ούδεν λοιπὸν πλὴν ὕσπερ κεφαλὴν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις. Οὐκοῦν χρή.

14.22.11 | In the sixth generation, Orpheus says, "Stop the world of song," but our speech is also at risk of being halted in the sixth judgment. After this, there is nothing left for us except to summarize 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.

14.22.12 | Come now, let us move on to the third point, affirming the same argument to the savior. What is it then? Philebus has defined pleasure as the good for us, completely and entirely. The third point, oh Socrates, as it seems to you, is that we should rightly repeat the argument from the beginning.

14.22.13 | Ναί. τὸ δέ γε μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούωμεν. ἐγὼ γάρ δὴ κατιδῶν ἄπερ νῦν διελήλυθα, καὶ δυσχεράνας τὸν Φιλήβου λόγον οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλάκις μυρίων, εἶπον ὡς ἡδονῆς γε νοῦς εἴη μακρῷ βέλτιόν τε καὶ ἄμεινον τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ. Ἡν ταῦτα.

14.22.13 | Yes. But let us listen to what comes next. For I have indeed seen the things I have just explained, and I have often said that the argument of Philebus is not only difficult, but that many others are often countless as well. I said that the understanding of pleasure is far better and more beneficial for human life. That is what I meant.

14.22.14 | Υποπτεύων δέ γε καὶ ἄλλα εἶναι πολλὰ εἴπον ὡς, εἴ φανείη τι τούτων ἀμφοῖν βέλτιον, ὑπὲρ τῶν δευτερείων νῷ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ξυνδιαμαχοίμην, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ δευτερείων στερήσοιτο. Εἶπες γάρ οὖν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά γε πάντων ἰκανώτατα τούτοιν οὐδέτερον ἰκανὸν ἀνεφάνη. Ἀληθέστατα.

14.22.14 | I suspected that there were many other things, saying that if something among them seemed better for both, I would stand with pleasure against the lesser things, but pleasure would be lacking without the lesser things. For you said this. And after that, neither of these appeared sufficient for all. Truly.

14.22.15 | Ούκοῦν παντάπασιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ νοῦς ἀπήλακτο καὶ ἡδονὴ, μηδὲ τάγαθὸν αὐτὸ μηδέτερον αὐτοῖν εἶναι στερομένων αὐταρκείας καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰκανοῦ 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 οὐ;

14.22.15 | Is it not true that in this argument both the mind and pleasure are completely separate, and that the good itself is not enough for either when they lack 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 οὐδ' 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

14.22.16 | Therefore, according to the judgment, as the argument has now declared, the power of pleasure would come in fifth. It seems so. First of all, not even all the cows, horses, and other wild animals pursue joy; those who believe in them, like seers with birds, often judge that

ἡδονὰς είς τὸ ζῆν ἡμῖν εὗ κρατίστας εῖναι, καὶ τοὺς θηρίων ἔρωτας οἴονται κυρίους εῖναι μάρτυρας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἐν μούσῃ φιλοσόρῳ μεμαντευμένων ἐκάστοτε λόγων. Άληθέστατα, ὡς Σώκρατες, εἰρῆσθαι σοι νῦν ἥδη φαμὲν ἀπαντες.”

pleasures are the strongest for living well. They think that the loves of wild animals are more reliable witnesses than 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 ἀνδρὸς, 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 briefly present to you the writings about nature from the man who oversees 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, like Plato, Pythagoras, those from the Stoa, and Heraclitus? Or is it two, as someone might have thought? Or is it many and endless, as it has seemed to others? These others 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 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀτόμους προσειπόντες ἀφθαρτά 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 ῥύμην ἄτακτον καὶ συμπλεκομένας διὰ τὸ πολυσχήμονας οὖσας ἀλλήλων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω τόν τε κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ κόσμους

14.23.2 | 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 this empty space, colliding with each other and intertwining because of their many shapes. In this way, they create the universe and the countless worlds within it.

άπείρους άποτελεῖν.

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 εἶναι τινας ἀτόμους ὁ Δημόκριτος ὑπέλαβεν. ἀτόμους δὲ εἶναι φασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ λέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἄλυτον στερρότητα.

14.23.4 | οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους μετονομάσαντες ἀμερῆ φασιν εἶναι σώματα, τοῦ παντὸς μέρη, ἔξ ὧν ἀδιαιρέτων ὄντων συντίθεται τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύεται. καὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ἀμερῶν ὄνοματοποιὸν Διόδωρον γεγονέναι· ὄνομα δὲ, φασὶν, αὐτοῖς ἄλλο Ἡρακλείδης θέμενος ἐκάλεσεν ὄγκους, παρ' οὐ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐκληρονόμησε τὸ ὄνομα." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔξῆς ἀνασκευάζει τὸ δόγμα διὰ πολλῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ διὰ τούτων

14.23.3 | From this belief, Epicurus and Democritus emerged. They disagreed in that one thought all atoms were very small and therefore imperceptible, while Democritus believed that some atoms could be quite large. Both agree 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 created the name for these indivisible parts. They also 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 with many arguments, including these.

## Section 24

14.24.1 | "Πῶς αύτῶν ἀνασχώμεθα τυχηρὰ λεγόντων εἶναι συμπτώματα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ καλὰ δημιουργήματα; ὧν ἔκαστόν τε καθ' ἐαυτὸν γενόμενον ὥφθη τῷ προστάξαντι γενέσθαι καλὸν καὶ συλλήβδην ὁμοίως ἄπαντα. καὶ εἴδε γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησε, καὶ ἴδοὺ καλὰ λίαν.

14.24.2 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν τῶν συνήθων καὶ παρὰ πόδας νουθετοῦνται παραδειγμάτων, ἔξ ὧν δύνανται μανθάνειν

14.24.1 | How can we accept that they say wise things are just combinations and therefore beautiful creations? Each one, having come into being on its own, 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 look, it was very good.

14.24.2 | But neither from the small, ordinary things nor from the examples given do they learn that useful work is not

ὅτι χρειῶδες μὲν καὶ πρὸς ὀφέλειαν ἔργον οὐδὲν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως οὐδὲ συμβατικῶς ἀπεργάζεται, ἀλλὰ χειρουργούμενον εἰς τὴν πρέπουσαν ὑπηρεσίαν καταρτίζεται· ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἄχρηστον μεταπίπτῃ καὶ ἀνωφελὲς, τότε διαλυόμενον ἀορίστως καὶ ὡς ἀν τύχῃ διασκίδναται, ἀτε μηκέτι μεταχειριζομένης μηδὲ διαταττούσης αὐτὸ τῆς σοφίας, ἢ τοῦ συνεστάναι τοῦτο ἔμελεν.

14.24.3 | ἴματιόν τε γάρ οὐ χωρὶς ἰστουργοῦ συνισταμένων τῶν στημόνων οὐδὲ τῆς κρόκης αὐτομάτως παρεμπλεκομένης ἀνυφαίνεται· εἰ δὲ κατατριβείη, τὰ λακισθέντα διαρριπτεῖται ὥρᾳ. οἴκια τε ἀνοικοδομεῖται καὶ πόλις οὐ τοὺς μέν τινας δεχομένη θεμελίοις αὐτομολοῦντας λίθους, τοὺς δὲ ἀναπτηδῶντας εἰς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ὁ τοιχοδόμος τοὺς εύθετους ἐπιφέρει· κατ' καταρριφθείσης δὲ, ὡς ἀν παρείκῃ, κατενεχθεὶς ἔκαστος ἀπεσφάλη.

14.24.4 | καὶ κατασκευαζομένης νεώς οὐχ ἡ μέν τις ὑπέβαλεν ἐαυτὴν τρόπις, ὁ δὲ κατὰ μέσην ἐαυτὸν ἰστὸς ὥρθωσε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔκαστον ξύλων ἦν ἔτυχεν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ θέσιν κατέλαβεν· οὐδὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκατὸν τῆς ἀμάξης ξύλα καθ' ὃν εὗρε κενὸν τόπον ἔκαστον συνεπάγῃ, ἀλλ' ὁ τέκτων ἐκατέρας συνεκόμισε καίριον· εἰ δὲ διαλυθείη ἡ ναῦς ἐνθαλασσεύουσα, ἢ φερομένη κατὰ γῆν ἄμαξα, δῆπε τύχῃ τὰ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συντόνου ῥύμης διασπείρεται.

14.24.5 | οὕτως ἀν ἀρμόζοι λέγειν αὐτοῖς

done carelessly or by chance. Instead, it is crafted for a proper purpose. When it becomes useless and unhelpful, it falls apart randomly and scatters as it may, since wisdom no longer uses or arranges it, which was meant to bring it together.

14.24.3 | For a garment is not woven without the threads being arranged by the weaver, nor does the yarn get tangled by itself. If it wears down, the woven threads fall apart into rags. A house is built, and a city does not simply accept some stones that leave their foundations while others jump to the tops. Instead, the builder places the straight ones in their proper places. When they fall, each one comes down as it may.

14.24.4 | And when a ship is being built, one does not just place it in any way, nor does the mast stand up by itself in the middle. Each of the other pieces of wood does not just take whatever position it finds. Nor do the hundred pieces of wood for the wagon simply fit together wherever there is an empty space; instead, 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 scatter—some by the waves and others by the strong current.

14.24.5 | Thus, one could say to them that

καὶ τάς ἀτόμους, ἀργὰς μενούσας καὶ ἀχειροποιήτους καὶ ἀχρήστους, είκῇ φέρεσθαι. δράτωσαν γὰρ τὰς ἀθεάτους ἔκεινοι καὶ τὰς ἀνοήτους νοείτωσαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔκεινω, ὃς φανερωθὲν ἐαυτῷ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄμολογεῖ τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν σου εἴδοσαν οἵ ὄφθαλμοί μου.”

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 unformed shape, as my eyes have.

14.24.6 | ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἡ φασιν ἐξ ἀτόμων ὑφάσματα γίνεσθαι τὰ εύήτρια, ταῦθ' ὑπαύτῶν ἀσόφως καὶ ἀναισθήτως αὐτουργεῖσθαι λέγωσι, τίς ἀνέξεται τὰς ἀτόμους ἀκούων ἐρίθους, ὃν καὶ ὁ ἀράχνης ἔστι σοφώτερος χειροτεχνῶν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ;

14.24.6 | But when they say that fine fabrics are made from atoms, they claim that these are produced foolishly and without any awareness. 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 | ἢ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον οἶκον τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς συνεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος τῆς ἐπιφαινομένης αὐτῷ σοφίας καλούμενον κόσμον, ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ φερομένων ἀτόμων κεκοσμῆσθαι 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 shines in it, decorated and created by atoms that are carried along with nothing else, and has it become a world of chaos?

14.25.8 | πῶς δὲ κινήσεις καὶ ὁδοὺς εύτάκτους ἐξ ἀτάκτου προάγεσθαι φορᾶς; πῶς δὲ τὴν παναρμόνιον τῶν οὐρανίων χορείαν ἐξ ἀμούσων καὶ ἀναρμόστων συνάδειν ὄργάνων;”

14.25.8 | How can movements and orderly paths come from chaotic forces? And how can the perfect harmony of the heavenly dance come together with unmusical and disordered instruments?

14.25.9 | Τίνα δὲ τρόπον, μιᾶς οὕσης καὶ τῆςαύ τῆς ἀπασῶν οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, πλὴν τῶν μεγεθῶν, ὡς φασι, καὶ τῶν σχημάτων, τὰ μέν ἔστι θεῖα καὶ ἀκήρατα καὶ αἰώνια, ὡς αὐτοὶ φήσαιεν

14.25.9 | In what way, when there is one and the same substance and the same unchanging nature, except for sizes and shapes, as they say, are some bodies divine, unblemished, and eternal, as they

ἄν, σώματα, ἢ μακραίωνά γε κατὰ τὸν οὔτως 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.

themselves would claim, or even long-lasting according to the name given? The visible ones include the sun, moon, and stars, as well as earth and water; the invisible ones include gods, demons, and souls. For these cannot refuse to exist, even if they do not wish 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, ἃ καὶ καταριθμήσας τις εἶπεν εἶναι τεσσαρακαίδεκα· τὰ δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀνθεῖ καὶ φυλλορροεῖ· τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν τε φυομένων καὶ τῶν γεννωμένων ἔστὶν ὡκύμορα καὶ βραχυτελῆ, ὃν 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, and someone has counted them and said there are fourteen; others bloom in season and shed their leaves. Most of the living things, both growing and born, are short-lived and brief, including humans, as someone has said in a holy writing: "a mortal born of a woman has a short life."

14.25.11 | ἀλλὰ τοὺς συνδέσμους φήσουσι τῶν ἀτόμων διαλλάττοντας αἵτίους γίνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τὴν διαμονὴν διαφορᾶς. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπυκνῶσθαι καὶ κατεσφίγχθαι λέγειν, ὡστ' αὐτὰ παντελῶς δυσαπάλλακτα γεγονέναι πιλήματα, τὰ δὲ 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 ὅδε πως ἐσχηματισμένων, τὰ δὲ ἔξ ετέρων ἐτεροίως διακειμένων συμμεμίχθαι. "

14.25.11 | But they will say that the bonds of atoms change because of the differences in their arrangement. Some of them are said to be compacted and tightly bound, making them completely inseparable masses; while others have a looser connection, either less or more, allowing them to separate either more quickly or not long after they join. Some are formed in this way and that way, while others mix together differently.

14.25.12 | "Τίς οὖν ὁ φυλοκρινῶν

14.25.12 | Who then is the one who

συναγείρων τε καὶ ἀναχέων καὶ τάσδε μὲν οὕτω συντάττων εἰς ἥλιον, τάσδε δὲ ὡδὶ, ἵνα ἡ σελήνη γένηται, καὶ ἐκάστας συμφέρων κατὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα πρὸς ἐκάστου φαῦσιν ἀστέρος; οὕτε γὰρ αἱ ἡλιακαὶ τοσαίδε καὶ τοιαίδε καὶ ὡδέ πως ἐνωθεῖσαι πρὸς ἐργασίαν σελήνης ἀν καταβεβήκεσαν, οὕτε αἱ τῶν σεληνιακῶν ἀτόμων πλεκτάναι γεγόνασί ποτε ἥλιος· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀρκτοῦρος, εἴ καὶ λαμπρός ἔστι, τὰς ἐωσφόρου μεγαλοφρονήσαιτό ποτε ἀν ἀτόμους ἔχειν, οὐδὲ Ὁρίωνος αἱ Πλειάδες. καλῶς γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος διέστειλεν εἰπὼν ὅτι “ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου καὶ ἄλλῃ δόξα σελήνης καὶ ἄλλῃ δόξα ἀστέρων” ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ.

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, with each one contributing according to its own nature to each star? For neither do those that are solar, nor those 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 εἰ μὲν ἀνεπαίσθητος αύτῶν ὡς ἀψύχων ἡ σύμπτηξις ἔγένετο,  
ἐπιστήμονος αὐταῖς ἔδει δημιουργοῦ· εἰ δὲ  
ἀπροαίρετος καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκην, ὡς ἀλόγων,  
ἡ σύνερξις, σοφός τις αὐτὰς ἀγελάρχης  
συνελαύνων ἐπεστάτησεν· εἰ δὲ ἐκουσίως  
έθελουργῆσαι συγκέκλεινται, θαυμάσιός  
τις αύτῶν ἀρχιτέκτων ἐργοδοτῶν  
προηγήσατο· ἢ καθάπερ εὔτακτος  
στρατηγὸς οὐ συγκεχυμένην εἴασε τὴν  
στρατιὰν καὶ πάντας ἀναμίξ, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέρει  
μὲν τὴν ἵππον, ἴδιᾳ δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, τούς τε  
ἀκοντιστὰς καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ χωρὶς τοὺς  
τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας ἐνθα ἔχρην  
διετάξατο, ἵνα ἀλλήλοις οἱ ὁμόσκευοι  
συμμαχοῖεν.

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. 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 by themselves, and the archers apart, where it is necessary to organize them, so that those of the same kind may support one another.

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 this example is silly 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 ἑκλογὴ μήτε τάξις αὐταῖς ἄρχοντος ἐπικέοιτο, αύταὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς κατὰ τὴν ρύσιν 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 είκῃ στερεώσωσι καὶ καμαρώσωσι τὸν αἰθέρα εἰς τὴν τῶν φωστήρων ἐπιβάθραν, ἐπιλέξωνταί τε ἐαυταῖς αἱ συνωμοσίαι τῶν χυδαίων ἀτόμων μονὰς, καὶ διακληρώσωνται τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς οἴκους ἐαυταῖς καὶ σταθμούς."

14.25.16 | Εἶτα μεθ' ἔτερά φησιν "Αλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ φανερὰ δρῶσιν οὗτοι οἱ πολλοῦ γε δέουσι συνορᾶν καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ. έοίκασι γὰρ μηδὲ ἀνατολὰς ἐποπτεύειν τεταγμένας καὶ δύσεις μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μήτε τὰς ἐκπρεπεστάτας ἥλιου, μηδὲ χρῆσθαι ταῖς δι' αὐτῶν δεδωρημέναις ἀνθρώποις ἐπικουρίαις, ἀναπτομένῃ μὲν εἰς ἐργασίαν ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπηλυγαζούσῃ δὲ νυκτὶ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν. ἔξελεύσεται γὰρ ἀνθρωπος (φησὶν) ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ ἵως ἐσπέρας."

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 loud noise of their coming together, similar ones would not be led by the god, as the poet says. Instead, they would rush together and gather, knowing their relatives. Truly, the democracy of atoms is wonderful, as they welcome each other as friends and intertwine, hurrying to settle in one community. Some of them, formed into great solar bodies, create the day, while others may ignite many pyramids of stars to crown the sky as one whole. Those that are arranged will firmly arch like the ether to the foundation of the lights, choosing for themselves the unions of the common atoms as single units, and assigning the sky into their own houses and stations.

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 ones. For they seem not to notice the arranged sunrises and sunsets, nor the other things, nor the most splendid aspects of the sun. They do not 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' ἥν ὡρισμένας ὥρας καὶ καιροὺς κύκαίρους καὶ τροπὰς ἀπαρατρέπους ἀποτελεῖ, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξ ὧν ἐστιν ἀτόμων ὀδηγούμενος. ἀλλὰ κανὸν μὴ θέλωσιν οἱ δεῖλαιοι, ὡς δ' οὖν πιστεύουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι μέγας κύριος ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ κατέσπευσε πορείαν."

14.25.18 | ἄτομοι γὰρ 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."

14.25.19 | 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, ὥσπερ ἀποικίαν ἡ συνοικίαν ἀνελόμενοι, μηδενὸς οἰκιστοῦ μηδὲ οἰκοδεσπότου προεστηκότος· καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους γειτνιάσεις ἐνωμότως καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης φυλάττουσιν, οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντες οὓς κατειλήφασιν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὅρους, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλίδων ἀτόμων νομοθετούμενοι.

14.25.20 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχουσιν ἔκειναι· πῶς γὰρ αἱ μηδ' οῦσαι; ἀλλὰ θείων λογίων ἐπακούσατε "ἐν κρίσει κυρίου τὰ αὐτοῦ. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ποιήσεως αὐτῶν

14.25.17 | But they do not even notice the other cycle of it, in which certain hours, times, and seasons are fixed and unchanging, guided by the atoms from which it is made. Even if the unfortunate ones do not want to, the righteous believe that the great master who created it has hastened its course through his words.

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 enjoy the fruits from the trees. And why do you not worship the atoms and offer sacrifices to those that bear fruit? You are ungrateful, not even dedicating a small portion of the many gifts you have received from them.

14.25.19 | And shortly after, the diverse and mixed crowd of 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. They guard their neighboring boundaries together and peacefully, not exceeding the limits they have held from the beginning, just as if they were governed by the laws of the royal atoms.

14.25.20 | But they do not rule over those things; for how could they? Instead, listen to the divine words: "In the judgment of the master, all things are his." From the

διέστειλε μερίδας αύτῶν, ἐκόσμησεν εἰς αἱώνα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αύτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αύτῶν.

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 asks, “Who has so orderly crossed the plain of the earth, with no one leading, no one turning away, no one blocking the way, and 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' ἔγκλίσεσι καὶ ταῖς εἰς πλάγιον ἐκνεύσεσι γίνονταί τινες αύτῶν ἀδηλοι 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 ἀπειρα περινοοῦντες, πόθεν ἡ κυκλοφορικὴ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ περιοδία, οὐχ ἐνὸς παραλόγως ἀτόμων πήγματος οὕτω σφενδονηθέντος, ἀλλὰ τοσούτου κυκλικοῦ χοροῦ κατὰ ῥυθμὸν ἵσα βαίνοντος καὶ συμπειριδινουμένου, πόθεν ἀδιάτακτοι καὶ ἀπροαίρετοι καὶ ἀγνῶτες ἀλλήλων συνέμποροι παμπληθεῖς συνανεστράφησαν. καλῶς τε ὁ προφήτης ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ ἀνενδείκτοις ἔταξε τὸ ξένους κᾶν δύο συνδραμεῖν “εἰ πορεύσονται (φησι) δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐὰν μὴ γνωρίσωσιν ἑαυτούς;”

14.25.22 | But some of them become hidden trophies through turns and sideways movements. 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, the parts of the indivisible, and the gatherings of the uncombined tell us where the circulation of the heavens and the cycle come from, 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, 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' εἰπὼν μυρία τε ἄλλα τούτοις ἐπαγαγὼν ἔξῆς κατασκευάζει διὰ

14.25.23 | After saying these things and bringing in many other matters, he then

πλειόνων τὸ πρόβλημα ἀπό τε τῶν κατὰ μέρος στοιχείων τοῦ παντὸς, ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν τούτοις παντοδαπῶν ζώων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τάνθρωπου φύσεως. ἔξ ὕν ἔτι βραχέα τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσθεὶς καταπαύσω τὸν παρόντα λόγον.

## Section 26

14.26.1 | “Καὶ οὕτε ἐαυτοὺς οὕτε τὰ περὶ ἐαυτοὺς ὄρῳσιν. εἴ γάρ τις τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν τοῦ τῆς ἀσεβείας ταύτης δόγματος ἐαυτὸν ὅστις ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν ἀνελογίζετο, ἐφρόνησεν ἀν ἄπερ συνησθημένος ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ εἴπεν ἀν οὐ πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἐαυτοῦ “αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπλασάν με καὶ ἐποίησάν με·” καὶ προσεπεξειργάσατο ἀν ὡς τὸν θαυμάσιον τῆς ποιήσεως ἐαυτοῦ τρόπον “ἢ ὥσπερ γάλα με ἤμελξας, ἐτύρευσας δέ με ἵσα τυρῷ; δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας, ὁστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἔνειρας; ζωὴν δὲ καὶ ἔλεος ἔθου παρ' ἐμοὶ, ἡ δὲ ἐπισκοπή σου ἐφύλαξέ μου τὸ πνεῦμα.

14.26.2 | πόσας γὰρ ἀτόμους ὁ Ἐπικούρου πατὴρ καὶ ποταπὰς ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ προέχεεν, ὅτ' ἀπεσπέρμαινεν Ἐπίκουρον; καὶ πῶς εἰς τὴν μητρώαν αὐτοῦ καταβληθεῖσαι γαστέρα συνεπάγησαν, ἐσχηματίσθησαν, ἔμορφώθησαν, ἐκινήθγοσαν, ηύξύνθησαν; καὶ πολλὰς ἡ βραχεῖα ῥανὶς τὰς Ἐπικούρου ἀτόμους προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς μὲν ἐπημφίεσεν αὐτῶν δέρμα καὶ σάρκα γενομένας, ταῖς δὲ ὁστωθείσαις ἡνῶρθωται, ταῖς δὲ συνεδέθη νευρορραφουμένη;

prepares the problem further using the various elements of the whole, 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.

14.26.1 | And they see neither themselves nor the things around them. For if one of the leaders of this impious doctrine were to think about who he is and where he came from, he would understand 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 found 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 | For how many atoms did the father of Epicurus bring forth from himself when he was creating Epicurus? And how 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 | τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ μέλη καὶ σπλάγχνα καὶ ἔγκατα καὶ αἰσθητήρια τὰ μὲν ἔνδοθεν, τὰ δὲ θύραθεν ἐφήρμοσε, δι’ ὃν ἐζωγονήθη τὸ σῶμα; ὃν οὐδὲν ἀργὸν οὔδε 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.

14.26.3 | And many other parts, like limbs, organs, 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, like hairs or nails, were unnecessary; everything contributes, some for the benefit of the structure and others for the beauty of appearance.

14.26.4 | οὐ γὰρ τῆς χρείας μόνης, ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιμελής ἡ πρόνοια. ἔρυμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ σκέπασμα πᾶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ κόμη, εὐπρέπεια δὲ ὁ πώγων τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. τὴν τε τοῦ ὄλου σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φύσιν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν ἀναγκαίων πάντων ἥρμοσε, καὶ τοῖς μέλεσι πᾶσι τὴν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν περιέβαλε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ ὄλου χορηγίαν ἐπεμέτρησεν.

14.26.4 | For it is not only for necessity but also for beauty that care is taken. The hair serves as protection and covering for the head, while the beard enhances the appearance of the philosopher. It has arranged the nature of the whole human body from all the necessary parts, and it has connected each limb to one another while measuring the support from the whole.

14.26.5 | ὃν τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχερῆ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν πρόδηλα· κεφαλῆς ἡγεμονία, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἔγκεφαλον, ὡσπερ ἄρχοντα ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τῶν αἱσθήσεων ἡ δορυφορία· προσιοῦσαι μὲν ὄψεις, ἀναγγέλλουσαι δὲ ἀκοή, ἐδωδὴ ὡσπερ φορολογοῦσα, ὅσφρησις καθάπερ ἀνιχνεύουσα καὶ διερευνωμένη, καὶ ἡ ἀφή πᾶν διατάττουσα τὸ ὑπήκοον.

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 comes forward, while hearing announces, taste acts like a tax collector, smell investigates and explores, and touch organizes everything that is under its control.

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.)

14.26.6 | For now, we are only touching on a few of the works of all-wise care. Soon, with the help of the divine, we will explore them more closely when we aim toward what seems more reasonable.

14.26.7 | χειρῶν διακονία, δι' ὧν ἔργασίαι τε παντοῖαι καὶ πολυμήχανοι τελοῦνται τέχναι ταῖς κατὰ μέρος δυνάμεσιν εἰς μίαν συνεργίαν διηρθρωμένων, ὥμων τε ἀχθοφορίαι, καὶ κατοχαὶ δακτύλων, ἀγκώνων τε καμπαὶ, πρός τε τὸ σῶμα εἴσω στρεφόμεναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔκτὸς ἀπονεύουσαι, ἔνα έφέλκεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαθεῖσθαι δύνωνται· ποδῶν ὑπηρεσία, δι' ὧν πᾶσα ἡμῖν ὑποπέπτωκεν ἡ περίγειος κτίσις, βάσιμος ἡ γῆ, πλωτὴ ἡ θάλασσα, περάσμοι οἱ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πάντων πρὸς πάντα ἐπιμιξίᾳ· γαστὴρ ταμεῖον 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, ὧν δομοίως τοῖς ἀφροσιν ἔχοντες οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν χρῆσιν οὐκ ἶσχουσι τὴν γνῶσιν.

14.26.8 | οἵ μὲν γάρ εἰς ἦν ἀν οίηθῶσιν 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 συμπτώσει τῶν ἀτόμων ἀσκόπως τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην καλλιεργίαν ἀνατιθέασι.

14.26.9 | τὴν δὲ ἐνεργεστέραν ἔτι τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνδοσθίων διάθεσιν ιατροὶ μὲν ἀκριβῶς διερευνησάμενοι καὶ καταπλαγέντες ἐξεθείασαν τὴν φύσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἀν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα κἄν ἐπιπολῆς ἀναθεωρήσωμεν.

14.26.7 | The service of the hands allows for all kinds of work and clever crafts to be completed, joined together in one cooperation. The shoulders carry burdens, while 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 lets us walk on solid ground, float on the sea, cross rivers, and interact with everything around us. The stomach is a storehouse of food, distributing nourishment to all the connected parts in measured amounts and presenting what is extra. Everything else is clearly managed for human living, which wise people understand, unlike those who are foolish.

14.26.8 | Some believe that the most scientific understanding of everything and the most beneficial to themselves comes from the management of a higher and divine thought and power. Others, however, attribute the most wonderful development to the chance and coincidence of atoms coming together without any 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 will consider it as best as we can later on, even if only in a superficial way.

14.26.10 | καθόλου δὲ καὶ συλλήβδην ὅλον  
τοῦτο τὸ σκῆνος τίς τοιοῦτον  
έσκηνοποίησεν, ὑψηλὸν, ὅρθιον, εὔρυθμον,  
εύαίσθητον, εὐκίνητον, εὐεργόν,  
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 εὑρηνται  
σωματουργοί. ὃν δὲ ἀπεικασίαι καὶ  
σκιαγραφίαι δίχα σοφίας οὐκ ἂν γένοιντο,  
πῶς τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ πρωτότυπα τούτων  
αύτομάτως 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 τάνδρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτόμων  
συνετελέσθη; καὶ ποίησιν δὲ πᾶσαν, καὶ  
πᾶσαν μουσικὴν, ἀστρονομίαν τε καὶ  
γεωμετρίαν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας,  
οὐκέτι θεῶν εὐρήματα καὶ παιδεύματα  
φήσουσιν Ἑλληνες εἶναι, μόναι δὲ  
γεγόνασιν ἔμπειροι καὶ σοφαὶ πάντων αἱ  
ἄτομοι μοῦσαι.

14.26.14 | ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπικούρου  
θεογονία τῶν μὲν ἀπείρων κόσμων ἔξοριός

14.26.10 | But who created this entire  
body, tall, upright, well-proportioned,  
sensitive, mobile, useful, and capable of all  
work? They say it is the mindless crowd of  
atoms. Yet, even if they came together, they  
could not shape a clay figure, carve a stone  
statue, or 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 come from lifeless, senseless, and  
mindless atoms, and did those atoms  
inspire him with any thoughts or beliefs?

14.26.13 | And just as Hesiod's myth says  
that Pandora was created by the gods, so  
wisdom was formed by the atoms. The  
Greeks will no longer say that all poetry, all  
music, astronomy, geometry, and the other  
sciences are discoveries and teachings of  
the gods. Instead, they will claim that only  
the experienced and wise atoms are the  
muses of all.

14.26.14 | For Epicurus's theology, which  
comes from the atoms, is a result of the

έστιν, είς δὲ τὴν ἄπειρον ἀκοσμίαν πεφυγάδευται.”

infinite worlds, and it has escaped into the infinite chaos.

## 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 ἔαυτὸν Ἐπίκουρος, τοιαῦτα φρονήσας περὶ τῶν θεῶν· τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις καὶ δυνατοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς καὶ σώφροσιν, οἷς 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 αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει.

14.27.1 | To work, to manage, and to care for such things may seem burdensome to the lazy, foolish, weak, and wicked, like those whom Epicurus criticized for their views about the gods. But for the serious, strong, wise, and moderate people—who philosophers should be—how much more so for the gods? These tasks are not unpleasant or opposing; instead, they are very delightful and most welcome to those who see neglect and procrastination in doing good as shameful. Just as the poet advises, they should not put things off until tomorrow. He warns that the man who always delays will struggle with misfortune.

14.27.2 | ἡμᾶς τε σεμνότερον παιδεύει προφήτης, θεοπρεπῆ μὲν ὄντως ἔργα τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπάρχειν λέγων, τὸν δὲ ὀλιγωροῦντα τούτων ἔξαγιστον “γάρ (φησὶν) ὁ ποιῶν τὰ ἔργα κυρίου ἀμελῶς.”

14.27.2 | A prophet teaches us with greater seriousness, 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· οἴ δὲ προκόπτοντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι οἱ τέλειοι, ῥᾳδίως ἂ μετίασι κατορθοῦντες γάνυνται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀν ἔλοιντο τὰ είωθότα πράττοντες ἀνύειν καὶ τελεσιουργεῖν ἡ πάντα σφίσιν ὑπάρξαι τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθά.

14.27.3 | For the ignorant, practicing any skill is difficult due to their lack of experience and the hard work involved. But those who make progress, especially the skilled ones, easily succeed in what they attempt. They would rather achieve and complete the usual tasks than have all the good things that exist among humans.

14.27.4 | Δημόκριτος γοῦν αύτὸς, ὡς φασιν, ἔλεγε βιούλεσθαι μᾶλλον μίαν εὐρεῖν αίτιολογίαν ἢ τὴν Περσῶν οἴ βασιλείαν γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα μάτην καὶ ἀναιτίως αίτιολογῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ κενῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποθέσεως πλανωμένης ὄρμώμενος, καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς τῶν ὄντων 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 αύτὴν ἀποκηρύττων βίου καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύοντας αύτὴν ἐλέγχων ἀγνώμονας.

14.27.5 | τῶν γοῦν Ὑποθήκῶν ἀρχόμενος λέγει "Ανθρωποι τύχης εἴδωλον ἐπλάσαντο, πρόφασιν ίδίης ἀνοίγε." φύσει γὰρ γνώμῃ τύχῃ μάχεται· τὴν ἔχθιστην τῇ φρονήσει ταύτην αύτὴν ἔφασαν κρατεῖν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἄρδην ἀναιροῦντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες ἐκείνην ἀντικαθιστᾶσιν αύτῆς. οὐ γὰρ εύτυχῃ τὴν φρόνησιν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρονεστάτην ὑμνοῦσι τὴν τύχην.

14.27.6 | οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν βιωφελῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται ταῖς πρὸς τὸ δύμόφυλον ἐπικουρίαις ἀγάλλονται, ἐπαίνου τε ὄρέγονται καὶ Κλεοῦς ἐφ' οἵς αὐτῶν προκάμινουσιν οἱ μὲν τρέφοντες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνῶντες, οἱ δ' ίώμενοι, οἱ δὲ πολιτευόμενοι· οἱ δέ γε φιλόσοφοι καὶ σφόδρα παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἀνθρώπους φρυάττονται.

14.27.4 | Democritus, or so they say, claimed it was better to find one explanation than for the Persian kingdom to exist. 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 believed that the greatest wisdom was understanding foolish and stupid events. He placed luck as the overall ruler and queen of divine matters, saying that everything happens because of it. However, he rejected luck in human life and criticized those who supported 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." By nature, reason fights against luck; they claimed that this very thing has power over the worst minds. Instead, they completely remove and hide reason and replace it with luck. For they do not praise reason as fortunate, but they praise luck as more reasonable.

14.27.6 | Those who are masters of useful works rejoice in the help they provide to their own kind. They seek praise and honor for their efforts, whether they are caregivers, guides, healers, or those involved in politics. However, philosophers, who work hard to educate people, feel very frustrated.

14.27.7 | ή τολμήσουσιν Ἐπίκουρος ή Δημόκριτος είπεν ώς ἀσχάλλουσι φιλοσοφοῦντες; ἀλλ' ούδε θυμηδίαν ταύτης ἀν ἐτέραν προθεῖντο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἡδονὴν εἶναι φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' αἰδεσθήσονταί γε μὴ λέγειν ἥδιον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

14.27.8 | τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς περὶ ὅν οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄδουσι δοτῆρας ἔάων, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι μετὰ τωθείας εύφημοῦσι, θεοὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀδώρητοι τε καὶ ἀμέτοχοι· καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τεκμηριοῦνται θεοὺς εἶναι, μήτε παρόντας καὶ πράττοντάς τι ὁρῶντες, (ώς οἱ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας θαυμάσαντες διὰ τὸ θέειν ἔφασαν κεκλῆσθαι θεούς) μήτε τινὰ δημιουργίαν αὐτοῖς ἡ κατασκευὴν προσνέμοντες, ἵνα ἐκ 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 ὀφελήσαντες προσκυνήσωμεν αὐτοῖς;

14.27.9 | “Ἡ τοῦ κόσμου προκύψας Ἐπίκουρος καὶ οὐράνιον ὑπερβάς περίβολον, ἡ διά τινων κρυφίων ἀς μόνος οἴδεν ἔξελθὼν πυλῶν, οὓς ἐν τῷ κενῷ κατεῖδε θεοὺς, καὶ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἔμακάρισε τρυφήν· κάκετθεν ἐπιθυμητὴς γενόμενος τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κενῷ ζηλωτὴς διαίτης, οὕτω πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ τούτου μετουσίαν ἔξομοιωθησομένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς θεοῖς παρακαλεῖ, συμπόσιον αὐτοῖς μακάριον,

14.27.7 | Will Epicurus or Democritus dare to say that they are troubled by philosophy? But they wouldn't even suggest another reason for it. For even if they believe that the good is pleasure, they would still feel embarrassed to say that engaging in philosophy is more pleasant for them.

14.27.8 | About the gods, some poets sing that they are givers of gifts, while philosophers speak of them with respect, saying they are the source of all good things, without gifts and without involvement. But 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 these celestial bodies 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 show any governance, judgment, or favor from the gods to humans, so that we might worship them out of fear or honor.

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. 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. This feast is not like what the poets describe about heaven or Olympus, but

ούχ ὅπερ οἶ ποιηταὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸν  
"Ολυμπὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κενὸν συγκροτῶν, ἔκ τε  
τῶν ἀτόμων τὴν ἀμβροσίαν αὐτοῖς  
παρατιθεὶς καὶ προπίνων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἑκείνων  
τὸ νέκταρ;

instead, it is about the void, offering them ambrosia made from atoms and pouring them nectar from those.

14.27.10 | καὶ δὴ καὶ κατ' ἑκείνων τῶν  
μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμάς ὅρκους τε καὶ ὄρκισμοὺς  
μυρίους τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίοις ἐγγράφει,  
όμνυς τε συνεχῶς μὰ Δία" καὶ "νὴ Δία," τε  
τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ πρὸς οὓς  
διαλέγοιτο "πρὸς τῶν θεῶν," οὕτι που  
δεδιώς αὐτὸς ἢ ἑκείνους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν,  
κενὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ ἀργὸν καὶ  
ἄσημον ἐπιφθεγγόμενος τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ  
παράρτημα, οἷον εἰ καὶ χρέμπτοιτο καὶ  
πτύοι τὸ τε πρόσωπον στρέψοι καὶ τὴν  
χεῖρα κινοίη. τοιαύτη γάρ ἀδιανόητος ἦν ἡ  
παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ματαία ὑπόκρισις ἢ τῶν  
θεῶν ὄνομασία.

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 breaking his oaths, but because it is empty, false, useless, and meaningless, adding it as an extra part to his words, as if he were to spit, turn his face, and move his hand. For such was the foolish and vain pretense of naming the gods.

14.27.11 | ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν πρόδηλον, ὅτι  
μετὰ τὸν Σωκράτους θάνατον κατεπτηχώς  
Ἀθηναίους ὡς μὴ δοκοίη τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἦν  
ἀθεος κενὰς αὐτοῖς ἀνυποστάτων θεῶν  
τερατευσάμενος ἐζωγράφησε σκιάς. οὕτε  
γάρ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνέβλεψε νοεροῖς  
όφθαλμοῖς, ἕνα τῆς ἐναργοῦς ἄνωθεν  
φωνῆς ἀκούσῃ, ἥς ὁ προσεκτικὸς θεατὴς  
κατακούσας ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι "οἱ οὐρανοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
διηγοῦνται δόξαν ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ  
ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα, οὕτε τῇ διανοίᾳ  
κατεῖδεν εἰς τοῦδαφος· ἐμαθε γάρ ἀν δότι  
"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."

14.27.11 | But this is clear: 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. He neither looked up to heaven with his mind's eye nor heard a clear voice from above, which a careful observer would testify to, saying, "the heavens declare the glory, and the work of his hands shows the firmament." He did not 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." 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 | εί δὲ μὴ τυφλώτουσιν,  
έπισκεψάσθωσαν τὴν παμποίκιλον τῶν  
ζῷων πολυπλήθειαν, τὰ χερσαῖα, τὰ πτηνὰ,  
τὰ ἔνυδρα, καὶ κατανοησάτωσαν ὡς  
ἀληθῆς ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων κρίσει γέγονεν ἡ  
μαρτυρία τοῦ δεσπότου του καὶ πάντα  
κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν πέφηνε καλά. "

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  
ἄν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως τὸν ἐ' ξ  
ἡμῶν ἀπολογισμὸν παράσχωμεν τοῖς  
φιλεγκλήφιλεγκλήμοσιν.

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. 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 | These things have been gathered  
from many sources about Epicurus and the  
teachings of Dionysius, who is our guide.  
Now it is time to turn to those around  
Aristotle and the school of the Stoic  
philosophers, and to examine the rest of  
the remarkable natural philosophers. This  
way, we can also provide an account of our  
own retreat from these ideas to those who  
enjoy debating.

## Book Fifteen (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

15.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὴν πολύθεον τῶν  
ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων πλάνην ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς  
Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἀπελέγξαι  
πρὸ πολλοῦ θέμενος ἐπὶ συστάσει καὶ  
ἀπολογίᾳ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσεως, ἦν  
μετ' εὐλόγου πεποιήμεθα, οὐ μόνον τοὺς  
μύθους, οὓς δὴ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν  
παῖδες τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολόγων τε καὶ  
ποιητῶν κεκωμῷδήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων  
τὰς σεμνοπρεπεῖς δὴ καὶ ἀπορρήτους  
φυσιολογίας, ἄνω που εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ  
κόσμου μέρη πρὸς τῆς γενναίας  
φιλοσοφίας μετενηγμένας, πρώτιστα  
πάντων ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς πρώτοις συγγράμμασι

15.1.1 | Introduction. Long ago, I set out to  
challenge the many false beliefs of all the  
nations in the early stages of the Gospel  
Preparation. I focused on the structure and  
defense of our retreat from these beliefs,  
which we have made for good reasons. I  
will not only address the myths that the  
followers of their theologians and poets  
have mocked about their own gods, but  
also their serious and hidden natural  
philosophies, which have been elevated 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,

διηρευνησάμην, καίτοι μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν  
ἐν τούτοις χρῆναι σεμνολογεῖν τῶν δὴ  
θεολόγων αὐτῶν ἀποφηναμένων.

15.1.2 | τηρητέον γοῦν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα οἵ  
πρεσβύτατοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολόγων  
ούδέν τι πλέον τῆς ἱστορίας 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 παιδοποιίας,  
θρήνους τε καὶ μέθας, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλάνας,  
τῶν δ' 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 ὥδαῖς  
παραλαμβάνειν.

15.1.3 | πλὴν ὅμως ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ  
τούτων αὐτῶν τὰς τετραγωδημένας ἐν  
φυσικαῖς ἀποδόσει κομπείας τάς τε τῶν  
σοφιστῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων εὐρεσιλογίας είς  
φανερὸν ἤγαγον· οὐ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν  
βιωμένων χρηστηρίων λόγον, τήν τε παρὰ  
τοῖς πολλοῖς διατεθρυλημένην περὶ  
εἰμαρμένης ψευδῆ δόξαν ἐν ἐτέροις τρισὶ<sup>1</sup>  
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  
ἔλεγχον συγκεχρημένος.

15.1.4 | μεταβὰς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων

even though there is nothing in them that  
needs to be taken seriously according to  
those theologians.

15.1.2 | Indeed, it should be noted that the  
oldest among their theologians know  
nothing beyond history, and they have only  
given witness to their myths. Therefore, it  
makes sense that in all cities and towns, the  
rituals and mysteries of the gods have been  
passed down according to ancient stories.  
Even now, there are celebrations of  
weddings and childbirths of the gods, along  
with mourning and drunkenness. Some  
myths are about deceivers, others about  
love, some about anger, and others about  
various misfortunes and situations. All of  
these follow the accounts mentioned by the  
ancients, according to the rituals, in the  
hymns, and in the songs made for the gods  
themselves.

15.1.3 | However, I have also revealed the  
boastful claims of those who are overly  
confident in their natural explanations, as  
well as the arguments of the sophists and  
philosophers. I have exposed the sayings  
about the oracles of cattle and the widely  
spread 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 drawing on the voices of their  
philosophers among the Greeks to  
challenge them.

15.1.4 | Then, moving on to the writings of

λόγια, τίσι ποτὲ λογισμοῖς τὴν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένην δογματικὴν θεολογίαν, τὴν τε κατὰ τούσδε ἱστορίαν ἄπασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων μεμαρτυρημένην, ἐν ἴσαριθμοις αὖ πάλιν λόγων συντάξει παρεστησάμην.

15.1.5 | εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπελέγξας τρόπον, ὅπως τε πάντα παρὰ βαρβάρων ὥφεληντο, 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· αὕθις διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τριῶν τὴν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν εύδοκίμων φιλοσόφων πρὸς Ἐβραίων δόξας συνδρομὴν ὑπέδειξα, αὐτὰς πάλιν τὰς οίκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν φωνὰς μάρτυρας ποιησάμενος.

15.1.6 | οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔτεροδιξοῦντας ἡμῖν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνους, ἄλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφῶν οίκείους διεστῶτας ὑπό τε τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνατετραμμένους ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι κατεφώρασα· διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης τὸ κριτήριον ἀδέκαστον ἔπιδ' ἐπιδεικνὺς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἔργοις τε, ὡς ἔπος είπειν, καὶ αὐτοῖς πράγμασι τὰς ἀποδείξεις τοῦ μὴ ἀσκόπως ἡμᾶς, κεκριμένῳ δὲ καὶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλήνων τὴν Ἐβραίων δόμοῦ παλαιὰν καὶ ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν τε καὶ εύσεβειαν ἐπανηρῆσθαι παρασχόμενος· ὃ καὶ συνέστη διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φωνῶν παραθέσεως.

15.1.7 | ἵς είσετι δεῦρο τὸν ὕστατον ἐπέχοντες λόγον, πεντεκαιδίκατον ὄντα

the Hebrews, I looked into the reasoning behind their doctrinal theology found in these texts, as well as the complete history related to them. I presented this in an equal number of arguments once more.

15.1.5 | Then, I examined the Greek way of reasoning, showing how they benefited from the barbarians and how they offer no serious teachings from their own sources. I also compared the times when the Greeks and the Hebrew prophets lived, bringing this to light. Again, in 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 evidence.

15.1.6 | However, I also presented the views of those 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 knowledgeable individuals in the previous writings. Through all of this, I aimed to show an unbiased standard of our 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 | Now, as we reach the final part of this work, which is the fifteenth of the

τῆς ἐν χερσὶ πραγματείας, τὸ λεῖπον τοῖς διεξωδευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν, τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς γενναίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς φῶς ἔλκοντες, πρὸ ὁφθαλμῶν 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 ἐαυτῶν ἀναθέντες ψυχάς.

writings at hand, we will present what remains for those who have been discussed. We are still highlighting the important aspects of noble Greek philosophy, revealing to everyone the useless knowledge within it. We aim to show that we have not overlooked the admiration for their teachings, nor have we neglected the pointless studies among them. Instead, we have focused on the practices of the better philosophers, dedicating our minds to them.

15.1.8 | τούτου δὴ οῦν 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 is left of our discussion.

15.1.9 | Ἡν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμεμφόμενον ἡμῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὰ Εβραίων λόγια τῶν πατρίων προτιμήσαντες οὐ τὸν ὅμιον τῷ Ἰουδαίων βίον ζηλοῦντες προειλόμεθα· πρὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος λόγου συμπλήρωσιν, θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, ἀπαντῆσαι πειράσομαι. ταύτῃ γάρ ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὶ δεσμῷ συμπλακέντα μίαν τὴν καθόλου διάνοιαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀποτελέσειν λόγου.

15.1.9 | If this is being criticized, 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 truth, I will try to respond. For I believe that in this way, the first ideas are connected like a single thought, creating a complete understanding of the whole argument.

15.1.10 | τό γε μὴν παρὸν, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου συγγράμμασιν ἡ κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλισοφία τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς Εβραίων συμφωνοῦσα λόγοις, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διεστῶσα, ἐν οἷς ἐλήλεγκται καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὴ ἀρέσκοντα διαφωνοῦσα· τὰ δὲ κατὰ

15.1.10 | Now, since it has been shown in the previous writings that the philosophy of Plato sometimes agrees with the words of the Hebrews and sometimes stands apart from them, being both challenged and disagreeing with the same ideas; as for the

τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς δὴ φυσικούς  
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 ὅμοῦ καὶ  
τοῖς Πλάτωνος δόγμασιν αὐτῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ  
ἔξ ἐναντίας ἴσταμενα, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
ἔλεγχον τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν βέλεσιν  
ἀπενηγμένα.

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  
made against them.

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  
όφρυς ἀνατεινομένων συνιδεῖν, ὡς ἀν  
μάθοιμεν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖσδε  
σεμινολογούμενα, τά τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὖ  
πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν οίκείων ἀντιλεγόμενα.

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 they discuss, as well as the  
arguments brought against them by their  
own followers.

15.1.12 | οὕτω γάρ καὶ τῆς τούτων  
ἀναχωρήσεως τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν κεκριμένον  
εὐλόγου πάσης ἀπολύοιτ' ἀν κατηγορίας,  
ὅτι δὴ μὴ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σεμνῶν,  
ἔξητασμένῃ δὲ καὶ βεβασανισμένῃ κρίσει,  
τὴν παρὰ τοῖς νενομισμένοις βαρβάροις  
ἀλήθειάν τε καὶ εὔσέβειαν τῶν Έλληνικῶν  
ἀπάντων προτετιμήκαμεν.

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  
the truth and piety of all the Greeks, which  
we have valued more than the customs of  
the so-called barbarians.

15.1.13 | ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν  
Ἀριστοτέλους. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν τὸν βίον  
τάνδρος διαβεβλήκασι, φιλόσοφοι δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλως οὐκ ἀφανεῖς τινες ἡσαν καὶ οὗτοι.  
έμοὶ δ' οὐ φίλον τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' αὐταῖς  
ἀκοαῖς ἀνέχεσθαι κακῶς πρὸς τῶν οίκείων  
ἀγορευόμενον. διόπερ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

15.1.13 | I will begin with Aristotle. Others  
have indeed spoken poorly of his life, but  
some philosophers were not completely  
unknown either. However, I do not like to  
hear him being spoken of badly by his own  
followers. Therefore, I will present more of  
the defenses about him from Aristocles the

μᾶλλον ἔκθήσομαι ἀπολογίας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ, δὅς ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψει

Peripatetic, who writes the following about him in the seventh book on philosophy.

## Section 2

15.2.1 | “Πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιστολῇ, νέον μὲν ὄντα καταφαγεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πατρῷαν 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 waste 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 entirely 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 has a bad reputation and is of old age?

15.2.3 | τίς δ' ἀν πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ μουσικοῦ λεγομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος; ἐν γὰρ τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ φησὶν ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ ἀντοικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ τινας Περίπατον ξένους ὄντας. οἴονται ούν ἔνιοι ταῦτα περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λέγειν αὐτὸν, Ἀριστοξένου διὰ παντὸς εὐφημοῦντος Ἀριστοτέλην.

15.2.3 | Who would be convinced by what Aristoxenus the musician says in the life of Plato? For in his travels, he claims that some foreign Peripatetics came to help him rebuild. Therefore, some think he is talking about Aristotle, even though Aristoxenus always speaks well of him.

15.2.4 | καταγέλαστα δ' εἰκότως εῖναι φαίη τις ἀν 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

15.2.4 | It would be reasonable for someone to laugh at the arguments in the writings of Alexinus the contentious. For he portrays Alexander as a child talking with his father Philip, and while he rejects the words of Aristotle, he accepts those of

Ἐρμῆν ἐπικληθέντα.

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 οἰκειότηος αὐτῷ ἔπειτα Φιλίππω 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, he brings up cold poems, claiming that others have written about the marriage and the closeness to Hermes. Then he says that he criticized Philip, 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 αὐτόν· ἔτι δὲ κατασκαφείσης Ὁλύνθου μηνύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαρυροπωλίου Φιλίππω τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους τῶν Ὁλυνθίων.

15.2.6 | What should one say about the accusation of Democharis against the philosophers? For he has spoken poorly not only of Aristotle but also of the others. Moreover, if one examines the very slanders, they might say he is just talking nonsense. He claims that the letters of Aristotle were captured by the city of Athens and that he betrayed his homeland, Stagira, to the Macedonians. He also says that after the destruction of Olynthus, he informed Philip about the wealthiest of the Olynthians.

15.2.7 | ἡλίθια δὲ διαβέβληκεν αὐτὸν καὶ Κηφισόδωρος, ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, τρυφερὸν καὶ τένθην καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸν εἶναι.

15.2.7 | And Cephisodorus, the student of Isocrates, has also slandered him as foolish, saying that he is delicate and soft, along with other similar things.

15.2.8 | πάντα δ' ὑπερπαίει μωρίᾳ τὰ ὑπὸ Λύκωνος είρημένα, τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι Πυθαγορικὸν ἐαυτόν. φησὶ γὰρ θύειν Ἀριστοτέλην θυσίαν τετελευτηκύᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ τοιαύτην ὅποιαν Αθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ ἐν ἐλαίῳ θερμῷ λουσμένον τοῦτο δὴ πιπράσκειν· ἡνίκα δὲ είς Χαλκίδα ἀπήει, τοὺς τελώνας εὐρεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ

15.2.8 | Everything said by Lycon is overshadowed by foolishness, as he claims to be a Pythagorean himself. 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. When he was leaving for Chalcis, he found seventy-four

λοπάδια χαλκᾶ τέτταρα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.

15.2.9 | καὶ σχεδὸν οὗ μὲν πρῶτοι διαβαλόντες Ἀριστοτέλην τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν· ὃν οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἥσαν χρόνους, οὗ δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐγένοντο· πάντες δὲ σοφισταὶ καὶ ἐριστικοὶ καὶ ῥήτορες, ὃν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τέθνηκε τῶν σωμάτων μᾶλλον. τοὺς μὲν γάρ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότας, εἴτα δὲ τὰ ὑπ' ἔκεινων 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 γάρ ἀν εὐρεθείη περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον ούδεν είρηκώς τῶν τότε ὄντων ὅτι μὴ Λύκων. οὗτος μέντοι, καθάπερ ἔφην, εἴρηκεν εὐρῆσθαι λοπάδια πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.

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 ἴδιά τινα λέγειν· ὃν εἶπερ ἦν ἐν ὀτιοῦν ἀληθὲς, ἔχρην δήπου ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄπαξ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀπολωλέναι.

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 εὖ φρονοῦντας μὴ εἰς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας ἀποβλέπειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας καὶ ζηλοῦντας αὐτόν· μακρῷ

bronze coins on the ship.

15.2.9 | I believe that the first people to slander Aristotle have become quite numerous. Some of them lived at the same time, while others came a little later. All of them are sophists, debaters, and speakers, whose names and books have mostly disappeared. Those who came after them and spoke about what the earlier ones had said, if they should be happy at all, especially those who have not even seen their books but are just making things up, 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 mentioned, he claimed that seventy-five bronze coins were found.

15.2.10 | Not only can one find evidence from the times and from those who have slandered that everything said is false, but also from the fact that not everyone slanders the same things; each person speaks about something specific. If there had been even one true statement, it surely would not have been lost to him at the hands of those from that time.

15.2.11 | It is clear that, just like many others, Aristotle also faced envy from the sophists of his time because of his friendships with the kings and his skill in speaking. Those who think wisely should not only pay attention to those who slander him, but also to those who praise and admire him; for there would surely be

γὰρ πλείους καὶ βελτίους εὐρεθεῖεν ἀνοῦτοί γε.

15.2.12 | τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα προδήλως πέπλασται· δύο δὲ ταῦτα δοκεῖ πιστεύεσθαι δὶ' ἣ ψέγουσί τινες αὐτόν· ἐν μὲν, ὅτι Ἐρμείου γῆμει φύσει μὲν ἀδελφὴν, θετὴν δὲ θυγατέρα Πυθιάδα, κολακεύων αὐτόν (Θεόκριτος γοῦν ὁ Χῖος ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τοιοῦτον Ἐρμείου εύνούχου τε καὶ Εύβούλου τόδε δούλουμνῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων θῆκεν Ἀριστοτέλης· διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρὸς φύσιν εἶλετο ναίεινάντ' Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς.) ἔτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἡχαρίστησε Πλάτωνι.

15.2.13 | περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἐρμείου καὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ συγγεγράφασι καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀπελλικῶν, οὗ τοῖς βιβλίοις ὁ ἐντυχῶν πεπαύσεται βλασφημῶν αὐτούς.

15.2.14 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ γάμου τοῦ Πυθιάδος ἀποχρώντως αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολαῖς ἀπολελόγηται. τεθνεῶτος γὰρ Ἐρμείου, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἑκεῖνον εὔνοιαν ἔγημεν αὐτὴν, ἄλλως μὲν σώφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὕσαν, ἀτυχοῦσαν μέντοι διὰ τὰς καταλαβούσας συμφορὰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς.”

15.2.15 | Εἴθ' ἐξῆς “Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πυθιάδος τῆς Ἐρμείου τελευτὴν Ἀριστοτέλης ἔγημεν Ἐρπυλλίδα Σταγειρῖτιν, ἐξ ἣς υἱὸς αὐτῷ Νικόμαχος ἐγένετο. τοῦτον δέ φασιν ὀρφανὸν τραφέντα παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ καὶ δὴ μειρακίσκον ὅντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν

many more and better supporters.

15.2.12 | Other matters are clearly intertwined, but these two seem to be believed by some who criticize him: one is that he married a sister of Hermes by birth and a daughter of Pythiada by adoption, flattering him; (Indeed, Theocritus of Chios wrote 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 not in the Academy, but in the sewers.”) The other is that he was ungrateful to Plato.

15.2.13 | Many others have written about Hermes and Aristotle's friendship with him, including Apellicon, who, in his writings, will cease to speak ill of them.

15.2.14 | Regarding the marriage to Pythiada, he has clearly explained it in his letters to Antipater. After Hermes died, he married her out of goodwill towards him. She was otherwise a wise and good woman, but unfortunately, she had faced misfortunes because of her brother.

15.2.15 | Then, after the death of Pythiada, Aristotle married Erpyllida from Stagira, and they had a son named Nicomachus. It is said that he was raised as an orphan by Theophrastus and that he died young in

πολέμω.”

15.2.16 | Άλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης Ἀριστοκλέους ἔκκεισθω 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' εύσεβείας συντελουμένην ὑποθεμένων, εύσέβειάν τε εἶναι ἀληθῆ διδαξάντων τὴν διὰ πάσης ἀρετῆς τῷ θεῷ εὐαρέστησιν, (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 ὀριζομένου καὶ τέλος εύδαιμονίας τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἀποφαινομένου, τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ εύσεβας ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐκ ἄλλως εύδαιμονά τινά φησιν ἔσεσθαι ἡ καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐπαθείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἔκτὸς περιουσίας, ὃν ἄνευ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὀφελεῖν. πρὸς δὲν ὅπως ἐνέστησαν διεψευσμένην αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἀπελέγχοντες οἱ Πλάτωνος γνώριμοι πάρεστι μαθεῖν διὰ τούτων

### Section 4

15.4.1 | “Τῆς γὰρ συμπάσης φιλοσοφίας κοινῇ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εύδαιμονίαν ὑπισχνουμένης, τριχῆ δὲ διαιρουμένης κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ποιητικὴν διανέμησιν, τοσοῦτον ἀποδέων ἐν τούτοις τοῦ διδάσκειν τι τῶν Πλάτωνος

battle.

15.2.16 | But let these things be taken from the writings of Aristocles that have been explained. It is now time to look at the dogmatic philosophy of Aristotle.

15.3.1 | The teachings of Moses and the prophets among the Hebrews conclude that living happily comes from knowing and loving the God of all, which is achieved through piety. True piety is taught by those who show that pleasing God is connected to all virtues, as this is the source of good things. Everything depends on God, and all good things are given by him to those who love him. Plato defines happiness as the goal of virtue, while Aristotle, taking a different approach, states that one cannot be truly happy without the well-being of the body and external possessions, which do not support virtue on their own. To address this, those familiar with Plato's ideas can learn from these teachings.

15.4.1 | For all philosophy, which promises human happiness, is divided into three parts based on the distribution of the creator of all things. In this context, the Peripatetic (Aristotle) will seem to lack much in teaching something from Plato, so

ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ὄφθήσεται ὥστε,  
πλειόνων ὅντων οἱ διαφέρονται Πλάτωνι,  
μάλιστα ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς φανεῖται.

15.4.2 | καὶ πρῶτον γε ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ μεγίστου καὶ κυριωτάτου τὴν πρὸς Πλάτωνα παραλλαγὴν ἐποιήσατο, μὴ τηρήσας τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη πρὸς τοῦτο συγχωρήσας, ἀλλ' ἀπολισθών 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· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οἴμαι πρόδηλον, ὅτι τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οὐκ ἶσων ὅντων ούδε τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν βοῶντος ἐκάστοτε καὶ κηρύττοντος ὅτι εὐδαιμονέστατος ὁ δικαιότατος, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντος ἐπεσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀν μὴ καὶ γένος εύτυχῆσῃ καὶ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσὸν, δὸς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμονδ' ἵεν, ἡύτε κούρη, ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ τέλους καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ 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 ὑψει κείμενα. Ὁρᾶς ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ὑψηλὸς πάγος, τρηχύς τε καὶ παλίγκοτος, ἐν τῷ

that, among many who differ from Plato, he appears to be the most opposed to him.

15.4.2 | First, he made a shift from the common, greatest, and most important view of Plato, not maintaining the standard of happiness, nor allowing virtue to be sufficient on its own. Instead, he strayed from the strength of virtue, believing that it needs assistance from fortune in order to achieve happiness. However, if happiness were seen as depending solely on itself, he argued that it was impossible and unattainable.

15.4.3 | Therefore, the lowly and mistaken opinion shows that, in this and other matters, it is not the right time to demonstrate what is present. However, I believe it is clear that the goals and happiness are not the same according to Plato and Aristotle. One says that the happiest person 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 girl, it is necessary, because of the difference in their goals and the philosophies that lead to them, to have different views.

15.4.4 | For if someone walks along 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,

κάθηται σήν έλαφρίζων μάχην;

where he sits, easing your struggle?

15.4.5 | ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον τὸ δριμὺ καὶ πανοῦργον ἔκεινο θηρίον ἀνελθεῖν ἀδύνατον· ἵνα δὲ εἰς ταύτον ἔλθῃ τοῖς ἀετοῦ γεννήμασιν ἀλώπηξ, ἢ τύχῃ τινὶ δεῖ χρησαμένους ἔκεινους πονηρᾶ καταπεσεῖν εἰς γῆν τῶν οίκειων αὐτοῖς φθαρέντων, ἢ φύσασαν αὐτὴν, ἢ μὴ πέφυκε φύειν, λαυψηρὰ κυκλῶσαι πτερὰ, καὶ οὕτως ἀρθεῖσαν ἐκ γῆς ἀναπτέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον. Ἱώς δ' ἐκάτερον ἐπὶ τῆς οίκειας μένει τάξεως, οὐκ ἔνι κοινωνίᾳ τοῖς γῆς πρὸς τὰ οὐρανοῦ θρέμματα.”

15.4.5 | It is impossible for that fierce and cunning beast to climb up this high rock. To reach the same place as the offspring of the eagle, a fox must either fall to the ground by using some trick or by chance, when its own kind has perished, or it must create something it is not meant to produce, flapping its swift wings to circle around, 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 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχόντων, 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, ω Περιπατητικὲ, πῶς ἔκδιδάξεις ταῦτα; πῶς ὀδηγήσεις ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοὺς φιλοπλάτωνας;

15.4.6 | And with other matters, since these are the conditions, while Plato is trying to draw the souls of the young upward toward the divine and 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 ὕψος λόγων ὥστε τὸ τῶν Ἄλωαδῶν φρόνημα κτήσασθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν δόδὸν ζητεῖν, ἦν ἔκεινοι μὲν φόντο ὄρῶν ἀναθέσει δύνασθαι γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀφαιρέσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπουδασμάτων γινόμενον, ως φησι Πλάτων';

15.4.7 | Where do you find such a high level of words in your choice, that you can understand the mindset of the Aloadae and seek the way to heaven, which they believed they could reach by climbing, but which was actually beyond human efforts, as Plato says?

15.4.8 | τίς οὖν ἡ παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς νέοις βοήθεια; καὶ πόθεν τις ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς

15.4.8 | What then is your help for the young in these matters? And where is the

συναγωνιστής λόγος; ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων Ἀριστοτέλους; τίνος τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; ἐ κ' ποίων γραφῶν; δίδωμι γάρ σοι κᾶν ψεύδεσθαι θέλῃς, μόνον τι νεανικόν. ἀλλὰ γάρ οὕτ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν οὕτ' ἀν ἐπιτρέψαι σοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς αἰρέσεως ούδεις.

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 deceive, just something youthful. But you have neither the ability to speak, nor would any of the leaders of your choice allow you to do so.

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 ἀν τις καὶ ἴδιώτης καὶ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ μειράκιον καὶ γυνή. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διάδημα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον τὸ βασιλικὸν, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Διός ἔχει λαβοῦσα ἀναφαίρετον ἡ ἀρετὴ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παλινάγρετον, ὅττι κεν οὗτος τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπινεύσῃ·) τοῦτο αὐτὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τολμῶσιν.

15.4.9 | Indeed, the writings of Aristotle on these matters, including those by Eudemos, Nicomachus, and the Great Ethics, speak of virtue in a way that is simple, humble, and accessible, 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, cannot be taken back whenever someone gives a nod with their head; yet they dare to take it away from her.

15.4.10 | οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπουσιν τρέπουσιν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν εὐδαίμονας, ὁμοίαν δὲ αὐτὴν καθιστᾶσι πλούτων καὶ δόξῃ καὶ γένει καὶ ὑγιείᾳ καὶ κάλλει, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κοινὰ τῆς κακίας. ὡς γὰρ τούτων ὅτιοῦν παρὸν χωρὶς ἀρετῆς οὐκ αὔταρκες εὐδαίμονα τὸν κεκτημένον ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ κατὰ ταύτα χωρὶς τούτων οὐχ ἱκανὴ ποιῆσαι τὸν ἔχοντ' αὐτὴν εὐδαίμονα.

15.4.10 | For they do not allow her to make anyone happy, but they equate her with wealth, reputation, lineage, health, and beauty, along with all the other common things associated with wickedness. For without virtue, none of these things can truly make someone happy, and virtue alone, without these, is not enough to make someone who possesses it happy.

15.4.11 | πῶς οὖν οὐ καθήρηται καὶ καταβέβληται τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίωμα; ναί· ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν λέγουσι. τί δὴ τούτο; καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑγίειαν τοῦ πλούτου· ἀλλὰ τό γε χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μὴ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πᾶσι κοινόν.

15.4.11 | How then is the value of virtue not taken away and cast aside? Yes; but they say that virtue is much greater than other goods. What does this mean? It means that health is better than wealth; however, none of these things alone is enough for happiness, which is true for everyone.

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' ἀν εὐδαίμων καὶ μακάριος εῖναι.

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 μὲν 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 ποιητὰ· ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίνεται ὥρῃ. πολὺς ὁ μεταξὺ χρόνος καὶ ὡς μὴ γίνεται. εἰ θέλεις ἀκριβῶς τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ σαθρὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γενεὰς ἀπεικάσαι, παράβαλλε τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εὐδαιμονίαν. ὢδον τῶν φύλλων αὕτη καὶ φύεται καὶ ἀπολείπει, οὐκ ἀναμένουσα περιτελλόμενον τὸν ἔνιαυτὸν, οὐδὲ αὔτοετεί, οὐδὲ αὔτομην, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, αὐτῆς ὥρας καὶ γίνεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται.

15.4.15 | πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπολλύντα, καὶ πάντα ἐκ τῆς τύχης. καὶ γάρ αἴ τοῦ σώματος κῆρες, μυρίαι δὲ αὗται, καὶ πενία καὶ ἀτιμία, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐταρκεῖ τὰ τῆς φύλης ἀρετῆς πρὸς βοήθειαν οὐχ ἱκανά· τὴν μὲν γάρ

15.4.12 | When someone teaches from these beliefs and this choice that the whole human good is found within the soul, he says that a happy person does not rise to the wheel of fortune, nor can someone 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 situations. It follows that happiness does not always accompany those who have virtue, nor does it stay with them forever, even if it could. Just as some leaves are blown down by the wind while others grow from the thriving trees, so the lives of men sometimes flourish and sometimes fade 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 always come. If you want to clearly show the fleeting and fragile nature of human life, compare it to Aristotle's idea of happiness. This is easier than leaves; it both grows and falls without waiting for the turning of the year or the season, but it happens and disappears in the same day, at the same hour.

15.4.15 | Many things are lost, and everything comes from chance. There are many misfortunes of the body, like poverty and disgrace, and all such things. The virtues of a friend are not enough to help against these; they are not strong enough

κακοδαιμονίαν εῖργειν, τὴν δὲ εύδαιμονίαν διασώζειν ἀσθενής.

to prevent misfortune or to preserve happiness.

15.4.16 | τούτοις οὖν τις ἐντραφεὶς, καὶ τούτοις ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς λόγοις, τίνα τρόπον ἡ αὐτὸς συνάστει τοῖς Πλάτωνος, ἡ ἄλλους πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐπιρρώσει ποτέ; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀν τις ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος παραδέξαιτο τὰ Ἡράκλεια καὶ θεῖα ἐκεῖνα δόγματα, ὡς ἴσχυρόν τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα ἀρετὴ, καὶ οὕτε ποτε ἐνδέουσα πρὸς εὔδαιμονίαν οὕτε ποτὲ αὐτῆς ἀφαιρουμένη, ἀλλὰ κāν πενία, κāν νόσος, κāν ἀδοξία, κāν βάσανοι, κāν πίττα καὶ σταυρὸς, κāν τὰ ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἄμα πάντα ἐπιρρυῆ, ἔτι δὲ 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? 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, the just person remains happy and blessed.

15.4.17 | ὑπὸ κήρυκι γοῦν αὐτῷ τῷ μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ κηρύττει, καθάπερ ἀθλητήν τινα νικηφόρον, τὸν δικαιότατον, ὅτι οὗτός ἔστιν εὔδαιμονέστατος, ὃ ἔξ αὐτῆς τῆς δικατοσύνης τὸν καρπὸν τῆς εὔδαιμονίας δρεπόμενος. διαίρει τοίνυν, εἰ βούλει, καὶ ποίκιλε τριχῆ καὶ τετραχῆ καὶ πολλαχῆ τὰ ἀγαθὰ διαστελλόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον. οὐ δή ποθ' ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτῶν προσάξεις τῷ Πλάτωνι.

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, four, or many ways; for none of this matters to the main point. Surely, you will not bring us closer to Plato through these.

15.4.18 | τί γὰρ εἴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς φήσ, τὰ μὲν τίμια, καθάπερ οἱ θεοί, τὰ δὲ ἐπαινετὰ, ὡς αἱ ἀρεταὶ, τὰ δὲ δυνάμεις, ὡς πλοῦτος καὶ ἴσχὺς, τὰ δὲ ὡφέλιμα, ὡς αἱ θεραπεῖαι; τί δ', εἰ ταῦτα ἐλάττονι 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.

15.4.18 | 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 services? What if, while dividing these good things in a simpler way, you say that some are ends and others are not ends? You might call 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 | τί δ', εί 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 ὄργανα, καν τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας παρὰ σοῦ μάθῃ τις δεκαχῆ διανέμειν τάγαθὸν, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν Πλάτωνος γνώμην τὰ διδάγματα;

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 | ἴως οὕ γάρ σὺ μὲν εἴτε ὁμονύμως εἴτε ὅπως βούλει λαλῶν ἀγαθὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄλλ' ἄττα πρὸς τὴν εὔδαιμονίαν ως ἀναγκαῖα παραλαμβάνεις, τὸ ἱκανὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφαιρούμενος, Πλάτων' δ' ἐκ περιουσίας περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζητεῖ τὸ ἔκπλεον εἰς εὔδαιμονίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχων, ούδεν ἀν ύμιν εἴη κατὰ τοῦτο κοινόν· ἄλλων σοι δεῖ λόγων, ἄλλων τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

15.4.20 | For as long as you, whether speaking in the same way or however you wish, consider the good things of virtue as necessary for happiness, while ignoring the essential part of virtue, Plato looks for what is extra for happiness from the abundance of other things, while still holding that it comes 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 | ως γάρ ούκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστὰ, ούδε λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ούκ ἔστι Πλάτωνι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει φιλία περὶ τοῦ Κορυφαιοτάτου καὶ κυριωτάτου τῆς εὔδαιμονίας δόγματος. διαμπερὲς γάρ, εί μὴ κακὰ φρονέουσιν ἄλλήλοις, 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, and wolves and sheep do not share the same spirit, there is no friendship between Plato and Aristotle regarding the highest and most important teaching about happiness. Clearly, if they do not think badly of each other, they seem 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, as well as Plato in these matters, clearly present the discussion about the providence of all things. Aristotle, having established the divine up to the moon, describes the other parts of the world in relation to God's governance. On these points, he also argues against what has been said, proceeding in this manner.

15.5.2 | “Οντος ὄντος δ’ ἔτι μεγίστου καὶ κυριωτάτου τῶν εἰς εύδαιμονίαν συντελούντων τοῦ περὶ τῆς προνοίας πείσματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὄρθοι, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλομεν ἀγνοεῖν πότερον δίκα τεῖχος ὑψιονῆ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνειέπιχθονίων γένος ἀνδρῶν· ὃ μὲν Πλάτων' εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ πάντα ἀνάπτει. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀρχήν τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχοντα εὐθείᾳ περαίνειν περιπορευόμενον. καὶ αὖ πάλιν φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ἀγαθῷ δὲ μηδένα φθόνον ἔγγίγνεσθαι περὶ μηδενός. τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὄντα πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν, εἰς τάξιν ἄγοντα ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας. πάντων δὲ ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ πάντα κατὰ δύναμιν κοσμοῦντα πεφροντικέναι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.”

15.5.2 | Since there is indeed the greatest and most important factor contributing to happiness, which is the discussion about providence that especially corrects human life, we should not be ignorant of whether it rises by just means or by crooked deceptions among the human race on earth. Plato connects everything to God and from God. He says that God has the beginning, middle, and end of all things, and that He completes everything in a straightforward manner. He also states that God is good, and that no one is envious of the good. Everything outside of this being, he claims, does the most good, bringing order out of disorder. He takes care of all things and arranges everything according to its nature.

15.5.3 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα Καὶ ὃ μὲν Πλάτων οὕτως. ὃ δὲ τὴν δαιμονίαν ταύτην φύσιν ἔκποδῶν ποιούμενος, καὶ τὴν γε εἰσαῦθις ἐλπίδα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποτέμνων, τήν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τῶν κρειττόνων εὐλάβειαν ἀφαιρούμενος, τίνα πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἔχει κοινωνίαν; ἢ πῶς ἀν ἐφ' ἂ βούλεται

15.5.3 | And shortly after, this is how Plato is. But the one who creates this kind of demonic nature, cuts off the hope of the soul, and removes the concern for what is stronger in the present—what kind of connection does he have with Plato? Or how could he call upon Plato and trust

Πλάτων' παρακαλέσαι καὶ πιστώσαιτο τὰ είρημένα;

15.5.4 | πᾶν γὰρ τούναντίον συνεργὸς ἀν οὗτός γε καὶ συναγωνιστὴς τῶν ἔθελόντων ἀδικεῖν φανείη. πᾶς γάρ τις ἄνθρωπος ὁν καὶ ταῖς ἄνθρωπίναις ὥρξεσι κατεσχημένος, ἀν καταφρονήσῃ τῶν θεῶν καὶ μηδὲν νομίσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀτε πόρρω μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένος ἐν τῷ ζῆν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ οὐδὲ ἔτι ὡν, ἔτοιμος ἀν ἔλθοι πρὸς τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

15.5.5 | πίστιν γὰρ λαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀδικοῦντα οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἀν γε ἄνθρωπους 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 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 γὰρ οὕτως ἢ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν σπουδὴ ὡς ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὅτι κήδοιτο ἀπιστίᾳ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐπιρρώνυμοι. τί οὖν, φήσαι τις ἀν, ἐν ταυτῷ τάττεις Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Ἐπίκουρον; πάνυ μὲν οὖν,

what has been said?

15.5.4 | For everything is the opposite; this one would indeed seem like 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, would be ready, when dead and no longer existing, to please their desires.

15.5.5 | For it is not impossible to trust in doing wrong secretly, especially if people need to stay hidden. However, it is not necessary to try to hide from everything, where someone who is revealed can be strong. Therefore, a certain readiness for wrongdoing comes from a rejection of providence.

15.5.6 | For that person is indeed very good, who presents pleasure to us as something good and provides the absence of the gods, believing that he is also finding a way not to do wrong. He acts like a doctor, offering help while the sick person is still alive, but after death, he tries to create some means for the salvation of the dead.

15.5.7 | In a similar way, the Peripatetic school is also like this. The concern about pleasure is not the same as the concern for the divine, since disbelief strengthens wrongdoing. So, someone might ask, do you place Aristotle and Epicurus in the same

ώς γε πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον.

15.5.8 | τί γὰρ διαφέρει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ θεῖον ἔξοικίσασθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἢ ἐν κόσμῳ τοὺς θεούς καθείρξαντα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων ἀποστῆσαι; κατ’ ἵσον γὰρ παρ’ ἀμφοτέροις τὸ ἐκ θεῶν ἀμελὲς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἵση τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ 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 τοῦτονοῦτε ἐκεῖνον δίκαιον ἐν προνοίας ἀριθμεῖσθαι λόγω. εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ κατ’ Ἐπίκουρον τὸ τῆς προνοίας οὕχεται, καίτοι τῶν θεῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν πᾶσαν κηδεμονίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν οίκειων ἀγαθῶν είσφερομένων, οὕτως ἀν οἴχοιτο καὶ κατ’ Ἀριστοτέλην τὸ τῆς προνοίας, εἰ καὶ τὰ κατ οὐρανὸν ἐν τάξει τινὶ καὶ κόσμῳ διοικεῖται.

15.5.10 | πρόνοιαν γὰρ ζητοῦμεν ἡμῖν διαφέρουσαν, ἵς οὐ μέτεστι τῷ μήτε δαίμονας μήτε ἥρωας μήτε ὅλως ἐπιδιαμένειν δύνασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεχωρηκότι.

15.5.11 | ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἔμοὶ κριτῆ καὶ

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? In both cases, there is a lack of care from the gods towards humans, and the absence of the gods is the same for those who do wrong. While the gods remain in the heavens, we enjoy something good that is shared by both irrational beings and lifeless things. Yet, in this way, even according to Epicurus, benefits for humans come from the gods.

15.5.9 | They say that better outcomes for those who take part in great goods come from their absence. But neither this nor that is fair to count in terms of providence. For if, according to Epicurus, the idea of providence is absent, even though the gods provide all care for the salvation of their own goods, then the same would be true according to Aristotle about providence, even if the things in the heavens are organized in some order and system.

15.5.10 | For we seek a providence that is different for us, one that does not involve either spirits or heroes, nor can it apply to souls that have completely departed.

15.5.11 | But that seems to me to be more

αίσχυντηλότερον ὁ Ἐπίκουρος δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι· ὡσπερ 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 ἅπαντ' ἀκοινωνίᾳ παραιτούμενος.

15.5.12 | ὁ δὲ περιττὸς ἡμῖν οὐτος τῆς φύσεως εὐρετὴςκαὶ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων ἐπιγνώμων ἀκριβῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὄψιν τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα ὑποθεὶς εἴασεν ἀτημέλητα καὶ ἀφρόντιστα, φύσει καὶ οὐ θεοῦ λογισμῷ διοικούμενα. ὅθεν είκότως ἀν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέ ἔκεινο τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐκφύγοι, ὁ κατ’ Ἐπίκουρου τινες μαντεύονται, ὡς ἄφα μὴ κάτα γνώμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων δέος τοῖς θεοῖς κατένειμεν ἐν τῷ παντὶ χώραν ὡσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ θέαν.

15.5.13 | τεκμήριον δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς γνώμης τάνδρος, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνέργειαν, ἐξ ἣς μόνης τὸ εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελλε τὴν δικαίαν πίστιν ἔχειν. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ποιεῖ. ἀποστήσας γὰρ καὶ παραδοὺς ὅψει μόνῃ τὴν πίστιν πραγματείᾳ κρίνειν ἀσθενεῖ τὰ ἐκ τοσοῦδε διαστήματος τάχ’ ἀν αἰδοῖ δοκοίη λέγειν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι θεούς.

15.5.14 | οὐ γὰρ ἀπολιπὼν ἔξω τι τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς προσαγαγὼν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀνάγκην ἔσχεν ἦ παντάπασιν ἄθεος εἶναι ὀμολογεῖν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀπολιπεῖν θεοὺς δόξαν ἀνασώζειν, ἐνταῦθα που τοὺς θεοὺς

shameful and unjust according to Epicurus. For just as he believes that the gods can withdraw from caring for humans, he makes it seem as if they 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 | But this extra part of nature, which discovers and understands divine matters precisely, has allowed human affairs to be neglected and thoughtless, governed by nature and not by the reasoning of a god. Therefore, it would be reasonable to say that he himself would not escape that accusation, which some claim 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 | They provide evidence of the man's opinion that he has taken away their action toward us, from which alone the existence of the gods would have justly earned our faith. For Aristotle does the same 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.

15.5.14 | For he did not leave the gods outside of the world, nor did he bring them down to those on earth. He was forced to either admit that he was completely godless or to save the belief that the gods exist by claiming they are somehow settled

άποικίσας. ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων  
άκριβειαν παραπτησάμενος τῇ ἀμιξίᾳ  
ἔσικεν εύσχημόνως ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς.”  
Ταῦτα ὁ Ἀττικὸς πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην  
χρεοκοποῦντα τὸν περὶ προνοίας λόγον. ὁ  
δ' αὐτὸς ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς εἰρημένοις  
προστίθησι, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποτεινόμενος  
μὴ βουλόμενον γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον.

here. By rejecting the strength of the better arguments, he seems to cleverly disbelieve in the gods by mixing things up. These points are made by the Athenian against Aristotle, who is struggling in his argument about providence. He also adds these points to what has been said, aiming for the same conclusion that he does not want the world to be created.

## Section 6

15.6.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν  
κόσμον ὄρισαμένου, ποιητήν τε καὶ  
δημιουργὸν τοῖς δόλοις τὸν θεὸν  
ἐπιστήσαντος, τού τε Πλάτωνος τὰ ἵσα  
Μωσεῖ φιλοσοφοῦντος, τὴν ἐναντίαν κάν  
τούτῳ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὀδεύσας ἀπελέγχεται  
πρὸς τοῦ δηλωθέντος συγγραφέως, ὡδε  
πρὸς δῆμα γράφοντος

15.6.1 | Again, Moses defined the world as created, with God being both a maker and a craftsman of everything. Plato also shared similar ideas to Moses. In contrast, Aristotle, having taken a different path, is challenged by the writings of the stated author, as he writes against this claim.

15.6.2 | “Πρῶτον δὴ περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου  
σκοπῶν, καὶ τὸ τῆς προνοίας τὸ μέγα  
τοῦτο καὶ πολυωφελές δόγμα πάντα ζητεῖν  
ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμενος, καὶ λογισάμενος ὅτι  
τῷ μὴ γενομένῳ οὔτε τινὸς ποιητοῦ οὔτε  
τινὸς κηδεμόνος πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι καλῶς  
χρεία, ἵνα μὴ ἀποστερήσῃ τὸν κόσμον τῆς  
προνοίας ἀφεῖλε τὸ ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ.

15.6.2 | First, while thinking about the creation of the world and believing it necessary to explore this important and helpful idea about providence, he reasoned that for what has not been created, there is no need for a maker or caretaker to bring it into existence properly. Therefore, he excluded the uncreated from the world of providence.

15.6.3 | παραιτούμεθα δὲ νῦν μὴ ἔμποδὼν  
ἡμῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας εἶναι, οἵ  
ἀρέσκει καὶ κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸν κόσμον  
ἀγέννητον εἶναι. δίκαιοι γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῖν  
συγγνώμην νέμειν, εἴ περ τῶν δοκούντων  
Πλάτωνι πιστεύομεν οἵς αὐτὸς Ἐλλην ὡν  
Ἐλληνας ἡμᾶς σαφεῖτε καὶ τρανῶ τῷ  
στόματι διείλεκται.

15.6.3 | We now ask that we are not hindered by those from the same source, who agree with Plato that the world is uncreated. It is fair for us to receive understanding if we believe in what seems true to Plato, who, being a Greek himself, spoke clearly and openly to us Greeks.

15.6.4 | παραλαβών γὰρ , φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς πᾶν  
ὅσον ἦν ὄρατὸν, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον,  
πλημμελῶς δὲ καὶ ἀτάκτως κινούμενον, εἰς  
τάξιν ἥγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος  
τοῦτο ἔκεινου 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 γὰρ, φησὶ, γεγένησθε, (λέγει  
δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς) ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε  
οὐδὲ ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὕτι μὴν δὴ  
λυθήσεσθε τῆς ἑμῆς βουλήσεως τυχόντες.

15.6.6 | ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς  
ἔνδον ἡμῖν ὑποφθεγγομένους, ἕτεροι φίλους  
ὄντας, φιλίως τε καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας πραέσιν  
ἐλέγχοις διακριθεῖμεν ἄν. ἔοικε γὰρ καὶ  
τούτους Ἀριστοτέλης μεταθεῖναι, τῇ μὲν  
κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ δόγματος ἀντισχεῖν  
ἀδυνατήσαντας, τὸ δὲ ἀλῶναι δόξαν ως  
ψεῦδος οὐ βουληθέντας ἀναθεῖναι  
Πλάτωνι.

15.6.7 | κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκοὴν,  
ἀξιοῦντος Πλάτωνος τὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι  
κάλλιστον ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν  
δημιουργῶν, καὶ περιθέντος τῷ τοῦ παντὸς  
ποιητῇ δύναμιν δι' ἣς καὶ οὐκ ὄντα  
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;

15.6.4 | For he says that God, having taken  
everything that was visible, did not lead it  
in peace, but moved it in a disordered and  
chaotic way, bringing it into order from  
chaos, believing that this was much better.  
Furthermore, he did not accept the creation  
through riddles, nor did he need clarity  
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 entirely  
unchangeable, but you will certainly not be  
free 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 ideas, unable to  
resist the challenge of the doctrine, but not  
wanting to dismiss Plato's opinion as false.

15.6.7 | According to our understanding,  
Plato claims that the world is the most  
beautiful work created by the most  
beautiful of creators. He gives the creator of  
everything the power to make the world  
even from what did not exist before. After  
creating it, he always wants to keep it  
whole. And in this way, since the world is  
generated and unchanging according to  
him, who among us Peripatetics can

confirm these ideas?

15.6.8 | Δεῖ δὲ παραμυθήσασθαι τὸν συναγωνιστὴν τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πάντως, εἰ τι γέγονεν, ἀνάγκη τοῦτο φθαρῆναι, πάλιν δ' οὐδὲ εἴ τι μὴ φθαρήσεται, τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον ἀγέννητον εἶναι. οὕτε γὰρ μίαν αἰτίαν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου συγχωρητέον οὕτε τῷ γενομένῳ τὴν εἰς ὅλεθρον μεταβολὴν ἀβοήθητον καταλειπτέον.

15.6.8 | It is important to reassure the competitor in these matters that not everything that has come to be must necessarily perish. Likewise, if something will not perish, it does not have to be ungenerated. For we should not allow one cause to be accepted for the unchanging to come from the ungenerated, nor should we leave the change of what has come to be without support toward destruction.

15.6.9 | πόθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λάβωμεν βοήθειαν εἰς ταῦτα, ἀνδρὸς οὐ τηνάλλως οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτὸν περαίνοντος τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄρθοῦ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἐναντιουμένου, καὶ τό τε γενόμενον εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἀπολέσθαι περιιστάντος, τό τε μὴ ἀπολλύμενον ἐκ μόνου τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι λέγοντος κρατύνεσθαι τὸ ἄφθαρτον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ δύναμιν ἀπολείποντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν, ἢ χρώμενος ἀγαθὸν ἀν τι ποιήσαι; ὃ γὰρ οὕπω πρότερον γέγονε, τοῦτο, φησὶν, οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο.

15.6.9 | So where shall we seek help from Aristotle in these matters, when a man does not complete the argument about these things on his own, but rather from a correct position that opposes Plato? Both the created thing, which is surrounded by the necessity of perishing, and the thing that does not perish, which is 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 ἐσπουδακότων φοβήσας, οἵς εἶπεν, ἀπέστησε τοῦ δόγματος, οὐ δυνηθέντας συνιδεῖν ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ἄνευ Θεοῦ βουλήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπινοῆσαι οὕτε τὸ γενόμενον ἄφθαρτον οὕτε τὸ μὴ φθαρησάμενον γεννητὸν ὄν.

15.6.10 | Thus, it is important to show how much support there is for Plato's argument. Some of those who studied Plato, frightened by what he said, turned away from the doctrine. They could not see that, according to the nature of things, it is 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 ἀφθαρτὸν τηρῆσαι τι τῶν γενομένων.

15.6.11 | When someone recognizes the best cause as coming from a god, this cause must lead all things, showing no other cause to be lesser. It is absurd to think that because something has come to be, 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 of the god to keep something of the created things 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 οὐσίαν, ὁ δὲ παμβασιλεὺς καὶ ἀριστοτέχνης οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνθρωπίνου τεχνίτου δυνάμεως μεθέξει, ἄμοιρος δ' ἡμῖν πάσης ἔσται γενέσεως; οὐκ, ἔάν γε καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ θείας αἴτιας ἐπιλογισμὸν οίοι τε ὥμεν λαβεῖν.

15.6.12 | The builder, even if he does not have a house, can still construct one. Someone can create 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 who practice the creative arts has the power to bring something that does not exist into being. However, the all-ruler and master craftsman will not share even a bit of human skill and will be completely without any generation from us. No, if we can consider even a small divine cause.

15.6.13 | ἄλλὰ ποιῆσαι μὲν ἱκανὸς καὶ βουληθῆναι τὰ καλὰ, (ἀγαθὸς γὰρ, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς φθόνος περὶ οὐδενός) τηρῆσαι δὲ καὶ διαφυλάξαι τὰ γενόμενα οὐ δυνατός; καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τεχνῖται πρὸς ἄμφω ἱκανοί. ὁ γοῦν οἰκοδόμος καὶ ὁ ναυπηγός οὐ μόνον καινὰς κατασκευάζονται ναῦς καὶ οἰκίας, ἄλλὰ 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 desire them (for a good person feels no jealousy about anything good), yet not be able to preserve and protect what has come to be? Indeed, the other craftsmen are skilled in both ways. The builder and the shipwright not only create new ships and houses, but they can also help with those that are being worn down over time, replacing them with other crafted things.

15.6.14 | ὥστε καὶ τῷ θεῷ πάντως τό γε τοσοῦτον συγχωρητέον. ὁ γάρ τις δύλον ποιῆσαι δυνατός, τοῦτο πῶς ἀνέκαθεν μέρους ἀδύνατος εἴη ποιεῖν; καὶ γενέσθαι τοίνυν τι δεῖ καινὸν, εἴπερ μέλλοι τις δύλως ποιητής, 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 can create the whole, how could they be unable to create a part? Therefore, something new must come into being if someone is truly a creator, and the beautiful work should be completely preserved; for wanting to destroy what has come to be is a sign of evil.

15.6.15 | μείζων δὲ ἄλλος εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν γενομένων δεσμὸς οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως. ἡ ἀνθρωπίνης μὲν σπουδῆς καὶ βουλήσεως μεταλαβόντα πολλὰ, καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔργα, μένει χρόνον ἀμήχανον ὅσον γενόμενα μηκέτ' ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ 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 can last 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 fade away 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' αὐτή γε τῷ προσέσθαι τὸ κοσμηθῆναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσωμολόγησεν ἡ ταπεινή τινος αἴτιας ἀνταγωνιζομένης τῷ θεῷ; ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἔστιν οὔτε 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.

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 acknowledged that being subject to the arrangement from the god is weaker. Is there any cause that competes with the god? Yet there is neither anything nor any situation in which the god, having taken control and arranged things, is still diminished by something, unless we are completely unaware while discussing the greatest and most divine power.

15.6.17 | ἀλλὰ γάρ εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ἐοίκαμεν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἐκφέρεσθαι. δῆλον μὲν καὶ ὃ προυθέμεθα, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέστην διδάσκαλοι περὶ κόσμου

15.6.17 | But indeed, we seem eager to speak about the truth. It is clear that those who do not even leave out the beginning of the world's creation could not be teachers

γενέσεως οὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν  
ἀπολιπόντες αύτῷ.” Καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς  
τῶν σωμάτων πέμπτης οὐσίας, ἥν  
εἰσηγήσατο Ἀριστοτέλης, ταῦτα  
παραθετέον

about it. Furthermore, 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  
δύμολογούμενα, 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 ἔκ περιττοῦ  
προσθείη, προσκατηρίθμησε τοῖς  
φαινομένοις τέτταρι σώμασι τὴν πέμπτην  
ούσίαν, πάνυ μὲν λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοδώρως  
τῇ φύσει χρησάμενος, μὴ συνιδῶν δὲ ὅτι οὐ  
νομοθετεῖν δεῖ φυσιογοῦντα, 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. He claimed that all other things are generated from these. However, Aristotle, wanting to appear more insightful, added a fifth essence to the four visible bodies. He used nature very brilliantly and generously, but he did not realize that one should not create laws about what is natural; instead, one should explain nature itself.

15.7.2 | είς τοίνυν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ  
τέτταρας εἶναι τὰς πρώτας τῶν σωμάτων  
φύσεις, ἡς 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 ἡ ψυχρὸν, ἡ ὑγρὸν ἡ ξηρὸν, ἡ  
μαλακὸν ἡ σκληρὸν, ἡ κοῦφον ἡ βαρὺ, ἡ  
ἀραιὸν ἡ πυκνὸν, καὶ εὐρισκόντων ὅτι οὐκ  
ἀν ἔτερόν τι εἴη τὸ μεθέξον τούτων τινὸς  
παρὰ τὰ τέτταρα· (εἴ μὲν γὰρ θερμὸν, ἡ πῦρ  
ἡ ἀήρ· εἴ δὲ ψυχρὸν, ὕδωρ ἡ γῆ· καὶ εἴ μὲν  
ξηρὸν, πῦρ ἡ γῆ· εἴ δὲ ὑγρὸν, ὕδωρ ἡ ἀήρ·  
καὶ εἴ μὲν μαλακὸν, ἀήρ ἡ πῦρ· εἴ δὲ  
σκληρὸν, ὕδωρ ἡ γῆ· καὶ κοῦφον μὲν καὶ  
ἀραιὸν, οἷον πῦρ καὶ ἀήρ· βαρὺ δὲ καὶ

15.7.2 | Therefore, to prove that the first natures of bodies are four, which the Platonists indeed need, the Peripatetic not only would not agree, but would almost completely oppose this view. When we say that every body is either hot or cold, wet or dry, soft or hard, light or heavy, or rare or dense, we find that there would be nothing different from these four. (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; if light and rare, it is like fire and air; but if heavy and dense, it is water and earth.) When we consider all the other simple qualities, we see that there would

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 ύγρὸν,  
ἄλλὰ μήτε ξηρὸν, μονονουχὶ λέγων σῶμα  
οὐ σῶμα. τὸ μὲν γάρ ὄνομα καταλέλοιπεν  
αὐτῷ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις, δι' ᾧν σῶμα πέφυκε  
γίνεσθαι, πάσας ἀφήρηκεν.

not be any other body besides these. This one alone stands against this, claiming that there can be a body that is none of these. But a body cannot be heavy, light, soft, hard, wet, or dry, yet he only says that a body is not a body. He has left the name to it but has taken away all the qualities through which a body could come to be.

15.7.3 | ἡ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἅπερ αὐτὸς λέγει  
πείθων ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς Πλάτωνος  
γνώμης, ἡ τὰ Πλάτωνος βεβαιούμενος τῶν  
αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποστήσεται· ὥστε  
οὐδαμῇ χρήσιμος πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

15.7.3 | Either he will convince us to abandon Plato's opinion, or he will stray from what he believes to be true about Plato. Therefore, he is of no use to Plato's ideas at all.

15.7.4 | ἔτι ὁ μὲν Πλάτων πάντα τὰ  
σώματα, ἄτε ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὁμοίας ὅλης  
θεωρούμενα, βούλεται τρέπεσθαι  
μεταβάλλειν τ' εἰς ἄλληλα· δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν  
ἄλλων οὐσίαν ἀπαθῆ τε καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ  
ἄτρεπτον πάντως ἀξιοῦ, ἵνα δὴ μὴ  
εὔκαταφρονήτου 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.

15.7.4 | Moreover, Plato believes that all bodies, viewed as made from one similar substance, should change and transform into one another. However, he sees the essence of other things as unchanging, imperishable, and unalterable, so it does not appear to be the source of something that can be easily dismissed. He argues that nothing is unnecessary or unique, while he misapplies what Plato observed in other things to those that do not fit, much like some later sculptors.

15.7.5 | ἐκεῖνοί τε γάρ ἀπομιμησάμενοι  
τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεφαλὴν, ἄλλου δὲ τὸ  
στέρων, ἐτέρου δὲ τὴν ζώνην, εἰς ταυτὸν  
συνθέντες ἐνίστε μὴ προσήκοντα  
πράγματα ἄλλήλοις ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς ὡς τι  
πεποιηκότες ἴδιον· καὶ ὄντως τὸ μὲν ὅλον, ὃ  
δὴ τις ἀν ἀσυμμέτρως ἔχειν αἰτιάσαιτο,

15.7.5 | For they, having copied the head of one man, the chest of another, and the belt of yet another, sometimes put together things that do not belong together and convinced themselves that they had created something unique. Indeed, the whole piece, which someone might criticize

έστιν αύτῶν, τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ συνηρανισμένα καὶ τι καλὸν ἔχοντα οὐκ αύτῶν.

for being mismatched, belongs to them, but the parts combined in it, which have some beauty, do not truly belong to them.

15.7.6 | ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀκούων Πλάτωνος ὅτι ἔστι τις ούσια νοητὴ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀχρώματος καὶ ἀναφής, οὕτε γινομένη οὕτε φθειρομένη οὕτε τρεπομένη οὕτε μεταβαλομένη, ἀεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα, πάλιν δ' αὖ περὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀκούων, ὡς ὅντα θεῖα καὶ ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ ἔστι σώματα, συνέθηκε καὶ συνεκόλλησεν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πράγματα μὴ συνάδοντα· παρ' ὧν μὲν γὰρ τὸ εἶναι σῶμα, παρ' ὧν 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 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, εἰ καὶ μὴ καλὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων, οὕτι γε ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. διδάσκει γοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος ὅμματα γὰρ, φησὶ καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὺ τερπικεραύνω, Ἄρει δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀπαθὲς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο. παθητῇ γὰρ καὶ τρεπτῇ συνδεδεμένον φύσει ἀνάγκην ἔχει συμπαθεῖν ὃ 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 ὁμοιογοῖτ' ἄν.” Ἔτι καὶ τούτοις πρόσσχωμεν τὸν νοῦν ἐν ὅσοις ἄλλοις διαφέρεσθαι τῷ Πλάτωνι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην παρίστησιν

15.7.7 | Now, concerning the statues, even if 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 charming Zeus, 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 to 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 μηδαμῆ μετεῖναι τοῖς οὐρανίοις πυρός.  
καὶ ὃ μέν φησιν ἀνάψαι τὸν θεὸν φῶς ἐν τῇ  
δευτέρᾳ πρὸς γῆν περιόδῳ, ἵν’ ὅτι μάλιστα  
εἰς ἄπαντα φαίνοι τὸν οὐρανὸν, περὶ ἡλίου  
τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀποφαινόμενος ὃ δὲ, ἕτε οὐκ  
έθέλων πῦρ εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ δὲ φῶς  
εἰδώς πῦρ καθαρὸν, ᾗ τι πυρὸς ὃν, οὐκ  
ἐπιτρέπει φῶς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνῆφθαι.

15.8.2 | ἔτι δὲ μὲν, κατ' εἶδος ἀφθαρσίαν  
ἀπονέμιων τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄπασιν,  
ἀποχωρήσεις τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ  
προσχωρήσεις συμμέτρους φησὶ γίνεσθαι·  
ἀναγκάζουσι δὲ αύτὸν 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 ἀν ἥθελεν  
ἴσα φαίνεσθαι μηδὲν ἀνθ' ὃν ἀφίησι  
λαμβάνοντα·)

15.8.3 | ο δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης πάντη μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας αύτὰ βούλεται, μήτε τινὸς αύτοῖς ἀποχωροῦντος μήτε προσιόντος.

15.8.4 | ἔτι δὲ μὲν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ κινήσει τῶν  
ἄστρων, καθ' ἣν ἐν ταῖς σφαιράις  
ἐνδεδεμένοι κινοῦνται πάντες οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ  
τε ἀπλανεῖς καὶ οἱ πλανώμενοι, καὶ ἐτέραν  
αὐτοῖς κίνησιν ἀποδίδωσιν, δῶσιν, ἢν δὴ

15.8.1 | Then, following these points, there are many ways in which they differ. One says that the highest idea of the heavens comes from fire, while the other says that fire does not participate at all in 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 like fire, does not allow light to be kindled around it.

15.8.2 | Moreover, one says that, by nature, the imperishable is given to all things in the heavens, and that there are some separations and some equal additions among them. They compel 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 away.

15.8.3 | But Aristotle wants everything to remain in 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 within spheres. He gives them another motion, which happens to be the most beautiful and best suited to

καὶ ἄλλως καλλίστην εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ 'π' προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος· (σφαιρικοὶ γὰρ ὅντες εἰκότως σφαιρικὴν ἀν τινα κίνησιν ἔκαστος κινοῦτο περιδινούμενος·) ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀφαιρεῖται τῆς κινήσεως αὐτοὺς, ἵνα ὡς ἐμψυχοι κινοῦνται, μόνην δὲ ἀπολείπει τὴν ὑπ' ἄλλων τῶν περιεχόντων ὥσπερ 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· ὥσπερ Πλάτωνος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς κινήσεως πίστιν λαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ διδάσκοντος ὅτι ἀνάγκη τούτων ἔκαστον ζῷον ὅντα καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ σῶμα κινεῖσθαι τὴν ἴδιαν κίνησιν· (πᾶν γὰρ σῶμα ὃ μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ κινεῖσθαι ἄψυχον, ὃ δὲ ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ ἐμψυχον·) κινούμενον δὲ, ἔτε θεῖον ὅντα, τὴν καλλίστην κινεῖσθαι κίνησιν· καλλίστης δ' οὕσης τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ κινήσεως, ταύτη αὐτὸν κινεῖ σθαι.

15.8.6 | ἡ δὲ αἴσθησις τὰ μὲν ἐκ τού λόγου μαρτυροῦτο ἀν ὡς ἀληθεύουσα, οὐ μὴν αὐτὴ παρέσχε τὴν πίστιν τῆς κινήσεως. περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κινήσεως ὡς 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 γὰρ Πλάτων, ὅντων τεττάρων σωμάτων καὶ πάντων φύσει κινουμένων ἀπλῆν καὶ εὐθεῖαν κίνησιν,

the nature of their bodies. Since they are spherical, it makes sense 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 non-living things.

15.8.5 | And indeed, he says that the imagination we have from the stars, as if they are moving, is a feeling of our sight that is unable to see clearly and seems to be shaking, and it is not the truth. Just like Plato, who accepts 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. Since circular motion is the most beautiful, it moves in that way.

15.8.6 | But the senses would testify that it is true, yet they did not provide a belief in motion. Regarding the motion of the whole, since it does not occur in a circle, he could not argue against Plato. However, he did offer a distinction with this beautiful discovery about the body.

15.8.7 | For Plato, with four bodies that all naturally move in a simple and straight motion—fire moving outward, earth

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 γὰρ ἐπ' εὐθείας 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' εὐθείας κινουμένοις τὸ σχῆμα τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει τῆς κινήσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ ῥοπή· σῶμα οὐ μόνον ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν ὅμοιού τινὸς οὐχ ἔχει πῆ κλιθῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν κύκλῳ περιτεθὲν ὅποιώ τινὶ οὐχ ἔχει τῆς ἐπὶ τι κλίσεως αἰτίαν, ἵωσι, πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιον τε, εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, εἴτε πρόσω εἴτ' ὄπίσω.

15.8.10 | ἔτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἔξωσθεῖσι τῶν οἰκείων 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

moving toward the center, and the others moving in between—he assigned circular motion to the soul. But he, just as he gave a different motion to another body, also assigned 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 source of motion. However, the fifth body, having neither heaviness nor lightness, was more about stillness.

15.8.9 | It is not the shape of circular motion that explains 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 to tilt in any direction—whether toward the dawn and the sun, to the left, or forward or backward.

15.8.10 | Moreover, for the other bodies that are pushed away from their own places, their return to motion comes from their connection to those places. But for that fifth body, which never leaves its own place, it is appropriate for it to remain.

15.8.11 | And regarding the other bodies, excluding the fifth, it seems that Aristotle argues differently from Plato. When Plato asked whether there is a body that is heavy by nature or light by nature, and since these ideas seemed to relate to up and down, he examined whether there is

σκεψαμένου εἴτε ἔστι τι κάτω φύσει καὶ ἄνω, εἴτε μὴ, καὶ ἀποδεῖξαντος ἀκριβῶς ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὰς τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς τοὺς τόπους οἰκειότητας τὸ κάτω λέγοιτο ἐκάστοις ἐφ' ὃ φέροιντο, ἄνω δὲ ἐκάστοις τὸ ἀλλότριον ἀφ' οὗ ἀναχωροῦν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν σχέσιν καὶ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὸ κοῦφον διανείμαντος καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποδεῖξαντος ὅτι μήτε τὸ μέσον μήτε τὸ πέριξ αὐτῶν εὕλογον 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 | Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν κόσμου, καὶ ἔξ ὧν οὗτος, καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστήκατον. ταῦτα μὲν οἴδε. Μώσης δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια τούτ' ὧν ούδεν πολυπραγμονεῖ· καὶ εἰκότως, ὅτι μηδὲ πρὸς βίου κατόρθωσιν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολουμένοις λυσιτελεῖν ἐνομίσθη.

anything that is naturally below or above, or not. He clearly showed that according to the relationship 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. In the same way, he categorized 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 by 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 states 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 points. But regarding Moses and the words of the Hebrews, this does not interfere at all. And rightly so, because it was believed that it would not be helpful for those who are focused on these matters to improve their lives.

## Section 9

15.9.1 | “Υπὲρ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τί καὶ λέγοιμεν ἄν; δῆλα γάρ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἥδη σχεδὸν καὶ τοῖς ἴδιωταις ἀπασιν, ὅτι Πλάτων' μὲν ἀθάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολείπει, καὶ πολλοὶ οὓς πεποίηται,

15.9.1 | But what shall we say about the soul? It is clear that these ideas are not only for philosophers, but almost for all ordinary people as well. Plato claims that the soul is immortal, and he has made many arguments for this, showing in

ποικίλως καὶ παντοίως ἀποδεικνύς ὅτι  
ἔστιν ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχή.

15.9.2 | πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσι  
περὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἡ φιλοτιμία γέγονε,  
συναγωνιζομένοις τῷ τε δόγματι καὶ τῷ  
Πλάτωνι. σχεδὸν γάρ τὸ συνέχον τὴν  
πᾶσαν αἴρεσιν τάνδρὸς τούτ' ἔστιν.

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.

15.9.4 | Ψυχὴ γὰρ πᾶσα, φησὶ, παντὸς  
ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν  
περιπολεῖ ἄλλοτ’ ἐν ἄλλοις εἴδεσι γινομένη.  
ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς  
σοφίας εἰς τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῆς ψυχῆς  
ἀνῆπται τῷ Πλάτωνι. πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ  
μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως οὕτεται  
δύνασθαι σώζεσθαι καὶ ζήτησιν καὶ  
μάθησιν, ἐξ ᾧ ἐπιστήμη γίνεται.

15.9.5 | εἰ δὲ μή 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, δο μὴ  
συγχωρῶν τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν ἀνατρέπει

various ways and from many angles that  
the soul is indeed immortal.

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 a person's beliefs are  
connected by this.

15.9.3 | For the foundation of ethical  
teachings is based on the immortality of the  
soul, which brings forth the greatness and  
brilliance of virtue, since the divine nature  
of the soul can be preserved. All matters of  
nature are organized according to the  
guidance of the soul, which can be managed  
well.

15.9.4 | For the soul, he says, takes care of  
everything that is lifeless, and it moves  
through the entire sky, changing into  
different forms at different times.  
Moreover, both knowledge and wisdom are  
linked to the immortality of the soul  
according to Plato. For all learning is a form  
of remembering, and it is thought that one  
cannot be saved or seek knowledge and  
understanding in any other way, from  
which knowledge arises.

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 linked and depend on the divine  
nature and immortality of the soul. Anyone  
who does not accept this completely

φιλοσοφίαν Πλάτωνος.

15.9.6 | τίς οὖν ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγχειρίσας ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀπόδειξεσι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφελέσθαι τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πάσης δυνάμεως; τίς δ' ἔτερος πρὸ Αριστοτέλους; 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·

15.9.7 | ὁ δὲ, ὅσῳπερ 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.

15.9.8 | οὕτε γὰρ πνεῦμα οὕτε πῦρ οὕτε ὅλως σῶμα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀσώματον, οἶον εἶναί τε ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀκίνητον εἶναι καὶ ὡς εἴπειν ἄψυχον. οἶον γὰρ τόδε ἐτόλμησεν, ἢ καὶ ἀπηναγκάσθη, ὡς καὶ τὰς πρωτουργοὺς κινήσεις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ διανοηθῆναι, τὸ προσδοκήσαι, τὸ μνημονεῦσαι, τὸ λογίσασθαι;

15.9.9 | οὐ γὰρ ψυχῆς ταῦτά φησι τὰ κινήματα ὁ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς φασι, γραμματεύς. πάνυ γοῦν οὗτός ἔστι πιστὸς, ὡς συνεικέναι τι περὶ τῶν ἔκτὸς, ὁ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς τοσοῦτον διημαρτηκὼς ὡς μηδ' ὅτι διανοεῖται παρακολουθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἔστιν ὁ

overturns the entire philosophy of Plato.

15.9.6 | Who was the first to try to argue against this and to deny the immortality and all other powers of the soul? And who came before Aristotle? Some of the others allowed the soul to continue existing, while others, if not this, assigned some power to the soul in the body, along with some movement, actions, and functions.

15.9.7 | But he, just as Plato honored the nature of the soul, declaring it to be the beginning of creation, a teaching from God, and the ruler of all things, so much did he strive to undermine and dishonor it. He believed it was unnecessary to say anything at all about the soul.

15.9.8 | For there is neither spirit nor fire nor body at all, nor is it even incorporeal, as if it could exist on its own and move, but also not remain still in the body and, so to speak, lifeless. For this person dared to do this, or was even compelled to, by taking away the primary functions of the soul: the ability to decide, to think, to expect, to remember, and to reason.

15.9.9 | For he, the scribe of nature, claims that these movements do not belong to the soul, as others say. Indeed, he is quite trustworthy, as he tries to explain something about the outside world, while he himself has missed so much about his own soul that he cannot even grasp what

τούτων ἔκαστον ἐνεργῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ  
ἀκίνητος.

he thinks. He says that it is not the soul, but the person who carries out each of these actions, and that the soul is unmoving.

15.9.10 | τούτῳ τοι γαρ οὐν ἐπόμενος  
Δικαίαρχος, καὶ τάκολουθον ἱκανὸς ὁν  
Θεωρεῖν, ἀνήρηκε 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  
εἶναι ψυχήν· αἱ δὲ κινήσεις αὐτῆς ἀφανοῦς  
οὕσης ἀναγκάζειν ἡμάς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τι  
τὴν ψυχὴν ὄμοιογεῖν.

15.9.10 | Therefore, following this, Dicaearchus, being able to observe what follows, has removed the entire essence of the soul. It is clear that the soul is something invisible and hidden, so we cannot claim that it is a soul based solely on the actions of the senses. However, its movements, being unseen, seem to compel us to agree that the soul is something.

15.9.11 | ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπας τις συνιέναι δοκεῖ  
τῆς ψυχῆς ὅντα, τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ  
σκοπεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ὃν δήποτε τρόπον  
διανοεῖσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωμεν τὸ σῶμα καὶ  
τὰς τούτου δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνθυμηθῶμεν δὲ  
τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνέργειας, ὡς οὐ σώματος  
[οὕσας,] δίδομεν εἶναι τι ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτερον τὸ  
βουλευόμενον' τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι 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 various ways. When we see the body and its abilities, and we reflect on such actions, we recognize that there is something else within us that makes decisions, and this is what we call the soul. But from where have we believed about the soul?

15.9.12 | ἀν οὖν τις ἔξ ὧν μάλιστα ψυχὴ<sup>1</sup>  
φαίνεται ταῦτα ἀφελόμενος ἐτέρῳ τινὶ<sup>2</sup>  
προσάψῃ πράγματι, οὕτε ὅθεν οὔσα  
ἐμφαίνεται καταλέλοιπεν οὕτε ὅ 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;

15.9.12 | If someone removes 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 claim that the soul is immortal if they are the one who destroys it? 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 | ναί· ἀλλὰ κατά γε τὴν ἀθανασίαν

15.9.13 | Yes, but when it comes to the

τοῦ νοῦ φήσαι τις ἀν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν  
Πλάτωνι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ πᾶσαν βούλεται τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι, τόν γε νοῦν  
δημολογεῖ θεῖόν τε καὶ ἄφθαρτον εἶναι. τίς  
μὲν οὖν τὴν ούσιαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὁ νοῦς,  
ὅθεν ὅν, καὶ πόθεν ἐπεισκρινόμενος τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ποῦ πάλιν  
ἀπαλλαττόμενος, αὐτὸς ἀν είδείη· εἴ γέ τι  
συνίησιν ὃν λέγει περὶ τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ μὴ τὸ  
ἄπορον τοῦ πράγματος τῷ ἀσαφεῖ τοῦ  
λόγου περιστέλλων ἔξισταται τὸν ἔλεγχον,  
ὡσπερ αἱ σηπίαι τὸ δυσθήρευτον ἐκ τοῦ  
σκοτεινοῦ ποριζόμενος.

immortality of the mind, someone might say it shares this idea with Plato. For even if they do not believe that the whole soul is immortal, they agree that the mind is divine and uncorrupted. So what is the essence and nature of the mind? Where does it come from, how does it connect with humans, and where does it go 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 | πάντως δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις  
διαφέρεται Πλάτωνι. ὁ μὲν γάρ φησι νοῦν  
ἀνευ 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  
μὲν ὁ Ἀττικός. συνάψω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ  
Πλωτίνου τόνδ’ ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον

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 believe the soul should leave the body, because Plato liked this idea, but he insisted that the mind could break away from the soul, because Plato recognized that this was impossible. This is what the Athenian says. I will also add what Plotinus has to say on this topic.

## Section 10

15.10.1 | “Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐντελεχείας ὕδ’ ἀν τις  
ἐπισκέψαιτο πῶς περὶ ψυχῆς λέγεται. τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ συνθέτῳ εἴδους τάξιν ὡς πρὸς  
ὑλην 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 specific order in relation to the body, which is a living being. 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 | εί μὲν οὖν ἡ παραβέβληται ὡμοίωται, ὡς μορφὴ ἀνδριάντος πρὸς χαλκόν· καὶ διαιρουμένου τοῦ σώματος συμμερίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀποκοπτομένου τινὸς μέρους μετὰ τοῦ ἀποκόπεντος ψυχῆς μόριον εἶναι, τὴν τε ἐν τοῖς ὑπονοις ἀναχώρησιν μὴ γίνεσθαι, εἴπερ δεῖ προσφυγᾶ τὴν ἐντελέχειαν οὐ ἔστιν εἶναι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μηδὲ ὑπνον γίνεσθαι.

15.10.3 | καὶ μὴν ἐντελεχείας οὕσης, ούδὲ ἐναντίωσιν λόγου πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας· ἐν δὲ καὶ ταύτὸν δι' ὅλου πεπονθέναι τὸ πᾶν οὐ διαφωνοῦν ἐαυτῷ. αἰσθήσεις δὲ μόνον δυνατὸν ἵσως γίνεσθαι, τάς δὲ νοήσεις ἀδύνατον. διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄλλην ψυχὴν τὸν νοῦν εἰσάγουσιν, ὃν ἀθάνατον τίθενται.

15.10.4 | τὴν οὖν λογιζομένην νῆν ψυχὴν ἄλλως ἐντελέχειαν ἡ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀνάγκη εἶναι, εἰ δεῖ τῷ ὄνόματι τούτῳ χρῆσθαι. ούδ' ἡ αἰσθητικὴ, εἴπερ καὶ αὕτῃ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπόντων τοὺς τύπους ἔχει, αὐτοὺς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἄρα ἔξει· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὔτως ἐνέσονται ὡς μορφαὶ καὶ εἰκόνες· ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον ἄλλως δέχεσθαι, εἰ οὔτως ἐνεῖν. οὐκ ἄρα οὗσ' ἀχώριστος ἐντελέχεια.

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 ἡ.

15.10.2 | If, then, it is compared in this way, it is like the form of a statue to bronze. 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. Additionally, 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 | And indeed, with actuality existing, there is no conflict between reason and desires. The whole must be one and the same, not disagreeing with itself. Sensations may be possible, but thoughts cannot occur. Therefore, they introduce another soul, which they call the mind, and they consider it to be immortal.

15.10.4 | Therefore, the rational soul must have a different actuality than this, if it is necessary to use this name. The sensitive soul, if it has the forms of sensed things when they are absent, cannot hold them without the body. If it cannot, then they will exist only as shapes and images. But it is impossible to understand it in any other way, if it exists like this. So, it is not an actuality that can be separated.

15.10.5 | And indeed, the desire for food or drink does not come from things outside the body, nor is it an actuality that can be separated. Therefore, the vegetative soul would be, and it seems there is something to argue about, so that it may never be an actuality that is inseparable in this way.

15.10.6 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαίνεται οὕτως ἔχον. εἴ γάρ 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 γάρ αὐτὸς πρὶν αὔξηθηναι τὸ φυτὸν ἐν τῷ ὄλιγῳ σγκῷ.

15.10.7 | εἴ οὖν καὶ είς ὄλιγον ἔρχεται ἐκ μείζονος φυτοῦ καὶ ἔξ ὄλιγου ἐπὶ πᾶν, τί κωλύει καὶ ὅλως χωρίζεσθαι; πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ ἀμερής οὖσα μεριστοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἐντελέχεια γένοιτο μεριστή; ἢ τε αὐτῇ ψυχὴ ἔξ ἄλλου ζῶου ἄλλο γίνεται· πῶς οὖν ἡ τοῦ προτέρου τοῦ ἐφεξῆς ἂν γένοιτο, εἴ ἦν ἐντελέχεια ἐνός;

15.10.8 | φαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν μεταβαλλόντων ζῶων είς ἄλλα ζῶα. οὐκ ἄρα τῷ εἶδος εἶναι τινος τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐστιν οὐσία, οὐ παρὰ τὸ ἐν σώματι ίδρυσθαι τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνοντα, ἀλλ' οὖσα πρὶν καὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, οἶον ζῶου, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν γεννήσει.

15.10.9 | τίς οὖν οὐσία αὐτῆς; εἴ δὲ μήτε σῶμα μήτε πάθος σώματος, πρᾶξις δὲ καὶ ποίησις, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς, οὐσία παρὰ τὰ σ' σματα οὖσα, ποία τίς ἐστιν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἦν φαμεν ὄντως οὐσίαν εἶναι; τὸ μὲν γάρ γένεσις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐσία, πᾶν τὸ σωματικὸν εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἂν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ

15.10.6 | But this does not seem to be true. 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 come together as one. Therefore, it was not in the whole as an inseparable actuality. For it also exists before the plant has grown to its small size.

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 changes into 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 | This is clear from the way animals change into other animals. Therefore, the essence of something does not depend on its form; rather, it is a substance that does not take its being from being established in the body. Instead, it exists before this happens, like that of an animal; the body does not create the soul.

15.10.9 | "What then is its essence? If it is neither body nor the condition of a body, but rather action and creation, and many things both within it and from it, what kind of essence is it, existing apart from substances? Or is it clear that what we say is truly essence? For generation is not essence; everything that is physical can be

ούδέποτε ὄν, μεταλήψει δὲ τοῦ ὄντος σωζόμενον, καθ' ὅσον ἀν αύτοῦ μεταλαμβάνον." Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ Πλωτίνου διήλθομεν, συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ τὰ Πορφυρίων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Βόηθον περὶ ψυχῆς είρημένα

said to be becoming and perishing, but truly it never is, preserved only by the change of being, as long as it is receiving from it." Since we have also discussed the ideas of Plotinus, it is fitting to consider what Porphyry has said in his writings about the soul.

## Section 11

15.11.1 | "Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐντελέχειαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰπόντα καὶ ἀκίνητον παντελῶς οὖσαν κινεῖν ὑπειληφότα ḥρτέον τέον πόθεν οἱ ἐνθουσιασμοὶ τοῦ ζώου μηδὲν μὴν ξυνιέντος ὡν ὀρᾶ τε καὶ λέγει, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ μέλλον καὶ μὴ ἐνεστὸς βλεπούσης καὶ κατὰ ταύτῳ κινουμένης, πόθεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ζώου συστάσεως αἴ τῆς ὡς ζώου ψυχῆς βουλαί τε καὶ σκέψεις καὶ θελήσεις, ῥοπαὶ οὖσαι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ τοῦ σώματος."

15.11.1 | Regarding the soul being complete and completely unmoving, we must ask where the movements of the animal come from, since nothing is understood from what it sees and says. The soul looks at both the future and what is not present while moving in the same way. So, where 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 μονοειδέσι καὶ ἀκινήτοις σωματικάς, καθ' ἄς ἢ κινεῖται ἢ ποιόν ἔστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἐκπεπτωκότος ἢν τέλεον ἢ ἐκόντος ἢ 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 πεφώτισται γε ὁ ἄὴρ, σκοτεινὸς ὡν ἄνευ τῆς τούτου ἐκλάμψεως.

15.11.2 | Then he continues by saying that the soul is represented by heaviness or by qualities that are uniform and unmoving in bodies, through which it either moves or what is underneath it exists. It was either completely fallen or willingly or unwillingly of the value of the soul, and in no way was it seen that 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. The air is indeed illuminated by the rising of the sun, remaining dark without its light.

15.11.3 | ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ θέρμη τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ θερμότης ἦν τοῦ πυρὸς οὔτε τὸ πῦρ, οὔτε τὸ ἐναέριον φῶς τὸ σύμφυτον τό ἡλίω

15.11.3 | But neither is the warmth of water the heat of fire, nor is fire itself, nor is the light of the air the light that is

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.”

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 surrounding the body, the soul that is placed in the body, through which the body shares in some vital breath.

15.11.4 | Εἶθ' 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 ἀποδίδους, ἢ πῦρ νοερὸν, τῇ περιψύξει καὶ οἴον βαφῇ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀναφθὲν ἢ στομαθὲν, ὃ τε ἀτόμων ἀθροισμα θεὶς ἢ ὅλως ἀπὸ σώματος αὐτὴν δ τὴν γεννᾶσθαι ἀποφαινόμενος;” ‘Ον 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 continues by saying, “All the other things that others have said about it bring us shame. For how is it not shameful to consider the soul as the completeness of a natural, organic body? And how is it not filled with shame to claim that it somehow has a spirit, or a thinking fire, that is raised or thickened by the air, or to suggest 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. He also says that no one would be ashamed to say 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' ἦς 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 | Furthermore, Plato says that the soul organizes everything and is present in all things, and that through it others would agree to be governed in each case. He claims that nothing else is nature except the soul, and clearly that the soul is not irrational. From this, he concludes that everything happens according to purpose, if it also happens according to nature. 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.

15.12.2 | For nature is not the soul, and the things on earth are governed by nature.

εῖναι γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄλλας καὶ τὰς αίτιας. τῶν ἔχοντων αἴτιαν 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.

Each thing has different causes. He suggests that those with a cause have a determined fate, while those under the moon are governed by nature. For human matters, there is reason, purpose, and soul. He clearly presents these distinctions, but does not recognize the necessary connections between them.

15.12.3 | εἰ γὰρ μὴ μία τις εἴη δύναμις ἔμψυχος διήκουσα διὰ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πάντα συνδοῦσα καὶ συνέχουσα, οὕτ' ἀν εύλογως τὸ πᾶν οὗτε καλῶς διοικούμενον εῖναι δύναιτο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἦν ἄρ' ἀβλεψίας καὶ πόλιν ἐλπίσαι ποτὲ καλῶς χωρὶς ἐνώσεως διαγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ἡγήσασθαι πάγκαλον τῷ λόγῳ διαφυλάξειν, οἶνόν περ φαίνεται, μὴ συνδήσαντα καὶ συναρμόσαντα ἐνός τινος διμοίου κοινωνίᾳ.

15.12.3 | For if there is not one living power that fills everything and connects and holds all things together, then the whole could neither be reasonably nor 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 seems, without being connected and joined together in a community of something similar.

15.12.4 | καὶ τοιοῦτον μέν τι πρᾶγμα τὸ διοικοῦν ἔκαστα εῖναι φησιν, οἶνον ἀρχὴν εῖναι κινήσεως, τοῦτο δὲ εῖναι ψυχὴν οὐ βούλεται· καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ δεικνύντος ὅτι τοῖς κινουμένοις ἀπασιν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ ψυχὴ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀν ἔργον εἴη ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ φρονίμου τὸ μηδὲν μάμάτην ποιεῖν, τοῦτο ἀνατίθησι τῇ φύσει, τοῦ δὲ ὄνόματος αὐτῇ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ μεταδίδωσιν, ὡσπερ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δυνάμεων, τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβανομένων.”

15.12.4 | He says that the thing that governs each part is like a principle of motion, but he does not want this to be the soul. Yet, even Plato himself shows that for all things in motion, the soul is the principle and source of motion. Whatever work belongs to a rational and wise soul, which is to do nothing harmful, he attributes to nature. However, he does not connect the name of the soul to it, as if it comes from names rather than from the powers taken from things.

## Section 13

15.13.1 | "Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸ κῦρος τῆς Πλάτωνος αἱρέσεως, ἡ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν διάταξις, ἡτίμασται καὶ

15.13.1 | But the main point and essence of Plato's doctrine, concerning the arrangement of the intelligible, is honored

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 δριψύτῃ πιστεύων, ἥτις διαδῦναι  
μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐν  
τούτοις ἀλήθειαν ἴδειν ἐδύνατο, τῆς δ'  
ὄντως ἀληθείας ἐποπτεῦσαι τὸ πεδίον οὐχ  
οἴα τε ἦν, αὐτῷ κανόνι καὶ κριτῇ τῶν ὑπὲρ  
αὐτὸν χρησάμενος, ἀπέγνω τινάς εἶναι  
ἴδιας φύσεις, οἵας Πλάτων' ἔγνω, λήρους δὲ  
καὶ τερετίσματα καὶ φυλαρίας ἐτόλμησεν  
εἰπεῖν τὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀνώτατα.

and praised in many ways, while it is rejected by Aristotle. For he cannot understand why the great, divine, and extraordinary things need 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 unable to grasp the realm of true reality. Using his own standards and judgment, he denied that there are certain unique natures, like those recognized by Plato, and he dared to call the highest things mere nonsense, trivialities, and foolishness.

15.13.2 | τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄκρον τε καὶ ἔσχατον  
τῶν Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφημάτων ἐστὶ τὸ  
περὶ τὴν νοητὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀίδιον οὐσίαν  
τὴν τῶν ἴδεων, ἐνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγῶν  
ἔσχατος τῇ ψυχῇ πρόκειται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
μετασχῶν καὶ ἐφικόμενος αὐτῆς πάντως  
εὐδαίμων, ὁ δὲ ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ  
ἀδυνατήσας θεωρὸς γενέσθαι πάντως  
ἄμοιρος εὐδαιμονίας καταλείπεται.

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 lie before the soul. 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 ἰσχὺν  
τούτων τῶν φύσεων οὕτε γὰρ  
ώντινωνοῦν ἀποδοῦναί 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  
δομολογήσειαν.

15.13.3 | And for this reason, Plato argues everywhere, showing the strength of these natures. He says that it is not possible to truly give anything well unless one participates in these, nor can one have any true knowledge unless it relates to them. He also claims that one cannot engage in any discussion unless there is agreement on the essence of these.

15.13.4 | οἱ τ' αὖ τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
συνιστάναι ἐγνωκότες τὸν πλεῖστον ἀγῶνα  
τῶν λόγων ἐν τούτῳ τίθενται πάνυ

15.13.4 | Those who understand Plato's ideas see the greatest struggle of words in this. For nothing of the Platonic remains if

άναγκαιώς. ούδεν γάρ 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 ὄμοιότητα· 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 ὄμοιότητα, συνιδῶν ὃ Πλάτων ὄντα οὐ βᾶστα ὁφθῆναι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λόγῳ σαφῶς δηλωθῆναι δυνάμενα, αὐτὸς ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν καὶ φρονῆσαι καὶ παρασκευάσαι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπακολουθήσειν πραγματευσάμενος ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν εἰς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος, περὶ ταῦτά 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 ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθέντες μεταβησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν αἵρεσιν.

someone does not agree with these first and most fundamental natures beyond Plato. 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, he then brings the likeness to the things that exist. Indeed, the thoughts of god are older than the things that have come to be, which are formless and intelligible, always existing in the same way and manner, primarily and truly being. They are also the reasons for the existence of other things like them, according to their similarity to these. Plato, seeing that being is not easily shown and cannot be clearly expressed in words, believed 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 understanding of these, along with their wisdom and knowledge, is what brings about human purpose and the blessed life.

15.13.6 | Thus much from the Attic writer. There were many more things to share from the explained writings of the man; however, since we are satisfied with what has been presented, we will move on to the teachings of the Stoics.

15.13.7 | Σωκράτους τοίνυν ἀκουστής ἐγένετο Ἀντισθένης. Ἡρακλεωτικός τις ἀνὴρ τὸ φρόνημα, ὃς ἔφη τοῦ ἥδεσθαι τὸ μαίνεσθαι κρεῖττον εἶναι· διὸ καὶ παρήνει τοῖς γνωρίμοις μηδέποτε χάριν ἥδονῆς δάκτυλον ἔκτείνειν.

15.13.8 | τούτου δὲ ἀκουστής γέγονε Διογενής 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 ὡδέ πως ἔχει

15.13.7 | Therefore, Antisthenes became a follower 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 reach out a finger for the sake of pleasure.

15.13.8 | From him, Diogenes the Dog became a follower, who also introduced 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 Stoic school of philosophers.

15.13.9 | Zeno was taught by Cleanthes, and Cleanthes was taught by Chrysippus, and then there was another Zeno and those who came after. All of these are said to have cared deeply about living a strong 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 ὕλην καὶ θεὸν, ὡς Πλάτων. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἄμφω σώματά φησιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἐκείνου τὸ πρῶτον ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀσώματον εἶναι λέγοντος.

15.14.2 | ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατά τινας εἰμαρμένους χρόνους ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὸν

15.14.1 | They say that the basic element of all things is fire, just like Heraclitus said. But this philosopher claims that the beginnings are matter and god, similar to Plato. However, he states that both are bodies—the one that creates and the one that suffers—while the first creator is said to be an incorporeal cause.

15.14.2 | Then, according to certain destined times, the whole universe is said

σύμπαντα κόσμον , εῖτ' αὕθις πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι. τὸ μέντοι πρῶτον πῦρ εἶναι καθαπερεί τι σπέρμα, τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχον τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας 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.”

to be burned up and then rearranged again. However, the first fire is described as a kind of seed, containing the reasons and causes of all things that have happened, are happening, and will happen. The connection and order of these things are 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 well-ordered society.

## Section 15

15.15.1 | “Ολον δὲ τὸν κόσμον σὺν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μέρεσι προσαγορεύουσι θεόν· τοῦτον δὲ ἔνα μόνον εἶναι 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. What is made from all being is called this, having this kind of order according to its arrangement.

15.15.2 | διὸ κατὰ μὲν τὴν προτέραν ἀπόδοσιν ἀΐδιον τὸν κόσμον εἶναι φασι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν γεννητὸν καὶ μεταβλητὸν κατὰ περιόδους ἀπείρους γεγονούιας τε καὶ ἐσομένας.

15.15.2 | Therefore, according to the earlier explanation, they say that the universe is eternal. However, 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 ἐκ τῆς πάσης οὐσίας ποιὸν κόσμον ἀΐδιον εἶναι καὶ θεόν· λέγεσθαι δὲ κόσμον σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φύσεων· λέγεσθαι δὲ κόσμον καὶ τὸ οἰκητήριον θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν

15.15.3 | 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 referred to as the cosmos, the dwelling place of gods and

ένεκα τούτων γενομένων.

15.15.4 | ὃν γὰρ τρόπον πόλις λέγεται διχῶς, τό τε οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἔνοικούντων σὺν τοῖς πολίταις σύστημα, οὕτω καὶ ὡς κόσμος οἰονεὶ πόλις ἔστιν ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων.

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 ὄλα διοικοῦντα θεὸν, εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, δίκαιον τε καὶ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἀρετάς.

15.15.6 | διὸ δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιος ἡμῖν ἔστι. καθ' ὅσον δὲ είρομένω λόγῳ πάντα διοικεῖ ἀπαραβάτως ἐξ ἀιδίου προσονομαζεσθαι εἰμαρμένην· Ἀδράστειαν δὲ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδράσκειν· Πρόνοιαν δ', ὅτι πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον οίκονομεῖ ἔκαστα.

15.15.7 | ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου Κλεάνθει μὲν ἥρεσε τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀστρων ὑπάρχειν, καὶ πλεῖστα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων διοίκησιν, ἡμέραν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ποιοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας.

15.15.8 | τισὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως

humans, and of those who have come into being for these reasons.

15.15.4 | For just as a city is called in two ways—both as the dwelling place and as 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 in leadership and the humans being subject.

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, we should believe that the god who governs all is thoughtful, beneficial, good, and kind to humans, just, and possesses all virtues.

15.15.6 | Therefore, Zeus is called the universe because he is the cause of our living. In terms of reason, everything is governed unchangingly by an eternal fate. “Adrasteia” means that nothing can escape him. “Pronoia” means that he arranges everything for our benefit.

15.15.7 | Cleantes believed that the sun is the leader of the universe because it is the largest of the stars and plays the biggest role in governing everything, creating day, year, and the other seasons.

15.15.8 | Some of the thinkers from that

ἔδοξε γῆν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου. Χρυσίππω δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα τὸν καθαρώτατον καὶ εἱλικρινέστατον, ἄτε πάντων εύκινητότατον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν ὅλην περιάγοντα τοῦ κόσμου φοράν.”

school believed that the earth is the leader of the universe. Chrysippus believed that the aether is the purest and most genuine substance, as 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 Βόηθον ἀντιγραφεῖσιν αὐτῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς τοῦτον ἔχούσας ’τον τρόπον

15.15.9 | Let these points come from the Summary of Areius Didymus. To support the Stoic view about god, it is enough to present the words of Porphyry from the writings he copied for Boethus, which have 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 δὸν πῦρ οἶον τὸ ἡμῖν συνεγνωσμένον, ἀντιλέγειν τε Ἀριστοτέλει, παραιτούμενῳ τὸν αἰθέρα ἐκ πυρὸς λέγειν τοιούτου.

15.16.1 | They do not hesitate to say that god is an eternal, thinking fire, which destroys everything and brings it back again, claiming 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 πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσιν 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 ἥραθυμίαν τε καὶ καταφρόνησιν, τί ἄν τις ἐπιών ἐπὶ πλέον μηκύνοι; ”

15.16.2 | They ask how such a fire can continue to exist, saying that it is not a different kind of fire. By making this claim and believing it, they connect this unreasonable belief to the idea that it is also eternal, asserting 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?

## Section 17

15.17.1 | “Αλλὰ τί δή ἔστι τὸ ὄν; ἂρα ταυτὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ τέτταρα, ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δύο μεταξὺ φύσεις; ἂρα οὖν δὴ τὰ ὄντα ταῦτά ἔστιν, ἥτοι ξυλήβδην ἢ καθ' ἵν γέ τι αὐτῶν; καὶ πῶς, ἐγένετο καὶ γεννητὰ καὶ παλινάγρετα, εἴ γε ἔστιν ὀρᾶν αὐτὰ ἔξ αλλήλων γινόμενα, καὶ ἐπαλλασσόμενα, καὶ μήτε στοιχεῖα ὑπάρχοντα μήτε συλλαβάς;

15.17.1 | But what is being? Are the four elements—earth, fire, and the other two natures—what truly exists? Are these beings considered together or in some way individually? And how can they be both created and destroyed if they can be seen coming from each other, changing, and neither existing as elements nor as combinations?

15.17.2 | σῶμα μὲν ταυτὶ οὔτως οὐκ ἀν εἴη τὸ ὄν. ἀλλ’ ἂρα ταυτὶ μὲν οὐ, ἡ δ’ ὕλη δύναται εἶναι ὄν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον, ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ μένειν. ποταμὸς γάρ ἡ ὕλη ἡρόδης καὶ ὄξυροπος, βάθος καὶ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος ἀόριστος καὶ ἀνήνυτος.”

15.17.2 | A body cannot be what is being in this way. But perhaps matter can be considered as being; however, it is also impossible in every way because of the difficulty of remaining. For matter is like a flowing river, always changing and without a fixed depth, width, or length.

15.17.3 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει Ὦστε καλῶς ὁ λόγος εἴρηκε, φάς, εἰ ἔστιν ἀπειρος ἡ ὕλη, ἀόριστον εἶναι αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ ἀόριστος, ἄλογος· εἰ δὲ ἄλογος, ἄγνωστος. ἄγνωστον δέ γε οὖσαν αὐτήν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἄτακτον· ὡς τεταγμένα γνωσθῆναι πάνυ δήπουθεν ἀν εἴη ἥραδια· τὸ δὲ ἄτακτον οὐχ ἔστηκεν· δι τι δὲ μὴ ἔστηκεν οὐκ ἀν εἴη ὄν.

15.17.3 | 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. Since it is unknown, it must be chaotic; for things that are organized can certainly be known from somewhere. But what is chaotic does not remain still, and whatever does not remain still cannot be said to be being.

15.17.4 | τοῦτο δὲ ἡνὸν ὅπερ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὡμολογησάμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ταυτὶ πάντα συνενεχθῆναι τῷ ὄντι ἀθέμιστον εἶναι. δοξάτω μάλιστα μὲν πᾶσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ’ ἐμοί. οὐκοῦν φημὶ τὴν ὕλην οὕτε αὐτήν οὔτε τὰ σώματα εἶναι ὄν.

15.17.4 | This is what we agreed upon earlier: that all these things combined with being are unchangeable. Let everyone believe this, but if not, then let it be my belief. Therefore, I say that neither matter itself nor the bodies are being.

15.17.5 | τί οὖν δή; ἡ ἔχομεν παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ὅλων; ναί· τοῦτο οὐδὲν είπεῖν ποικίλον, εἰ τόδε

15.17.5 | What then? Do we have anything else in the nature of all things besides these? Yes, this is not difficult to say, if we

πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄμα  
πειραθείημεν διαλεγόμενοι.

15.17.6 | ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ σώματά ἔστι φύσει  
τεθνηκότα καὶ νεκρὰ καὶ πεφορημένα καὶ  
οὐδ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, ἀρ' οὐχὶ τοῦ  
καθέξοντος αὐτοῖς δεῖ; παντὸς μᾶλλον.

15.17.7 | εἰ μὴ τύχοι δὲ τούτου, ἄρα  
μείνειεν ἄν; παντὸς ἥττον. τί οὖν ἔστι τὸ  
κατασχῆσον; εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἴη σῶμα,  
Διός σωτῆρος δοκεῖ ἀν ἐμοὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτὸ<sup>ν</sup>  
παραλυόμενον καὶ σκιδνάμενον.

15.17.8 | εἰ μέντοι χρὴ αὐτὸ 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  
δίκαιον ἐφάνη πρεσβεῦσαι τὸ ἀσώματον.”

first try to discuss it among ourselves.

15.17.6 | Since the bodies are by nature  
dead, lifeless, in motion, and not staying in  
the same place, shouldn't they 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  
protect those that are burdened 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  
for the incorporeal.

## Section 18

15.18.1 | Ἀρέσκει δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις  
τῶν ἀπὸ β τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης  
ἔξαιθεροῦσθαι πάντα, κατὰ περιόδους  
τινὰς τὰς μεγίστας εἰς πῦρ αἱθερῶδες  
ἀναλυομένων πάντων. Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπάγει

15.18.2 | “Ἐκ τούτων δὲ δῆλον ὅτι  
Χρύσιππος ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὐ ταύτην

15.18.1 | It pleases the elders that  
everything from this choice be lifted up, at  
certain times, into the fiery ether where all  
things are dissolved. And then it continues.

15.18.2 | From these things, it is clear that  
Chrysippus did not include this confusion

παρείληφε τὴν σύγχυσιν· ἀδύνατον γάρ· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀντὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς λεγομένην. οὐ γάρ 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 ἔκπυρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολῆς χρῶνται τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῆς φθορᾶς.

15.18.3 | ἀρέσκει γὰρ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν εἰς πῦρ μεταβάλλειν, οἷον είς σπέρμα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτου αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν διακόσμησιν, οὕτα τὸ πρότερον ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως οὗ πρῶτοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι προσήκαντο, Ζήνων τε καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Χρύσιππος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τούτου μαθητὴν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς σχολῆς Ζήνωνά φασιν ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῆς ἔκπυρώσεως τῶν ὅλων.”

## Section 19

15.19.1 | “Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ προελθὼν ὁ κοινὸς λόγος, καὶ κοινὴ φύσις μείζων καὶ πλείων γενομένη τέλος ἀναξηράνασσα πάντα καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἐν τῇ πάσῃ οὐσίᾳ γίνεται, ἐπανελθοῦσα εἰς τὸν πρῶτον ὥρθεντα λόγον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐκείνην τὴν ποιοῦσαν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν μέγιστον, καθ' ὃν ἀπ' αὐτῆς μόνης εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν γίνεται ἡ ἀποκατάστασις.

15.19.2 | ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ διὰ τάξιν, ἀφ' οἵας διακοσμεῖν ὠσαύτως ἥρξατο, κατὰ λόγον πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν διεξαγωγὴν ποιεῖται, τῶν τοιούτων περιόδων ἐξ ἀδίον

about essence; it is impossible. Instead, he spoke of change. For those who mainly accept the decay that happens during the greatest cycles of the cosmos do not consider the decay they call “purification by fire.” Instead, they use the term “decay” in place of natural change.

15.18.3 | For the Stoic philosophers, it is pleasing to transform the whole essence into fire, like turning it into a seed, and then to form the arrangement from this, as it was before. This teaching was first and mainly brought forth by the elders of this school: Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. They say that Zeno, the student and successor of this school, held views about the purification of all things.

15.19.1 | When common reason has advanced to such an extent, and 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 solely from it back to itself.

15.19.2 | Returning in order, it begins to arrange things in the same way as before. According to reason, it makes the same process happen again, with such cycles

γινομένων ἀκαταπαύστως. οὕτε γάρ τῆς ἀρχῆς αἴτιαν καὶ πᾶσιν οἶν τε γίνεσθαι οὕτε τοῦ διοικοῦντος αὐτά.

15.19.3 | ούσίαν τε γάρ τοῖς γινομένοις ὑφεστάναι δεῖ, πεφυκυῖαν ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς πάσας, καὶ τὸ δημιουργῆσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. οἴα γάρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τίς ἔστι φύσις δημιουργοῦσα, τοιούτου τινὸς κατ' ἀνάγκην ὄντος καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀγεννήτου· γενέσεως γάρ ἀρχὴν οὐχ οἶν τε εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ταύτης. ὃν τρόπον δ' ἀγέννητός ἔστι καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν αὐτὴν, οὕτε αὐτῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς οὕτε ἔξωθέν τινος ἀναιρήσοντος αὐτήν.”

being formed endlessly from eternity. For there is neither a cause for the beginning, nor is it possible for all things to be arranged.

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. What kind of nature is there in us that creates, being something necessary and not born in the world? 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 ὃ μεθίσιν ἄνθρωπος πνεῦμα μεθ' ὑγροῦ, ψυχῆς μέρος καὶ ἀπόσπασμα, καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ τῶν προγόνων κέρασμα καὶ μίγμα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνεληλυθός· ἔχον γάρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ὅλῳ 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' ἔκείνου, προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ εἰς τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ αὔξανον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ.”

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, 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 αἱσθησιν, ἥ ἀναθυμίασιν,

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

καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος. βουλόμενος γὰρ ἔμφανίσαι 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.’

soul as sensation or as a kind of vapor, just like Heraclitus. 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 moist things.’

15.20.3 | ἀναθυμίασιν μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποφαίνει Ζήνων, αἰσθητικὴν δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι τυποῦσθαί γε δύναται τὸ μέρος τὸ ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων 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 also says it is sensory because it can be shaped by the part of itself that is seen as real and existing through the senses and can receive impressions. For these things are characteristic of the soul.

15.20.4 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερα ‘Εἶναι δὲ ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ φασὶν, ὃ καλοῦσιν αἱθέρα, καὶ ἀέρα κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀναθυμιάσεις· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ψυχὰς προσπεψυκέναι ταύτῃ, ὅσαι τε ἐν ζῷοις είσὶ καὶ ὅσαι ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι· διαμένειν γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων ψυχάς.

15.20.4 | And in addition to other things, they say that the soul is in the whole, which they call ether, and in the air that surrounds the earth and sea, and from these come vapors. The other souls are connected 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 ὅλου ἀΐδιον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς συμμίγνυσθαι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ ἐκείνην. ἔχειν δὲ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικόν τι ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃ δὴ ζωὴ καὶ αἴσθησίς ἔστι καὶ δρμή·”

15.20.5 | Some say that the soul of the whole is eternal, while the other souls mix together at their end. Each soul has something guiding within it, which is indeed life, sensation, and impulse.

15.20.6 | Καὶ ἔτι μετ’ ὄλιγα “Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν γεννητήν τε καὶ φθαρτήν λέγουσιν οὐκ εὔθὺς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμένειν τινὰς χρόνους καθ’ ἐαυτήν· τὴν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων μέχρι τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων, τὴν δὲ

15.20.6 | And 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 by itself for some time. The soul of the serious lasts until everything is dissolved into fire,

τῶν ἀφρόνων πρὸς ποσούς τινας χρόνους.

while the soul of the foolish lasts for a certain period.

15.20.7 | τὸ δὲ διαμένειν τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω λέγουσιν, ὅτι διαμένομεν ἡμεῖς ψυχαὶ γινόμενοι τοῦ σώματος χωρισθέντος καὶ εἰς ἐλάττω μεταβαλόντος ούσιαν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ ἀλόγων ζῷων ψυχὰς συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς σώμασι.”

15.20.7 | They say that the souls remain in this way: we souls continue to exist after being separated from the body and changing into a lesser essence. However, the souls of foolish and irrational animals are completely destroyed along with their bodies.

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

15.20.8 | These are the teachings of Stoic philosophy, gathered from the summaries of Areius Didymus. As for the strange beliefs of people about the soul, what Longinus has briefly argued against us is sufficient.

## Section 21

15.21.1 | "Συνελόντι δ' εἴπειν, πόρρω μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀφεστηκέναι τοῦ τὰ δέοντα λογίζεσθαι πάντες ἔφεξῆς ὥπόσοι τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα ἀπίφήναντο. πῶς γὰρ ὅλως ἐγχωρεῖ παραπλήσιον εἶναί 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' οὖν πόρρωθεν ἰδεῖν ἔνι τὴν τῶν στοιχείων αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα τῶν πρώτων ἀφορμήν. τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἵχνος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τεκμήριον ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὑρίσκεται, κἄν εἰ φιλοτιμοῦτό τις, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἀπαντά λίθον κινεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐρευνᾶν δύναμιν σώματος εἰς γένεσιν τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς πράξεων.

15.21.1 | When I come together to speak, it seems to me that everyone who has separated the soul from the body has strayed far from thinking about what is truly necessary. For how can it make sense to say that something similar to the elements exists in relation to the soul? And where can one discuss the mixtures and combinations? These mixtures, occurring in many ways, have produced countless forms of bodies, in which, even if not continuously, one can see from a distance the cause of the elements and their connection to the second and third of the first things. However, there is no trace or evidence of the soul found in the bodies, even if someone tries hard, like Epicurus and Chrysippus, to move every stone and investigate all the powers of the body in

order to explain the actions related to the soul.

15.21.2 | τί γάρ ή τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῖν λεπτότης πρὸ ἔργου γένοιτ' ἀν εἰς φαντασίας καὶ λογισμούς; τί δέ; τῶν ἀτόμων σχῆμα τοσαύτην παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ τροπὴν, ὥστε φρόνησιν γεννᾶν, ὅταν εἰς ἐτέρου πλάσιν ἐγκαταμιχθῇ σώματος; οἴμαι μὲν ὡς οὐδ' εἰ τῶν Ἡφαίστου τις ὁν τύχοι τριπόδων καὶ θεραπαινῶν, (ὧν φησιν Ὄμηρος τοὺς μὲν αὐτομάτους εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα δι' αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνεργάζεσθαι τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ μηδενὸς οἶων οἱ ζῶντες ἔχουσι πλεονεκτημάτων ἀπολείπεσθαι) μή τί γε δὴ τῶν ἔκ ταύτομάτου ψηγμάτων, καὶ αὖτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αἴγιαλῶν προσέοικε λίθοις, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι τι περιττότερον ποιεῖν πρὸς αἴσθησιν.

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 others, that it can generate thought when mixed into the form of another body? I believe that even if someone were 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 another), would it not be that some of these automatic movements, and those resembling stones on the shores, could do something extra in relation to perception?

15.21.3 | Ζήνωνι μὲν γάρ καὶ Κλεάνθει νεμεσήσειέ τις ἀν δικαίως οὕτω σφόδρα ὑβριστικῶς περὶ αὐτῆς διαλεχθεῖσι καὶ ταύτὸν ἄμφω τοῦ στερεοῦ σώματος εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναθυμίασιν φήσασι. τί γάρ, ω πρὸς θεῶν, κοινὸν ὅλως ἀναθυμιάσει καὶ ψυχῇ; ποῦ δὲ ἐγχωρεῖ νομίσαντας τούτῳ προσεοικέναι τὴν θ' ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων οὔσιαν, τοῦτο μὲν φαντασίας καὶ μνήμας οἶους τε εἶναι σώζειν διαρκεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ ὄρμάς καὶ βουλήσεις τῶν λυσιτελούντων εἰς σύνεσιν αραγμάτων; ή τάρα καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸν διὰ πάντων παρήκοντα ὄμοιώς ἐπιγείων τε καὶ οὐρανίων εἰς ἀναθυμίασιν καὶ καπνὸν καὶ τοιαύτην φλυαρίαν καταθήσομεν, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς αἰσχυνόμεθα, οἱ καίπερ ἀκριβῆ σύνεσιν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅμως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν

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? 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 earthly and heavenly beings? 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

άνθρωπων, τὰ δὲ ἔξ ἐπιπνοίας τῶν Μουσῶν, ἡ κινεῖν Αύτοὺς ἐπὶ ταπυτα πέφυκε, σεμνότερα εἰρήκασιπερὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναθυμιάσεις, οὐδὲ ἀέρας, οὐδὲ πνεύματα καὶ λήρους;” Ταῦτά σοι καὶ ὁ Λογγπινος. ἐπάκουουσον δὲ καὶ Πλωτίνου τὰ τοιάδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποτεινομένου

humans and others from the inspiration of the Muses, which naturally moves them to speak? 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, ἡ φθείρεται πᾶς, ἡ φθείρεται πᾶς, ἡ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἄπεισιν εἰς σκέδασιν καὶ φθορὰν, τὰ δὲ μένει εἰσαεὶ ἄπεισιν εἰς σκέδασιν καὶ φθορὰν, τὰ δὲ μένει εἰσαεὶ 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 always remain 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 ἀν εἴη ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ σῶμα· εἴτ' οὖν ὡς ὄργανον ἡμῖν, εἴτε ἔτερον τρόπον προσηρτημένον, ἀλλ' οὖν διηρήσθω γε ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐκατέρου τὴν φύσιν τε καὶ οὐσίαν καταθεατέον.

15.22.2 | “A person is certainly not simple; 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 αὐτὸ συγκείμενον, οὔτε παρὰ τοῦ λόγου δύναται μένειν, ἡ τε αἴσθησις ὄρᾳ λυόμενόν τε καὶ τηκόμενον καὶ παντοίους ὄλέθρους δεχόμενον, ἐκάστου γε τῶν ἐνόντων πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ φερομένου, φθείροντός τε ἄλλου ἔτερον καὶ μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ἄλλο καὶ ἀπολλύντος, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ψυχὴ ἡ φίλα ποιοῦσα μὴ παρῇ τοῖς ὄγκοις.

15.22.3 | “The body, being made up of parts, cannot remain unchanged according to reason. Sensation observes it breaking down, melting away, and experiencing all kinds of destruction, as each part is affected by what comes 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 whole.”

15.22.4 | κἄν μονωθῇ δὲ ἔκαστον γινόμενον, ἐν οὐκ ἔστι, λύσιν δεχόμενον εἴς

15.22.4 | “When each part is isolated, it is no longer one, as it undergoes destruction

τε μορφὴν καὶ ὅλην, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ  
ἀπλᾶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς συστάσεις ἔχειν.  
Καὶ μέγεθος ἔχοντα, ἄτε σώματα ὄντα,  
τεμνόμενά τε καὶ εἰς μικρὰ θραυσμένα, καὶ  
ταύτη φθορὰν ἂν ύπομένοι.

in both form and matter, which is necessary for the simple bodies to have their compositions. Since they have size, being bodies, they can be cut and broken into small pieces, and in this way, they would face 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  
ἄνθρωπος εἴη ἡνὶ ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ὡς  
πρὸς ὅλην τὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἴη ἡνὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸ  
εἶδος ὡς πρὸς ὅλην τὸ σῶμα, ἡ κατὰ τὸ  
χρώμενον ὡς πρὸς ὅργανον. 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 related to matter as a whole, or related to matter as the body, or related to the instrument as it is used. In both cases, the soul remains 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, since 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 a different 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 ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης, ἀνάγκη τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τὴν  
ψυχὴν, εἰ μὲν ἐκ δύο σωμάτων ἡ πλειόνων  
εἴη, ἢτοι ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν, ἡ ἔκαστον ζωὴν  
σύμφυτον ἔχειν· ἡ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ μὴ, ἡ  
μηδέτερον ἔχειν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ αὐτῶν  
προσείη τὸ ζῆν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη ψυχή.

15.22.7 | “Since life is necessarily present in the soul, this body must have a soul. If it is made of two bodies or more, then each of them must either share 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 οὖν εἴη σῶμα, ζωὴν παρ'

15.22.8 | “What then could a body be that

αὐτοῦ ἔχον; πῦρ γὰρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ ἄψυχα παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτῳ πάρεστι τούτων ψυχὴ, τοῦτο ἐπακτῷ κέχρηται ζωὴ, ἀλλα 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.

has life from itself? For fire, air, water, and earth are lifeless on their own. And whatever of these has a soul is added to life; but other bodies besides these do not exist. Those that are thought to be elements are different 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 odd."

15.22.9 | εἰ δὲ ἔκαστον ζωὴν ἔχει, καὶ ἐν ἀρκεῖ· 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 τάξιν καὶ τὸ τῆς κράσεως αἴτιον· ὥστε 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 happened by chance. Therefore, there must be order and a cause for the mixture; thus, this would imply an order of the soul."

15.22.10 | οὐ γὰρ ὅτι σύνθετον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπλοῦν ἀν εἴη σῶμα ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀνευ ψυχῆς οὕσης ἐν τῷ παντὶ, εἴπερ λόγος προσελθὼν τῇ ὅλῃ σῶμα ποιεῖ, οὐδαμόθεν δ' ἀν προσέλθοι λόγος ἢ 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 create a body, then that reason could not come from anywhere except from the soul."

15.22.11 | "Εἰ δέ τις μὴ οὗτως, ἀλλὰ ἀτόμους ἢ ἀμερῆ συνελθόντα ψυχὴν ποιεῖν λέγοι, τῇ ἐνώσει καὶ ὁμοιοπαθείᾳ ἐλέγχοιτ' ἀν καὶ τῇ παραθέσει· μὴ δ' ὅλου, οὐ γινομένου ἐνὸς, οὐδὲ συμπαθοῦς ἐξ ἀπαθῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐνοῦσθαι δυναμένων σωμάτων· ψυχὴ δὲ ἐαυτῇ συμπαθής· ἐκ δὲ ἀμερῶν σῶμα οὐδὲ μέγεθος ἀν γένοιτο.

15.22.11 | "If someone claims that atoms or parts come together to create a soul, they could be challenged by the ideas of connection and similarity, as well as by the arrangement. It cannot happen through the whole, nor from one thing becoming, nor from the feelings of the unfeeling, and not from bodies that cannot unite. The soul, however, is sympathetic to itself. And from parts, a body or size could not come to be."

15.22.12 | καὶ μὴν εἰ ἀπλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ

15.22.12 | "And indeed, if the body is

σώματος, τὸ μὲν ὅσον ὑλικὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωὴν ἔχειν οὐ φήσουσιν· ὑλὴ γὰρ ἄποιον) τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τεταγμένον ἐπιφέρειν τὴν ζωὴν· εἰ μὲν ούσιαν φήσουσι τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο εἶναι, οὐ τὸ συναμφότερον, θάτερον δὲ τούτων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστ' αὖ σῶμα, οὐ γὰρ ἔξ ὑλῆς καὶ αὐτὸ, ἢ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀναλύσομεν.

simple, they will not claim that the material part has life by itself, for matter is unformed. Rather, it is the form that 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 would break it down in the same way once more."

15.22.13 | εἰ δὲ πάθημα τῆς ὑλῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ούσιαν φήσουσιν εἶναι, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ εἰς τὴν ὑλὴν ἐλήλυθε λεκτέον αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ ὑλὴ ἐσυτὴν μορφοῖ, ούδε ἐσυτῇ ψυχὴν ἐντίθησι. δεῖ ἀρα τι εἶναι τὸ χορηγὸν ζωῆς, εἴτε τῇ ὑλῇ ἡ χορηγία, εἴθ' ὀτωρὸν τῶν σωμάτων, ἔξω ὃν καὶ ἐπέκεινα σωματικῆς φύσεως, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη σῶμα οὐδὲν ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ οὕσης.

15.22.13 | "But if they say that the suffering of matter is not essence, then they must explain 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 itself or something from outside and beyond the nature of bodies, since there would not be any body at all without the presence of a soul's power."

15.22.14 | ἢε γὰρ, καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις, καὶ ἀπόλοιτ' ἀν ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ πάντα σώματα εἴη, καν εἰ ὄνομα ἐνὶ αὐτῶν ψυχὴν τις θεῖτο. τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἀν πάθοι τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν, ὑλῆς μιᾶς οὕσης αὐτοῖς. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ στήσεται ἐν ὑλῇ τὰ πάντα, μὴ ὄντος τοῦ μορφοῦντος αὐτῆν.

15.22.14 | "For it flows, and its nature is in its form, and it would perish as quickly as possible if all bodies were the same, even if someone placed a soul within them. They would suffer the same things as the other bodies, since they share the same matter. Moreover, it would not even come to be; instead, everything would remain in matter, without something to shape it."

15.22.15 | τάχα δ' ἀν οὐδὲν ἡ ὑλὴ τὸ παράπαν εἴη. λυθήσεται δὲ καὶ τόδε τὸ ξύμπαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸ πιστεύσει σώματος συνέρξει, διδοὺς αὐτῷ ψυχῆς τάξιν, μέχρι τῶν ὄνομάτων, ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι σκεδαστοτάτῳ, καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ εἶναι ἔχοντι οὐ παρ' αὐτοῦ. πῶς γὰρ τεμνομένων τῶν

15.22.15 | "Perhaps matter would not even exist at all. 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

πάντων σωμάτων ὡτινιοῦν τις ἀνατιθεὶς  
τόδε τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἀνόητόν τε καὶ  
γφερόμενον είκῇ ποιήσει;

someone, while cutting up all bodies, place  
this whole thing in a way that is not foolish  
and does not happen randomly?"

15.22.16 | τίς γὰρ τάξις ἐν πνεύματι  
δεομένῳ παρὰ ψυχῆς τάξεως, ἢ λόγος, ἢ  
νοῦς; ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς μὲν οὕσης ὑπουργὰ  
ταῦτα πάντα αὐτῇ εἰς ρίζουστασιν καὶ  
ζῷου ἐκάστου, ἄλληςπαρ' ἄλλου δυνάμεως  
εἰς τὸ δόλον συντελούστης, ταύτης δὲ μὴ  
παρούσης ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη ταῦτα,  
οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τάξει."

15.22.16 | "For what kind of order exists in  
a spirit that needs a rank from a soul, or in  
reason, or in mind? But all these things help  
the soul's existence for the structure and  
life of each living thing, coming together  
from different powers into a whole. And  
without this presence in all things, none of  
these would exist, not even in an orderly  
way."

15.22.17 | "Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ<sup>τῆς</sup> ἀληθείας ἀγόμενοι ὡς δεῖ τι πρὸ τῶν  
σωμάτων εἶναι κρείττον αύτῶν ψυχῆς  
εἶδος, ἔννουν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πῦρ νοερὸν  
τιθέμενοι, ὥσπερ ἄνευ πυρὸς ἢ πνεύματος  
οὐ δυναμένης τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἐν  
τοῖς οὖσιν εἶναι, τόπον δὲ ζητούσης εἰς τὸ  
ἰδρυθῆναι, δέοντας ζητεῖν ὅπου τὰ σώματα  
ἰδρύσουσιν, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ ταῦτα ἐν ψυχῆς  
δυνάμεσιν ιδρῦσθαι.

15.22.17 | "They themselves testify, being  
guided by the truth, that there must be  
something greater than bodies, which is the  
form of the soul, considering 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 look for  
where bodies are formed, since these must  
be established in the powers of the soul."

15.22.18 | εἰ δὲ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν  
ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τίθενται, τὸ δὲ  
πολυθρύλητον αύτοῖς πῶς ἔχει, εἰς ὃ  
καταφεύγουσιν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι τίθεσθαι  
ἄλλην παρὰ τὰ σώματα φύσιν δραστήριον;  
εἴ οὖν οὐ πᾶν μὲν πνεῦμα ψυχὴ, ὅτι μυρία  
πνεύματα ἄψυχα, τὸ δέ πως ἔχον πνεῦμα  
φήσουσι· τό 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 can the  
many-sounding thing be true for them, into  
which they escape, being forced to consider  
another active nature besides bodies?  
Therefore, if not every spirit is a soul, since  
there are countless lifeless spirits, then  
they will somehow claim that there is a  
spirit. How does this spirit exist, and what  
about this relationship? Will they say  
something about beings, or nothing at all?"

15.22.19 | ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μηδὲν, πνεῦμα ἀν εἴη

15.22.19 | "But if there is nothing, then

μόνον, τὸ δέ πως ἔχον ὄνομα· καὶ οὕτω συμβῆσεται αὐτοῖς ούδε ἄλλο ούδεν εἶναι λέγειν ἡ 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, ἀνθλον δὲ αὐτὸ τῷ μὴ πάλιν αὖ συγκεῖσθαι ἐξ ὕλης, λόγος ἀν εἴη τις, καὶ οὐ σῶμα, καὶ φύσις ἐτέρα

spirit would be only that, and somehow it would have a name; and so they would say nothing else but matter. Everything, including soul and god, would be just that. But if there is a relationship among beings, and something else besides the underlying thing and matter, then it would exist in matter, but it would not be formed again from matter. There would be some reason, not a body, and a different nature."

15.22.20 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ούχ ἡττον φαίνεται ἀδύνατον ὃν τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι σῶμα ὀτιοῦν. ἡ γὰρ θερμόν ἐστιν ἡ ψυχρὸν, ἡ σκληρὸν ἡ μαλακὸν, ὑγρόν τε ἡ πεπηγὸς, μέλαν τε ἡ λευκὸν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ποιότητες σωμάτων ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλοις. καὶ εἰ μὲν θερμὸν, μόνον θερμανεῖ, ψυχρὸν δὲ μονον ψύξει, καὶ κοῦφα ποιήσει τὸ κουφόν προσγενόμενον καὶ παρὸν, καὶ βαρυνεῖ τὸ βαρὺ, καὶ μελανεῖ τὸ μέλαν, καὶ τὸ λευκὸν λευκὸν ποιήσει.

15.22.20 | "Moreover, it seems impossible for the soul to be any kind of body. For it is either hot or cold, either hard or soft, either wet or dry, black or white, and all the other qualities of bodies vary in different things. If it is hot, it will only heat; if it is cold, it will only cool. It will make a light thing lighter and a heavy thing heavier, and it will make a black thing black and a white thing white."

15.22.21 | οὐ γὰρ πυρὸς τὸ ψύχειν, ούδε τοῦ ψυχροῦ θερμὰ ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' ἡ γε ψυχὴ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν ζῷοις ἄλλα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐναντία, τὰ μὲν πηγνῦσα, τὰ δὲ χέουσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πυκνὰ, τὰ δὲ ἀραιὰ, μέλανα, λευκὰ, κοῦφα, βαρέα· καίτοι ἐν ἑδει ποιεῖν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ποιότητά τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ χρόαν, νῦν δὲ πολλά."

15.22.21 | "For it is not fire that cools, nor does cold make things hot. But the soul, in different 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 and white, light and heavy. Yet it should only do one thing based on 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, ούδε θῶς μὲν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐ σώματος ἡ

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 does not belong to the body, nor does the movement of the

προαίρεσις, ούδέ οἱ λόγοι διάφοροί γε ὁ ντες, ἐνὸς οντος καὶ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ τοιούτου γε λόγου, ἢ ὃσος δέδοται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος θερμὸν αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχρὸν εἶναι.

15.22.23 | τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν χρόνοις αὖξειν, καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου μέτρου, πόθεν ἀν τῷ σώματι αὐτῷ γένοιτο; ᾧ προσήκει μὲν αὖξεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀμοίρω τοῦ αὖξειν εἶναι, ἢ ὃσον παραληφθείη ἀν ἐν ὑλῆς ὅγκῳ ὑπηρετοῦν τῷ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν αὖξην ἔργαζομένῳ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμα οὕσα αὖξοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὴν αὖξεσθαι. προσθήκῃ δηλονότι ὁμοίου σώματος. εἰ μέλλει εἴς ἵσον ιέναι τῷ αὖξομένῳ ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔσται τὸ προστιθέμενον, ἢ ἄψυχον σῶμα.

15.22.24 | καὶ εἰ μὲν ψυχὴ, πόθεν καὶ πῶς εἰσιούσης καὶ πῶς προστιθεμένης; εἰ δὲ ἄψυχον τὸ προστιθέμενον, πῶς τοῦτο ψυχώσεται καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ὁμογνωμονήσει καὶ ἐν ἔσται καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοξῶν τῇ πρώτῳ μεταλήψεται; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ξένη ψυχὴ αὐτῇ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἔσται ὃν ἡ ἐτερα οἶδε· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἄλλος ὅγκος ἡμῶν τὸ μέν τι ἀπορρεύσεται αὐτοῦ, τὸ δέ τι προσελεύσεται, ούδεν δὲ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό;

15.22.25 | πῶς οὺν ἡμῖν αἱ μνῆμαι; πῶς δὲ ἡ γνῶσις οίκείων, ούδέποτε τῇ αὐτῇ ψυχῇ χρωμένων; καὶ μήν εἰ σῶμά ἔστι, φύσις δὲ σώματος μεριζόμενον εἰς πλείω, ἔκαστον μὴ τὸ αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν μερῶν τῷ ὅλῳ· εἰ τοσόνδε μέ· γεθος ψυχὴ, δὲ ἀν ἔλαττον ἦ, ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔσται, ὥσπερ πᾶν ποσὸν

body. The reasons are not different, as they are 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 | "But how can it grow over time, and to such an extent? From where would this growth come to the body itself? It should grow in a way that is fitting for 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 happening 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 because of it. And either the soul will be what is added, or it will be a lifeless body."

15.22.24 | "And if it is a soul, from where and how would it enter, 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, becoming one and sharing the same qualities as the first? It will not be like a foreign soul that is unaware of what the other knows. Just as with our other mass, some of it will flow away, and some will come to it, yet nothing will be the same?"

15.22.25 | "How then do we have memories? And how does knowledge of familiar things occur 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, then each part is not the same as the whole. If the soul is so much less, then it

άφαιρέσει τοῦ εἶναι τὸ πρόσθεν ἡλλάξατο.

will not be a soul, just as any amount taken away from being will change what was there before."

15.22.26 | εἰ δέ τι τῶν μέγεθος ἔχόντων τὸν  
ὅγκον ἐλαττωθὲν τῇ ποιότητι ταύτὸν  
μένοι, ἢ μὲν σῶμα, ἔτερόν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ  
ποσὸν, τῇ δὲ ποιότητι ἑτέρᾳ 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. In terms of quantity, it cannot maintain 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 ἐστὶ<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ ἡ ὅλη; καὶ πάλιν τοῦ μέρους τὸ μέρος;

15.22.27 | "What will those who say that the soul is a body argue? First, regarding each part of the soul that is in the same body: is each part a soul, and how does it compare to the whole? And again, is a part of a part?"

15.22.28 | ούδὲν 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 add to its essence; (and yet, it should, since it is a matter of quantity). The whole cannot be present in many ways in a body while being the same whole in more than one instance. And a part cannot exist as the whole."

15.22.29 | εἰ δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν οὐ  
ψυχὴν φήσουσιν, ἔξ αψύχων ψυχὴ αὐτοῖς  
ὑπάρξει. καὶ προσέτι, εἰ ψυχῆς ἐκάστης τὸ  
μέγεθος ὠρισμένον ἔσται ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, ἢ  
ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλαττόν γε, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, ψυχὴ οὐκ  
ἔσται.

15.22.29 | "But if they do not claim that each part is a soul, then a soul will come from lifeless things for them. Furthermore, if each soul has a specific size for each part, whether smaller or larger, then there will be no soul."

15.22.30 | ὅταν τοίνυν ἐκ συνόδου μιᾶς καὶ  
ἐνὸς σπέρματος δίδυμα γένηται γεννήματα,  
ἢ καὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῷοις, πλεῖστα,  
τοῦ σπέρματος είς πολλοὺς τόπους

15.22.30 | "When twins are born from a single seed, or even when many offspring come from the seed being divided in different places, where each one is a whole,

μεριζομένου, οὗ δὴ ὅλον ἔκαστόν ἐστι, πῶς  
οὐ διδάσκει τοῦτο τοὺς βουλομένους  
μανθάνειν ὡς ὅπου τὸ μέρος ταύτον ἐστι  
τῷ ὅλῳ, τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐσίᾳ τὸ ποσὸν  
εἶναι ὑπερβέβηκεν, ἀποσον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔξ  
ἀνάγκης; οὕτω γὰρ ἀν μένοι τὸ αὐτὸν, τοῦ  
ποσοῦ κλεπτομένου, ἄτε μὴ μέλον αὐτῷ  
ποσότητος καὶ ὅγκου, ὡς ἀν τῆς οὐσίας  
αὐτοῦ ἔτερόν τι οὕσης. ἀποσον ἄρα ή ψυχὴ  
καὶ οἱ λόγοι.”

15.22.31 | “Οτι δὲ εί σῶμα εἴη ή ψυχὴ, οὕτε  
τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὕτε τὸ νοεῖν, οὕτε τὸ  
ἐπίστασθαι, οὕτε ἀρεταὶ ταὶ οὕτετιῶν  
καλῶν ἐσται, ἐκ τῶν δεδῆλον. 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 ἥινδος, ἄλλο δὲ  
όφθαλμοῦ, ἄλλὰ ταυτὸν δόμοῦ πάντων. καὶ  
εἰ τὸ μὲν δι’ ὄμμάτων, τὸ δὲ δι’ ἀκοῆς, ἐν τι  
δεῖ εἶναι εἰς ὁ ἄμφω· ἢ πῶς ἀν εἴποι ὅτι  
ἔτερα ταῦτα, μὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν δόμον τῶν  
αἰσθημάτων ἐλθόντων; δεῖ τοίνυν τοῦτο  
ῶσπερ κέντρον εἶναι, γραμμὰς δὲ  
συμβαλλούσας ἐκ περιφερείας κύκλου, τὰς  
πανταχόθεν αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τοῦτο  
περαίνειν, καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ  
ἀντιλαμβανόμενον εἶναι ἐν ὄντως.

15.22.33 | εἰ δὲ διεστῶς τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ  
οἷον γραμμῆς ἐπὶ ἄμφω τὰ πέρατα αἱ  
σύσθήσεις προσβάλλοιεν, ἢ συνδραμεῖται  
εἰς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν πάλιν, οἷον τὸ μέσον ἢ

how does this not teach those who want to learn that where the part is the same as the whole, it has exceeded the amount in its essence and must necessarily be separate? For in this way, it would remain the same, with the amount being taken away, 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 no sensing, thinking, knowing, or any of the good qualities of things, as is clear from this. If something is going to be sensed, it must be one and the same in every way. And if there are many senses for many things, or many qualities surrounding one thing, even if it is through one, like a face.”

15.22.32 | “For there is nothing different about the nose and nothing different about the eye; they are the same in every way. If one sense is through the eyes and the other through hearing, there must be something they both connect to. How could one say that these are different if they do not come together in the same sense? Therefore, this must be like a center, with lines coming together from the edge of a circle, bringing all the senses together toward this point, and that which understands must truly be one.”

15.22.33 | “But if this were separated, like a line where the senses touch both ends, or if they come together into one and the same thing again, like the middle or something

ἄλλο· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρου  
αἴσθησιν ἔξει, ὡσπερ ἀν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλου,  
σὺ δὲ ἄλλου αἴσθοιο.

15.22.34 | καὶ εἰ ἐν εἴη τὸ αἴσθημα, οἶν  
πρόσωπον, εἰς ἓν συναιρεθήσεται, ὅπερ καὶ  
φαίνεται· συναιρεῖται γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς  
ταῖς κόραις· (ἡ πῶς ἀν τὰ μέγιστα διὰ  
ταύταιν ὥρῳ;) ὥστε ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ  
ἡγεμονοῦν ἴοντα οἶν ἀμερῆ νοήματα  
γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἔσται ἀμερὲς τοῦτο, ἢ μεγέθει  
ὄντι τούτῳ συμμερίζοιτο ἀν, ὥστε ἄλλον  
ἄλλου μέρους καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ὅλου τοῦ  
αἴσθητοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἴσχειν.

15.22.35 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἔστι τὸ πᾶν· πῶς  
γὰρ ἀν καὶ διαιροῖτο; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἵσον τῷ  
ἴσῳ ἐφαρμόσει, ὅτι οὐκ ἵσον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν  
παντὶ αἴσθητῷ. κατὰ πηλίκα οὖν ἡ  
διαιρεσις; ἢ εἰς τοσαῦτα διαιρεθήσεται,  
καθ' ὅσον ἀν ἀριθμοῦ ἔχῃ εἰς ποικιλίαν τὸ  
εἰσιὸν αἴσθημα;

15.22.36 | καὶ ἔκαστον δὴ ἔκείνων τῶν  
μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἄρα καὶ τοῖς μορίοις  
αὐτοῦ αἴσθησεται. ἡ ἀναίσθητα τὰ μέρη  
τῶν μορίων ἔσται; ἀλλὰ ἀδύνατον. εἰ δὲ  
ὅτιοῦν παντὸς αἴσθησεται, εἰς ἄπειρα  
διαιρεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγέθους πεφυκότος,  
ἀπείρους καὶ αἴσθησεις καθ' ἔκαστον  
αἴσθητὸν συμβήσεται γίγνεσθαι ἐκάστῳ,  
οἶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπείρους ἐν τῷ  
ἡγεμονοῦντι ἡμῶν εἰκόνας.

15.22.37 | καὶ μὴν σώματος ὄντος τοῦ  
αἴσθανομένου, οὐκ ἀν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ γένοιτο  
τὸ αἴσθανεσθαι ἢ οἶν ἐν κηρῷ

else, then each would have a different sense  
for each. It would be as if I were sensing  
one thing while you were sensing another."

15.22.34 | "And if the sense were one, like a  
face, it would come together as one, which  
is also clear; for it comes together even in  
those features. (How could we see the  
greatest things through these?) So it would  
become even more like a guiding thought,  
like separate ideas. This would be separate,  
or if it were a certain size, it would share  
with another, meaning one would have one  
part, and none of us would hold the  
complete perception of what is sensed."

15.22.35 | "But indeed, the whole is one; for  
how could it be divided? What is equal does  
not fit with what is equal, since what leads  
is not equal to every sense. Is the division  
like clay? Or will it be divided into as many  
parts as there are numbers in the variety of  
the sensing experience?"

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  
countless sensations will occur for each  
sensed thing, just as there are countless  
images in what guides us."

15.22.37 | "And indeed, since the body  
senses, it could not sense in any other way  
than like seals pressed into wax from rings,

ένσημανθεῖσαι ἀπὸ δάκτυλίων σφραγῖδες,  
εἴτ' οὖν εἰς αἷμα εἴτ' οὖν εἰς ἄέρα τῶν  
αἰσθημάτων ἔνσημαινομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν  
ώς ἐν σώμασιν ὑγροῖς, ὅπερ καὶ εὔλογον,  
ὡσπερ εἰς ὕδωρ, συγχυθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ  
ἔσται μνήμῃ·

15.22.38 | εἰ δ' ἔμμενοῦσιν οἱ τύποι, ἢ οὐκ  
ἔστιν ἄλλους ἔνσημαίνεσθαι ἐκείνων  
κατεχόντων, ὡστε ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις οὐκ  
ἔσονται, ἢ γιγνομένων ἄλλων ἐκεῖνοι οἱ  
πρότερον ἀπολοῦνται, ὡστε οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ  
μνημονεύειν. εἰ δέ ἔστι τὸ μνημονεύειν καὶ  
ἄλλων αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐπ' ἄλλοις, οὐκ  
ἔμποδιζόντων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἀδύνατον τὴν  
ψυχὴν σῶμα εἶναι."

15.22.39 | “Ιδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ  
ἀλγεῖν αἰσθήσεως τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ὅταν  
δάκτυλον λέγηται ἀλγεῖν ἀνθρωπος, ἢ μὲν  
όδύνη περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον δήπουθεν, ἢ δὲ  
αἴσθησις τοῦ ἀλγεῖν δῆλον ὅτι  
δομολογήσουσιν ώς περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν  
γίγνεται. ἄλλου δὴ ὄντος τοῦ πονοῦντος  
μέρους, τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν  
αἰσθάνεται, καὶ δλη 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 εἰ τὸ πρῶτον  
πόνου ἥσθετο, ἄλλην τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ  
δευτέρου εἶναι, καὶ εἴ κατὰ διάδοσιν ἡ  
αἴσθησις, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου γε ἄλλην, καὶ  
πολλὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ ἀπείρους τὴν περὶ

whether in blood or in the air of the sensed  
things. If, therefore, it is like in wet bodies,  
which makes sense, just as in water, it will  
be mixed, and there will be no memory.”

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, leaving 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 | “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 shows that it happens around what  
is in 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 there to another  
part, 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. If the sense is passed on, then the  
third would also be different. There would  
be many senses, even countless ones,

ένδος ἀλγήματος γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἀπαξῶν ὕστερον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ γῆς ἐαυτοῦ παρὰ ταύτας.

15.22.42 | Τὸ δὲ ἀληθὶς, ἐκάστην ἔκεινων μὴ τοῦ ἐν τῷ δακτύσῳ ἀλγήματος· [ἄλλα τὴν μὲν ἐφεξῆς τῷ δακτύλῳ ὅτι ὁ ταρσὸς ἀλγεῖ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄνωθεν, καὶ πολλὰς εἴναι ἀλγηδόνας· τό τε ἡγεμονοῦν μὴ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀλγήματος] αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν μόνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαίρειν ἔāν, μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι ἀλγεῖ ὁ δάκτυλος.

15.22.43 | εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ διάδοσιν τὴν αἴσθησιν ὅγκου ὄντος, ἄλλου παθόντος, ἄλλου γνῶσιν εἴναι. Παντὸς γὸρ μεγέθους, εἴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἔστι, δεῖ τοιοῦτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθανόμενον, ἄλλο ἔστι, δεῖ τοιοῦτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθανόμενον, οἷον πανταχοῦ αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ τὸ αάτὸ εἴναι. Τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν ὄωτων ἡ σώματι ποιεῖν προσήκει.”

15.22.44 | “Οτι δὲ ούδε νοεῖν οἶόν τε εί σῶμα ἡ εψχὴ ὅτιοῦν εἴη δεικτέον ἐκ τῶνδε. Εἴ γὰρ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι 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 αἰσθάνεσθαι.

15.22.45 | Εἴ οὖν τὸ νοεῖν ἔστι τὸ ἄνευ σώματος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ πρότερον

responding to one pain. 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 sense feels that the toe hurts, the third feels something else above, and there are many pains. The controlling sense does not feel the pain in the finger, but rather in itself. It knows only this, allowing the other senses to be unaware, not realizing 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 different. It must be arranged in such a way that it senses itself everywhere. And this must connect to something else in the senses or the body.”

15.22.44 | “But that it cannot even think if the soul is connected to the body must be shown from these things. For if sensing is the soul interacting with the body, then understanding must also be the soul interacting with 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 | “If then thinking is the grasping of things without the body, then the

δεῖ μὴ σῶμα αὕτη νοῆσον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ  
αἰσθητῶν μὲν ἡ αἴσθησις, νοητῶν δὲ ἡ  
νόησις. Εἴ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ἀλλ' οὖν  
ἔσονται γε καὶ νοητῶν τινῶν νοήσεις καὶ  
ἀμέγεθων ἀντιλήψεις.

thinking thing must not be the body, since  
sensing is for sensed things, but  
understanding is for understood things. But  
if they do not accept this, then there will  
still be some understandings of things that  
can be thought and graspings of things that  
cannot be measured."

15.22.46 | πῶς οὖν μέγεθος ὃν τὸ μὴ  
μέγεθος νοήσει καὶ τῷ μεριστῷ τὸ μὴ  
μεριστὸν νοήσει; ἢ μέρει τινὶ ἀμερεῖ αὐτοῦ;  
εἴ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐ σῶμα ἔσται τὸ νοῆσον. οὐ  
γάρ δὴ τοῦ ὅλου χρεία πρὸς τὸ θιγεῖν·  
ἀρκεῖ γάρ καὶ ἵν τι.

15.22.46 | "How then can something that  
has size understand something that does  
not have 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 | εἴ μὲν οὖν συγχωρήσονται τὰς  
πρώτας νοήσεις, ὅπερ ἀληθές ἔστι, εἶναι  
τῶν πάντη σώματος καθαρωτάτων, αὐτὸ  
ἐκάστου, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ νοοῦν σώματος  
καθαρὸν ὃν, ἢ γιγνόμενον, γινώσκειν. εἴ δὲ  
τῶν ἐν ὑλῇ εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσουσιν  
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χωριζομένων γε τῶν σωμάτων  
γίγνονται, τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος.

15.22.47 | "If they will agree on the first  
understandings, which is true, that there  
are the purest things of the body, then each  
one must also know that the thinking 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 also 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 ἀμερῆ κείσεται."

15.22.48 | "For the separation is not with  
flesh or with matter as a whole, like a circle  
and a triangle, a line and a point. Therefore,  
the soul must also be separated from the  
body in this way. Thus, it must not be a  
body itself. I believe that both beauty and  
justice 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 ὅντος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀρεταὶ αὐτῆς σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία τε καὶ ἄλλαι; πνεῦμά τι γὰρ, ἢ αἷμά τι, τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴη ἢ δικαιότης, ἢ ἀνδρεία, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ ἀνδρεία τὸ δυσπαθὲς τοῦ πνεύματος εἴη, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἡ εὔκρασία, τὸ δὲ κάλλος εύμορφία τις ἐν τύποις, καθ' ἣν λέγομεν ἴδοντες ὥραίους καὶ καλοὺς τὰ σώματα.

15.22.50 | ἵσχυρῷ 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 ἡ θερμανθήσεται, ἢ συμμέτρως ψύχεος ἴμερεῖ, ἢ μαλακοῖς τισι καὶ ἀπλοῖς καὶ λείοις πελάσει; τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν νεῖμαι τί ἀν αὐτῷ μέλοι;

15.22.51 | πότερον δὲ ἀιδίων ὅντων τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νοητῶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐφάπτεται, ἢ γίνεται τῷ ἡ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὠφελεῖ καὶ πάλιν φθείρεται; ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ ποιῶν καὶ πόθεν; οὕτω γὰρ ἀν ἐκεῖνο πάλιν μένοι. δεῖ ἄρα ἀιδίων εἶναι καὶ μενόντων, οἷα 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 ἢετὶ ἡ σώματος φύσις πᾶσα.”

15.22.52 | “Εἴ δὲ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων

15.22.49 | “How then, if the soul is part of the body, can its virtues be temperance and justice, courage and others? What is it—some spirit or blood—that makes one temperate, just, or courageous? Is courage just the struggle of the spirit, and is temperance balance? And is beauty simply a kind of harmony in forms, through which we say that we see bodies as beautiful and lovely?”

15.22.50 | “Therefore, it would make sense for a strong and beautiful spirit to exist, but what does it mean to be temperate in spirit? Instead, it seems the opposite: to feel good in different situations and experiences, where it may either be warmed, or want to be cooled just enough, or be surrounded by soft, simple, and smooth things. So what should I say about what is fitting for it?”

15.22.51 | “Does the soul connect with eternal things of virtue and other intelligible things, or does virtue come to it, help it, and then get destroyed again? But who creates this, and where does it come from? For that would have to remain the same. Therefore, there must be eternal and unchanging things, like those in geometry. If they are eternal and unchanging, then they are not bodies. So whatever it will be in must be of that kind; therefore, it must not be a body. For the nature of the body does not stay the same, but flows.”

15.22.52 | “If they observe the actions of

ποιήσεις ὀρῶντες θερμαινούσας καὶ ψυχούσας καὶ ὡθούσας καὶ βαρυνούσας ἐνταῦθα τάττουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, οἷον ἐν δραστηρίῳ τόπῳ ἰδρύοντες αὐτὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σώματα δυνάμεσι ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ταῦτα ἔργαζεται· ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐ ταύτας τὰς δυνάμεις περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐμφρόνως καὶ καλῶς ἄπαντα, ἄλλην οὐσίαν ζητεῖ.

15.22.53 | τὰς οὖν δυνάμεις τῶν ἀσωμάτων μεταβιβάσαντες είς τὰ σώματα ούδεμίαν ἔκείνοις καταλείπουσιν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσι δύναται ἂ δύναται ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον. ὅμολογήσουσι γὰρ ἔτερον ποιότητα καὶ ποσότητα εἶναι, καὶ πὰν σῶμα ποσὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι οὐ πᾶν σῶμα ποσὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ τὴν ὕλην. ταῦτα δὲ ὅμολογοῦντες τὴν ποιότητα ὅμολογήσουσιν ἔτερον οὗσαν ποσοῦ, ἔτερον σώματος εἶναι.

15.22.54 | πῶς γὰρ μὴ ποσὸν οὗσα σῶμα ἔσται, εἴπερ πᾶν σῶμα ποσόν; καὶ μὴν, ὅπερ καὶ ἄνω που ἐλέγετο, εἴ πὰν 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 ούδεν ἔλαττον γλυκύτης ἔστιν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ, οὐκ ἀν εἴη σῶμα γλυκύτης. ὄμοιώς καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι.

15.22.55 | ἔπειτα εἰ σώματα ἡσαν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὰς μὲν ἴσχυρὰς

bodies that heat, cool, push, and weigh down, they place the soul here, as if they are setting it in an active place. First, they do not understand that these bodies operate through powers within them that are not physical. Then, they assume that these powers are connected to the soul, but instead, they are searching for another essence, which includes thinking, sensing, reasoning, desiring, and caring for everything wisely and beautifully.”

15.22.53 | “Therefore, by transferring the powers of incorporeal things into bodies, they leave nothing behind for those. It is clear that bodies can do what they do through these incorporeal powers. For they will agree that there is a different quality and quantity, and that every body is a quantity, yet not every body is just a quantity, like matter. By agreeing on this, they will also agree that the quality is a different kind of quantity and that it is a different essence from the body.”

15.22.54 | “For how can something that is not a quantity be a body, if every body is a quantity? Moreover, as mentioned above, if every body is divided and everything is taken away from what it was, when the body is broken into parts, the same overall quality remains in each part. For example, the sweetness of honey is just as sweet in each part; it would not be a body of sweetness. The same is true for other qualities.”

15.22.55 | “Then, if the powers were bodies, it would be necessary for the strong

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.

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 their effects, 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 ζῶα λεγόντων. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἄνευ τούτων εἶναι, ούδ' ἄνευ πολλῶν ἄλλων, ὃν ούδετε ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ 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? It is not said that animals die when their spirit or blood leaves. For they cannot exist without these, nor without many other things, which even the soul cannot exist without. And indeed, it is neither spirit nor blood, but the soul.”

15.22.57 | “Ετι εί σῶμα οὕσα ἡ ψυχὴ διῆλθε διὰ παντὸς, κἄν κραθεῖσα εἴη, ὃν τρόπον τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἡ κρᾶσις. εἰ δὲ ἡ τῶν σωμάτων κρᾶσις ούδεν ἐνεργείᾳ ἐξεῖναι τῶν κραθέντων, ούδετε ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ αἷμα, ψυχὴ ἔστι ἐνεργείᾳ ἐνείη τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀπολέσασα τὸ εἶναι ψυχὴ, ὃσπερ εἰ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν κραθείη, τὸ γλυκὺ οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ ἄρα ἔχομεν ψυχήν.

15.22.57 | “Moreover, if the soul is a body and it passes through everything, and if it were to be mixed, how 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 existence, just as 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 διὰ τὸ ὃ που ἀνὴρ καὶ θάτερον, εἶναι ἵσον ὅγκον ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τὸ πάντα κατεχόντων, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὔξην γεγονέναι ἐπεμβληθέντος τοῦ ἐτέρου, ούδεν ἀπολείψει διὰ τέμη. οὐ γάρ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη παραλλάξῃ κρᾶσις (οὕτω

15.22.58 | “But if a body is mixed with another body everywhere, it must be equal in volume to both, and everything would hold together. There would be no increase when one is mixed with the other, nor would anything remain that is not cut. For mixing does not happen in large parts;

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.

(they say it will happen in layers); but when mixed, it would be divided into smaller parts, which is impossible, because the smaller cannot be equal to the larger. Therefore, everything is completely divided.”

15.22.59 | ἀνάγκη τοίνυν εἰ καθ' ὅτιοῦν σημεῖον, καὶ μὴ μεταξὺ σῶμα ἔσται· ὃ μὴ τέτμηται, εἰς σημεῖα τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ σώματος γεγονέναι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. εἰς δὲ ἄπειρον τῆς τομῆς οὕσης (ὅ γάρ ἀν λάβῃς σῶμα διαίρετόν ἔστι) οὐ δυνάμει μόνον, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τὰ ἄπειρα ἔσται. οὐ τοίνυν ὅλον δι' ὅλου χωρεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ σῶμα, ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ δι' ὅλων ἀσώματος ἄρα.”

15.22.59 | “It is necessary, then, if there is any point, that there cannot be a body in between. What is not cut must become points in the division of the body, which is impossible. If there is an infinite amount of cutting (for whatever you take is a body that can be divided), it will only exist 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; thus, it is without a body.”

15.22.60 | “Τὸ δὲ καὶ φύσιν μὲν προτέραν τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα λέγειν, ἐν δὲ ψυχρῷ γενομένην καὶ στομωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν γίνεσθαι, λεπτοτέραν ἐν ψυχρῷ γενομένην ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ ἄτοπον· πολλὰ γάρ ζῶα ἐν θερμῷ γίγνεται, καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχει οὐ ψυχθεῖσαν. ἀλλ' οὖν φασί γε προτέραν φύσιν ψυχῆς εἶναι κατὰ συντυχίας τὰς ἔξω γιγνομένην.

15.22.60 | “But it is also strange to say that the same spirit is nature before it becomes a soul when it is made cold and thickened, becoming finer in the cold; this is indeed odd. Many living things are formed in warmth and have a soul that is not cooled. However, they say that the nature of the soul comes first according to the external events that occur.”

15.22.61 | συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ χεῖρον πρῶτον ποιεῖν, καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἄλλο ἔλαττον, ἣν λέγουσιν ἔξιν. ὃ δὲ νοῦς ὑστατος, 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 create the worse thing, and before that, something lesser, which they call habit. The mind comes last, clearly arising from the soul. If the mind is first, then the soul should follow, and then nature; and the later always tends to be worse, if it has indeed been formed.”

15.22.62 | εί τούν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν νοῦν ὕστερος καὶ γεννητὸς καὶ ἐπακτὸν τὸ νοεῖν ἔχων, ἐνδέχοιτο ἀν μηδὲ ψυχὴν μηδὲ νοῦν, μηδὲ θεὸν εἶναι· εἰ τὸ δυνάμει, μὴ ὄντος πρότερον τοῦ ἐνέργειᾳ καὶ νοῦ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἥξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν. τί γὰρ ἔσται τὸ ἄγον, μὴ ὄντος ἐτέρου παρ' αὐτὸν προτέρου; εἰ δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἄξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ βλέπον γε πρός τι ἄξει, ὁ οὐ δυνάμει, ἐνέργειᾳ δὲ ἔσται.

15.22.63 | καίτοι τὸ ἀεὶ μένειν τὸ αὐτὸν, εἴπερ τὸ δυνάμει ἔξει, καθ' ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἥξει, καὶ τοῦτο κρεῖττον ἔσται τοῦ δυναμένου, οἷον ὄρεκτὸν ὃν ἐκείνου. πρότερον ἄρα τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ἐτέραν φύσιν ἔχον σώματος καὶ ἐνέργειᾳ ὃν ἀεὶ πρότερον ἄρα καὶ νοῦς καὶ ψυχὴ φύσεως. οὐκ ἄρα οὕτως ψυχὴ ὡς πνεῦμα, οὐδὲ ὡς σῶμα. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ σῶμα λέγοιτο ἀν καὶ εἴρηται καὶ ἄλλοις ἔτερα, ἵκανὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα.”

15.22.64 | “Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλης φύσεως, δεῖ ζητεῖν τίς αὐτῇ. ἀρ' οὖν ἔτερον μὲν σώματος, σώματος δέ τι, οἷον ἀρμονία; τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρμονίαν τῶν ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν λεγόντων ἔτερον τρόπον, ωήθησαν αὐτὸν τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι οἷον καὶ ἡ περὶ χορδὰς ἀρμονία.

15.22.65 | ὡς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐντεταμένων τῶν χορδῶν ἐπιγίνεται τι οἷον πάθημα ἐπ' αὐταῖς, ὃ λέγεται ἀρμονία, τὸν αὐτὸν

15.22.62 | “If, then, god is last for them in terms of the mind, and is generated and has the ability 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 becomes actual and gains mind, it will not reach action. For what can lead if there is nothing else existing before it? But if it leads itself into action, that is odd; instead, it will lead toward something else, which is not potential, but will be in action.”

15.22.63 | And yet, if what always remains is the same, and if it has potential, it will reach action by itself, and this will be better than what is merely potential, like something that desires it. Therefore, the better thing must exist first and have a different nature from the body, always being in action. Thus, both mind and soul must exist before nature. Therefore, the soul is neither like spirit nor like body. However, it could be said that it is not body, and it has been described as other things, and these descriptions are sufficient.

15.22.64 | Since there is also another nature, we must seek to understand what it is. Is it something different from the body, or is it something related to the body, like harmony? For those discussing Pythagoras believed this harmony to be something similar to the harmony of strings.

15.22.65 | For just as when the strings are stretched, something like an experience occurs, which is called harmony, in the

τρόπον καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος, ἐν κράσει ἀνομοίων γινομένων, τὴν ποιὰν κρᾶσιν ζωήν τε ἔργαζεσθαι καὶ ψυχὴν, οὕσαν 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 ψυχὴ, ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία ὕστερον, καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν ἄρχει καὶ ἐπιστατεῖ τῷ σώματι καὶ μάχεται πολλαχῆ, ἀρμονία δὲ οὐκ ἀν οὕσα ταῦτα ποιοῦ· καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν οὔσια, ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία οὐκ οὔσια· καὶ ὅτι ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν σωμάτων, ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ἐν λόγῳ οὕσα, ὑγίεια ἀν εἴη· καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἔκαστον μέρος ἄλλως κραθὲν εἴη ἀν ψυχὴ ἐτέρα, ὥστε πολλὰς εἶναι· καὶ τόδε μέγιστον. ως ἀνάγκη πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ταύτης ἄλλην ψυχὴν εἶναι τὴν ποιοῦσαν τὴν ἀρμονίαν ταύτην, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄργάνων, τὸν μουσικὸν, τὸν ἐντιθέντα ταῖς χορδαῖς τὴν ἀρμονίαν, λόγον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῷ, καθ' ὃν ἀρμόσει.

15.22.67 | οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ αἱ χορδαὶ παρ' αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ σώματα ἔσαντά 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 εὐληφέναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος οὔτε 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'

same way, in our body, when different elements mix together, this mixture produces life and soul, which is the experience of that mixture. It has already been stated in many ways that this is impossible regarding this idea.

15.22.66 | For indeed, the soul comes first, and harmony comes later. The soul governs and controls the body and interacts in many ways, but harmony cannot do these things. The essence is one thing, while harmony is not an essence. The mixture of the bodies from which we are made, when understood, would be health. If each part were mixed differently, there would be a different soul for each part, meaning there could be many souls. This is the most important point: it is necessary that before this soul, there is another soul that creates this harmony, like in musical instruments, where the musician brings harmony to the strings, having a reason by which it fits together.

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 lifeless matter, and those arranged by chance and disorder do not come from the soul; rather, 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 ideas come from Plotinus about the Stoics' belief regarding the soul, which they claim is physical. However,

έπει αύταρκῶς τά τε πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην  
ἔλην καὶ τὸν Περίπατον, τά τε πρὸς τὴν  
τῶν Στωϊκῶν αἵρεσιν, ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ  
παρατέθειμαι, ὡρα πάλιν ἐπανελθόντα τῶν  
γενναίων φιλοσόφων ὅμοῦ πάντων τὰς  
θαυμαστὰς ἐπισκέψασθαι φυσιολογίας,  
ὅτε μάλιστα κοινῶς πάντες “Ἐλληνες θεοὺς  
δρατοὺς, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς  
λοιποὺς ἀστέρας, τά τε ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ  
κόσμου ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ ἔσεφθησαν, 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 μετενηρχασι.

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 explore 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 concerning the elements and the parts of the whole universe.

15.22.69 | διό μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ  
τὰς περὶ τῶνδε δόξας ὅμοῦ 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 ὅμοῦ τῶν τε  
πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νέων δόξας συναγαγὼν  
τοῦτον γράφει τὸν τρόπον “Περὶ ἥλιου.

15.22.69 | Therefore, it seems necessary for me to gather the beliefs about these matters, to examine their differences and the emptiness of ignorance. I will also present these ideas from Plutarch's writing, in which he collects the views of both the elders and the young on all these topics, and he writes in this way: "On the Sun."

## Section 23

15.23.1 | Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι  
όκτωαιεικοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματείω  
τροχῷ παραπλήσιον τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα,  
κούλην, πλήρη πυρὸς, ἥς κατά τι μέρος  
ἐκφαινούσης διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ, ὥσπερ  
διὰ πρηστῆρος αύλοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸν  
ἥλιον.

15.23.1 | Anaximander says that the Earth is like a cylinder, twenty times longer than it is wide, with a shape similar to a chariot wheel. It is hollow and filled with fire. A part of this fire comes out through an opening, just like through a pipe; and this is what he calls the Sun.

15.23.2 | Ξενοφάνης, ἐκ πυριδίων τῶν  
φαινομένων συναθροιζομένων μὲν ἐκ τῆς  
ὑγρᾶς ἀναθυμιάσεως, συναθροιζόντων δὲ  
τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων.

15.23.2 | Xenophanes says that the Sun is formed from fiery particles that come together from moist vapor, gathering from burning clouds.

15.23.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, ἄναμμα νοερὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης.

15.23.4 | Πλάτων, ἐκ πλείστου πυρός.

15.23.5 | Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος,  
Μητρόδωρος, μύδρον ἡ 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· ὥστε προσεοικέναι ἡλίου τὸ ἐν οὐρανῷ πυρῶδες τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόπτρου κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν διασπειρομένη πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὔγῃ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προσονομάζομεν ἥλιον, οἰονεὶ εἴδωλον εἰδώλου.

15.23.8 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο ἡλίους· τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον πῦρ ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡμισφαιρίῳ τοῦ κόσμου, πεπληρωκὸς τὸ ἡμισφαιρίον ἀεὶ καταντικρὺ τῆς ἀνταυγείας αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ φαινόμενον ἀνταύγειαν εἶναι, ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ 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 είρησθαι συντεμόντα, ἀνταύγειαν εἶναι τοῦ

15.23.3 | The Stoics say that the Sun is a mental fire that comes from the sea.

15.23.4 | Plato says that the Sun comes from the largest fire.

15.23.5 | Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Metrodorus say that the Sun is a burning mist or a fiery stone.

15.23.6 | Aristotle says that the Sun is a sphere made of the fifth substance.

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 light in the sky resembles the light that spreads 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 warm mixed air, created by the reflection from the round Earth into the crystalline Sun, drawn in by the movement of the fire. To put it simply, the Sun is the reflection of the fire around the Earth.

περὶ τὴν γῆν πυρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

15.23.9 | Ἐπίκουρος, γήινον πύκνωμα,  
κισσηροειδὲς, καὶ σπογγοειδὲς ταῖς  
κατατρήσεσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνημμένον.”

15.23.9 | Epicurus says that the earthly substance is dense, like ivy, and sponge-like in its wear, burned by fire.

## 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.

15.24.1 | About the size of the Sun.  
Anaximander says that the Sun is the same size as 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 | Ἀναξαγόρας πολλαπλασίονα  
Πελοποννήσου.

15.24.2 | Anaxagoras says it is many times larger than the Peloponnesian.

15.24.3 | Ἡράκλειτος, εῦρος ποδὸς  
ἀνθρωπείου.

15.24.3 | Heraclitus talks about the width of a human foot.

15.24.4 | Ἐπίκουρος πάλιν φησὶν  
ἐνδέχεσθαι τὰ προειρημένα πάντα· ἢ  
τηλικοῦτον ἥλικος φαίνεται, ἢ μικρῷ μείζῳ,  
ἢ ἔλάττῳ.”

15.24.4 | Epicurus again says that all the things mentioned before can be accepted; either it seems to be this size, or a little bigger, or smaller.

## Section 25

15.25.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος ἥλιου. Ἀναξιμένης  
πλατὺν ὡς πέταλον.

15.25.1 | About the shape of the sun,  
Anaximenes says it is wide like a petal.

15.25.2 | Ἡράκλειτος, σκαφοειδῆ,  
ὑπόκυρτον.

15.25.2 | Heraclitus says it is boat-shaped and has a slight curve.

15.25.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σφαιροειδῆ ὡς τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἀστρα.

15.25.4 | Ἐπίκουρος ἐνδέχεσθαι τὰ προειρημένα πάντα.” Τοιοῦτος μὲν αὐτοῖς δὲ μέγας τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν φαινομένων θεὸς ἥλιος. Μωσῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια ούδεν τούτων περιεργάζονται.

## Section 26

15.26.1 | “Περὶ σελήνης. Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ἐννεακαιδεκαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥλιου, πλήρη πυρὸς, ἐκλείπειν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τοῦ τροχοῦ. ὅμοιον δὲ εἶναι ἀρματείῳ τροχῷ, κοίλην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀψίδα, καὶ πυρὸς πλήρη, ἔχοντα μίαν ἔκπνοήν.

15.26.2 | Ξενοφάνης νέφος εἶναι πεπιλημένον.

15.26.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ μικτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος.

15.26.4 | Πλάτων ἐκ πλείονος τοῦ γεώδους.

15.26.5 | Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, στερέωμα διάπυρον, ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ πεδία καὶ ὄρη καὶ φάραγγας.

15.26.6 | Ἡράκλειτος γῆν ὄμιχλῃ

15.25.3 | The Stoics say it is spherical, like the universe and the stars.

15.25.4 | Epicurus agrees with everything that has been mentioned before. Such is the great god of the heavens, the sun, to them. But Moses and the writings of the Hebrews do not pay attention to any of this.

15.26.1 | About the moon. Anaximander says it is a circle fourteen times larger than the earth, filled with fire, and it disappears during the rotations 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 | Xenophanes says it is a cloud that is stacked up.

15.26.3 | The Stoics say it is a blend of fire and air.

15.26.4 | Plato says it is made mostly of earth.

15.26.5 | Anaxagoras and Democritus say it is a fiery solid that contains fields, mountains, and valleys.

15.26.6 | Heraclitus says it is earth

περιεχομένην

surrounded by fog.

15.26.7 | Πυθαγόρας κατὰ τὸ πυροειδὲς σῶμα.

15.26.7 | Pythagoras says it is based on 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 claim it is larger than the earth, just like the sun.

15.27.2 | Παρμενίδης ἵσον τῷ ἥλιῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' φωτίζεται.”

15.27.2 | Parmenides says it is equal to the sun, for it is also illuminated by light.

## Section 28

15.28.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος σελήνης. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι ὡς τὸν ἥλιον. Ἡράκλειτος σκαφοειδῆ. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δισκοειδῆ. ἄλλοι κυλινδροειδῆ.”

15.28.1 | On the shape of the moon. The Stoics say it is spherical like the sun. Heraclitus says it is shaped like a boat. Empedocles says it is disk-shaped. Others say it is cylindrical.

## Section 29

15.29.1 | “Περὶ φωτισμοῦ σελήνης. Ἀναξίμανδρος ἴδιον αὐτὴν ἔχειν φῶς, ἀραιότερον δέ πως.

15.29.1 | On the lighting of the moon. Anaximander says it has its own light, but it is somehow fainter.

15.29.2 | Ἀντιφῶν ἰδίῳ φέγγει λάμπειν τὴν σελήνην· τὸ δ' ὑποκρυπτόμενον περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς τοῦ ἥλιού  
ἀμαυροῦσθαι, πεφυκότος τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου πυρὸς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἀμαυροῦν, δὲ δὴ συμβαίνειν καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα.

15.29.2 | Antiphon says that the moon shines with its own light. However, what is hidden around it becomes dim because of the sunlight hitting it, just as a weaker fire is dimmed by a stronger fire. This also happens with the other stars.

15.29.3 | Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου 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.”

## Section 30

15.30.1 | “Τίς ἡ ούσία τῶν πλανήτων ἀστρων καὶ ἀπλανῶν. Θαλῆς γεώδη μὲν, ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἀστρα.

15.30.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πύρινα, ἐκ τοῦ πυρώδους, ὅπερ ὁ ἀήρ ἐν ἐαυτῷ περιέχων ἔξανέθλιψε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην διάκρισιν.

15.30.3 | Ἀναξαγόρας τὸν περικείμενον ἀέρα πύρινον μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ούσιαν, τῇ δ' εὔτονίᾳ τῆς περιδινήσεως ἀναρπάσαντα πέτρους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ καταφλέξαντα, τούτους ἡστερικέναι.

15.30.4 | Διογενῆς κισσηρώδῃ τὰ ἀστρα, διαπνοὰς αὐτὰ νομίζει τοῦ κόσμου. πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖς μὲν λίθους, πίπτοντας δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν σβέννυσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν ἐν Αἴγαδι Ποταμοῖς πυροειδῶς

15.29.3 | Thales and his followers 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. He explains that the stars are shaped like bowls, and they receive light from the moist vapor and smoke, shining based on how they appear. The sun shines in clearer air, while the moon shines in cloudy air, which is why it looks dimmer.

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 | Empedocles says they are made of fire, from the fiery substance that the air holds within itself, which it first separated.

15.30.3 | Anaxagoras says that the surrounding air is fiery in its essence and that it has grabbed rocks from the earth through its swirling motion and burned them, turning them into stars.

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 hidden stars often fall to the earth and are extinguished, just like the

κατενεχθέντα ἀστέρα πέτρινον.

15.30.5 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῷ κρυστάλλῳ, τοὺς δὲ πλανήτας ἀνεῖσθαι.

15.30.6 | Πλάτων' ἐκ μὲν τού πλείστου μέρους πυρίνους, μετέχοντας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, κόλλης δίκην.

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.

15.30.8 | Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἔκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, γῆν περιέχοντα ἀέρα τε καὶ αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐμφέρεται· κοσμοποιοῦσι γὰρ τῶν ἀστέρων.

15.30.9 | Ἐπίκουρος οὐδὲν ἀπογινώσκει τούτων, ἔχόμενος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου.”

stone star that fell into the Nile.

15.30.5 | Empedocles says that the fixed stars are connected to crystal, while the wandering stars are free.

15.30.6 | Plato says that most of them are made of fire, but they also contain other elements, like glue.

15.30.7 | Xenophanes says that from burning clouds, they are put out each day and reignited at night, just like coals; for the sunrises and sunsets are brightening and extinguishing.

15.30.8 | Heraclides and the Pythagoreans say that each of the stars has its own cosmos, surrounded by earth, air, and ether in the infinite. These teachings are found in the Orphic texts; for they create a universe from the stars.

15.30.9 | Epicurus does not grasp any of these things, as he is focused on what is possible.

## Section 31

15.31.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος ἀστέρων. Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σφαιρικοὺς τοὺς ἀστέρας, καθάπερ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην.

15.31.1 | About the shape of the stars. The Stoics say that the stars are round, just like the cosmos, the sun, and the moon.

15.31.2 | Κλεάνθης κωνοειδεῖς.

15.31.2 | Cleanthes says they are shaped like cones.

15.31.3 | Ἀναξιμένης ἥλων δίκην  
καταπεπηγμένων τῷ κρυσταλλοειδεῖ. ἐνιοι  
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, similar to crystal. These are the amazing ideas of philosophers about what they claim are the appearances of the gods. They also talk about the whole universe in the same way, learning from the teachings of Plutarch.

## Section 32

15.32.1 | "Πῶς συνέστη ὁ κόσμος. ὁ τοίνυν  
κόσμος περικεκλασμένῳ σχήματι  
ἐσχημάτισται 'τον τρόπον τοῦτον. τῶν  
ἀτόμων σωμάτων ἀπρονόητον καὶ τυχαίαν  
έχόντων τὴν κίνησιν συνεχῶς τε καὶ  
τάχιστα κινουμένων, εἰς ταύτῳ πολλὰ  
σώματα συνηθροίσθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
ποικιλίαν ἔχοντα σχημάτων καὶ μεγεθῶν.

15.32.1 | How the universe was formed.  
The universe is shaped like a closed figure.  
The atoms, which are mindless and move randomly and quickly, come together to form many bodies. Because of this, they have a variety of shapes and sizes.

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  
εύολισθητα, ταῦτα ἔξεθλίβετο κατὰ τὴν  
σύνοδον τῶν σωμάτων, εἴς τε τὸ μετέωρον  
ἀνεφέρετο.

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 sky.

15.32.3 | ὡς οὖν ἔξελιπε μὲν ἡ πληκτικὴ  
δύναμις μετεωρίζουσα, ούκέτι δὲ ἥγεν ἡ  
πληγὴ πρὸς τὸ νετεωρον, ἐκωλύετο δὲ  
ταῦτα φέρεσθαι κάτω, ἐπιέζετο πρὸς τοὺς  
τόπους τοὺς δυναμένους δέξασθαι. οὗτοι  
δὲ ἥσαν οἱ πέρι.

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 areas around them.

15.32.4 | καὶ πρὸς τούτους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σωμάτων περιεκλᾶτο· περιπλεκόμενα δὲ ἀλλήλοις 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. κἄπειτα ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὑποκαθιζόντων ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μετεωριζομένων ὁ οὐρανὸς, πῦρ, ἀήρ.

15.32.6 | πολλῆς δὲ ὕλης ᾔτι περιελημμένης ἐν τῇ γῇ, πυκνουμένης δὲ ταύτης κατὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων πληγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων αὔρας, προσεθλίβετο πᾶς ὁ μικρομερής σχηματισμὸς ταύτης καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν φύσιν ἐγέννα.

15.32.7 | ῥευστικῶς δ' αὕτη διακειμένη κατεφέρετο πρὸς τοὺς κοίλους τόπους καὶ δυναμένους χωρῆσαι τε καὶ στέξαι· ἡ καθ' ἐαυτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ὑποστὰν ἐκοίλαινε τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τόπους."

15.32.8 | Τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ θαυμάσιος αὕτῶν κοσμογονία. συνῆπται δὲ τούτοις ἄλλῃ τις πλείστη λογομαχίᾳ, παντοίων πέρι προτάσεων ἀπορησάντων εἰ χρὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἡ πολλὰ ἡγεῖσθαι' καὶ εἰ ἔνα τὸν κόσμον ἡ

15.32.4 | And around these, the crowd of bodies gathered together. 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 movement in the sky. Then, from the bodies settling down, the earth was formed, and from those rising up, the sky, fire, and air were created.

15.32.6 | And with much material still wrapped up in the earth, this matter became dense from the blows of the winds and the breezes from the stars. Every small formation of this matter was crushed and created the wet nature.

15.32.7 | Being fluid, it flowed into the hollow places that could hold and contain it. Alternatively, the water, sinking on its own, filled the spaces below.

15.32.8 | Such is their wonderful creation of the world. Along with this, there is another great debate about many questions. People wonder whether the whole is one or many, whether the world is

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 αἰτία τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐγκλιθῆναι· περὶ τε τοῦ ἑκτὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου περιφερείας· καὶ τίνα τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη' περὶ τε οὐρανοῦ' καὶ πρὸς ἅπασι τούτοις περὶ τε δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων' περὶ τε ὅλης καὶ περὶ ἴδεῶν' περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τάξεως· ἔτι μὴν περὶ τῶν ἀστρων φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅπόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες· καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων Διοσκούρων' περὶ τε ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· καὶ περὶ ἔμφράσεως αὐτῆς· καὶ διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔτι περὶ ἐνιαυτῶν.

one or more, and whether it is alive and cared for by a god, or the opposite. They also ask whether it is unchanging or changeable, where it gets its nourishment, and what the god used to begin creating the world. There are questions about the order of the universe and the reason for its existence, as well as what lies outside the universe and what the right and left parts of the world are. Discussions also cover the sky and all these matters related to spirits and heroes, matter and ideas, and the order of everything. Additionally, there are inquiries about the movement of the stars, where they get their light, and about those known as the Dioscuri. Questions arise about the eclipses of the sun and moon, their appearance, why they seem earthy, their spots, and also about the years.

15.32.9 | ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διὰ μυρίων τοῖς περὶ ὃν ὁ λόγος κατεσκευασμένα ἐπειδὴ τεμῶν δὲ Πλούταρχος ἐν ὀλίγοις συνεῖλεν, ἐπὶ ταύτον ὁμοῦ συναγαγὼν ἀποφάσεις καὶ τὰς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄχρηστα γενήσεσθαι αὐτὰ παρατεθέντα εἰς τὴν εὖλογον αὐτῶν παραίτησιν. ὅτε γάρ αὐτοὶ πρὸς σφάρας αὐτοὺς ἐναντίοι κατὰ διάμετρον ἔστησαν, μάχας τε καὶ πολέμους, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξηψαν, τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔκαστοι φιλοτιμίᾳ λόγων ἀπελέγχαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐποχὴν γεγονέναι πᾶς δόστισον ὁμολογήσειε;

15.32.9 | All these things were prepared by countless people regarding the topic of discussion. Since Plutarch, having examined the matter, gathered the main points and their disagreements into a few, I believe it will be helpful for us to present them for reasonable consideration. When they stood against each other in direct opposition, fighting and warring, they achieved nothing more than each arguing with the pride of their own words. How could it not be reasonable for anyone to agree that we have a solid understanding of these matters?

15.32.10 | προσθήσω δὲ ἐξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὅσα καὶ περὶ τῶν προσγειωτέρων ἐπηπόρησαν· περὶ γῆς

15.32.10 | I will also add to what has been said about matters related to the earth. This includes the shape of the earth, its

σχήματος, καὶ περὶ θέσεως καὶ ἐγκλίσεως αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔτι περὶ θαλάσσης· ως ἂν εἰδείης 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 οἵας εἶναι φύσεως δεδυνημένοι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνίωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν είρημένων.

## Section 33

15.33.1 | "Εἴ ἐν τὸ πάν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοὰς ἔνα κόσμον ἀπεφήναντο, ὃν δὴ καὶ τὸ πάν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ τὰ σωματικά.

15.33.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ κόσμον ἵνα, οὐ μέντοι τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον τι τοῦ παντὸς μέρος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀργὴν ὅλην.

15.33.3 | Πλάτων' δὲ τεκμαίρεται τὸ δοκοῦν, ὅτι εῖς ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐν τὸ πάν ἐκ τριῶν· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι τέλειον, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα ἐμπεριέχῃ· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι ὅμοιον τῷ παραδείγματι, ἐὰν μὴ μονογενῆς ἦ· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι ἄφθαρτον, ἐάν τι ἔξωτέρω αὐτοῦ ἦ.

15.33.4 | πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πλάτωνα λεκτέον ὅτι οὐ τέλειος ὁ κόσμος, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πάντα περιέχει· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι τέλειος, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα περιέχει· καὶ πολλὰ παραδείγματά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐπ'

position and tilt, as well as the sea. You should know that the noble thinkers did not only disagree about the heavenly bodies, but also argued about things on the ground. To further impress you with the wisdom of these thinkers, I will include what they debated about the soul and its ruling part, even though they did not fully understand their own nature. But now, let us return to the first topics mentioned.

15.33.1 | "If there is one whole." Some from the Stoa declared that there is one world, which they said is the whole and includes all physical things.

15.33.2 | Empedocles said that the world is not the whole, but rather a small part of the whole, while the rest is just useless matter.

15.33.3 | Plato argues that there is one world and one whole made from three things: it is not perfect if it does not contain everything; it is not like the model if it is not unique; and it is not immortal if something exists outside of it.

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

άνδριάντων καὶ οίκιῶν καὶ ζωγραφιῶν· πῶς δὲ τέλειος, εἴπερ τι αὐτοῦ περιδινεῖσθαι δύναται; ἄφθαρτος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ δύναται εἶναι, γεννητὸς ὁν.

15.33.5 | Μητρόδωρος δέ φησιν ἀτοπον εἶναι ἐν μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ ἕνα 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, ἔξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος γέγονεν,] ἀνάγκη ἀπείρους εἶναι. ὅπου γὰρ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν αἴτια, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀποτελέσματα. αἴτια δὲ ἥτοι αἱ ἀτομοι, ἢ τὰ στοιχεῖα.”

## Section 34

15.34.1 | “Εἰ ἔμψυχος ὁ κόσμος καὶ προνοίᾳ διοικούμενος. [Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔμψυχον καὶ διοικούμενον.]

15.34.2 | Δημόκριτος δὲ] καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ ἀτομα είσηγοῦνται καὶ τὸ κενὸν, οὕτ' ἔμψυχον οὔτε προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι, φύσει δέ τινι ἀλόγῳ.

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 συμβεβηκὸς, οὐ προηγουμένως μετέχειν.

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 | Metrodorus says it is strange for one grain to grow in a large field and for a world to exist in the infinite. The idea of the infinite is clear from the infinite causes. 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 come from causes, there too are the results. The causes are either atoms or elements.

15.34.1 | “If the world is alive and governed by intelligence, then all the others are also alive and governed.”

15.34.2 | “Democritus and Epicurus introduce atoms and the void, claiming that neither is alive nor governed by intelligence, but instead by some irrational nature.”

15.34.3 | “Aristotle states that the whole is neither alive, nor sensory, nor rational, nor governed by intelligence. The heavenly bodies share in all these qualities—since they are spheres that contain living and vital things—while the surrounding things have none of them. The order of these things is due to chance, not because of any prior participation.”

## Section 35

15.35.1 | "Εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος.  
Πυθαγόρας τε καὶ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
γεννητὸνύπὸ θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον· καὶ  
φθαρτὸν μὲν, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει —  
αἰσθητὸν γὰρ εἶναι, διότι σωματικόν — οὐ  
μὴν φθαρησόμενόν γε, προνοίᾳ καὶ συνοχῇ  
θεοῦ.

15.35.2 | Ἐπίκουρος φθαρτὸν, ὅτι  
γεννητὸν, ὡς ζῶον, ὡς φυτὸν.

15.35.3 | Ξενοφάνης ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀίδιον  
καὶ ἄφθαρτον κόσμον.

15.35.4 | Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην  
τοῦ κόσμου μέρος παθητὸν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ  
περίγεια κηραίνεται."

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 by nature—since it is sensory  
and physical—it will not be destroyed  
because of the intelligence and unity of  
god."

15.35.2 | "Epicurus says that what is  
perishable is created, like an animal or a  
plant."

15.35.3 | "Xenophanes says that the world  
is uncreated, eternal, and imperishable."

15.35.4 | "Aristotle says that the part of the  
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, εἴ τρέφεται ὁ κόσμος, καὶ  
φθαρήσεται· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιδέεται  
τροφῆς· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀίδιος.

15.36.2 | Πλάτων, αὐτὸν αὐτῷ τὸν κόσμον  
ἐκ τοῦ φθίνοντος κατὰ μεταβολὴν τὸ  
τρέφον παρέχεσθαι.

15.36.1 | "Where does the world get its  
nourishment? Aristotle says that if the  
world needs nourishment, it will perish;  
but it does not need any food. For this  
reason, it is also eternal."

15.36.2 | "Plato says that the world gets its  
nourishment from what is changing and  
perishing."

15.36.3 | Φιλόλαος, διττήν εῖναι τὴν φθορὰν, τοτὲ μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς ὥνεντος, τοτὲ δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος σεληνιακοῦ περιστροφῆ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποχυθέντος· καὶ τούτων εῖναι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις τροφὰς τοῦ κόσμου.”

## Section 37

15.37.1 | "Απὸ ποίου πρώτου ἥρξατο ὁ θεὸς κοσμοποιεῖν. Οὗτοί φυσικοὶ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρξασθαί φασι τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κέντρου ἀρχὴ δὲ σφαιρᾶς τὸ κέντρον.

15.37.2 | Πυθαγόρας ἀπὸ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου στοιχείου.

15.37.3 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν μὲν αἰθέρα πρῶτον διακριθῆναι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ πῦρ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἣς ἄγαν περισφιγγομένης τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς σφαιρᾶς ἀναβλὺσαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐξ οὗ θυμιαθῆναι τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἐκ τοῦ αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἐκ τοῦ πυρός· πιληθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων τὰ περίγεια.

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, ὕδατος δὲ καὶ ἀέρος δεύτερον.

15.37.5 | Πυθαγόρας πέντε σχημάτων ὅντων στερεῶν, ἄπερ καλεῖται καὶ

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. These are the sources of nourishment for the world.”

15.37.1 | “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 is the starting point of a sphere.”

15.37.2 | “Pythagoras says it comes from fire and the fifth element.”

15.37.3 | “Empedocles says that first the ether was separated, then the fire, which the earth rests upon. From the tightly compressed earth, water rises because of the movement of the sphere, and from this, the air becomes fragrant. The sky is formed from the ether, the sun is made from fire, and the surrounding things are created from the other elements.”

15.37.4 | “Plato says that the visible world was created as a model of the intelligible world. First, the soul existed, and then the physical body was formed, made first from fire and earth, and second from water and air.”

15.37.5 | “Pythagoras says that there are five solid shapes, which are also called

μαθηματικὰ, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κύβου φησὶ γεγονέναι τὴν γῆν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς πυραμίδος τὸ πῦρ · ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀκταέδρου τὸν ἄέρα · ἐκ δὲ τοῦ εἰκοσαέδρου τὸ ὕδωρ · ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σφαῖραν.

15.37.6 | Πλάτων' δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις πυθαγορίζει.

## 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.

15.38.2 | 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 αἴθέρα, μεθ' ὃν ἄέρα, ἐφ' ὃν ὕδωρ, τελευταίαν δὲ γῆν· ἐνίστε δὲ τὸν αἴθέρα συνάπτει τῷ πυρί.

15.38.5 | Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον μὲν αἴθέρα ἀπαθῆ, πέμπτον δὲ σῶμα· μεθ' ὃν παθητὰ,

mathematical. He says that the earth was made from the cube, fire from the pyramid, air from the octahedron, water from the icosahedron, and the sphere of the whole universe from the dodecahedron.”

15.37.6 | “Plato also shares these ideas of Pythagoras.”

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. There are also mixed crowns made from light and darkness between these. What surrounds them is solid, like a wall.”

15.38.2 | “Leucippus and Democritus describe the universe as wearing a circular cloak and a belt around it.”

15.38.3 | “Epicurus says that some worlds have a thin boundary, while others have a thick one. Among these, some are moving, and some are still.”

15.38.4 | “Plato says that first is fire, then ether, followed by air, which is above 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

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.

that come the changeable ones: fire, air, water, and finally earth. Among these, the heavenly bodies move in a circular motion, while those below have upward motion for the lighter ones and downward motion for the heavier ones.”

15.38.6 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὴ διὰ παντὸς  
ἐστῶτας εἶναι, μηδὲ ὡρισμένους τοὺς  
τόπους τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ πάντα πως  
ἀλλήλων μεταλαμβάνειν.”

15.38.6 | “Empedocles says that the elements do not always stay in one place, nor are their locations fixed. Instead, everything somehow shares with one another.”

## Section 39

15.39.1 | “Τίς ἡ αίτια τοῦ τὸν κόσμον  
έγκλιθηναι. Διογένης, Ἀναξαγόρας, μετὰ τὸ  
συστῆναι τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
έξαγαγεῖν ἔγκλιθηναί πως τὸν κόσμον ἐκ  
τοῦ αὐτομάτου εἰς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν αὐτοῦ  
μέρος, ἵσως ὑπὸ προνοίας, ἵνα τὰ μὲν  
ἀοίκητα γένηται, τὰ δὲ οἰκητὰ μέρη τοῦ  
κόσμου, κατὰ ψῦξιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ  
εὔκρασίαν.

15.39.1 | “What is the reason for the world being tilted? Diogenes and Anaxagoras say that after the world was formed and living things were brought up from the earth, the world somehow tilted on its own toward the southern part, perhaps due to some providence. This way, the uninhabitable areas would become habitable parts of the world, through cooling, heating, and balance.”

15.39.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, τοῦ ἀέρος εἴζαντος  
τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου ὁρμῇ, ἐπικλιθηναι 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 raised up while 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 κενόν, εἰς δὲ ἀναπνεῖ δὲ

15.40.1 | “About what is outside the world, and whether there is a void. Some, following Pythagoras, say that there is a void outside the world, into which the

κόσμος, καὶ ἔξ οῦ.

world breathes and from which it comes.”

15.40.2 | Οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοὶ, εἰς ὃ καὶ τῇ  
έκπυρώσει ἀναλύεται, ἅπειρον.

15.40.2 | “But the Stoics say that it is infinite, into which everything is dissolved during the great fire.”

15.40.3 | Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ ἅπειρον, ἀλλ'  
ὅσον αὕταρκες εἰς τὴν διάλυσιν, ἐν τῷ  
πρώτῳ περὶ κενοῦ.]

15.40.3 | “Posidonius says it is not infinite, but just enough to be self-sufficient for the dissolution, in his 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  
άριστερά. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων',  
Ἀριστοτέλης δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ  
ἀνατολικὰ μέρη, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς  
κινήσεως, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά.

15.41.1 | “What is on the right side of the world and what is on the left? Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle say that the eastern parts are on the right side of the world, from which the beginning of motion comes, while 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 near the summer solstice are on the right, while the areas near 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' view on 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 ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων περιέχοντα.

15.42.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκ πέμπτου σώματος, ἢ ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ μίγματος.”

15.42.2 | “Empedocles says that the sky is solid, made of compacted air beneath the fire, resembling crystal, with fiery and airy parts surrounding each hemisphere.”

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 ἥρωών. Παρακειμένως δὲ τῷ περὶ θεῶν λόγῳ τὸν περὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἥρωών ἱστορητέον.

15.43.2 | Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων', οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, δαίμονας ὑπάρχειν ούσιας 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 ἔγκρινει.”

15.43.1 | “About spirits and heroes. Following the discussion about the gods, the one about spirits and heroes should be shared.”

15.43.2 | “Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, along with the Stoics, say that there are spiritual beings. They believe that the separated souls of bodies are also heroes; 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.”

## Section 44

15.44.1 | “Περὶ ὕλης. “Γλη ἔστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις μεταβολαῖς.

15.44.2 | Οὗτος ἀπὸ Θαλέω καὶ Πυθαγόρα καὶ

15.44.1 | “About matter. Matter is what lies beneath generation, decay, and other changes.”

15.44.2 | “Only from Thales, Pythagoras,

οῖ Στωϊκοὶ τρεπτὴν καὶ ἀλλοιωτὴν καὶ  
ρευστὴν ὅλην δι' 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, οὗν  
τιθήνην καὶ ἔκμαγειν καὶ μητέρα  
γενέσθαι. οἷ δὲ ὕδωρ λέγοντες, πῦρ, ἢ ἀέρα,  
ἢ γῆν τὴν ὅλην, οὐκέτι ἄμορφον αὐτὴν  
λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ σῶμα· οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀμερῆ, καὶ  
τὰς ἀτόμους, ἄμορφον."

## Section 45

15.45.1 | "Περὶ ἴδεας. Ἰδέα δέ ἐστιν οὐσία  
ἀσώματος, αὐτὴ μὲν ὑφεστῶσα καὶ καθ'  
ἐσυτὴν, εἰκονίζουσα δὲ τὰς ἀμόρφους ὅλας  
καὶ αἴτια γιγνομένη τῆς τούτων δείξεως.

15.45.2 | Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων' χωριστὰς  
τῆς ὅλης ούσιας τὰς ἴδεας  
ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ ἐν  
ταῖς φαντασίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ  
νοῦ, ὑφεστώσας,

15.45.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης εἶδη μὲν ἀπέλιπε καὶ  
ἴδεας, οὐ μὴν κεχωρισμένας τῆς ὅλης, ἔξω  
γεγονὼς τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

and the Stoics do we learn that all matter is  
changeable, altered, and fluid."

15.44.3 | "Those who follow 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 qualities in its own nature, but  
it acts 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 call it body; while  
those who talk about the indivisible and the  
atoms still call it formless."

15.45.1 | "About ideas. An idea is an  
essence that is incorporeal, existing on its  
own and by itself. It represents formless  
materials and is the cause of their  
appearance."

15.45.2 | "Socrates and Plato believe that  
ideas are separate from the essence of  
matter, existing in the thoughts and  
imaginings of the divine mind."

15.45.3 | "Aristotle set aside forms and  
ideas, but he did not separate them from  
matter, as if they were outside of what is  
created by the divine."

15.45.4 | Οὗτοι άπό Ζήνωνος Στωϊκοὶ ἐννοήματα τὰς ἴδεας."

15.45.4 | "I know that the Stoics derived their ideas from the thoughts of Zeno."

## Section 46

15.46.1 | "Περὶ τάξεως Ξενοκράτης κατὰ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴεται κίνει σθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας.

15.46.1 | "Regarding order, Xenocrates believes that the stars move in a single way."

15.46.2 | Οἱ ἄλλοι Στωϊκοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐτέρων τοὺς ἐτέρους, ἐν ὑψει καὶ βάθει.

15.46.2 | "The other Stoics place some above others, in terms of 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 discusses the fixed stars, and then the wandering stars, which include the sun, the morning star, and the moon."

15.46.4 | Πλάτων' μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν θέσιν πρῶτον Φαίνοντα λεγόμενον, τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου· δεύτερον Φαέθοντα, τὸν τοῦ Διός· τρίτον Πυρόεντα, τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεως· τέταρτον Ἔωσφόρον, τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· πέμπτον Στίλβοντα, τὸν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ· ἔκτον ἥλιον· ἔβδομον σελήνην.

15.46.4 | "Plato, after discussing the fixed stars, first 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; and seventh, the moon."

15.46.5 | Τῶν μαθηματικῶν τινὲς μὲν ὡς Πλάτων', τινὲς δὲ μέσον πάντων τὸν ἥλιον.

15.46.5 | "Some mathematicians, like Plato, place the sun at the center of everything."

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."

15.46.6 | "Anaximander, Metrodorus of Chios, and Crates place the sun at the top of everything; after it comes the moon; and below them are the fixed stars and the wandering stars."

## Section 47

15.47.1 | “Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων φορᾶς καὶ κινήσεως. Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, Κλεάνθης, ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς 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’ ὃν ἔκαστος βέβηκε, φέρεσθαι. Ἀναξιμένης οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν, περὶ αὐτὴν δὲ στρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας.

15.47.4 | Πλάτων’ καὶ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ ίσοδρόμους εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, τὸν Φωσφόρον, τὸν Στίλβοντα.”

15.47.1 | “About the movement and motion of the stars. Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Cleanthes say that all the stars move from east to west.”

15.47.2 | “Alcmaeon and the mathematicians say that the wandering stars are opposite the fixed stars, for they move from west to east.”

15.47.3 | “Anaximander says that the stars move beneath the circles and spheres, which each one has traveled along. Anaximenes says that the stars do not move beneath the earth, but that they revolve around it.”

15.47.4 | “Plato and the mathematicians say that the sun, the morning star, and the shining star are at equal distances.”

## Section 48

15.48.1 | “Πόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες. Μητρόδωρος ἀπαντας τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου καταλάμπεσθαι.

15.48.2 | Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀναθυμιάσεως.

15.48.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης μὴ δεῖσθαι τὰ

15.48.1 | “Where do the stars get their light? Metrodorus says that all the fixed stars are illuminated by the sun.”

15.48.2 | “Heraclitus and the Stoics say that the stars are fed by the smoke rising from the earth.”

15.48.3 | “Aristotle says that the heavenly

ούράνια τροφῆς· οὐ γὰρ φθαρτὰ, ἀλλ' αἰδια.

15.48.4 | Πλάτων' κοινῶς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἔξ αύτοῦ τρέφεσθαι.”

## Section 49

15.49.1 | “Περὶ τῶν καλουμένων Διοσκούρων. Ξενοφάνης τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένους οἶον ἀστέρας νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα.

15.49.2 | Μητρόδωρος τῶν ὄρώντων ὄφθαλμῶν μετὰ δέους καὶ καταπλήξεως εἶναι στιλβηδόνας.”

bodies do not need food, because they are not perishable but eternal.”

15.48.4 | “Plato says that the entire universe and the stars are nourished by it.”

15.49.1 | “About the so-called Dioscuri. Xenophanes says that those who appear on the ships are like stars shining through the clouds, depending on their type of movement.”

15.49.2 | “Metrodorus says that the eyes of those who see are shining with fear and wonder.”

## Section 50

15.50.1 | “Περὶ ἑκλείψεως ἡλίου. Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἑκλείπειν 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, ὡστε τὸ μὲν κοῖλον ἄνω γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κυρτὸν κάτω πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν.

15.50.1 | “About the eclipse of the sun. Thales was the first to say that the sun is eclipsed by the moon moving directly in front of it, since the moon is naturally round. This can be seen as if it were reflected in a disk.”

15.50.2 | “Anaximander says that the opening of the fire is blocked.”

15.50.3 | “Heraclitus says that according to the shape of the boat, the hollow part rises up, while the rounded part sinks down from our view.”

15.50.4 | Ξενοφάνης κατὰ σβέσιν ἔτερον δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς γίγνεσθαι παριστόρηκε δὲ καὶ ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου ἐφ' ὅλον τὸν μῆνα, καὶ πάλιν ἔκλειψιν ἐντελῇ, ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα φανῆναι.

15.50.5 | "Ἐνιοι πύκνωμα τῶν ἀοράτων ἐπερχομένων τῷ δίσκῳ νεφῶν.

15.50.6 | Ἀρίσταρχος τὸν ἡλιον 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 ἀποτομᾶς, καὶ ζώνας· κατά τινα δὲ καιρὸν ἐμπίπτειν τὸν δίσκον εἴς τινα ἀποτομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ οἰκουμένης ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ οὕτως ὥσπερ κενεμβατοῦντα ἔκλειψιν ὑποφαίνειν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ἡλιον μὲν εἰς ἄπειρον προϊέναι, δοκεῖν κυκλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν."

## Section 51

15.51.1 | "Περὶ ἔκλειψεως σελήνης.  
Ἀναξίμανδρος τού στομίου τοῦ περὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπιφραττομένου.

15.51.2 | Βηρωσσὸς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμὰς ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ ἀπυρώτου μέρους.

15.50.4 | "Xenophanes speaks about the extinguishing; and another one happens again toward the east. He also described a solar eclipse that lasts for the whole month, and then a total eclipse, so that the day seems like night."

15.50.5 | "Some say that a thickening of the invisible appears with the disk of clouds."

15.50.6 | "Aristarchus places the sun among the fixed stars, while the moon moves around the solar circle. Because of these positions, the disk is shadowed."

15.50.7 | "Xenophanes says that there are many suns and moons, depending on the slopes of the earth, the cuts, and the zones. At certain times, the disk falls into a part of the earth that is not inhabited by us, and it seems to show an eclipse as if it were disappearing. He also says that the sun moves into the infinite, appearing to be circled because of the distance."

15.51.1 | "About the eclipse of the moon.  
Anaximander talks about the opening around the circle."

15.51.2 | "Berossus, concerning the return of the part without fire towards us."

15.51.3 | Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σκαφοειδοῦς στροφήν.

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.

15.51.5 | Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ μαθηματικοὶ συμφωνοῦσι τὰς μὲν μηνιαίους ἀποκρύψεις συνοδεύουσαν αὐτὴν ἡλίῳ καὶ συμπεριλαμπομένην ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δὲ ἑκλείψεις, εἰς τὸ σκιάσμα τῆς γῆς ἐμπίπτουσαν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀστέρων γινομένης, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἀντιφρατομένης.”

15.51.3 | “Heraclitus, about the turning of the boat-shaped object.”

15.51.4 | “Some of the Pythagoreans talk about a reflection and covering of the earth, or of the antipodes. However, the later ones say that, based on the spreading of fire, it gradually goes out until it reaches the full moon, and then, in a similar way, it decreases until it is completely extinguished at the conjunction.”

15.51.5 | “Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and mathematicians agree that the monthly eclipses happen when the sun is covered and surrounded by the moon. However, the eclipses occur when the shadow of the earth falls between the two celestial bodies, especially when the moon is blocked.”

## Section 52

15.52.1 | "Περὶ ἐμφάσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται. Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι γεώδῃ φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ περιοικεῖσθαι αὐτὴν καθάπερ τὴν παρ' ἡμίν γῆν μείζοις ζῷοις καὶ φυτοῖς καλλίοσιν. εἴναι γὰρ πεντεκαιδεκαπλασίονα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζῷα, 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

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. They claim that the creatures there are fifteen times larger, without any physical differences; and the day is just as long.”

15.52.2 | “Anaxagoras explains the irregularity as a result of the mixture, since it is both cold and earthy. The dark part is mixed with the fiery part. That is why the

λέγεσθαι τὸν ἀστέρα.

15.52.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, διὰ τὸ ἀερομιγὲς τῆς οὐσίας, μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς ἀκήρατον τὸ σύγκριμα.”

## Section 53

15.53.1 | Περὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων αὐτῆς. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς διπλάσιον ἀπέχειν τὴν σελήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἥπερ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

15.53.2 | Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὁκτωκαιθεκαπλάσιον.

15.53.3 | Ἐρατοσθένης, τὸν ἥλιον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίων μυριάδας τετρακοσίας καὶ ὁκτακισμυρίας, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἀπέχειν τῆς γῆς μυριάδας ὅη σταδίων.”

## Section 54

15.54.1 | Πέρι ἐνιαυτῶν. Ἔνιαυτός ἔστι Κρόνου μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδος λ᾽. Δῖος δὲ δώδεκα, Ἀρεως δὲ δυεῖν, ἡλίου δὲ ιβ' μῆνες οἴδ' αὐτοὶ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ίσόδρομοι γάρ. σελήνης δὲ ἡμέραι λ᾽. οὗτος γάρ ὁ τέλειος μ' ἀπὸ φάσεως εἰς σύνοδον.

15.54.2 | Τὸν δὲ μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν οἵ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁκταετηρίθι τίθενται· οἵ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑννεακαιδεκαετηρίδι· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔνδος

star is said to be falsely bright.”

15.52.3 | “The Stoics say that because the substance is mixed with air, the mixture is not pure.”

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 larger.”

15.53.3 | “Eratosthenes says that the sun is 400,000 stadia away from the earth, and the moon is 30,000 stadia away from the earth.”

15.54.1 | “About the years. The year of Cronus is 29 years; the year of Zeus is 12 years; the year of Ares is 2 years; and the year of the sun is 11 months. The same is true for Hermes and Aphrodite, as they have equal cycles. The moon has a cycle of 27 days. This is the complete cycle from new moon to full moon.”

15.54.2 | “The great year is said to fit into the eight-year cycle; some place it in the thirteen-year cycle, while others in the

δέουσιν. Ἡράκλειτος, ἐκ μυρίων  
όκτακισχιλίων ἡλιακῶν. Διογενής, ἐκ πέντε  
καὶ ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριακασίων ἐνιαυτῶν  
τοσούτων, ὅσων κατὰ Ἡράκλειτον ὁ  
ἐνιαυτός· ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ ψοζ' .”

sixty-year cycle. Heraclitus claims it is 18,000 solar years. Diogenes states it is 563 years, the same number 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 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 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
μίαν εἶναι τὴν γῆν.

15.55.1 | “About the earth. Thales and his followers say that the earth is one.”

15.55.2 | Ἰκέτης ὁ Πυθαγόρειος δύο,  
ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀντίθονα.

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.

15.55.3 | “The Stoics say that the earth is one and has boundaries.”

15.55.4 | Ξενοφάνης ἐκ τοῦ κατωτέρου  
μέρους εἰς ἄπειρον ἐρριζῶσθαι, ἐξ ἀέρος δὲ  
καὶ πυρὸς συμπαγῆναι.

15.55.4 | “Xenophanes says that from the lower part it is rooted in the infinite and that it is made solid from air and fire.”

15.55.5 | Μητρόδωρος τὴν μὲν γῆν  
ὑπόστασιν εἶναι καὶ τρύγα τοῦ ὕδατος, τὸν  
δὲ ἥλιον τοῦ ἀέρος.”

15.55.5 | “Metrodorus says that the earth is the foundation and source of water, while the sun comes from the air.”

## Section 56

15.56.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος γῆς. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, σφαιροειδῆ τὴν γῆν.

15.56.1 | “About the shape of the earth: Thales and the Stoics say that the earth is round.”

15.56.2 | Ἀναξίμανδρος λίθῳ κίονι προσφερῆ τῶν ἐπιπέδων.

15.56.2 | “Anaximander adds a stone pillar to the things that are on the ground.”

15.56.3 | Ἀναξιμένης τραπεζοειδῆ.

15.56.3 | “Anaximenes says that the earth is shaped like a table.”

15.56.4 | Λεύκιππος τυμπανοειδῆ.

15.56.4 | “Leucippus says that the earth is shaped like a drum.”

15.56.5 | Δημόκριτος δισκοειδῆ τῷ πλάτει, κούλην δὲ τῷ μέσῳ.”

15.56.5 | “Democritus says that the earth is shaped like a disk on the surface, but it is hollow in the middle.”

## Section 57

15.57.1 | “Περὶ θέσεως τῆς γῆς. Οὗτος απὸ Θαλέω τὴν γῆν μέσην.

15.57.1 | “About the position of the earth. I say that, according to Thales, the earth is in the middle.”

15.57.2 | Ξενοφάνης πρώτην, εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ ἐρριζῶσθαι.

15.57.2 | “Xenophanes says that the first thing is rooted in the infinite.”

15.57.3 | Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὸ μὲν πῦρ μέσον τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἐστίαν· δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀντίχθονα· τρίτην δὲ ἥν οἴκοῦμεν γῆν, ἔξ οὐαντίας κειμένην τε καὶ περιφερομένην τῇ ἀντίχθονι· παρ' ὧν καὶ μὴ ὄρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇδε τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ.

15.57.3 | “Philolaus the Pythagorean says that fire is in the middle, for this is the hearth of everything. The second is the counter-earth, and the third is the earth we live on, which lies opposite and revolves around the counter-earth. This is why it cannot be seen by those here from those

there."

15.57.4 | Παρμενίδης πρῶτος ἀφώρισε τῆς γῆς τοὺς οἰκουμένους τόπους ὑπὸ ταῖς δυσὶ ζώναις ταῖς τροπικαῖς.

15.57.4 | "Parmenides was the first to define the inhabited areas of the earth as being under the two tropical zones."

## Section 58

15.58.1 | "Περὶ κινήσεως γῆς. Οὗτος μὲν ἄλλοι μένειν τὴν γῆν.

15.58.1 | "About the motion of the earth. Some people say that the earth stays still."

15.58.2 | Φιλόλαος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, κύκλῳ περιφέρεται περὶ τὸ πῦρ κατὰ κύκλου λοξοῦ, ὅμοιοτρόπως ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ.

15.58.2 | "But Philolaus the Pythagorean says that the earth revolves in a circle around the fire at an angle, just like the sun and the moon."

15.58.3 | Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἔκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μὴν μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς, τροχοῦ δίκην ἐν ἄξονι στρεφομένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς, περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέντρον.

15.58.3 | Heraclides of Pontus and Ephantus the Pythagorean say that the earth moves, but not in a way that changes its position. Instead, 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 it was small and light, but over time it became dense and heavy and settled down. While these ideas about the earth were being discussed, 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

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 original

ύγρασίας λείψανον· ἵς τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἔκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.

15.59.2 | Ἀναξαγόρας τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς λιμνάζοντος ὑγροῦ περικαέντος ὑπό τῆς ἡλιακῆς πεοιφορᾶς, καὶ τοῦ λιπαοῦ λοιπὸν ὑποστῆναι. εἰς ἀλυκίδα καὶ πικρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

15.59.3 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἰδρῶτα τῆς γῆς ἔκκαιομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον πίλησιν.

15.59.4 | Ἀντιφῶν ἰδρῶτα τοῦ θερμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὸ περιληφθὲν ὑγρὸν ἀπεκρίθη, τῷ καθεψηθῆναι παραλυκίσασα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἰδρῶτος συμβαίνει.

15.59.5 | Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὸ διηθεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς c μετειληφέναι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάχους, καθάπερ τὰ διὰ τῆς τέφρας ὄλιζόμενα.

15.59.6 | Οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὕδατος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀέρος κατὰ περίψυξιν συνιστάμενον γλυκὺ γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς κατὰ περίκαυσιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναθυμιάμενον ἀλμυρόν.”

15.59.7 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ θαλάσσης. ὅπως δὲ οἱ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου ούρανίων τε πέρι καὶ αἴθερίων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων καταλήψεως φυσιολογεῖν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι ούδὲ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς

moisture. Most of it was dried up by fire, and what remained changed because of the heat.”

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 adds that it turned into salt and bitterness.”

15.59.3 | “Empedocles says that the sweat of the earth was burned by the sun because it was mostly compressed.”

15.59.4 | “Antiphon says that the sweat of heat, from which the gathered moisture was released, was paralyzed by being cooled down, which happens to all sweat.”

15.59.5 | “Metrodorus says that because it was filtered through the earth, it took on the thickness of what surrounded it, just like things filtered through ash.”

15.59.6 | “Those who follow Plato say that the water from the air becomes sweet through cooling, while the water from the earth becomes salty through heating and evaporation.”

15.59.7 | “These things are about the sea. But those who discuss the entire universe, including the heavenly and the ethereal, and the nature of everything, do not even understand what is true about themselves.”

ἵδεσαν, μάθοις ἀν ἔξ ὅν καὶ περὶ τούτων  
ῶδε πως διαπεφωνήκασιν.

You could learn from these things how they have spoken about these topics."

## Section 60

15.60.1 | "Περὶ μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς.  
Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων', κατὰ μὲν τὸν  
ἀνωτάτῳ λόγον, διμερῇ τὴν ψυχήν· τὸ μὲν  
γὰρ ἔχειν λογικὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον. κατὰ δὲ τὸ  
προσεχές καὶ ἀκριβές τριμέρῃ· 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 can be divided in two ways: in the broadest 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 split into the spirited part and the appetitive part."

15.60.2 | Οὗτοί εἰσιν ὁκτὼ μερῶν  
συνεστάναι, πέντε τῶν αἰσθητικῶν,  
δρατικοῦ, ὁσφραντικοῦ, ἀκουστικοῦ,  
γευστικοῦ, ἀπτικοῦ· ἕκτου δὲ φωνητικοῦ,  
ἔβδομου δὲ σπερματικοῦ, ὄγδου δὲ αὐτοῦ  
τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ταῦτα πάντα  
τέτακται διὰ τῶν οίκειων ὄργανων,  
προσφερῶς ταῖς τοῦ πολύποδος  
πλεκτάναις.

15.60.2 | "The Stoics say that there are eight parts: five related to the senses, which are sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch. The sixth part is the vocal part, the seventh is the seed part, and the eighth is the ruling part itself. From this ruling part, all these are organized through their own organs, much like the way a many-legged creature functions."

15.60.3 | Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος, διμερῇ  
τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ἔχουσαν ἐν τῷ  
θώρακι καθιδρυμένον, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον καθ'  
ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ σώματος  
διεσπαρμένον.

15.60.3 | "Democritus and Epicurus say that the soul is divided into two parts: the rational part, which is found in the chest, and the irrational part, which is spread throughout the whole body."

15.60.4 | 'Ο δὲ Δημόκριτος πάντα μετέχειν  
φύσει ποιᾶς, καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν σωμάτων  
διότι ἀφανῶς τινος θερμοῦ καὶ αἰσθητικοῦ  
μετέχει, τοῦ πλείονος διαπνεομένου.

15.60.4 | "But Democritus says that everything has a part in nature, even dead bodies. This is 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.

15.61.1 | “About the ruling part: Plato and Democritus say it is located in the whole head.”

15.61.2 | Στράτων ἐν μεσοφρύῳ.

15.61.2 | “Straton says it is located in the midbrain.”

15.61.3 | Ἐρασίστρατος περὶ τὴν μήνιγγα τοῦ ἔγκεφάλου, ἥν ἐπικρανίδα λέγει.

15.61.3 | “Erastistratus talks about the meninges of the brain, which he calls the dura mater.”

15.61.4 | Ἡρόφιλος ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔγκεφάλου κοιλίᾳ, ἣτις ἔστι καὶ βάσις.

15.61.4 | “Hippocrates speaks about the cavity of the brain, which is also the base.”

15.61.5 | Παρμενίδης ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ θώρακι.

15.61.5 | “Parmenides talks about the entire chest.”

15.61.6 | Ἐπίκουρος, οἱ Στωϊκοὶ πάντες, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ.

15.61.6 | “Epicurus, like all the Stoics, speaks about the entire heart.”

15.61.7 | Διογενῆς ἐν τῇ ἀρτηριακῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς καρδίας, σειράς πνευματική.

15.61.7 | “Diogenes talks about the arterial cavity of the heart, which is spiritual.”

15.61.8 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἵματος συστάσει.

15.61.8 | “Empedocles talks about the structure of the blood.”

15.61.9 | Οὗτοί δ' ἐν τῷ περικαρδίῳ ὑμένι· οἱ δέ ἐν τῷ διαφράγματι. τῶν νεωτέρων τινὲς διήκειν ἀπὸ φαλῆρος μέχρι τοῦ

15.61.9 | “Some say it is in the pericardium; others say it is in the diaphragm. Some of the younger thinkers explained it as being

διαφράγματος.

from the brain to the diaphragm."

15.61.10 | Πυθαγόρας τὸ μὲν ζωτικὸν περὶ τὴν κὰρ δίαν, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν καὶ νοερὸν περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν."

15.61.10 | "Pythagoras said that the vital part is near the heart, while the rational and thinking part is near the head."

15.61.11 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶνδε. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ σοι δοκοῦμεν κρίσει καὶ λογισμῷ τῆς τούτων ἀπάντων ἀνωφελοῦς καὶ πολυπλανοῦς ματαιοπονίας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰρημένων μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, μηδὲ γὰρ ὅρᾶν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ αὐτόθεν συντεῖνον πρὸς ώφέλειαν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν ἀνθρώποις) μόνης δὲ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν θεὸν εύσεβείας ἔχεσθαι, καὶ διὰ σώφρονος βίου τῆς τε ἄλλης κατ' ἀρετὴν θεοφιλοῦς πολιτείας ἀρεσκόντως ζῆν σπουδάζειν τῷ πάντων θεῷ;

15.61.11 | "That's enough about these matters. Do you not think it is right for us to have moved away from all this useless and confusing effort through judgment and reasoning? We should not meddle with what has been said, since we cannot see anything useful in it that leads to benefit and goodness for people. Instead, we should focus only on being pious toward the creator god of all, and strive to live a virtuous life that is pleasing to the divine through wise living."

15.61.12 | ἀλλ' εἴ καὶ σὺ βασκανίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ τὴν ἀληθῆ μαρτυρίαν ἡμῖν προσέσθαι δι' ὅκουν φέρεις, φθάσει γέ σε πάλιν ὁ πάντων Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος Σωκράτης τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ψήφους φιλαληθῶς ἔξενηνεγμένος. τοὺς γοῦν μετεωρολέσχας ἔκείνους 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 πη γράφων ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμασιν

15.61.12 | "But if you bring the true testimony to us with envy and jealousy, Socrates, the wisest of all Greeks, will once again present the votes for us, having done so honestly. He showed that those who speak nonsense are foolish and said they are no different from madmen, clearly proving that they are not only chasing the impossible but also wasting their lives on useless and unhelpful things. These points will also be confirmed to you by Xenophon, a well-known companion of Socrates, who writes this in his *Memorabilia*."

## Section 62

15.62.1 | "Ούδεις δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους ούδεν οὕτε ἀνόσιον, οὕτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, λέγοντος ἡκουσεν. ούδε γὰρ 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 ἱκανῶς 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 ὅμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

15.62.4 | τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν ούδε τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὅχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν δτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἔξιτητέον είς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὕθ' ιερὸν οὕτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων ούδεν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι. τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως

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. He also showed that those who worry about such matters are foolish."

15.62.2 | "And first, he looked into whether they thought they already knew enough about human matters and were coming to think about such things, or if they were ignoring human matters and focusing on the divine, believing they were doing what was right."

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 very highly of themselves do not agree with each other about these matters, and even those who are mad feel the same way toward one another."

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 be seen among people at all. Some honor nothing divine, like shrines or altars, while others worship random pieces of wood, stones, and wild animals. Among those who worry about the nature of

μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἔν μόνον τὸ  
ὅν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ τοῖς  
μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν  
ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄπαντα  
γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὕτ'  
ἄν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὕτε ἀπολέσθαι.

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·  
ἄρ' ὥσπερ οἱ τάνθρωπινα μανθάνοντες  
ἡγοῦνται τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἄν μάθωσιν ἔαυτοῖς 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 ὄρας καὶ ὅτου ἄν  
ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων; ἢ τοιοῦτον  
μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς  
γνῶναι μόνον ἃ τῶν τοιούτων ἔκαστα  
γίγνεται;

15.62.5 | "He also thought about this regarding 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 create 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 εὔσεβες, τί ἀσεβές· τί καλὸν, τί  
αἰσχρόν· τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον· τί  
σωφροσύνη, τί μανία."

15.62.6 | "Therefore, he spoke about those who deal with these matters. But he always discussed human affairs, thinking about what is pious and what is impious, what is beautiful and what is ugly, what is just and what is unjust, what is moderation and what is madness."

15.62.7 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Σωκράτης. μετὰ  
δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστιππον τὸν  
Κυρηναῖον, ἔπειθ' ὑστερον οἱ περὶ  
Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Χῖον ἐπεχείρησαν λέγειν ὡς  
δέοι μόνα τὰ ἡθικὰ φιλοσοφεῖν· εἶναι γὰρ  
δὴ ταῦτα μὲν δυνατὰ καὶ ὀφέλιμα· τοὺς  
μέντοι περὶ τῆς φύσεως λόγους πᾶν  
τούναντίον, μήτε καταληπτοὺς είναι μήτ',

15.62.7 | "Thus spoke Socrates. After him, those around Aristippus of Cyrene later argued that one should only study ethics. They believed that these matters are both possible and useful. However, they thought that discussions about nature are quite the opposite, as they are neither understandable nor, even if they were

εί καὶ ὄφθεῖν, ὅφελος ἔχειν τι.

clear, would they be of any benefit.”

15.62.8 | μηδὲν γάρ ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι πλέον,  
ἄλλ’ ούδ’ εί μετεωρότεροι τοῦ Πέρσεως  
ἀρθέντες ὑπέρ τε πόντου χεῦμ’ ὑπέρ τε  
Πλειάδα, αύτοῖς τοῖς ὄμμασι κατίδοιμεν τὸν  
πάντα κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν,  
ἥτις δή ποτέ ἔστιν.

15.62.8 | “For nothing will be gained by 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 γάρ δὴ διά γε τοῦτο  
φρονιμωτέρους ἢ δικαιοτέρους ἢ  
ἀνδρειοτέρονς ἢ σωφρονεστέρους ἡμᾶς  
ἔσεσθαι, μὴν ούδε ἴσχυροὺς ἢ καλοὺς ἢ  
πλουσίους, ᾧν χωρὶς οὐχ οἶόν τε  
εύδαιμονεῖν.

15.62.9 | “For this reason, we will not be wiser, more just, braver, or more moderate, nor will we be stronger, more beautiful, or richer. Without these qualities, it is not possible to be happy.”

15.62.10 | ὅθεν ὁρθῶς εἶπε Σωκράτης ὅτι  
τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἴη, τὰ δὲ  
ούδεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. εἶναι γάρ τὰ φυσικὰ μὲν  
ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ούδεν  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μόνα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ  
ἀνθρώπινα.

15.62.10 | “From this, Socrates rightly said that some things exist beyond us, while others have nothing to do with us. Natural things are beyond us, and those that come after death have no connection to us, but only human matters are related to us.”

15.62.11 | ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ χαίρειν αὐτὸν  
εἰπόντα τῇ Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ Ἀρχελάου  
φυσιολογίᾳ ζητεῖν ὅττι οἱ ἐν μεγάροισι  
κακόν τ’ ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

15.62.11 | “And in this way, he said goodbye while exploring the natural philosophy of Anaxagoras and Archelaus to understand what good and evil are created among those in the great halls.”

15.62.12 | καὶ ἄλλως δὲ εἶναι τοὺς  
φυσικοὺς λόγους οὐ χαλεποὺς ούδε  
ἀδυνάτους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ  
τοῖς νόμοις ὑπεναντίους. τοὺς μὲν γάρ  
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 disrespectful and contrary to the laws. Some deny that there are any gods at all, while others talk about the infinite, or being, or the one; and they value these ideas more than those that are commonly

accepted.”

15.62.13 | τήν τ' αὗ διαφωνίαν παμπόλλην οὖσαν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄπειρον ἀποφάσιν τὸ πᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πεπερασμένον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀξιοῦν ἄπαντα κινεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καθάπαξ μηδέν.

15.62.13 | “And again, there is a big disagreement; for some claim that everything is infinite, while others say it is limited. Some believe that everything is in motion, while others argue that nothing moves at all.”

15.62.14 | καὶ μὴν εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο πάντων ἄριστά μοι δοκεῖ περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις καὶ ὁ Φλιάσιος Τίμων είρηκέναι τάδε τίς γὰρ τούσδ' ὄλοῇ ἔριδι ξυνέκει μάχεσθαι; Ἡχοῦς σύνδρομος ὅχλος. ὁ γὰρ σιγῶσι χολωθείσνουν 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 expressed it in the Silli: ‘For who has joined in this total conflict to fight? A crowd of echoes. For the one who remains silent, filled with anger, has stirred up a sickness against the winds, and many have perished.’”

15.62.15 | ὁρᾶς ὡς ἥδη καὶ ἀλλήλους σκώπτουσιν οἱ γενναῖοι; τὴν γοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν αὐτῶν τάς τε μάχας καὶ τὰς διαστάσεις ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς είρημένοις ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ τοῦτον ὑπογράφει τὸν τρόπον φοιτᾶ δὲ βροτολογίος ἔρις, κενεὸν λελακυῖα, νείκης ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη καὶ ἔριθος, ἡ τ' ἀλαὴ περὶ πάντα κυλίνδεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα ἔτει τε βροτούς στήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐς ἐλπίδα βάλλει.

15.62.15 | “Do you see how the noble ones are already mocking each other? At least, the man mentioned shows how their rivalry, their battles, and their disagreements are still aimed at those previously mentioned. ‘A strife that brings death to mortals wanders about, a hollow sound, the sister of deadly conflict, and a rival that rolls around everywhere, and then it strikes both mortals and hope.’”

15.62.16 | Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς τῶνδε πρὸς σφάς αὐτοὺς ἀποδεδειγμένης 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 ἀποδείξεσιν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἵτίας εἰς

15.62.16 | “But indeed, regarding the established position and conflict among these people, which has nothing to do with us, as well as the excessive and unknown education and learning of all the others, in which even now the children of philosophers are being honored, chosen not by our own standards, but by their own proofs; yet, the cause has been made clear,

φανερὸν τεθείσης, δι' ἣν τὰ τῶνδε  
αποστραφέντες τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια  
προτετιμήκαμεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς Εύαγγελικῆς  
Προπαρασκευῆς ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν  
περιγεγράφθω·

through which we have turned away from  
the words of the Hebrews. Let the  
teachings of the Evangelical Preparation be  
recorded among these."

15.62.17 | τὰ δὲ τῆς ἑντελεστέρας  
πραγματείας, τῆς κατὰ τὴν Εύαγγελικὴν  
Ἀπόδειξιν, ἥδη λοιπὸν ἐπισκεπτέον ἀφ'  
ἐτέρας λόγων ἀρχῆς, τῆς δὴ λειπούσης τῷ  
προβλήματι, τὴν διδασκαλίαν  
ποιησομένοις.

15.62.17 | "But regarding the most  
complete work, which is based on the  
Evangelical Proof, we should now examine  
it from a different starting point, since it is  
lacking for the issue at hand, for those who  
are about to teach."

15.62.18 | λείπει δ' ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς ἔκ  
περιτομῆς ἐπιμεμψαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι,  
τί δὴ ποτε ἀλλόφυλοι ὅντες καὶ ἀλλογενεῖς  
ταῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις ἀποχρώμεθα, μηδὲν  
ἡμῖν, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, προσηκούσαις· ἢ  
τί δὴ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀσπαζόμενοι λόγια  
οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀκόλουθον τῷ παρ'  
αὐτοῖς παρέχομεν νόμῳ.

15.62.18 | "Therefore, it is necessary to  
respond to those who criticize us for being  
from circumcision, asking why we, being of  
different races and origins, use their books,  
which have nothing to do with us, as they  
themselves would say; or why we accept  
their teachings and do not follow the way  
of life they present."

## 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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<b>Gen 36:39:</b> 9.27.1; 9.40.3	<b>Gen 46:20:</b> 2.2.31; 9.21.12; 10.9.20
<b>Gen 36:43:</b> 1.10.31	<b>Gen 46:34:</b> 1.5.10
<b>Gen 37:1:</b> 9.21.6	<b>Gen 47:11:</b> 9.20.2
<b>Gen 37:15:</b> 9.4.8	<b>Gen 47:17:</b> 2.1.35; 3.4.6; 4.16.14
<b>Gen 37:36:</b> 9.27.7	<b>Gen 47:20:</b> 9.27.32
<b>Gen 38:3:</b> 9.27.3	<b>Gen 49:5:</b> 9.22.10
<b>Gen 38:4:</b> 1.10.19; 2.2.30	<b>Gen 50:13:</b> 9.21.16
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<b>Gen 39:2:</b> 7.8.32	<b>Exod 1:12:</b> 7.8.37
<b>Gen 39:23:</b> 9.21.13	<b>Exod 1:22:</b> 9.28.1
<b>Gen 40:20:</b> 1.9.29	<b>Exod 2:7:</b> 9.28.1
<b>Gen 41:45:</b> 9.21.12; 13.16.10	<b>Exod 2:9:</b> 9.28.1
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<b>Gen 41:48:</b> 9.23.4	<b>Exod 2:12:</b> 9.28.1
<b>Gen 43:33:</b> 8.12.10	<b>Exod 2:14:</b> 13.8.1
<b>Gen 43:34:</b> 9.21.14	<b>Exod 2:15:</b> 9.27.15
<b>Gen 44:13:</b> 9.3.9	<b>Exod 2:20:</b> 3.10.24
<b>Gen 45:8:</b> 7.9.2	<b>Exod 2:22:</b> 9.27.3
<b>Gen 45:9:</b> 9.29.10	<b>Exod 2:23:</b> 10.13.6
<b>Gen 45:19:</b> 9.27.21	<b>Exod 3:5:</b> 9.29.8
<b>Gen 45:22:</b> 9.21.15	<b>Exod 3:8:</b> 5.31.2
<b>Gen 45:25:</b> 9.21.6; 9.21.11; 9.21.16	<b>Exod 3:13:</b> 7.11.12
<b>Gen 46:5:</b> 9.22.3	<b>Exod 3:14:</b> 7.11.12
<b>Gen 46:8:</b> 1.6.6	<b>Exod 3:15:</b> 7.11.12; 7.12.8; 11.6.29

<b>Exod 3:22:</b> 9.29.12	<b>Exod 9:1:</b> 9.27.12
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<b>Exod 4:10:</b> 9.29.9	<b>Exod 9:13:</b> 10.9.25
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<b>Exod 6:11:</b> 9.18.1	<b>Exod 11:3:</b> 7.8.32; 10.12.30
<b>Exod 6:12:</b> 9.29.9	<b>Exod 12:6:</b> 9.29.13
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<b>Exod 6:20:</b> 9.21.19	<b>Exod 12:15:</b> 9.29.12
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<b>Exod 6:23:</b> 1.10.16; 2.2.23; 9.21.19; 9.23.3	<b>Exod 12:36:</b> 10.6.2
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<b>Exod 7:5:</b> 8.10.8	<b>Exod 13:2:</b> 9.13.5
<b>Exod 7:7:</b> 9.21.19	<b>Exod 13:6:</b> 9.29.13
<b>Exod 7:11:</b> 1.10.46; 6.10.16; 10.4.15; 10.6.3	<b>Exod 13:12:</b> 4.5.1
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<b>Exod 8:12:</b> 9.29.7	<b>Exod 14:13:</b> 11.23.8
<b>Exod 8:26:</b> 13.praef.1	<b>Exod 14:21:</b> 9.29.14
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<b>Exod 18:1:</b> 7.7.1; 10.11.13	<b>Exod 21:31:</b> 8.7.5; 13.21.11
<b>Exod 18:4:</b> 12.11.1	<b>Exod 21:35:</b> 13.21.2
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<b>Exod 19:2:</b> 9.19.1	<b>Exod 22:5:</b> 6.9.23; 12.33.1
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<b>Exod 20:1:</b> 8.7.20; 10.9.26; 11.13.3; 11.19.3	<b>Exod 23:12:</b> 8.7.15
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<b>Exod 20:10:</b> 12.25.1	<b>Exod 25:10:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>Exod 20:11:</b> 1.6.1; 3.3.2; 13.12.12; 13.13.33	<b>Exod 25:29:</b> 8.3.5
<b>Exod 20:17:</b> 4.19.2; 8.11.4	<b>Exod 25:40:</b> 12.19.1
<b>Exod 21:2:</b> 12.37.1	<b>Exod 27:1:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10
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<b>Exod 21:13:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Exod 28:15:</b> 11.36.2
<b>Exod 21:14:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Exod 29:21:</b> 1.10.29; 2.2.29
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<b>Exod 21:17:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Exod 30:9:</b> 4.10.6; 9.4.4
<b>Exod 21:18:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Exod 30:32:</b> 11.10.7
<b>Exod 21:20:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Exod 31:17:</b> 13.12.12
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<b>Exod 21:23:</b> 15.22.9	<b>Exod 32:20:</b> 2.2.29
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<b>Exod 33:16:</b> 1.5.11	<b>Exod 38:24:</b> 9.34.16
<b>Exod 34:1:</b> 11.14.2	<b>Exod 38:27:</b> 9.34.16
<b>Exod 34:7:</b> 2.4.2	<b>Exod 39:7:</b> 9.8.2
<b>Exod 34:14:</b> 12.27.1	<b>Exod 39:16:</b> 9.34.6
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<b>Exod 35:5:</b> 12.9.1	<b>Lev 1:9:</b> 3.4.9
<b>Exod 35:22:</b> 8.14.17; 13.13.40	<b>Lev 1:13:</b> 3.4.9
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<b>Exod 36:21:</b> 9.34.10	<b>Lev 5:2:</b> 4.21.4; 12.33.1; 14.18.18
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<b>Exod 37:1:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10	<b>Lev 6:2:</b> 4.14.5; 8.7.2
<b>Exod 37:3:</b> 1.10.36	<b>Lev 7:8:</b> 8.9.37
<b>Exod 37:6:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10	<b>Lev 8:5:</b> 13.13.21; 13.21.12; 13.21.14
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<b>Exod 37:17:</b> 5.20.8	<b>Lev 8:21:</b> 2.1.18
<b>Exod 37:23:</b> 9.34.8	<b>Lev 8:22:</b> 9.27.32
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<b>Lev 10:6:</b> 12.25.2	<b>Lev 19:35:</b> 8.7.8
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<b>Lev 12:2:</b> 2.1.24	<b>Lev 20:12:</b> 13.20.7
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<b>Lev 14:13:</b> 4.16.12	<b>Lev 20:14:</b> 13.20.7
<b>Lev 15:25:</b> 12.6.6	<b>Lev 20:17:</b> 6.10.23; 8.7.2; 13.21.8
<b>Lev 16:11:</b> 1.10.33	<b>Lev 20:25:</b> 4.13.1; 8.9.17; 11.37.13; 14.19.7
<b>Lev 16:16:</b> 10.8.4	<b>Lev 20:27:</b> 12.34.2
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<b>Lev 19:2:</b> 11.13.1	<b>Lev 23:6:</b> 9.29.13
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<b>Josh 24:14:</b> 7.8.35	<b>Judg 13:4:</b> 12.25.2
<b>Josh 24:15:</b> 5.33.12; 13.10.4	<b>Judg 13:14:</b> 8.9.30; 12.25.2
<b>Josh 24:17:</b> 6.6.68; 9.6.7; 13.12.1	<b>Judg 14:20:</b> 3.13.18
<b>Josh 24:25:</b> 2.5.4	<b>Judg 18:8:</b> 9.21.13
<b>Josh 24:33:</b> 2.2.39	<b>Judg 18:13:</b> 9.21.11
<b>Judg 1:10:</b> 9.30.3	<b>Judg 18:29:</b> 9.5.6
<b>Judg 1:17:</b> 9.22.8	<b>Judg 21:1:</b> 2.1.20
<b>Judg 2:7:</b> 8.1.1	<b>Judg 21:22:</b> 6.6.17
<b>Judg 3:4:</b> 14.9.4	<b>Ruth 1:2:</b> 1.10.14
<b>Judg 3:5:</b> 9.10.3; 10.5.2; 14.10.5	<b>Ruth 1:8:</b> 5.34.13
<b>Judg 3:6:</b> 4.2.13	<b>Ruth 2:18:</b> 11.35.2

<b>Ruth 3:4:</b> 11.35.2	<b>1Sam 17:6:</b> 5.29.3
<b>Ruth 4:4:</b> 6.10.50	<b>1Sam 20:32:</b> 5.20.4
<b>Ruth 4:17:</b> 3.3.7; 9.27.3	<b>1Sam 22:4:</b> 5.25.6
<b>1Sam 1:1:</b> 13.16.10	<b>1Sam 22:10:</b> 14.9.1
<b>1Sam 1:20:</b> 9.30.2	<b>1Sam 22:19:</b> 2.2.4; 8.9.16; 9.27.4
<b>1Sam 2:2:</b> 4.17.1; 6.6.60; 12.29.16	<b>1Sam 22:20:</b> 9.41.4
<b>1Sam 2:17:</b> 4.21.6	<b>1Sam 25:29:</b> 11.18.10
<b>1Sam 2:19:</b> 2.8.8	<b>1Sam 25:43:</b> 2.1.32
<b>1Sam 2:24:</b> 15.1.13	<b>1Sam 27:8:</b> 4.16.17; 8.6.1
<b>1Sam 2:25:</b> 13.21.2	<b>1Sam 28:6:</b> 13.3.46
<b>1Sam 3:7:</b> 13.13.4	<b>1Sam 28:18:</b> 6.7.41
<b>1Sam 3:10:</b> 10.2.15	<b>2Sam 1:12:</b> 2.2.6
<b>1Sam 6:2:</b> 13.11.1	<b>2Sam 2:15:</b> 10.14.8
<b>1Sam 8:4:</b> 9.22.10	<b>2Sam 3:2:</b> 1.10.19; 9.29.3
<b>1Sam 10:1:</b> 9.30.2	<b>2Sam 3:12:</b> 9.29.8
<b>1Sam 10:12:</b> 3.10.23	<b>2Sam 3:21:</b> 9.29.8
<b>1Sam 10:17:</b> 10.14.3	<b>2Sam 5:4:</b> 10.14.4
<b>1Sam 12:8:</b> 9.21.1	<b>2Sam 5:5:</b> 9.21.9; 12.37.1
<b>1Sam 12:18:</b> 10.2.15	<b>2Sam 5:13:</b> 2.2.59
<b>1Sam 13:1:</b> 9.34.20; 10.14.4	<b>2Sam 6:17:</b> 2.3.25
<b>1Sam 14:34:</b> 12.46.5	<b>2Sam 7:20:</b> 4.16.26
<b>1Sam 14:51:</b> 3.13.16	<b>2Sam 8:4:</b> 9.25.2; 9.39.5
<b>1Sam 15:1:</b> 9.30.2	<b>2Sam 8:16:</b> 10.14.8
<b>1Sam 15:3:</b> 8.9.16	<b>2Sam 8:18:</b> 10.9.23
<b>1Sam 15:4:</b> 9.39.5	<b>2Sam 9:5:</b> 9.40.3; 9.40.5
<b>1Sam 15:9:</b> 8.9.36	<b>2Sam 10:5:</b> 8.2.4

<b>2Sam 10:6:</b> 9.39.5	<b>1Kgs 6:2:</b> 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 12:24:</b> 2.2.1	<b>1Kgs 6:3:</b> 9.34.4; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 12:29:</b> 9.40.8	<b>1Kgs 6:10:</b> 9.34.11
<b>2Sam 13:1:</b> 10.12.20	<b>1Kgs 6:16:</b> 9.34.11
<b>2Sam 13:37:</b> 9.41.4	<b>1Kgs 6:20:</b> 9.4.3; 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 14:14:</b> 15.6.11	<b>1Kgs 7:2:</b> 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 14:23:</b> 10.14.8	<b>1Kgs 7:8:</b> 11.14.6
<b>2Sam 14:27:</b> 9.19.2	<b>1Kgs 7:9:</b> 9.38.3
<b>2Sam 17:25:</b> 9.21.19; 10.9.20	<b>1Kgs 7:10:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 18:28:</b> 10.2.13	<b>1Kgs 7:15:</b> 9.4.3; 9.34.9; 9.34.10; 9.34.11
<b>2Sam 19:11:</b> 8.2.4	<b>1Kgs 7:16:</b> 9.34.6; 9.34.8; 9.34.11
<b>2Sam 19:25:</b> 9.27.22	<b>1Kgs 7:23:</b> 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 22:14:</b> 7.15.17	<b>1Kgs 7:27:</b> 9.34.9; 9.34.10
<b>2Sam 22:36:</b> 14.26.1	<b>1Kgs 7:38:</b> 9.34.9
<b>2Sam 22:51:</b> 7.8.17	<b>1Kgs 7:51:</b> 9.34.19
<b>2Sam 24:25:</b> 3.12.5	<b>1Kgs 8:1:</b> 9.34.4
<b>1Kgs 2:11:</b> 9.21.9; 9.30.1; 10.9.4; 15.54.1	<b>1Kgs 8:17:</b> 9.31.1; 9.33.1
<b>1Kgs 2:12:</b> 9.30.8	<b>1Kgs 8:18:</b> 9.31.1; 9.33.1
<b>1Kgs 2:24:</b> 9.31.1; 9.33.1; 13.13.32	<b>1Kgs 8:20:</b> 9.31.1; 9.33.1
<b>1Kgs 3:1:</b> 2.2.1; 9.34.4	<b>1Kgs 8:39:</b> 12.6.3
<b>1Kgs 3:28:</b> 8.5.7	<b>1Kgs 8:43:</b> 11.6.10
<b>1Kgs 4:32:</b> 11.7.4	<b>1Kgs 9:6:</b> 2.4.5; 13.8.2
<b>1Kgs 4:33:</b> 11.7.4	<b>1Kgs 9:9:</b> 7.2.2; 8.9.10; 10.10.22
<b>1Kgs 4:34:</b> 11.7.4	<b>1Kgs 9:11:</b> 9.34.19
<b>1Kgs 5:5:</b> 6.11.21; 9.31.1; 9.33.1	<b>1Kgs 9:20:</b> 8.1.2
<b>1Kgs 5:14:</b> 9.34.4	<b>1Kgs 9:25:</b> 4.16.2

- 1Kgs 10:16:** 9.34.20                    **1Kgs 16:23:** 10.9.3; 10.14.5; 10.14.6
- 1Kgs 10:17:** 9.34.7                    **1Kgs 16:26:** 7.8.31
- 1Kgs 10:29:** 9.34.17                    **1Kgs 16:28:** 10.9.10
- 1Kgs 11:3:** 9.25.2                    **1Kgs 16:29:** 9.21.19; 10.14.6
- 1Kgs 11:31:** 9.22.9                    **1Kgs 18:6:** 8.8.9
- 1Kgs 11:38:** 6.11.4                    **1Kgs 18:10:** 5.33.15
- 1Kgs 11:41:** 11.7.3                    **1Kgs 18:24:** 7.15.10
- 1Kgs 11:42:** 9.21.16; 10.12.17; 10.14.4                    **1Kgs 18:26:** 3.13.2
- 1Kgs 12:1:** 1.10.38                    **1Kgs 18:34:** 11.17.9
- 1Kgs 12:15:** 10.9.12                    **1Kgs 18:36:** 7.11.10
- 1Kgs 12:25:** 9.21.10; 9.27.2                    **1Kgs 18:38:** 1.10.10
- 1Kgs 12:32:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 19:11:** 11.26.5
- 1Kgs 12:33:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 20:13:** 11.12.2
- 1Kgs 13:1:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 22:26:** 2.1.14
- 1Kgs 13:2:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 22:41:** 9.21.5; 9.23.4
- 1Kgs 13:3:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 22:42:** 9.21.11; 9.21.19
- 1Kgs 13:5:** 6.11.21                    **1Kgs 22:43:** 7.18.8
- 1Kgs 14:7:** 9.29.8                    **1Kgs 22:51:** 9.21.12; 9.23.4; 10.14.5
- 1Kgs 14:15:** 5.5.2                    **2Kgs 1:8:** 3.11.45
- 1Kgs 14:21:** 4.16.11; 9.30.8; 10.14.4;  
10.14.6                    **2Kgs 1:16:** 6.11.81
- 1Kgs 15:1:** 9.23.4                    **2Kgs 3:1:** 9.21.9; 9.21.12; 9.23.4; 10.14.5;  
10.14.6; 10.14.7
- 1Kgs 15:9:** 9.23.4; 9.39.5                    **2Kgs 3:27:** 1.10.44
- 1Kgs 15:12:** 9.22.7                    **2Kgs 4:17:** 2.1.24; 9.21.3
- 1Kgs 15:15:** 9.39.5                    **2Kgs 4:36:** 3.14.7
- 1Kgs 15:33:** 10.14.5                    **2Kgs 4:40:** 5.34.16

<b>2Kgs 6:10:</b> 8.8.57	<b>2Kgs 14:27:</b> 2.1.3
<b>2Kgs 7:20:</b> 5.20.2	<b>2Kgs 14:28:</b> 8.2.5
<b>2Kgs 8:7:</b> 9.25.4	<b>2Kgs 14:29:</b> 9.39.5
<b>2Kgs 8:16:</b> 9.23.4	<b>2Kgs 15:1:</b> 9.23.4
<b>2Kgs 8:17:</b> 9.21.17; 9.21.19; 10.14.5; 10.14.6	<b>2Kgs 15:2:</b> 9.21.3
<b>2Kgs 8:23:</b> 8.3.2	<b>2Kgs 15:8:</b> 9.21.9; 9.23.4
<b>2Kgs 8:25:</b> 9.23.4	<b>2Kgs 15:11:</b> 6.11.23
<b>2Kgs 9:6:</b> 6.11.21	<b>2Kgs 15:13:</b> 9.23.4; 10.14.5; 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 9:29:</b> 9.17.3; 10.14.5; 10.14.7	<b>2Kgs 15:17:</b> 9.21.9; 10.14.5
<b>2Kgs 10:27:</b> 9.14.2	<b>2Kgs 15:21:</b> 2.praef.5
<b>2Kgs 10:30:</b> 6.11.64	<b>2Kgs 15:23:</b> 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 11:21:</b> 10.14.5	<b>2Kgs 15:27:</b> 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 12:1:</b> 9.21.5	<b>2Kgs 15:30:</b> 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 12:12:</b> 15.6.13	<b>2Kgs 15:37:</b> 9.30.4
<b>2Kgs 12:13:</b> 8.8.50; 14.26.10	<b>2Kgs 16:1:</b> 9.21.5
<b>2Kgs 12:18:</b> 2.7.7	<b>2Kgs 17:1:</b> 9.21.9; 9.23.4; 10.14.5; 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 13:1:</b> 9.21.19; 10.14.5; 10.14.6	<b>2Kgs 17:6:</b> 9.40.7
<b>2Kgs 13:10:</b> 9.21.11; 9.21.19; 9.23.4; 10.14.5; 10.14.6	<b>2Kgs 17:7:</b> 9.6.7; 11.8.1
<b>2Kgs 13:13:</b> 9.39.5	<b>2Kgs 17:15:</b> 2.8.3; 4.17.2; 8.8.37; 10.4.8; 14.25.19
<b>2Kgs 14:1:</b> 10.12.8	<b>2Kgs 17:16:</b> 1.10.53; 2.6.12
<b>2Kgs 14:17:</b> 10.14.5	<b>2Kgs 17:18:</b> 9.27.34
<b>2Kgs 14:21:</b> 6.11.69	<b>2Kgs 17:23:</b> 10.14.16
<b>2Kgs 14:22:</b> 2.2.26	<b>2Kgs 17:24:</b> 9.19.2; 9.23.3
<b>2Kgs 14:23:</b> 9.21.9; 9.21.19; 9.23.4; 10.14.5; 10.14.6; 10.14.7	<b>2Kgs 17:28:</b> 9.18.2
	<b>2Kgs 17:29:</b> 6.10.36; 6.10.38; 10.4.6

<b>2Kgs 17:33:</b> 4.2.13; 5.11.1	<b>2Kgs 24:10:</b> 9.40.2
<b>2Kgs 17:34:</b> 4.2.3	<b>2Kgs 24:11:</b> 6.11.24
<b>2Kgs 17:35:</b> 2.1.8	<b>2Kgs 24:18:</b> 9.21.9; 10.14.6
<b>2Kgs 17:40:</b> 2.6.19	<b>2Kgs 25:2:</b> 10.14.7
<b>2Kgs 17:41:</b> 4.2.3	<b>2Kgs 25:8:</b> 9.41.7
<b>2Kgs 18:2:</b> 10.14.6	<b>2Kgs 25:27:</b> 10.12.14
<b>2Kgs 18:10:</b> 9.21.9	<b>1Chr 1:13:</b> 9.17.9
<b>2Kgs 18:32:</b> 5.24.2	<b>1Chr 1:28:</b> 9.23.1
<b>2Kgs 19:18:</b> 2.1.2; 3.7.1; 7.3.2	<b>1Chr 1:34:</b> 3.13.16; 9.23.1; 9.29.8; 11.6.29
<b>2Kgs 19:19:</b> 7.16.11	<b>1Chr 1:43:</b> 10.10.3
<b>2Kgs 20:16:</b> 6.2.2	<b>1Chr 1:50:</b> 9.27.1
<b>2Kgs 21:1:</b> 10.14.6	<b>1Chr 2:16:</b> 1.10.24; 2.3.32; 9.20.3
<b>2Kgs 21:7:</b> 10.8.8	<b>1Chr 2:18:</b> 1.10.24; 9.20.4; 9.21.19; 9.23.1; 10.14.8
<b>2Kgs 21:10:</b> 9.10.2	<b>1Chr 2:21:</b> 2.2.24; 9.21.9; 9.29.2
<b>2Kgs 21:17:</b> 2.praef.5	<b>1Chr 2:24:</b> 2.2.24; 2.2.38; 15.2.14
<b>2Kgs 21:19:</b> 9.21.19	<b>1Chr 2:50:</b> 14.16.11
<b>2Kgs 21:21:</b> 11.15.6	<b>1Chr 3:4:</b> 1.10.26; 9.21.8; 9.21.9
<b>2Kgs 22:13:</b> 10.11.26	<b>1Chr 3:5:</b> 1.10.9
<b>2Kgs 22:15:</b> 11.9.1	<b>1Chr 3:21:</b> 2.2.37
<b>2Kgs 23:1:</b> 9.39.5	<b>1Chr 4:3:</b> 10.14.8
<b>2Kgs 23:15:</b> 9.18.2	<b>1Chr 4:4:</b> 1.10.26; 2.2.17; 10.12.16
<b>2Kgs 23:24:</b> 9.24.1; 9.34.14	<b>1Chr 4:14:</b> 10.14.2
<b>2Kgs 23:31:</b> 9.19.3; 9.21.9; 9.21.19	<b>1Chr 4:17:</b> 2.2.17; 9.21.19
<b>2Kgs 23:34:</b> 4.16.11; 9.20.2; 11.6.30	<b>1Chr 4:18:</b> 9.20.4
<b>2Kgs 23:36:</b> 10.14.6	<b>1Chr 4:35:</b> 10.14.8
<b>2Kgs 24:8:</b> 9.21.9	

- 1Chr 5:8:** 2.2.37
- 1Chr 5:11:** 10.5.2
- 1Chr 5:16:** 8.11.1
- 1Chr 5:20:** 1.4.1; 8.6.7; 8.14.25
- 1Chr 5:21:** 9.25.2
- 1Chr 5:25:** 2.6.16; 2.6.19; 13.4.1
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- 1Chr 7:16:** 9.27.16; 10.14.14
- 1Chr 8:27:** 10.12.29
- 1Chr 9:4:** 10.14.12
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- 1Chr 11:4:** 10.14.7
- 1Chr 11:7:** 9.15.1
- 1Chr 11:12:** 1.10.39; 10.4.17
- 1Chr 12:7:** 10.12.29
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- 1Chr 15:1:** 9.30.5
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- 1Chr 16:26:** 3.10.25; 4.9.5; 4.9.7; 13.13.56
- 1Chr 16:31:** 3.11.49; 7.15.17
- 1Chr 16:34:** 11.21.1
- 1Chr 16:41:** 2.5.5
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- 1Chr 18:4:** 9.25.2; 9.39.5
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- 1Chr 21:17:** 6.11.7; 13.3.18
- 1Chr 22:1:** 9.30.5
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- 1Chr 22:6:** 1.10.21; 9.30.5; 9.30.6
- 1Chr 22:14:** 8.3.5; 8.5.2
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- 1Chr 23:30:** 9.3.8
- 1Chr 23:31:** 3.12.6; 7.2.4
- 1Chr 24:1:** 9.23.1
- 1Chr 24:2:** 1.10.15
- 1Chr 24:23:** 2.2.60; 12.16.4
- 1Chr 26:2:** 10.14.8

- 1Chr 26:4:** 2.2.60; 15.13.9
- 1Chr 26:6:** 9.22.2
- 1Chr 26:7:** 3.13.21
- 1Chr 27:19:** 10.14.8
- 1Chr 27:20:** 10.12.16
- 1Chr 28:2:** 7.12.13
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- 1Chr 28:21:** 7.16.1
- 1Chr 29:2:** 5.36.1; 9.30.6
- 1Chr 29:7:** 8.5.2
- 1Chr 29:9:** 8.5.7
- 1Chr 29:11:** 3.9.2; 7.11.4; 7.15.16;  
11.20.2; 13.13.55
- 1Chr 29:13:** 7.8.27
- 1Chr 29:14:** 4.19.1; 11.18.18
- 1Chr 29:21:** 2.6.20
- 1Chr 29:27:** 9.21.9; 9.30.1; 10.9.4;  
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- 2Chr 1:9:** 9.31.1; 9.33.1
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- 2Chr 2:11:** 9.33.1
- 2Chr 3:1:** 9.34.18
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- 2Chr 3:4:** 9.4.3; 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
- 2Chr 3:6:** 9.34.8
- 2Chr 3:7:** 9.34.8; 9.34.12
- 2Chr 3:8:** 9.4.3; 9.34.4; 9.34.5; 9.34.9;  
9.34.10; 9.34.11
- 2Chr 3:10:** 1.10.53; 9.4.4
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- 2Chr 4:1:** 9.34.4; 9.34.9; 9.34.10
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- 2Chr 5:2:** 9.34.4
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- 2Chr 6:10:** 9.31.1; 9.33.1
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- 2Chr 7:2:** 8.14.19
- 2Chr 7:22:** 7.2.2; 8.9.10; 10.10.22
- 2Chr 8:14:** 8.8.6
- 2Chr 9:15:** 9.34.20
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- 2Chr 11:15:** 9.27.4
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- 2Chr 22:1:** 10.13.10
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- 2Chr 24:14:** 5.3.6; 5.36.1
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- 2Chr 25:1:** 10.14.6
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- 2Chr 27:4:** 8.11.1
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- 2Chr 27:8:** 9.34.20; 10.14.6
- 2Chr 28:1:** 10.14.6
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- 2Chr 29:1:** 9.21.10; 9.29.2; 10.14.6
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- 2Chr 29:33:** 9.34.16
- 2Chr 29:34:** 12.44.2
- 2Chr 30:1:** 9.24.1; 10.11.11
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<b>2Chr 33:3:</b> 2.1.6; 2.1.22	<b>2Chr 36:15:</b> 7.8.38
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<b>2Chr 33:9:</b> 10.9.25	<b>2Chr 36:23:</b> 13.13.27
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<b>2Chr 33:15:</b> 9.34.14	<b>Ezra 1:6:</b> 8.12.4; 8.14.57; 11.37.13; 12.43.2
<b>2Chr 33:18:</b> 7.11.9; 11.5.5; 11.12.1; 11.23.11	<b>Ezra 1:11:</b> 15.2.8
<b>2Chr 33:21:</b> 10.14.6	<b>Ezra 2:1:</b> 9.40.6
<b>2Chr 34:1:</b> 9.21.11; 10.14.5; 10.14.6	<b>Ezra 2:70:</b> 2.8.8; 4.23.2
<b>2Chr 34:23:</b> 11.9.1	<b>Ezra 3:2:</b> 10.14.8
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<b>2Chr 34:30:</b> 8.3.4	<b>Ezra 3:7:</b> 1.10.35
<b>2Chr 34:31:</b> 8.10.1	<b>Ezra 3:8:</b> 10.10.5
<b>2Chr 35:2:</b> 1.10.39	<b>Ezra 3:9:</b> 13.14.11
<b>2Chr 35:5:</b> 7.16.7	<b>Ezra 3:11:</b> 2.1.12
<b>2Chr 35:9:</b> 8.3.5	<b>Ezra 4:24:</b> 9.40.11
<b>2Chr 35:12:</b> 9.10.7	<b>Ezra 5:1:</b> 9.10.6

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<b>Ezra 5:14:</b> 1.9.21; 9.34.18; 10.9.12	<b>Neh 2:15:</b> 14.7.2
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<b>Ezra 6:10:</b> 4.9.2	<b>Neh 7:72:</b> 9.34.16
<b>Ezra 6:15:</b> 9.40.11	<b>Neh 7:73:</b> 4.23.2
<b>Ezra 6:18:</b> 9.27.6	<b>Neh 8:6:</b> 10.2.13
<b>Ezra 6:20:</b> 2.1.19; 7.4.6	<b>Neh 8:8:</b> 1.5.2; 7.10.9; 11.35.1
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<b>Ezra 7:10:</b> 2.1.8	<b>Neh 9:3:</b> 9.2.2
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<b>Ezra 9:1:</b> 9.8.1	<b>Neh 9:25:</b> 12.13.2
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<b>Ezra 9:13:</b> 8.8.29	<b>Neh 10:28:</b> 1.2.3; 4.10.3; 8.8.21
<b>Ezra 9:14:</b> 13.8.1	<b>Neh 10:30:</b> 12.32.4
<b>Ezra 10:1:</b> 8.14.64	<b>Neh 10:33:</b> 5.4.3
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<b>Neh 13:2:</b> 8.7.6	<b>Job 8:20:</b> 6.6.60
<b>Neh 13:23:</b> 1.10.13	<b>Job 9:5:</b> 7.20.2
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- Job 23:13:** 6.10.48; 13.3.22
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- Job 27:4:** 12.18.5
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- Job 28:12:** 6.7.10; 7.12.3; 14.17.2; 14.18.24; 14.26.12; 15.21.1
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<b>Prov 11:27:</b> 4.15.4	<b>Eccl 1:3:</b> 11.7.6
<b>Prov 12:10:</b> 6.7.42	<b>Eccl 1:6:</b> 11.32.9
<b>Prov 12:17:</b> 5.25.1; 6.11.60; 14.20.10	<b>Eccl 1:7:</b> 9.35.1
<b>Prov 13:7:</b> 15.4.3	<b>Eccl 1:9:</b> 11.9.2
<b>Prov 13:15:</b> 13.6.6	<b>Eccl 1:10:</b> 11.9.2
<b>Prov 14:22:</b> 1.5.4; 15.2.11	<b>Eccl 1:11:</b> 15.22.38
<b>Prov 14:31:</b> 5.3.1	<b>Eccl 1:15:</b> 15.17.3; 15.22.46
<b>Prov 16:16:</b> 5.21.1	<b>Eccl 2:5:</b> 1.7.10
<b>Prov 16:28:</b> 8.12.8	<b>Eccl 2:6:</b> 9.41.8
<b>Prov 17:5:</b> 4.14.6	<b>Eccl 2:11:</b> 6.8.30
<b>Prov 17:26:</b> 13.3.4	<b>Eccl 2:22:</b> 11.7.6
<b>Prov 18:5:</b> 8.14.37	<b>Eccl 2:26:</b> 1.1.7; 8.14.47
<b>Prov 19:26:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Eccl 3:1:</b> 8.14.52
<b>Prov 20:20:</b> 13.21.11	<b>Eccl 3:3:</b> 13.13.53
<b>Prov 21:21:</b> 12.6.24; 13.16.7	<b>Eccl 3:9:</b> 11.7.6; 15.4.8
<b>Prov 22:8:</b> 13.6.8	<b>Eccl 3:12:</b> 7.2.1; 14.22.13
<b>Prov 22:28:</b> 8.7.7	<b>Eccl 3:13:</b> 3.13.14; 8.8.27
<b>Prov 23:12:</b> 8.8.9	<b>Eccl 3:14:</b> 6.10.48; 12.52.11
<b>Prov 24:12:</b> 12.52.30	<b>Eccl 3:15:</b> 11.7.6; 11.9.7
<b>Prov 24:19:</b> 12.18.6	<b>Eccl 3:19:</b> 6.10.6; 8.10.11; 8.14.71; 11.22.10; 11.23.4; 12.6.5; 13.10.9; 13.16.11; 14.18.21; 14.20.7; 15.5.8; 15.22.14; 15.22.32; 15.22.53; 15.34.3
<b>Prov 24:22:</b> 12.29.18; 14.19.4	
<b>Prov 25:5:</b> 12.10.3	
<b>Prov 27:24:</b> 15.4.13	<b>Eccl 3:20:</b> 14.14.1
<b>Prov 28:4:</b> 5.3.1	<b>Eccl 4:8:</b> 12.51.32

<b>Eccl 5:10:</b> 15.4.10	<b>Isa 1:6:</b> 15.22.11
<b>Eccl 5:19:</b> 3.13.14; 5.1.14	<b>Isa 1:11:</b> 13.13.45
<b>Eccl 6:2:</b> 8.14.30	<b>Isa 2:4:</b> 1.4.4
<b>Eccl 6:3:</b> 8.6.9; 8.11.13	<b>Isa 2:7:</b> 6.10.21
<b>Eccl 6:10:</b> 11.6.9	<b>Isa 2:19:</b> 8.14.62
<b>Eccl 7:5:</b> 3.15.1	<b>Isa 2:20:</b> 5.15.1; 13.13.40
<b>Eccl 7:20:</b> 8.14.53; 11.21.2	<b>Isa 3:5:</b> 14.6.7
<b>Eccl 8:4:</b> 8.10.7	<b>Isa 3:9:</b> 12.29.19
<b>Eccl 8:7:</b> 6.11.37; 15.6.9	<b>Isa 3:10:</b> 12.16.2
<b>Eccl 8:15:</b> 11.27.19	<b>Isa 3:11:</b> 11.38.5
<b>Eccl 9:1:</b> 7.4.3; 7.18.5; 12.19.8; 13.10.6; 14.10.8	<b>Isa 5:13:</b> 8.14.20
<b>Eccl 9:2:</b> 4.16.21; 4.19.7; 4.22.13; 5.3.8; 6.6.11; 6.6.18; 12.28.2; 12.51.18; 13.3.11	<b>Isa 5:20:</b> 12.21.5
<b>Eccl 9:5:</b> 13.10.5; 14.20.4	<b>Isa 5:26:</b> 1.1.2; 1.1.8
<b>Eccl 9:11:</b> 15.62.9	<b>Isa 5:27:</b> 14.24.3
<b>Eccl 11:3:</b> 1.10.49; 3.1.7	<b>Isa 5:28:</b> 3.13.1
<b>Eccl 11:5:</b> 3.13.11; 7.3.3	<b>Isa 5:30:</b> 1.10.49
<b>Eccl 11:8:</b> 13.10.10	<b>Isa 6:10:</b> 14.19.5
<b>Eccl 12:2:</b> 1.8.2	<b>Isa 7:7:</b> 7.22.53; 11.10.11
<b>Eccl 12:7:</b> 5.15.2	<b>Isa 7:10:</b> 1.10.30
<b>Eccl 12:14:</b> 6.3.4; 13.3.17	<b>Isa 8:2:</b> 10.11.7
<b>Song 3:10:</b> 9.29.16	<b>Isa 8:5:</b> 11.22.8
<b>Song 5:9:</b> 14.22.4	<b>Isa 8:10:</b> 15.6.11
<b>Song 5:14:</b> 9.29.16	<b>Isa 8:11:</b> 8.9.33
<b>Song 6:10:</b> 15.29.4	<b>Isa 9:17:</b> 1.1.6; 1.9.22; 6.10.18; 12.43.4; 14.16.3
<b>Isa 1:1:</b> 9.25.1; 10.9.5	<b>Isa 10:2:</b> 2.4.2

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| <b>Isa 10:6:</b> 5.19.3                                   | <b>Isa 34:1:</b> 11.35.5                         |
| <b>Isa 10:23:</b> 9.29.13                                 | <b>Isa 34:9:</b> 14.14.4                         |
| <b>Isa 13:10:</b> 12.51.31; 14.25.12; 15.29.4;<br>15.47.4 | <b>Isa 34:10:</b> 11.9.7                         |
| <b>Isa 13:20:</b> 11.10.5; 11.11.6                        | <b>Isa 34:15:</b> 6.10.4                         |
| <b>Isa 14:13:</b> 7.16.4                                  | <b>Isa 34:17:</b> 7.15.17; 14.25.20              |
| <b>Isa 14:14:</b> 7.16.4                                  | <b>Isa 37:19:</b> 2.1.2; 3.7.1; 7.3.2            |
| <b>Isa 17:8:</b> 1.6.3                                    | <b>Isa 37:20:</b> 7.16.11                        |
| <b>Isa 18:3:</b> 4.2.2                                    | <b>Isa 38:16:</b> 15.20.5                        |
| <b>Isa 18:6:</b> 1.4.7                                    | <b>Isa 40:13:</b> 8.6.9                          |
| <b>Isa 22:23:</b> 7.9.3                                   | <b>Isa 40:18:</b> 11.27.12; 11.27.13; 13.13.43   |
| <b>Isa 25:3:</b> 13.9.1                                   | <b>Isa 40:22:</b> 11.37.6; 14.15.10              |
| <b>Isa 26:14:</b> 12.44.1                                 | <b>Isa 40:24:</b> 5.33.17                        |
| <b>Isa 27:3:</b> 13.18.14                                 | <b>Isa 40:29:</b> 8.14.38                        |
| <b>Isa 27:11:</b> 14.24.2                                 | <b>Isa 41:4:</b> 4.5.1; 7.15.9                   |
| <b>Isa 27:13:</b> 5.33.14                                 | <b>Isa 41:8:</b> 6.11.22; 9.29.8                 |
| <b>Isa 28:7:</b> 9.3.21; 12.5.4                           | <b>Isa 41:22:</b> 3.10.13; 6.7.28; 6.11.14       |
| <b>Isa 28:18:</b> 13.18.10                                | <b>Isa 41:23:</b> 4.5.3                          |
| <b>Isa 28:24:</b> 13.13.46                                | <b>Isa 41:26:</b> 14.18.9                        |
| <b>Isa 29:13:</b> 13.10.8                                 | <b>Isa 42:2:</b> 9.3.10; 14.8.11                 |
| <b>Isa 29:14:</b> 12.30.1                                 | <b>Isa 42:5:</b> 1.3.7; 7.11.6; 7.15.18; 11.26.6 |
| <b>Isa 29:16:</b> 7.22.36; 7.22.41                        | <b>Isa 42:7:</b> 4.21.2                          |
| <b>Isa 30:5:</b> 8.9.31; 12.6.11                          | <b>Isa 42:9:</b> 6.6.24                          |
| <b>Isa 30:25:</b> 6.3.1                                   | <b>Isa 42:17:</b> 6.11.5                         |
| <b>Isa 31:4:</b> 5.33.17; 8.9.36; 12.29.8                 | <b>Isa 43:1:</b> 6.11.22; 7.8.28; 13.3.42        |
| <b>Isa 32:1:</b> 7.12.4                                   | <b>Isa 43:4:</b> 5.6.2                           |
|   | <b>Isa 43:9:</b> 5.10.13; 9.42.4                 |

- Isa 43:16:** 3.11.48
- Isa 44:7:** 13.2.1
- Isa 44:9:** 14.20.11
- Isa 44:15:** 3.11.24
- Isa 44:18:** 3.10.17; 5.10.6; 6.7.15;  
13.13.65; 14.11.5; 14.20.11
- Isa 44:21:** 6.11.22
- Isa 44:24:** 7.11.11; 11.14.4
- Isa 44:25:** 2.3.13
- Isa 45:1:** 6.11.22
- Isa 45:2:** 6.11.22
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- Isa 45:8:** 15.32.5; 15.37.3
- Isa 45:18:** 1.8.3; 1.8.4; 3.9.9; 3.9.11;  
3.10.7; 3.10.8; 4.10.2; 4.14.10; 7.8.3;  
7.11.6; 7.11.13; 8.10.10; 11.14.4; 11.19.4;  
11.24.4; 11.24.7; 11.25.2; 11.37.2;  
13.3.38; 13.13.7; 13.13.11; 14.3.7;  
14.16.8; 14.20.2; 14.25.7; 15.6.4; 15.15.4;  
15.44.4
- Isa 46:2:** 8.14.32
- Isa 46:10:** 6.10.11
- Isa 47:11:** 5.20.5
- Isa 47:14:** 14.19.1; 15.22.17
- Isa 48:1:** 7.8.26
- Isa 48:2:** 7.8.19
- Isa 48:21:** 9.29.15
- Isa 49:5:** 7.8.26
- Isa 49:10:** 9.3.20; 14.19.3; 15.11.3
- Isa 49:12:** 2.7.2; 13.1.2
- Isa 49:19:** 5.29.7
- Isa 49:22:** 6.11.22
- Isa 50:11:** 11.18.16
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7.15.10; 11.13.5; 11.22.1; 11.24.9;  
13.16.14
- Isa 57:19:** 1.1.8
- Isa 58:10:** 15.22.20
- Isa 59:4:** 10.2.10; 12.6.8
- Isa 59:10:** 11.37.5
- Isa 60:19:** 3.1.4; 3.6.3; 8.1.6; 11.24.9;  
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- Isa 63:16:** 11.6.26
- Isa 64:5:** 6.8.16
- Isa 65:17:** 11.24.4; 13.13.11
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<b>Isa 66:1:</b> 3.11.49; 11.32.1; 13.13.51	<b>Jer 10:13:</b> 1.8.11; 7.11.7
<b>Isa 66:3:</b> 6.10.9	<b>Jer 11:1:</b> 9.39.5
<b>Isa 66:4:</b> 14.15.9	<b>Jer 11:2:</b> 8.12.20
<b>Isa 66:15:</b> 5.24.1	<b>Jer 11:4:</b> 9.29.8
<b>Isa 66:24:</b> 11.38.8	<b>Jer 11:8:</b> 6.10.46
<b>Jer 1:3:</b> 10.9.7	<b>Jer 15:3:</b> 4.9.4
<b>Jer 1:16:</b> 4.16.22; 4.22.5; 14.17.8	<b>Jer 15:16:</b> 9.32.1
<b>Jer 2:21:</b> 13.3.39	<b>Jer 15:20:</b> 5.24.2
<b>Jer 4:2:</b> 13.20.3	<b>Jer 16:3:</b> 7.15.9; 12.51.42
<b>Jer 4:27:</b> 5.24.11	<b>Jer 16:4:</b> 5.2.1; 8.9.17
<b>Jer 6:15:</b> 2.6.14	<b>Jer 16:10:</b> 6.11.7; 7.22.55
<b>Jer 6:18:</b> 12.50.1	<b>Jer 16:17:</b> 15.22.32
<b>Jer 7:12:</b> 9.14.3	<b>Jer 16:18:</b> 2.3.13
<b>Jer 7:16:</b> 5.10.13; 6.6.67	<b>Jer 16:20:</b> 1.3.15
<b>Jer 7:17:</b> 8.14.48	<b>Jer 17:8:</b> 15.4.14
<b>Jer 7:19:</b> 11.praef.1	<b>Jer 17:26:</b> 10.4.4
<b>Jer 8:2:</b> 14.25.16	<b>Jer 18:1:</b> 9.39.5
<b>Jer 8:6:</b> 15.62.1	<b>Jer 18:16:</b> 8.12.18
<b>Jer 8:12:</b> 2.6.14	<b>Jer 18:21:</b> 7.2.6
<b>Jer 9:12:</b> 5.34.14	<b>Jer 23:7:</b> 10.8.12; 10.13.5
<b>Jer 9:23:</b> 12.21.1; 15.62.9	<b>Jer 23:16:</b> 10.1.8
<b>Jer 10:7:</b> 5.32.1	<b>Jer 23:23:</b> 7.11.5; 13.13.46
<b>Jer 10:8:</b> 3.16.4; 14.24.6	<b>Jer 23:30:</b> 13.3.39
<b>Jer 10:11:</b> 7.11.7; 13.14.5; 15.5.14; 15.21.3	<b>Jer 23:32:</b> 14.1.3
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- Jer 23:38:** 7.22.10; 7.22.33      **Jer 34:9:** 13.19.14
- Jer 25:30:** 13.13.51      **Jer 34:12:** 9.39.2
- Jer 26:12:** 9.29.8      **Jer 34:17:** 6.7.8; 8.5.4
- Jer 26:14:** 7.22.12      **Jer 35:7:** 2.1.47; 14.7.11
- Jer 26:20:** 2.2.47      **Jer 35:9:** 14.7.11
- Jer 28:11:** 9.41.9      **Jer 35:12:** 9.39.2
- Jer 28:17:** 9.21.3      **Jer 36:1:** 9.39.2
- Jer 29:8:** 5.33.8      **Jer 36:21:** 1.9.21
- Jer 29:9:** 11.praef.1      **Jer 37:6:** 9.39.2
- Jer 29:17:** 8.14.61      **Jer 37:7:** 9.27.21
- Jer 29:18:** 1.3.13      **Jer 38:3:** 5.24.11
- Jer 29:21:** 9.41.2      **Jer 38:17:** 5.25.2
- Jer 29:30:** 9.39.2      **Jer 39:1:** 9.40.7
- Jer 30:1:** 9.39.5      **Jer 39:11:** 9.39.4
- Jer 31:25:** 3.11.26      **Jer 39:18:** 15.6.5
- Jer 31:33:** 4.21.5; 12.17.3      **Jer 40:12:** 2.6.18
- Jer 31:35:** 1.6.1; 3.4.2; 3.6.3; 3.11.6;  
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14.14.6; 15.8.1; 15.50.4      **Jer 42:3:** 13.11.1
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- Jer 32:26:** 9.39.2      **Jer 42:17:** 13.10.4
- Jer 32:32:** 12.6.12      **Jer 43:6:** 1.4.11
- Jer 33:10:** 8.14.62      **Jer 43:8:** 9.39.2
- Jer 33:19:** 9.39.2      **Jer 43:10:** 9.41.2; 9.41.9
- Jer 33:20:** 13.13.25      **Jer 44:1:** 10.4.24
- Jer 34:6:** 9.39.2; 9.39.5      **Jer 44:5:** 2.4.5
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<b>Jer 44:27:</b> 12.6.10	<b>Ezek 1:10:</b> 3.4.7; 12.46.1
<b>Jer 46:2:</b> 2.6.6; 10.10.16	<b>Ezek 1:11:</b> 3.11.13
<b>Jer 46:8:</b> 3.2.6	<b>Ezek 1:21:</b> 11.18.10
<b>Jer 46:21:</b> 8.14.32	<b>Ezek 1:23:</b> 1.10.37
<b>Jer 46:26:</b> 6.11.24	<b>Ezek 1:26:</b> 3.12.2
<b>Jer 48:22:</b> 10.5.11	<b>Ezek 1:27:</b> 1.8.10; 11.18.16
<b>Jer 49:24:</b> 7.8.35	<b>Ezek 2:6:</b> 5.36.2
<b>Jer 49:29:</b> 9.3.14	<b>Ezek 2:8:</b> 9.29.8
<b>Jer 50:7:</b> 13.14.5	<b>Ezek 3:4:</b> 11.9.1
<b>Jer 50:38:</b> 9.38.2	<b>Ezek 3:18:</b> 6.8.35; 13.10.1
<b>Jer 51:3:</b> 4.17.8	<b>Ezek 3:19:</b> 6.6.47
<b>Jer 51:15:</b> 7.11.7; 11.14.8	<b>Ezek 5:8:</b> 6.11.64
<b>Jer 51:16:</b> 1.8.11; 7.11.7	<b>Ezek 5:12:</b> 15.22.1
<b>Jer 51:28:</b> 6.10.40	<b>Ezek 6:6:</b> 5.24.1
<b>Jer 52:1:</b> 9.21.9; 10.14.6	<b>Ezek 7:16:</b> 12.15.3
<b>Jer 52:5:</b> 10.14.7	<b>Ezek 7:19:</b> 8.12.4
<b>Jer 52:12:</b> 9.41.7	<b>Ezek 9:10:</b> 10.3.23; 14.1.2
<b>Jer 52:21:</b> 9.34.10	<b>Ezek 10:12:</b> 8.9.21
<b>Lam 1:2:</b> 8.14.25	<b>Ezek 10:14:</b> 5.4.1; 12.12.2; 12.46.1
<b>Lam 2:9:</b> 1.3.13	<b>Ezek 10:21:</b> 12.46.1
<b>Lam 3:4:</b> 14.26.1	<b>Ezek 11:17:</b> 9.29.8
<b>Lam 3:25:</b> 11.21.1	<b>Ezek 11:18:</b> 13.15.1
<b>Lam 3:39:</b> 4.17.7	<b>Ezek 12:19:</b> 4.16.20
<b>Lam 3:64:</b> 11.38.4	<b>Ezek 13:18:</b> 2.1.34; 5.4.9
<b>Lam 5:20:</b> 5.21.5	<b>Ezek 13:20:</b> 6.4.1

<b>Ezek 14:15:</b> 9.41.3	<b>Ezek 28:2:</b> 3.10.3
<b>Ezek 14:18:</b> 13.1.1	<b>Ezek 28:5:</b> 7.16.6
<b>Ezek 14:22:</b> 4.15.9; 13.9.2	<b>Ezek 28:6:</b> 7.16.5
<b>Ezek 14:23:</b> 8.9.6; 12.52.30	<b>Ezek 28:13:</b> 7.16.5
<b>Ezek 15:5:</b> 14.24.2	<b>Ezek 28:14:</b> 7.16.6
<b>Ezek 16:13:</b> 7.15.14	<b>Ezek 28:15:</b> 7.16.6
<b>Ezek 16:15:</b> 5.34.6	<b>Ezek 28:17:</b> 7.16.6
<b>Ezek 16:35:</b> 4.2.14; 6.2.2; 7.12.14	<b>Ezek 28:25:</b> 6.11.23
<b>Ezek 17:8:</b> 4.20.1	<b>Ezek 30:7:</b> 7.22.16
<b>Ezek 18:4:</b> 13.13.29; 15.22.19	<b>Ezek 30:13:</b> 9.27.30
<b>Ezek 18:5:</b> 13.10.1; 15.15.5	<b>Ezek 30:22:</b> 6.11.22
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<b>Ezek 18:24:</b> 4.19.5; 6.6.11; 7.22.34; 11.38.4; 12.6.11; 12.52.28; 13.16.14; 13.16.16; 15.12.4	<b>Ezek 31:14:</b> 5.33.16; 11.37.12
<b>Ezek 18:27:</b> 7.22.34; 8.9.3; 11.32.5	<b>Ezek 31:18:</b> 13.14.3
<b>Ezek 19:4:</b> 2.1.43	<b>Ezek 32:25:</b> 5.2.1
<b>Ezek 20:27:</b> 8.14.73	<b>Ezek 32:28:</b> 5.20.2
<b>Ezek 20:43:</b> 4.2.10	<b>Ezek 33:6:</b> 6.6.2; 11.27.19
<b>Ezek 21:26:</b> 5.9.1	<b>Ezek 33:19:</b> 6.11.33; 6.11.44; 11.32.5
<b>Ezek 22:11:</b> 4.15.8	<b>Ezek 33:24:</b> 9.16.2
<b>Ezek 22:18:</b> 12.43.1	<b>Ezek 34:3:</b> 12.44.1
<b>Ezek 22:20:</b> 12.43.1	<b>Ezek 34:4:</b> 12.44.1
<b>Ezek 23:10:</b> 2.2.4; 7.2.6; 9.17.4	<b>Ezek 34:7:</b> 4.2.14
<b>Ezek 23:12:</b> 5.29.4	<b>Ezek 34:9:</b> 4.2.14
<b>Ezek 23:23:</b> 4.3.14	<b>Ezek 36:4:</b> 15.1.2
<b>Ezek 26:20:</b> 5.8.6	<b>Ezek 36:6:</b> 12.29.1
	<b>Ezek 36:22:</b> 10.5.10

<b>Ezek 36:23:</b> 1.5.14	<b>Ezek 44:11:</b> 2.1.22; 3.4.10
<b>Ezek 37:9:</b> 5.13.2	<b>Ezek 44:13:</b> 2.8.12
<b>Ezek 37:12:</b> 9.29.8	<b>Ezek 44:22:</b> 9.22.6
<b>Ezek 37:17:</b> 12.46.4	<b>Ezek 44:25:</b> 6.10.23; 6.11.67
<b>Ezek 37:21:</b> 9.29.8	<b>Ezek 44:30:</b> 4.12.1
<b>Ezek 37:23:</b> 2.8.12; 5.4.6; 7.10.13; 15.5.4	<b>Ezek 45:23:</b> 6.10.43
<b>Ezek 38:12:</b> 5.24.10	<b>Ezek 45:24:</b> 6.10.4
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<b>1Thess 2:13:</b> 11.11.2; 11.15.4; 13.6.12	<b>1Tim 4:10:</b> 7.18.10
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