

Theophilus of Antioch, Theophilus to Autolytus

About This Translation

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Theophilus to Autolycus (ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΛΥΚΟΝ)

Book I (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α')

1. Στωμύλον μὲν οὖν (1) στόμα καὶ φράσις εὐεπῆς τέρψιν παρέχει καὶ ἔπαινον πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν ἀθλίους ἀνθρώποις ἔχουσι τὸν νοῦν κατεφθαρμένον· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστὴς οὐ προσέχει λόγοις μεμιασμένοις (2)· ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζει τὸ ἔργον τοῦ λόγου (3), τί καὶ ὁποῖόν ἐστιν. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν, ὦ ἐταῖρε, κατέπληξάς (4) με λόγοις κενοῖς καυχησάμενος ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς σου τοῖς λιθίνοις καὶ ξυλίνοις, ἐλατοῖς τε καὶ χωνευτοῖς καὶ πλαστοῖς καὶ γραπτοῖς, οἳ οὔτε βλέπουσιν οὔτε ἀκούουσιν· εἰσὶ γὰρ εἰδῶλα καὶ ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἔτι δὲ φῆς με καὶ Χριστιανὸν, ὡς κακὸν τοῦνομα φοροῦντα· ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς, καὶ φορῶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἐλπίζων εὐχρηστος εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ (5). Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς σὺ ὑπολαμβάνεις χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοῦνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ (6), οὕτως ἔχει· ἴσως δὲ ἔτι, αὐτὸς σὺ ἄχρηστος ὢν τῷ Θεῷ, περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὕτω φρονεῖς.

2. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν φῆς, Δεῖξόν μοι (7) τὸν Θεόν σου· κάγώ σοι εἵποιμι ἂν, Δεῖξόν μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπόν σου, κάγώ σοι δεῖξω τὸν Θεόν μου. Ἐπεὶ δεῖξον βλέποντας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ τὰ ὦτα τῆς καρδίας σου ἀκούοντα, Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ βλέποντες τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ σώματος κατανοοῦσι τὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐπίγειον πραγματείαν, ἅμα δοκιμάζοντες τὰ διαφέροντα ἥτοι φῶς ἢ σκότος, ἢ λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν, ἢ ἀειδὲς ἢ εὐμορφον, ἢ εὐρυθμον καὶ εὐμετρον, ἢ ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἄμετρον, ἢ ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἢ κόλουρον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἀκοὴν πίπτοντα, ἢ ὀξύφωνα ἢ βαρύφωνα, ἢ ἡδύφωνα· οὕτως ἔχει ἂν καὶ

1. A multitude of words and smooth speech provide pleasure and praise to wretched men who have a corrupted mind for empty glory; but the lover of truth does not attend to polluted words, but examines the work of the word, what it is and of what kind. Since then, my friend, you have astonished me with empty words, boasting in your gods, your stone and wooden ones, fir trees and carved and molded and painted ones, who neither see nor hear; for they are idols and works of human hands; moreover, you say that I am a Christian, as if bearing an evil name. I indeed confess that I am a Christian, and I bear this God-loving name, hoping to be acceptable to God. For it is not, as you suppose, a difficult name of God; rather, it is so. Perhaps even you yourself, being useless to God, think thus concerning God.

2. But even if you say so, show me your God. And I would say to you, Show me your man, and I will show you my God. Since you must show, looking with the eyes of your soul, and the ears of your heart hearing, for just as those who see with the eyes of the body perceive the affairs of life and earthly matters, at the same time testing the differences, whether light or darkness, or white or black, or continuous or beautiful, or well-ordered and measured, or irregular and unmeasured, or beyond measure or truncated, likewise also the things falling under hearing, whether sharp-sounding or deep-sounding, or sweet-sounding. So it

περὶ τὰ ὦτα τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς, δύνασθαι (8)
 θεὸν θεάσασθαι. Βλέπεται γὰρ θεὸς τοῖς
 δυναμένοις αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν, ἐπὰν ἔχωσι τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνεωγμένους τῆς ψυχῆς.
 Πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς,
 ἀλλὰ ἔνιοι ὑποκεχυμένους καὶ μὴ
 βλέποντας τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου· καὶ οὐ παρὰ
 τὸ μὴ βλέπειν τοὺς τυφλοὺς, ἤδη καὶ οὐκ
 ἔτι (9) τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου φαῖνον· ἀλλὰ
 ἑαυτοὺς αἰτιάσθωσαν οἱ τυφλοὶ, καὶ τοὺς
 ἑαυτῶν ὀφθαλμούς. Οὕτω καὶ σὺ, ὦ
 ἄνθρωπε, ἔχεις ὑποκεχυμένους τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς σου ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν πράξεών σου τῶν
 πονηρῶν. Ὡς περ ἔσοπτρον ἐστιλβωμένον,
 οὕτω δεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχειν καθαρὰν
 ψυχὴν. Ἐπὰν οὖν ἡ ἰὸς ἐν τῷ ἐσόπτρῳ, οὐ
 δύναται ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ ἐσόπτρῳ (10)· οὕτω καὶ
 ὅταν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐ
 δύναται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος θεωρεῖν τὸν
 θεόν. Δεῖξον οὖν καὶ σὺ σεαυτὸν, εἰ οὐκ εἶ
 μοιχὸς, εἰ οὐκ εἶ πόρνος, εἰ οὐκ εἶ κλέπτης,
 εἰ οὐκ εἶ ἄρπαξ, εἰ οὐκ εἶ ἀποστερητῆς, εἰ
 οὐκ εἶ ἀρσενικοίτης, εἰ οὐκ εἶ ὑβριστῆς, εἰ
 οὐκ εἶ λοιδόρος, εἰ οὐκ ὀργίλος, εἰ οὐ
 φθονερός, εἰ οὐκ ἀλαζών, εἰ οὐχ
 ὑπερόπτης, εἰ οὐ πλήκτης, εἰ οὐ
 φιλάργυρος, εἰ οὐ γονεῦσιν ἀπειθής, εἰ οὐ
 τὰ τέκνα σου πωλεῖς. Τοῖς γὰρ ταῦτα
 πράσσουσιν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐμφανίζεται, ἐὰν
 μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτοὺς καθαρίσωσιν ἀπὸ
 παντὸς μολυσμοῦ. Καί σοι οὖν ἅπαντα
 ἐπισκοτεῖ, καθάπερ ὕλης ἐπιφορὰ (11),
 ἐπὰν γένηται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ
 δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου· οὕτω
 καὶ σοί, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐπισκοτοῦσιν αἱ
 ἀσέβειαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σε ὁρᾶν
 θεόν.

would be with regard to the ears of the
 heart and the eyes of the soul, being able to
 behold God. For God is seen by those able
 to behold Him, whenever they have the
 eyes of the soul opened. For all indeed have
 eyes, but some have them clouded and do
 not see the light of the sun. And not
 because the blind do not see, but already
 the light of the sun no longer shines (9) for
 them. But let the blind blame themselves,
 and their own eyes. So also you, O man,
 have the eyes of your soul clouded by your
 sins and your wicked deeds. Just as a
 mirror is polished, so a person must have a
 pure soul. Therefore, if there is a speck of
 dust in the mirror, the face of the person
 cannot be seen in the mirror. (10) Just so,
 whenever sin is in a person, such a person
 cannot behold God. Show then also
 yourself, if you are not an adulterer, if you
 are not a fornicator, if you are not a thief, if
 you are not a robber, if you are not a
 defrauder, if you are not a sodomite, if you
 are not an insolent person, if you are not a
 reviler, if you are not quick-tempered, if
 you are not envious, if you are not a
 braggart, if you are not arrogant, if you are
 not a striker, if you are not a lover of
 money, if you are not disobedient to your
 parents, if you do not sell your children. For
 God does not reveal Himself to those who
 do these things, unless first they cleanse
 themselves from every defilement. And so
 to you, everything grows dark, just like a
 burden of wood (11), whenever it happens
 that your eyes are unable to gaze upon the
 light of the sun. So also to you, O man,
 impieties grow darkened, preventing you
 from being able to see God.

3. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι· Σὺ δὲ βλέπων διήγησαί μοι

3. You will say to me then: You who see,

τὸ εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἄκουε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· Τὸ μὲν εἶδος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀνέκφραστον καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ὁφθαλμοῖς σαρκίνοις ὁραθῆναι. Δόξη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀχώρητος, μεγέθει ἀκατάληπτος, ὕψει ἀπερινόητος, ἰσχύϊ ἀσύγκριτος, σοφίᾳ ἀσυμβίβαστος, ἀγαθοσύνη ἀμίμητος, καλοποιῖα ἀνεκδιήγητος. Εἰ γὰρ φῶς (12) αὐτὸν εἶπω, ποίημα αὐτοῦ λέγω· εἰ λόγον εἶπω, ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ (13) λέγω· νοῦν ἐὰν εἶπω, φρόνησιν αὐτοῦ λέγω· πνεῦμα ἐὰν εἶπω, ἀναπνοὴν αὐτοῦ λέγω (14)· σοφίαν ἐὰν εἶπω, γέννημα αὐτοῦ λέγω· ἰσχὺν ἐὰν εἶπω, κράτος αὐτοῦ λέγω· δύναμιν ἐὰν εἶπω, ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ λέγω· πρόνοιαν ἐὰν εἶπω, ἀγαθοσύνην αὐτοῦ λέγω· βασιλείαν ἐὰν εἶπω, δόξαν αὐτοῦ λέγω· κύριον ἐὰν εἶπω, κριτὴν αὐτὸν λέγω (15)· κριτὴν ἐὰν εἶπω, δίκαιον αὐτὸν λέγω· πατέρα ἐὰν εἶπω, τὰ πάντα αὐτὸν λέγω (16)· πῦρ ἐὰν εἶπω, τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ λέγω. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι· Ὅργίζεται Θεός; Μάλιστα· ὀργίζεται τοῖς τὰ φαῦλα πράσσουσιν, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ χρηστὸς καὶ οἰκτίρμων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας καὶ φοβουμένους αὐτόν· παιδευτὴς (17) γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν θεοσεβῶν καὶ πατὴρ τῶν δικαίων, κριτὴς δὲ καὶ κολαστὴς τῶν ἀσεβῶν.

describe to me the form of God. Listen, O man: The form of God is ineffable and inexpressible, and cannot be seen by fleshly eyes. For He is uncontainable in glory, incomprehensible in magnitude, beyond thought in height, incomparable in strength, incompatible with wisdom, imitable in goodness, and indescribable in beauty of works. For if I say light (12), I speak of His creation; if I say word, I speak of His beginning (13); if I say mind, I speak of His understanding; if I say spirit, I speak of His breath (14); if I say wisdom, I speak of His offspring; if I say strength, I speak of His power; if I say might, I speak of His activity; if I say providence, I speak of His goodness; if I say kingdom, I speak of His glory; if I say lord, I speak of His judge (15); if I say judge, I speak of His righteousness; if I say father, I speak of all things (16); if I say fire, I speak of His wrath. You will say to me then: Does God become angry? Indeed; He is angry with those who do evil, but He is good and kind and merciful toward those who love and fear Him; for He is a teacher (17) of the godly and a father of the righteous, but a judge and punisher of the impious.

4. Ἄναρχος δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅτι ἀγέννητός ἐστιν· ἀναλλοίωτος δὲ, καθότι ἀθάνατός ἐστι· Θεὸς δὲ λέγεται (18) διὰ τὸ τεθεικέναι τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ (19) ἀσφαλείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέειν· τὸ δὲ θέειν ἐστὶν τὸ τρέχειν, καὶ κινεῖν, καὶ ἐνεργεῖν, καὶ τρέφειν, καὶ προνοεῖν, καὶ κυβερνεῖν, καὶ ζωοποιεῖν τὰ πάντα. Κύριος δὲ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ κυριεύειν αὐτὸν τῶν ὅλων· πατὴρ δὲ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ὅλων· δημιουργὸς δὲ καὶ ποιητὴς διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν εἶναι κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων· ὑψιστος δὲ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀνώτερον τῶν πάντων·

4. He is without beginning, because He is unbegotten; and immutable, because He is immortal. He is called God (18) because He has placed all things upon His own (19) security, and because He runs; and to run is to move, and to act, and to nourish, and to provide, and to govern, and to give life to all things. He is Lord because He rules over all; Father because He is before all; Creator and Maker because He is both creator and maker of all; Highest because He is above all; Almighty because He holds and contains all things. For the heights of the

παντοκράτωρ δὲ, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα κρατεῖ καὶ ἐμπεριέχει. Τὰ γὰρ ὕψη τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῶν ἀβύσσων, καὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεως αὐτοῦ. Οὐρανοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον αὐτοῦ εἰσιν, γῆ ποίημα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· θάλασσα κτίσμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν· ἄνθρωπος πλάσμα καὶ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. Ἡλῖος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες στοιχεῖα (20) αὐτοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς γεγονότα, πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ δουλείαν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τὰ πάντα ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἔργων γινώσκῃται καὶ νοηθῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ.

5. Καθάπερ γὰρ ψυχὴ (21) ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ βλέπεται, ἀόρατος οὖσα ἀνθρώποις, διὰ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ σώματος νοεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ· οὕτως ἔχει ἂν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μὴ δύνασθαι ὁραθῆναι ὑπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνθρωπίνων· διὰ δὲ τῆς προνοίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ βλέπεται καὶ νοεῖται. Ὅν τρόπον γὰρ καὶ πλοῖον θεασάμενός τις ἐν θαλάσῃ κατηρτισμένον, καὶ τρέχον, καὶ κατερχόμενον εἰς λιμένα, δῆλον ὅτι ἡγήσεται εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ κυβερνήτην τὸν κυβερνῶντα αὐτό· οὕτω δεῖ νοεῖν εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν κυβερνήτην τῶν ὅλων, εἰ καὶ οὐ θεωρεῖται ὀφθαλμοῖς σαρκίνους διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἀχώρητον (22) εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ τῷ ἡλίῳ (23) ἐλαχίστῳ ὄντι στοιχείῳ οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος ἀτενίσαι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν θερμὴν καὶ δύναμιν, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξῃ, ἀνεκφράστῳ οὖσι ἀνθρώπος θνητὸς οὐ δύναται ἀντωπῆσαι; Ὅν τρόπον γὰρ ῥοὰ ἔχουσα φλοιὸν τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτὴν ἔνδον ἔχει μονὰς καὶ θήκας πολλὰς διαχωριζομένας διὰ ὑμένων, καὶ πολλοὺς κόκκους ἔχει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας·

heavens, and the depths of the abysses, and the ends of the inhabited world are in His hand; and there is no place of His rest. The heavens are His work, the earth is His creation; the sea is His creature; man is His formation and image. The sun, moon, and stars are His elements (20), appointed for signs and seasons and days and years, for the service and subjection of men; and God made all things out of nothing into being, so that through His works His greatness might be known and understood.

5. Just as the soul (21) in a man is not seen, being invisible to men, but through the movement of the body the soul is perceived; so it would be with God, who cannot be seen by human eyes; but through His providence and works He is seen and understood. For just as one who has observed a ship in the sea, equipped and running and entering a harbor, it is clear that the one steering it is the helmsman; so one must understand God to be the helmsman of all, even if He is not seen by fleshly eyes because He is uncontainable (22). For if a man cannot look upon the sun (23), a least element, because of the exceeding heat and power, how much less can a mortal man gaze upon the glory of God, being inexpressible? For just as a grape, having a rind that encloses it within, has many partitions separated by membranes, and many seeds dwelling within it; so all creation is enclosed by the Spirit of God (24), and the spirit that encloses it together with creation is enclosed by the hand of God. Therefore,

οὕτως ἡ πᾶσα κτίσις περιέχεται ὑπὸ πνεύματος Θεοῦ (24), καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ περιέχον σὺν τῇ κτίσει περιέχεται ὑπὸ χειρὸς Θεοῦ. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ κόκκος τῆς ῥοᾶς ἔνδον κατοικῶν οὐ δύναται ὀρᾶν τὰ ἔξω τοῦ λέπους αὐτοῦ ὧν ἔνδον· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐμπεριεχόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ὑπὸ χειρὸς Θεοῦ οὐ δύναται θεωρεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Εἴτα βασιλεὺς (25) μὲν ἐπίγειος πιστεύεται εἶναι, καίπερ μὴ πᾶσιν βλεπόμενος, διὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ διατάξεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ εἰκόνων νοεῖται· τὸν δὲ Θεὸν οὐ βούλει σὺ νοεῖσθαι διὰ ἔργων καὶ δυνάμεων;

just as the seed dwelling inside the grape cannot see the things outside the rind while being inside; so neither can man, enclosed together with all creation by the hand of God, see God. Then an earthly king is believed to exist, although not seen by all, yet through his laws and ordinances, and authorities and powers and images he is understood; would you not wish to understand God through His works and powers?

6. Κατανόησον, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καιρῶν μὲν κατὰ χρόνους ἀλλαγὴν, καὶ ἀέρων τροπὰς (26), στοιχείων τὸν εὐτακτον δρόμον, ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν, καὶ μηνῶν, καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν τὴν εὐτακτον πορείαν, σπερμάτων τε καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν τὴν διάφορον καλλονὴν, τὴν τε πολυποίκilon γονὴν κτηνῶν τετραπόδων, καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ ἑρπετῶν καὶ νηκτῶν, ἐνύδρων τε καὶ ἐναλίων, ἢ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ζώοις δεδομένην σύνεσιν πρὸς τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκτρέφειν οὐκ εἰς ἰδίαν χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τὴν τε πρόνοιαν ἣν ποεῖται ὁ Θεὸς ἐτοιμάζων τροφήν πάσῃ σαρκί, ἢ τὴν ὑποταγὴν ἣν ὥρισεν ὑποτάσσεσθαι τὰ πάντα τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· πηγῶν τε γλυκερῶν καὶ ποταμῶν ἀεννάων ῥύσιν· δρόσων τε καὶ ὄμβρων καὶ ὑετῶν τὴν κατὰ καιροῦς γινομένην ἐπιχορηγίαν, τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων παμποίκilon κίνησιν, Ἐωσφόρον ἀνατέλλοντα μὲν καὶ προσημαίνοντα ἔρχεσθαι τὸν τέλειον φωστῆρα· σύνδεσμόν τε Πλειάδος καὶ Ὠρίωνος· Ἀρκτοῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρον πορείαν γινομένην ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἷς ἡ πολυποίκilos σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἴδια

6. Consider, O man, His works: the change of seasons according to times, and the turning of the airs (26), the well-ordered course of the elements, the orderly progression of days and nights, and of months and years; the varied beauty of seeds and plants and fruits; the manifold generation of four-footed beasts, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of swimmers, both aquatic and marine; or the understanding given to these animals to beget and nourish not for their own use, but for the sake of man; the providence which God exercises in preparing food for every flesh; or the subjection which He has ordained, that all things be subject to humanity; the flow of sweet springs and unceasing rivers; the timely supply of dew and showers and rains; the manifold movement of the heavens; the rising of the Morning Star, announcing the coming of the perfect luminary; the conjunction of the Pleiades and Orion; the course of Arcturus and the other stars as they move in the circle of the sky, to which the manifold wisdom of God has given each its own name. This God alone made light out of

ὄνόματα κέκληκεν. Οὗτος Θεὸς μόνος ὁ ποιήσας ἐκ σκότους φῶς, ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ (27), ταμεῖά τε νότου καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀβύσσου, καὶ ὄρια θαλασσῶν, χιόνων τε καὶ χαλαζῶν θησαυροὺς, συνάγων ὕδατα ἐν θησαυροῖς ἀβύσσου, καὶ συνάγων (28) τὸ σκότος ἐν θησαυροῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξάγων τὸ φῶς τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ ποθεινὸν καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ· ἀνάγων νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀστραπὰς πληθύνων εἰς ὑετόν· ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὴν βροντὴν εἰς φόβον καὶ προκαταγγέλλων τὸν κτύπον τῆς βροντῆς διὰ τῆς ἀστραπῆς, ἵνα μὴ ψυχὴ, αἰφνιδίως ταραχθεῖσα, ἐκψύξῃ· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς τῆς κατερχομένης ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν ἐπιμετρῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκκαῦσαι τὴν γῆν· εἰ γὰρ λάβοι τὴν κατεξουσίαν (29) ἡ ἀστραπή, ἐκκαύσει τὴν γῆν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ βροντὴ, καταστρέψει τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ.

darkness, who brought forth light from His treasures (27), the storehouses of the south and the treasures of the abyss, and the boundaries of the seas, and the treasures of snow and hail; gathering waters in the storehouses of the abyss, and gathering (28) darkness in His treasures; and bringing forth the sweet and desirable and pleasant light from His treasures; raising clouds from the ends of the earth and increasing lightning for rain; sending thunder as a warning and announcing the sound of thunder through the lightning, so that no soul, suddenly disturbed, might be chilled; and also measuring the sufficiency of the lightning descending from the heavens so as not to burn the earth; for if lightning were to take full power (29), it would burn the earth; and if thunder, it would destroy what is in it.

7. Οὗτός μου Θεός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος, ὁ τανύσας τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνος, καὶ θεὶς τὸ εὖρος τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν (30)· ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἠχῶν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς· ὁ δεσπόζων τοῦ κράτους αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸν σάλον τῶν κυμάτων καταπραΰνων· ὁ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ δοὺς πνεῦμα τὸ τρέφον αὐτήν· οὗ ἡ πνοὴ ζωογονεῖ τὸ πᾶν· ὃς ἐὰν συσχητὸ πνεῦμα παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐκλείπει τὸ πᾶν. Τοῦτον λαλεῖς, ἄνθρωπε· τούτου (31) τὸ πνεῦμα ἀναπνεῖς, τοῦτον ἀγνοεῖς. Τοῦτο δέ σοι συμβέβηκε διὰ τὴν τύφλωσιν τὴν ψυχῆς καὶ πώρωσιν (32) τῆς καρδίας σου. Ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, δύνασαι θεραπευθῆναι· ἐπίδος σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱατρῷ, καὶ παρακεντήσει σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς καρδίας. Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἱατρός; Ὁ Θεός, ὁ θεραπεύων καὶ ζωοποιῶν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας. Ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ

7. This is my God, the Lord of all, who alone stretched out the heaven, and set the breadth under the heaven (30); who stirs the depths of the sea, and makes its waves resound; who rules over its power, and calms the tossing of the waves; who founded the earth upon the waters, and gave it the spirit that nourishes it; for the breath quickens all things; if the spirit withdraws from itself, all things will perish. You speak of Him, O man; you breathe His spirit, yet you are ignorant of Him. This has happened to you because of the blindness of your soul and the hardness (32) of your heart. But if you will, you can be healed; give yourself to the physician, and he will open the eyes of your soul and heart. Who is the physician? God, who heals and gives life through the Word and wisdom. God made all things through His Word and

Λόγου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἐποίησε τὰ πάντα. Τῷ γὰρ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐστερεώθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν. Κρατίστη ἡ σοφία αὐτοῦ (33) Ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν· ἡτοίμασε δὲ οὐρανοὺς φρονήσει· ἐν αἰσθήσει ἄβυσσοι ἐρράγησαν, νέφη δὲ ἐρρύησαν δρόσους. Εἰ ταῦτα νοεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, ἀγνῶς, καὶ ἀσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶν, δύνασαι ὁρᾶν τὸν Θεόν. Πρὸ παντὸς δὲ προηγεῖσθαι σου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ πίστις καὶ φόβος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τότε συνήσεις ταῦτα. Ὅταν ἀπόθῃ (34) τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἐνδύσῃ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν, τότε ὄψει κατ' ἀξίαν τὸν Θεόν. Ἀνεγείρει (35) γὰρ σου τὴν σάρκα ἀθάνατον σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ (36) ὁ Θεός· καὶ τότε ὄψει γενόμενος ἀθάνατος τὸν ἀθάνατον (37), ἐὰν νῦν πιστεύῃς αὐτῷ· καὶ τότε ἐπιγνώσῃ, ὅτι ἀδίκως κατελάλησας αὐτοῦ.

wisdom. By His Word the heavens were established, and by His Spirit all their power. His wisdom is supreme (33). God founded the earth by wisdom; He prepared the heavens by understanding; the abysses were broken open by His perception, and clouds poured down dew. If you understand these things, O man, living purely, piously, and justly, you can see God. But before all, let faith and fear of God arise in your heart, and then you will understand these things. When you put off (34) the mortal and put on incorruption, then you will see God according to your worth. For God will raise your flesh immortal together with the soul; and then, having become immortal, you will see the immortal (37), if you now believe in Him; and then you will know that you have spoken unjustly of Him.

8. Ἀλλὰ ἀπιστεῖς νεκροὺς ἐγείρεσθαι. Ὅτε ἔσται, τότε πιστεύεις θέλων καὶ μὴ θέλων· καὶ ἡ πίστις σου εἰς ἀπιστίαν λογισθήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν πιστεύῃς. Πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ ἀπιστεῖς; Ἡ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ἀπάντων πραγμάτων ἡ πίστις προηγῖται (38); Τίς γὰρ δύναται θερίσαι γεωργὸς, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον πιστεύῃ τὸ σπέρμα τῇ γῇ· ἢ τίς δύναται διαπερᾶσαι τὴν θάλατταν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν πιστεύῃ τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ; Τίς δὲ κάμνων δύναται θεραπευθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν πιστεύῃ τῷ ἱατρῷ; Ποίαν δὲ τέχνην ἢ ἐπιστήμην δύναταί τις μαθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἐπιδῷ ἑαυτὸν καὶ πιστεύῃ τῷ διδασκάλῳ; Εἰ οὖν γεωργὸς πιστεύει τῇ γῇ, καὶ ὁ πλέων τῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ὁ κάμνων τῷ ἱατρῷ· σὺ οὐ βούλει σεαυτὸν πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, τοσούτους ἀρράβωνας ἔχων παρ' αὐτοῦ; Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι ἐποίησέ σε ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι (εἰ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σου

8. But you disbelieve that the dead will be raised. When it shall be, then you will believe, whether willing or unwilling; and your faith will be counted as unbelief, if you do not believe now. But why do you disbelieve? Do you not know that faith precedes all things (38)? For who can warm the earth, if he does not first believe the seed in the earth? Or who can cross the sea, if he does not first trust himself to the ship and the helmsman? And who, being sick, can be healed, if he does not first trust himself to the physician? What art or knowledge can one learn, if he does not first give himself and trust the teacher? If then the farmer trusts the earth, and the sailor the ship, and the sick man the physician, will you not wish to trust yourself to God, having so many pledges from Him? For first, that He made you from non-being into being (for if your father

οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ ἡ μήτηρ, πολὺ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ σὺ ἦς ποτε), καὶ ἔπλασέ σε ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας μικρᾶς καὶ ἐλαχίστης ῥανίδος, ἥτις οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἦν ποτε· καὶ προήγαγέ σε ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τόνδε τὸν βίον. Εἴτα πιστεύεις τὰ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενα ἀγάλματα θεοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀρετὰς ποιεῖν· τῷ δὲ ποιήσαντί σε Θεῷ ἀπιστεῖς δύνασθαι σε καὶ μεταξὺ ποιῆσαι;

were not, nor your mother, much more would you never have been), and fashioned you from a small and least drop of moist substance, which itself was never; and God led you forth into this life. Then you believe that images made by men are gods and do good deeds; but can you disbelieve the God who made you and yet be able to do anything in between?

9. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα ὧν φῆς σέβεσθαι θεῶν, ὀνόματά ἐστι νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ τούτων τίνων καὶ ποταπῶν; Οὐχὶ Κρόνος μὲν τεκνοφάγος εὐρίσκεται, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα ἀναλίσκων; Εἰ δὲ καὶ Δία τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ εἴποις, κατάμαθε κάκεινους τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφήν· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐν Ἰδῇ ὑπὸ αἰγὸς ἀνετράφη, καὶ ταύτην σφάξας, κατὰ τοὺς μύθους, καὶ ἐκδείρας, ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ ἔνδυμα. Τὰς τε λοιπὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ, περὶ τε ἀδελφοκοιτίας, καὶ μοιχείας, καὶ παιδοφθορίας, ἄμεινον (39) Ὅμηρος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ποιηταὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγοῦνται. Τί μοι τὸ λοιπὸν καταλέγειν περὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ (40); Ἡρακλέα μὲν ἑαυτὸν καύσαντα· Διόνυσον δὲ μεθύοντα καὶ μαινόμενον· καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δεδιότα καὶ φεύγοντα, καὶ τῆς Δάφνης ἐρῶντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑακίνθου μόρον ἀγνοοῦντα· ἢ Ἀφροδίτην τὴν τιτρωσκομένην· καὶ Ἄρεα τὸν βροτολοιγόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἰχῶρα ῥέοντα τούτων τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν; Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μέτριον (41) εἰπεῖν, ὅπου γε θεὸς εὐρίσκεται μεμελισμένος, ὁ καλούμενος Ὅσιρις, οὗ καὶ κατ' ἔτος γίνονται τελεταὶ ὡς ἀπολλυμένου, καὶ εὐρισκομένου, καὶ κατὰ μέλος ζητουμένου. Οὔτε γὰρ εἰ ἀπόλλυται νοεῖται, οὔτε εἰ εὐρίσκεται δείκνυται. Τί δέ μοι λέγειν Ἄττιν ἀποκοπτόμενον, ἢ Ἀδωνιν ἐν ὕλῃ ῥεμβόμενον, καὶ κυνηγετοῦντα καὶ

9. And the very names of those whom you say are to be revered as gods are the names of dead men. And of what sort and kind are these? Is not Cronus found to be a child-eater, consuming his own children? And if you say that Zeus is his son, learn thoroughly also his deeds and conduct: first, that he was reared in Ida under a goat, and having slain and flayed it, according to the myths, he made for himself a garment. His other deeds, concerning fratricide, adultery, and child-murder, Homer and the other poets narrate better about him. Why should I recount further concerning his sons? Heracles burning himself; Dionysus drunken and raging; and Apollo fearing and fleeing Achilles, and loving Daphne, and not knowing the fate of Hyacinthus; or Aphrodite wounded; and Ares the destroyer of mortals, and still the gore flowing from these so-called gods? And these things are moderate to say, where indeed a god is found to be pitiful, the one called Osiris, for whom yearly rites are held as if he is dying, and being found, and being sought in parts. For neither is it thought that he perishes, nor is it shown that he is found. What shall I say of Attis being castrated, or Adonis wandering in the woods, hunting and being wounded by a boar? Or Asclepius struck by lightning? And Serapis, the exile from Sinope who came to

τιτρωσκόμενον ὑπὸ συός; ἢ Ἀσκληπιὸν
κεραυνούμενον; καὶ Σάραπιν τὸν ἀπὸ
Σινώπης φυγάδα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
γεγονότα; ἢ τὴν Σκυθίαν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ
αὐτὴν φυγάδα γεγονυῖαν, καὶ ἀνδροφόνον,
καὶ κυνηγέτιν (42), καὶ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος
ἐρασθεῖσαν; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ἡμεῖς φαμέν,
ἀλλὰ οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς συγγραφεῖς (43) καὶ
ποιηταὶ κηρύσσουσιν.

Alexandria? Or the Scythian Artemis,
herself an exile, a slayer of men, and a
huntress, and loved by Endymion? For
these things we do not say, but those
writers and poets among you proclaim
them.

10. Τί μοι λοιπὸν καταλέγειν τὸ πλῆθος ὧν
σέβονται ζώων Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐρπετῶν τε, καὶ
κτηνῶν, καὶ θηρίων, καὶ πετεινῶν, καὶ
ἐνύδρων νηκτῶν (44). ἔτι δὲ καὶ
ποδόνητρα καὶ ἥχους αἰσχύνης; Εἰ δὲ
Ἕλληνας εἴποις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη,
σέβονται λίθους, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
ὕλην, ὡς ἔφθην εἰρηκέναι,
ἀπεικονίσματα νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων. Φειδίας
μὲν γὰρ εὐρίσκεται ἐν Πίσῃ ποιῶν Ἥλείοις
τὸν Ὀλύμπιον Δία, Ἀθηναίοις ἐν ἀκροπόλει
τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. Πεύσομαι δέ σου κάγῳ, ὦ
ἄνθρωπε, πόσοι Ζῆνες εὐρίσκονται. Ζεὺς
μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προσαγορεύεται
Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατιάριος, καὶ Ζεὺς
Κάσσιος (45), καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς
Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς παννύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς
Πολιοῦχος, καὶ Ζεὺς Καπιτώλιος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν
Ζεὺς παῖς Κρόνου, βασιλεὺς Κρητῶν
γενόμενος, ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ, οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθησαν. Εἰ
δὲ καὶ εἴποις τὴν μητέρα τῶν λεγομένων
θεῶν, μή μοι γένοιτο διὰ στόματος τὰς
πράξεις αὐτῆς ἐξεῖπεῖν (ἀθέμιτον γὰρ ἡμῖν
τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ὀνομάζειν) ἢ τῶν
θεραπόντων αὐτῆς τὰς πράξεις ὑφ' ὧν
θεραπεύεται, ὅποσα τε τέλη καὶ εἰσφορὰς
(46) παρέχει τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῇ τε καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ
αὐτῆς. Οὐ γὰρ εἰσι θεοὶ, ἀλλὰ εἰδωλα,
καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἔργα χειρῶν
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δαιμόνια ἀκάθαρτα.
Γένοιντο δὲ τοιοῦτοι οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ, καὶ

10. Why then should I recount the
multitude of animals that the Egyptians
worship, both creeping things and beasts,
and wild animals, and birds, and swimming
water creatures (44); moreover, even foot-
washers and sounds of shame? And if you
mention the Greeks and other nations, they
worship stones, and wood, and the rest of
the material world, as we have said, images
of dead men. For Phidias is found in Pisa
making the Olympian Zeus for the Eleans,
and for the Athenians on the Acropolis the
Athena. And I will tell you also, O man, how
many Zeuses there are; for Zeus is first
called Olympian, and Zeus Latarius, and
Zeus Cassius (45), and Zeus Thunderer, and
Zeus Progenitor, and Zeus of the whole
night, and Zeus Poliouchos, and Zeus
Capitoline. And the Zeus who is the son of
Cronus, having become king of the Cretans,
has a tomb in Crete, but the others perhaps
were not even deemed worthy of burial.
And if you say also the mother of the so-
called gods, may it not be mine to speak of
her deeds by mouth (for it is unlawful for
us to name such things) or the deeds of her
attendants by whom she is served, and all
the rites and offerings (46) that she and her
sons provide to the king. For they are not
gods, but idols, as we said before, works of
human hands, and unclean demons. Such
may those who make them and those who

οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

hope in them become.

11. Τοιγαροῦν (47) μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδὼς, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι· Διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τὸν βασιλέα; Ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τῇ νομίμῳ τιμῇ· θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν. Τρόπῳ γάρ τινι (48) παρὰ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, οὓς ἔχει ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τεταγμένους (49), οὐ βούλεται βασιλεῖς καλεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὄνομα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλω ἐξόν ἐστι τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι· οὕτως οὐδὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ Θεῷ Ὡστε κατὰ πάντα πλανᾶσαι, ὧ ἄνθρωπε. Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τίμα (50) εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῷ, εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ νόμος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ· Τίμα (51), υἱὲ, Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπειθῆς ᾗς. Ἐξαίφνης γὰρ τίσσονται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν.

11. Therefore (47) I will honor the king, not by worshiping him, but by praying for him. But to God, the true and genuine God, I worship, knowing that the king was appointed by Him. You will say to me, "Why do you not worship the king?" Because he was not made to be worshiped, but to be honored with lawful respect; for he is not a god, but a man appointed by God, not to be worshiped, but to judge justly. For in some way (48) a stewardship is entrusted by God; and even he himself, those who are appointed under him (49), does not wish to be called kings; for "king" is his title, and it is not possible for him to be called otherwise. Thus, one ought not to worship anyone but God alone. So you are utterly mistaken in all things, O man. But honor the king (50) by favoring him, submitting to him, and praying for him. For by doing this, you do the will of God; for the law of God says: "Honor (51), son, God and the king, and be not disobedient to any of them." For suddenly they will repay their enemies.

12. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ σε καταγελαῖν μου, καλοῦντά με Χριστιανὸν, οὐκ οἶδας ὃ λέγεις. Πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τὸ χριστὸν (52) ἡδὺ καὶ εὐχρηστον καὶ ἀκαταγέλαστον ἐστὶ. Ποῖον γὰρ πλοῖον δύναται εὐχρηστον εἶναι καὶ σώζεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον χρισθῇ; ἢ ποῖος πύργος ἢ οἰκία εὐμορφος καὶ εὐχρηστός ἐστιν, ἐπὰν οὐ κέχρισται; Τίς δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰσελθὼν εἰς τόνδε τὸν βίον ἢ ἀθλῶν οὐ χρίεται ἐλαίῳ; Ποῖον δὲ ἔργον ἢ κόσμιον (53) δύναται εὐμορφίαν ἔχειν, ἐὰν μὴ χρισθῇ καὶ στιλβωθῇ; Εἴτα ἀήρ μὲν καὶ

12. Concerning your mocking me, calling me a Christian, you do not know what you say. First, that the anointed (52) is sweet and useful and not laughable. For what ship can be useful and saved if it is not first anointed? Or what tower or house is beautiful and useful if it has not been anointed? And what man, entering into this life or contest, is not anointed with oil? And what work or ornament can have beauty if it is not anointed and polished? Moreover, air and all things under heaven in some

πᾶσα ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν τρόπῳ τινὶ χρίεται
φωτὶ καὶ πνεύματι· σὺ δὲ οὐ βούλει
χρισθῆναι ἔλαιον Θεοῦ; Τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς
τούτον εἵνεκεν καλούμεθα Χριστιανοὶ, ὅτι
χρίόμεθα ἔλαιον Θεοῦ.

way are anointed with light and spirit; but
you do not wish to be anointed with the oil
of God? Therefore, we are called Christians
because we are anointed with the oil of
God.

13. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι σε νεκροὺς
ἐγείρεσθαι· φῆς γάρ· Δεῖξόν μοι κἄν ἓνα
ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἵνα, ἰδὼν, πιστεύσω·
πρῶτον μὲν τί μέγα, εἰ θεασάμενος τὸ
γεγονὸς πιστεύσεις; Εἴτα πιστεύεις μὲν
Ἡρακλέα, καύσαντα ἑαυτὸν, ζῆν, καὶ
Ἀσκληπιὸν κεραυνωθέντα ἐγγέρεθαι· τὰ δὲ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοι λεγόμενα ἀπιστεῖς; Ἵσως
καὶ (54) ἐπιδείξω σοι νεκρὸν ἐγερθέντα καὶ
ζῶντα, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπιστήσεις. Ὁ μὲν οὖν
Θεὸς σοι πολλὰ τεκμήρια ἐπιδείκνυσιν εἰς
τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ. Εἰ γὰρ βούλει,
κατανόησον τὴν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν
καὶ νυκτῶν τελευτήν (55), πῶς καὶ αὐτὰ
τελευτᾷ καὶ ἀνίσταται. Τί δὲ καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ τῶν
σπερμάτων καὶ καρπῶν γινομένη
ἐξανάστασις, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων; εἰ γὰρ τύχοι εἰπεῖν, κόκκος
σίτου ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν σπερμάτων, ἐπὶ
βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γῆν, πρῶτον ἀποθνήσκει καὶ
λύεται, εἴτα ἐγείρεται καὶ γίνεται στάχυς. Ἡ
δὲ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἀκροδρύων φύσις πῶς
οὐχὶ κατὰ πρόσταγμα Θεοῦ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ
ἀοράτου κατὰ καιροὺς προσφέρουσιν (56)
τοὺς καρπούς; Ἔτι μὴν ἐνίστε καὶ
στρουθίον ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν πετεινῶν,
καταπιὼν σπέρμα μηλέας, ἢ συκῆς, ἢ τινος
ἐτέρου, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τινὰ λόφον πετρῶδη ἢ
τάφον (57), καὶ ἀφώδευσε, κάκεῖνο
δραξάμενον ἀνέφου δένδρον, τὸ ποτὲ
καταποθὲν, καὶ διὰ τοσαύτης θερμασίας
διελθόν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐνεργεῖ ἡ τοῦ
Θεοῦ σοφία, εἰς τὸ ἐπιδείξαι καὶ διὰ
τούτων, ὅτι δυνατὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι
τὴν καθολικὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀπάντων
ἀνθρώπων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ θαυμασιώτερον

13. But also your denying that the dead rise
For you say Show me even one who has
been raised from the dead, so that, seeing
him, I may believe. First of all, how great it
is if, having seen what has happened, you
believe! Then you believe indeed Heracles,
who burned himself, to be alive, and
Asclepius, who was struck by lightning, to
have been raised. But the things spoken to
you by God you disbelieve. Perhaps also
(54) I will show you one dead who has
been raised and is living, and even this you
will disbelieve. The God, therefore, shows
you many proofs for believing in Him. For if
you wish, consider the end of seasons and
days and nights (55), how even these come
to an end and rise again. And why not also
the resurrection of seeds and fruits that
occurs, and this too for the use of men? For
if I may say, a grain of wheat or of other
seeds, when it is cast into the earth, first
dies and dissolves, then it rises and
becomes an ear of grain. And how does not
the nature of trees and nut-bearing plants,
by God's command, from the unseen and
invisible, at the proper times, produce their
fruits? (56) Moreover, sometimes even a
little bird or one of the other birds, having
swallowed the seed of an apple tree, or a fig
tree, or some other, came upon a rocky hill
or a tomb (57), and deposited it there; and
that seed, having taken root, grew into a
tree, which had once been swallowed, and
having passed through such great heat. All
these things are wrought by the wisdom of
God, in order to demonstrate also through

θέαμα θέλεις θεάσασθαι γινόμενον πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἀναστάσεως οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ, κατανόησον τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς σελήνης τὴν κατὰ μῆνα γενομένην, πῶς φθίνει (58) καὶ ἀνίσταται πάλιν. Ἐτι ἄκουσον καὶ ἐν σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔργον ἀναστάσεως γινόμενον, κἂν ἀγνοῇς, ὡς ἄνθρωπε. Ἴσως γὰρ ποτε νόσῳ περιπεσὼν, ἀπώλεσάς σου τὰς σάρκας, καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ἐλέους δέ τυχὼν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἰάσεως, πάλιν ἀπέλαβές σου τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν· καὶ ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔγνωσ ποῦ ἐπορεύθησάν σου αἱ σάρκες ἀφανεῖς γενόμεναι, οὕτως οὐκ ἐπίστασαι οὐδὲ πόθεν ἐγένοντο, ἢ πόθεν ἦλθον. Ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς· Ἐκ τροφῶν καὶ χυμῶν ἐξαίματουμένων. Καλῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον Θεοῦ τοῦ οὕτω δημιουργήσαντος, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου τινός.

these that God is able to bring about the universal resurrection of all men. But if you wish to behold a more marvelous spectacle made to demonstrate the resurrection not only of earthly things but also of those in heaven, consider the resurrection of the moon occurring monthly, how it wanes (58) and rises again. Still, listen to a work of resurrection taking place within yourself, even if you are unaware of it, O man. For perhaps at some time, having fallen into illness, you lost your flesh, and your strength, and your form; but having obtained mercy and healing from God, He restored to you again your body and your form, and your strength. And just as you do not know where your flesh went, having vanished, so you do not know either from where they came, or whence they originated. But you will say From foods and juices extracted from the blood Well said But this also is the work of God who created it thus, and not of any other.

14. Μὴ οὖν ἀπίσται, ἀλλὰ πίστευε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἠπίστουν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νῦν κατανόησας αὐτὰ πιστεύω· ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν ἱεραῖς Γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, οἳ καὶ προεῖπον διὰ πνεύματος Θεοῦ τὰ προγεγονότα ὧς τρόπῳ γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα τίνι τρόπῳ γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ποίᾳ τάξει ἀπαρτισθήσεται. Ἀπόδειξιν οὖν λαβὼν τῶν γινομένων καὶ προαναπεφωνημένων, οὐκ ἀπιστῶ· ἀλλὰ πιστεύω πειθαρχῶν Θεῷ, ὧς, εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ ὑποτάγηθι, πιστεύων αὐτῷ, μὴ, νῦν ἀπιστήσας, πεισθῆς ἀνιώμενος τότε (59) ἐν αἰωνίοις τιμωρίαις. Ὡς τιμωριῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, μεταγενέστεροι γινόμενοι οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἔκλειψαν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν, εἰς τὸ δόγματα αὐτῶν ἀξιόπιστα

14. Therefore, do not be unbelieving, but believe; for I too was unbelieving that this would be so, but now having understood these things, I believe; and at the same time having encountered the sacred Scriptures of the holy prophets, who also foretold by the Spirit of God the things that had happened, how they happened, and the present things in what manner they come to pass, and the things to come in what order they will be fulfilled. Having therefore received proof of the things that happen and were foretold, I do not disbelieve; but I believe, obeying God, to whom, if you will, you also submit, believing in him, lest now, having disbelieved, you be persuaded and then suffer in eternal punishments (59). Of these

γεννηθῆναι. Πλὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ προεῖπον περὶ τῶν κολάσεων τῶν μελλουσῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀπίστους, ὅπως ἦ ἑμάρτυρα πᾶσι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν τινας, ὅτι, Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ ἔγνωμεν. Εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ σὺ, ἔντυχε φιλοτίμως ταῖς προφητικαῖς Γραφαῖς· καὶ αὐταὶ σε τρανότερον ὁδηγήσουσι πρὸς τὸ ἐκφυγεῖν τὰς αἰωνίους κολάσεις, καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ γὰρ δοὺς στόμα εἰς τὸ λαλεῖν, καὶ πλάσας οὖς εἰς τὸ ἀκούειν, καὶ ποιήσας ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸ ὁρᾶν, ἐξετάσει τὰ πάντα καὶ κρινεῖ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀποδιδούς ἐκάστῳ κατὰ ἀξίαν τῶν μισθῶν (60) Τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ζητοῦσι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσεται ζωὴν αἰώνιον, χαρὰν, εἰρήνην, ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ πλήθη ἀγαθῶν, ὧν οὐτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐτε οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις, καὶ καταφρονηταῖς καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, ἐπὶ ἐμφύρωνται μοιχείαις, καὶ πορνείαις, καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίαις, καὶ πλεονεξίαις, καὶ ταῖς ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρείαις, ἔσται ὀργή, καὶ θυμὸς, θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία· καὶ τὸ τέλος τοὺς τοιούτους καθέξει πῦρ αἰώνιον. Ἐπειδὴ προσέθηκας (61), ὦ ἑταῖρε, Δεῖξόν μοι τὸν Θεόν σου· οὗτός μου Θεὸς, καὶ συμβουλεύου σοι φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ.

punishments foretold by the prophets, later poets and philosophers, having become, stole from the holy Scriptures, so that their doctrines might become credible. But they themselves also foretold concerning the punishments that will be upon the impious and unbelievers, so that, as a witness to all, no one might say, "We have not heard, nor have we known." And if you also wish, apply yourself eagerly to the prophetic Scriptures; and they will guide you more firmly to escape eternal punishments and to obtain the eternal goods of God. For He who gave a mouth to speak, and formed ears to hear, and made eyes to see, will examine all things and judge justly, giving to each according to the worth of their rewards (60). To those who, with patience through good works, seek incorruption, He will grant eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and abundance of goods, which neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man; but to the unbelieving, and the contemptuous, and disobedient to the truth, and persuaded by injustice, when they become inflamed with adultery, and fornications, and male relations, and greed, and unlawful idolatries, there will be wrath, and anger, tribulation and distress; and the end will cast such ones into eternal fire. Since you have added (61), O companion, "Show me your God"; this is my God, and I advise you to fear Him and believe in Him.

Book II (BIBΛION B')

1. Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο λόγος ἡμῖν, ὦ ἀγαθώτατε Αὐτόλυκε, πυθόμενός σου τίς μου ὁ Θεός, καὶ δι' ὀλίγον παρασχόντος σου τὰ ὦτα τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ ἡμῖν, περὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας μου ἐξεθέμην σοι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀποταξάμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, μετὰ

1. Since before these days a conversation arose between us, O most excellent Autolycus, in which you inquired who my God is, and having granted your ears for a little while to our discourse, I explained to you about my piety; and even after we

πλείστης φιλίας ἐπορεύθημεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, καίπερ σκληρῶς τὰ πρῶτα ἔχοντος (62) πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Οἶδας γὰρ καὶ μέμνησαι, ὅτι ὑπέλαβες μωρίαν εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν. Σοῦ οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα προτρεψαμένου με, κἄν ιδιώτης ὦ τῷ λόγῳ, πλὴν βούλομαί σοι καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ συγγράμματος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιδείξαι τὴν ματαιοπονίαν καὶ ματαίαν θρησκείαν ἐν ἣ κατέχη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὀλίγων (63) τῶν κατὰ σέ ἱστοριῶν ὧν ἀναγινώσκεις, ἴσως δὲ οὐδέπω γινώσκεις, τὸ ἀληθὲς φανερόν σοι ποιῆσαι.

parted from one another, with the greatest friendship we each went to our own home, although at first things were harsh toward us (62). For you know and remember that you took our discourse to be foolishness. Therefore, after this you urged me, though I am a layman in the matter, yet I wish now also through this writing to show more precisely the vanity and vain religion in which you are held, and also through a few (63) of the histories concerning you that you read, and perhaps do not yet know, to make the truth clear to you.

2. Καὶ γὰρ γελοῖόν μοι δοκεῖ λιθοξόους μὲν καὶ πλάστας, ἢ ζωγράφους, ἢ χωνευτὰς πλάσσειν τε καὶ γράφειν καὶ γλύφειν καὶ χωνεύειν, καὶ θεοὺς κατασκευάζειν, οἷ, ἐπὶ γένωνται ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦνται· ὅταν δὲ ἀγορασθῶσιν εἰς ναὸν καλούμενον (64) ἢ οἶκόν τινα, τούτοις οὐ μόνον θύουσιν οἱ ὠνησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ πωλήσαντες ἔρχονται μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ παρατάξεως θυσιῶν τε καὶ σπονδῶν εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡγοῦνται θεοὺς αὐτοὺς, οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν, ὅποιοι καὶ ὅτε ἐγένοντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἤτοι λίθος ἢ χαλκός, ἢ ξύλον, ἢ χρῶμα, ἢ καὶ ἑτέρα τις ὕλη. Τοῦτο δὲ (65) καὶ ὑμῖν συμβέβηκε τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ γενεαλογίας τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν. Ὅπόταν γὰρ ἐντυγχάνητε ταῖς γενέσεσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς νοεῖτε· ὕστερον δὲ θεοὺς προσαγορεύετε, καὶ θρησκεύετε αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐφιστάνοντες οὐδὲ συνιέντες, ὅτι οἷους αὐτοὺς ἀνέγνωτε γεγονέναι, τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν.

2. For it seems to me ridiculous that stonecutters and sculptors, or painters, or founders, shape and paint and carve and cast gods, which, once made by artisans, they do not consider to be anything; yet when they are purchased for a temple or some house called a sanctuary (64), not only do those who bought them sacrifice to them, but also those who made and sold them come with zeal and arrangement of sacrifices and libations to worship them, and they regard them as gods, not knowing that they are such as they were when made by them, whether stone or bronze, or wood, or paint, or some other material. This also has happened to you who read the histories and genealogies of the so-called gods (65). For whenever you come upon their origins, you think of them as men; but later you call them gods and worship them, not considering or understanding that you have read that they were born as such as they were made.

3. Καὶ τῶν μὲν τότε θεῶν, εἴπερ ἐγεννῶντο,

3. And as for those gods of old, if indeed

γένεσις πολλή ηὐρίσκετο· τὸ δὲ νῦν ποῦ
θεῶν γένεσις δείκνυται; Εἰ γὰρ τότε
ἐγέννων καὶ ἐγεννῶντο, δῆλον, ὅτι ἐχρῆν
καὶ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο γίνεσθαι θεοὺς
γεννητούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ἀσθενὲς τὸ τοιοῦτοι
νοηθήσεται. Ἡ γὰρ ἐγήρασαν, διὸ οὐκ ἔτι
γεννῶσιν, ἢ ἀπέθανον, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι εἰσίν. Εἰ
γὰρ ἐγεννῶντο θεοὶ, ἐχρῆν καὶ ἕως τοῦ
δεῦρο γεννᾶσθαι· καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ
ἄνθρωποι γεννῶντα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
πλείονες θεοὶ ὥφειλον εἶναι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, ὥς φησι Σίβυλλα·

they were born, a great origin was found;
but where is the origin of the gods now
shown? For if then they were born and
came into being, it is clear that gods born
must also come into being up to the
present; but if not, such an idea will be
weak. For either they grew old, and so no
longer beget, or they died and no longer
exist. For if gods were born, they must also
be born up to now; just as men are born.
Indeed, there ought to be more gods than
men, as the Sibyl says;

**Εἰ δὲ θεοὶ γεννῶσι (66), καὶ ἀθάνατοὶ γε
μένουσι,**

**If gods beget (66), and yet remain
immortal,**

**Πλείονες ἀνθρώπων γεγεννημένοι οἱ δὲ
θεοὶ (67) ἦσαν,**

**More numerous than men have the gods
been born (67), and yet they were,**

**Οὐδὲ τόπος στήναι θνητοῖς οὐκ ἂν ποθ’
ὑπῆρξεν.**

**There would never have been a place for
mortals to stand.**

Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων θνητῶν καὶ
ὀλιγοχρονίων ὄντων τὰ γεννώμενα τέκνα
ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο δείκνυται, καὶ οὐ πέπαυται
τὸ μὴ γεννᾶσθαι (68) ἀνθρώπους, διὸ
πληθύνουσι πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι, ἔτι μὴν καὶ
χωῖραι κατοικοῦνται, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον
ἐχρῆν θεοὺς τοὺς μὴ ἀποθνήσκοντας, κατὰ
τοὺς ποιητὰς, γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καθὼς
φατε θεῶν γένεσιν γεγενῆσθαι; Πρὸς τί δὲ
τοτε μὲν τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ὀλυμπος
ὑπὸ θεῶν κατοκεῖτο, νυνὶ δὲ ἔρημον
τυγχάνει; Ἡ τίνας ἔνεκεν τότε μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν
τῇ Ἰδῇ κατῴκει, καὶ ἐγινώσκετο οἰκῶν ἐκεῖ
κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
ποιητὰς, νυνὶ δὲ ἀγνοεῖται; Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ
οὐκ ἦν πανταχόσε, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέρει γῆς

For if the children born of mortal men, who
live but a short time, are shown to this day,
and the cessation of birth among men has
not occurred (68), whereby cities and
villages increase, and even lands are
inhabited, how much more ought the gods,
who do not die, according to the poets, to
be born and to give birth, since you say that
the origin of the gods has taken place? But
why then was the mountain called Olympus
inhabited by the gods, and now it happens
to be deserted? Or for what reason did Zeus
dwell on Ida then, and was known to live
there according to Homer and the other
poets, but now he is unknown? And why
was he not everywhere, but found only in

εὐρίσκετο; Ἡ γὰρ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμέλει, ἢ ἀδύνατος ἦν τοῦ πανταχόσε εἶναι, καὶ τῶν πάντων προνοεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν, εἰ τύχοι εἰπεῖν, ἐν τόπῳ ἀνατολικῷ, οὐκ ἦν ἐν τόπῳ δυτικῷ· εἰ δὲ αὖ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς δυτικοῖς ἦν, οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς. Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ παντοκράτορος, καὶ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ, τοῦτό ἐστι μὴ μόνον τὸ πανταχόσε εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα ἐφορᾶν (69) καὶ πάντων ἀκούειν· ὅτι μὴν μηδέ τὸ ἐν τόπῳ χωρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή γε, μείζων ὁ χωρῶν τόπος αὐτοῦ εὑρεθήσεται· μείζων (70) γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωροῦν τοῦ χωρουμένου· Θεὸς γὰρ οὐ χωρεῖται, ἀλλὰ αὐτός ἐστι τόπος τῶν ὄλων. Πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ κατατέλλοιπεν ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἰδην; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἔτι ἤρρεσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; Ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; Εἰς οὐρανούς; οὐχί. Ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς εἰς Κρήτην; ναί· ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο δείκνυται. Πάλιν φήσεις εἰς Πῖσαν (71), ὁ κλέων ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο τὰς χεῖρας Φειδίου. Ἐλθωμεν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ποιητῶν.

part of the earth? Was it because he cared not for the rest, or was it impossible for him to be everywhere and to oversee all things? For if he was, to speak hypothetically, in an eastern place, he was not in a western place; and if again he was in the west, he was not in the east. But for God the Most High and Almighty, and truly God, this means not only to be everywhere, but also to see all things (69) and hear all things; indeed, not to be confined to a place; but if not, a greater place will be found to contain him; for the container is greater than what is contained (70). For God is not contained, but he himself is the place of all things. But why did Zeus also leave Ida? Did he die, or did that mountain no longer please him? And where did he go? To the heavens? No. But you will say to Crete? Yes; where his tomb is shown to this day. Again you will say to Pisa (71), the famous one, where the hands of Phidias are known to this day. Let us then come to the writings of the philosophers and poets.

4. Ἐνιοι μὲν τῆς Στοᾶς (72) ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὸ ἐξ ὅλου Θεὸν εἶναι· ἢ, εἰ καὶ ἔστι, μηδενὸς φασὶ φροντίζειν τὸν Θεὸν, πλην ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παντελῶς Ἐπικούρου καὶ Χρυσίππου ἡ ἄνοια ἀπεφάνητο. Ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶν αὐτοματισμὸν τῶν πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀγέννητον, καὶ φύσιν ἰδίον (73), καὶ τὸ σύνολον πρόνοιαν μὴ εἶναι Θεοῦ ἐτόλμησαν ἐξειπεῖν· ἀλλὰ Θεὸν εἶναι μόνον φασὶ τὴν ἐκάστου συνείδησιν. Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τὸ (74) δι' ὅλου κεχωρηκὸς πνεῦμα Θεὸν δογματίζουσιν. Πλάτων δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῦ Θεὸν μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀγέννητον, καὶ πατέρα, καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων εἶναι· εἶτα ὑποτίθενται Θεὸν (75) καὶ ὕλην ἀγέννητον, καὶ ταύτην φασὶ

4. Some of the Stoics (72) deny even that God is from the whole; or, if he exists, they say that God cares for no one except himself. And these things entirely reveal the folly of Epicurus and Chrysippus. Others say that everything is by chance, and that the world is ungenerated, and has its own nature (73), and they dared to say that the whole has no providence of God; but they say that God is only the consciousness of each individual. Others again assert that God is the spirit that permeates the whole (74). Plato and those of his school confess that God is ungenerated, and the father, and the creator of all things; then they suppose that God and matter are ungenerated, and they

συνηκμακέναι τῷ Θεῷ. Εἰ δὲ Θεὸς ἀγέννητος, καὶ ὕλη ἀγέννητος, οὐκ ἔτι ὁ Θεὸς ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς Πλατωνικοὺς, οὐδὲ μὴν μοναρχία Θεοῦ δεικνύται, ὅσον τὸ κατ' αὐτούς. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ (76) ὁ Θεὸς, ἀγέννητος ὢν, καὶ ἀναλλοιώτος ἐστίν, οὕτως, εἰ καὶ ἡ ὕλη ἀγέννητος ἦν, καὶ ἀναλλοιώτος καὶ ἰσόθεος ἦν· τὸ γὰρ γενητὸν τρεπτὸν καὶ ἀλλοιώτον· τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοιώτον. Τί δὲ μέγα, εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξ ὑποκειμένης ὕλης ἐποίει τὸν κόσμον; Καὶ γὰρ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος, ἐπὰν ὕλην λάβῃ ἀπὸ τινος, ἐξ αὐτῆς ὅσα βούλεται ποιῇ. Θεοῦ δὲ ἡ δύναμις ἐν τούτῳ φανεροῦται, ἵνα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (77) ποιῇ ὅσα βούλεται· καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ψυχὴν δοῦναι καὶ κίνησιν οὐχ ἐτέρου τινός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνου Θεοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος εἰκόνα μὲν ποιῇ, λόγον δὲ καὶ πνοὴν, ἢ αἴσθησιν οὐ δύναται δοῦναι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινομένῳ. Θεὸς δὲ τούτου πλεῖον τοῦτο κέκτηται, τὸ ποιεῖν λογικόν, ἔμπνουν, αἰσθητικόν. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν δυνατώτερός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποιεῖν καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὰ ὄντα καὶ ὅσα βούλεται, καθὼς βούλεται (78).

say that matter has been coeternal with God. But if God is ungenerated, and matter ungenerated, then according to the Platonists God is no longer the creator of all things, nor is the monarchy of God shown, as they claim. Moreover, just as God, being ungenerated, is immutable, so if matter were ungenerated, it would also be immutable and equal to God; for what is generated is changeable and perishable; but what is ungenerated is unchangeable and imperishable. What is great, then, if God made the world from underlying matter? For even a craftsman, when he takes matter from somewhere, makes from it whatever he wishes. But the power of God is shown in this, that he makes whatever he wishes out of non-being (77); just as it is not from another that he gives soul and motion, but from God alone. For even a man can make an image, but he cannot give reason and breath or sensation to what is made by him. But God possesses this in greater measure: the power to make rational, living, and sensible things. Therefore, just as God is more powerful than man in all these things, so also is he able to make and have made what exists and whatever he wishes out of non-being, as he wishes (78).

5. Ὡστε ἀσύμφωνός ἐστιν ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ συγγραφείς (79). Τούτων γὰρ ταῦτα ἀποφηναμένων, εὐρίσκεται ὁ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἐτέρα ὑποθέσει εἰσάγων γένεσιν οὐ μόνον κόσμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν· φησὶ γάρ που·

5. Thus the opinion according to the philosophers and writers is discordant (79). For when these things are declared by them, the poet Homer is found introducing the origin not only of the world but also of the gods under a different hypothesis; for he says somewhere:

Ὠκεανόν τε (80), θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ

Oceanus, (80) the origin of the gods, and

μητέρα Τηθὺν,

their mother Tethys,

**Ἐξ οὗ δὴ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα
θάλασσα.**

**From whom indeed all the rivers and
the whole sea [are born].**

Ἄ δὴ λέγων οὐκ ἔτι Θεὸν συνιστᾷ. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ὕδωρ εἶναι; Εἰ δὲ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἄρα Θεός. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς, εἰ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς ἐστὶ, καθὼς καὶ ἔστιν, ἄρα καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν θαλασσῶν κτίστης ἐστίν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ μόνον θεῶν γένεσιν ἐξεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κόσμου. Καὶ τὸν μὲν κόσμον γενητὸν εἰπὼν, ἡτόνησεν εἰπεῖν ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ θεοὺς ἔφησεν Κρόνον καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δία, Ποσειδῶνά τε καὶ Πλούτωνα, καὶ τούτους μεταγενεστέρους εὐρίσκομεν τοῦ κόσμου. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον πολεμεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἰδίου παιδὸς ἱστορεῖ. Οὕτω γὰρ φησι·

What he says no longer constitutes a god. For who does not know that Oceanus is water? And if water, then surely not a god. But God, if He is the creator of all things, as He is, is therefore also the creator of water and the seas. Hesiod himself not only declared the origin of the gods, but also of the world itself. And having said that the world is created, he refrained from saying from what it came into being. Moreover, he said that Cronus and from him Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto are gods, and we find these to be later than the world. Furthermore, he relates that Cronus was at war with Zeus, his own son. For he says thus:

**Κάρτεϊ νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον· εὖ δὲ
ἔκαστα**

**Having victoriously overcome his father
Cronus with strength; and well
[ordered] are all things**

**Ἀθανάτοις διέταξεν ὅμως (81), καὶ
πέφραδε τιμάς.**

**Yet he arranged all things among the
immortals (81), and assigned honors.**

Εἴτα ἐπιφέρει λέγων τὰς τοῦ Διὸς θυγατέρας, ἃς καὶ Μούσας προσαγορεύει, ὧν ἰκέτης εὐρίσκεται βουλόμενος μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, τίνι τρόπῳ τὰ πάντα γεγένηται. Λέγει γάρ·

Then he proceeds to mention the daughters of Zeus, whom he also calls the Muses, to whom a suppliant comes seeking to learn from them by what manner all things came into being. For he says:

Χαίρετε, τέκνα Διὸς, δότε (82)
ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν·

Rejoice, children of Zeus, grant (82) a
lovely song;.

Κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν
έόντων,

You are called the sacred race of the
immortals, ever existing,

Οἱ Γῆς ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ
άστερόεντος,

Who were born from Earth and starry
Heaven,

Νυκτός τε δνοφερῆς, οὗς ἀλμυρὸς
ἔτρεφε Πόντος.

And gloomy Night, whom the salty Sea
nourished.

Εἶπατε δ' ὥς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ Γαῖα
γένοντο,

Say then how first the gods and Earth
came into being,

Καὶ Ποταμοὶ, καὶ Πόντος ἀπείριτος
οἶδματι θύων,

And Rivers, and boundless Sea swelling
with waves,

Ἄστρο τε λαμπετόωντα, καὶ Οὐρανὸς
εὐρύς ὑπερθεν,

And shining Stars, and the wide Heaven
above,

Οἳ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο θεοὶ, δωτῆρες
έάων·

Who are the gods that came into being
from them, givers of breezes;

Ὡς τ' ἄφενος δάσσαντο, καὶ ὥς τιμὰς
διέλοντο,

Thus they distributed wealth, and thus
they allotted honors,

Ἦδὲ καὶ ὥς τὰ πρῶτα πολύπτυχον
ἔσχον Ὀλυμπον·

And also how they held the first many-
fold Olympus;

Ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια
δῶματ' ἔχουσαι,

Tell me these things, O Muses who hold
the Olympian halls,

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἶπαθ' ὅ τι πρῶτον γένετ'
αὐτῶν.

From the beginning, and say what first
came into being among them.

Πῶς δὲ ταῦτα ἠπίσταντο αἱ Μοῦσαι,
μεταγενέστεραι οὔσαι τοῦ κόσμου; ἢ πῶς
ἠδύναντο διηγήσασθαι τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ, ὅπου
δὴ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶν οὐπω γεγένηται;

How then did the Muses, being later than
the world, know these things? Or how
could they relate them to Hesiod, when
indeed their father was not yet born?

6. Καὶ ὕλην μὲν τρόπῳ τινὶ (83) ὑποτίθεται
καὶ κόσμου ποίησιν λέγων·

6. And matter is in a certain way posited
(83) and the creation of the world is
spoken of;

Ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ
ἔπειτα

First indeed Chaos came into being, but
then

Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος
ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

Earth, broad-bosomed, the secure
foundation of all forever

Ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος
Ὀλύμπου,

Of the Immortals, who hold the peak of
snowy Olympus,

Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα, μυχῶ χθονὸς
εὐρυοδείης,

And Tartarus, misty, in the recess of the
wide-wayed earth,

Ἦδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι
θεοῖσι,

And Eros, who is the most beautiful
among the immortal gods,

Λυσιμελὲς, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ'

The liberator from limbs, both of all the

άνθρώπων

gods and of all men

Δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον, καὶ
ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

He rules in the breast the mind, and
prudent counsel.

Ἐκ Χάος δ' Ἔρεβός τε, μέλαινά τε Νύξ
ἐγένοντο.

From Chaos came Erebus, and black
Night was born.

Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε, καὶ ἡμέρη
ἐξεγένοντο,

From Night again were born Aether and
Day,

Οὓς τέκε κισσαμένη, Ἐρέβει φιλότῃτι
μιγεῖσα.

Whom, embracing, Night bore, mingling
in love with Erebus.

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἴσον
ἑαυτῇ

And Earth indeed first came into being,
equal to herself

Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ
πάντα καλύπτοι (84),

The starry Heaven, so that it might cover
him all around (84),

Ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος
ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

So that it might be a secure dwelling
forever for the blessed gods;

Γείνατο δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ, θεῶν
χαρίεντας ἐναύλους

And long mountains came into being,
the charming dwelling-places of the
gods,

Νυμφέων, αἳ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὔρεα
βησσήεντα.

Nymphs, who dwell upon the wooded
mountains.

**Ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν
οἶδματιθύον,**

**And also the unharvested sea gave birth,
swelling with waves,**

**Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλόητος ἐφίμερου·
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα,**

**the Sea, without the fleeting affection of
love; but then,**

**Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα, τέκ' Ὠκεανὸν
βαθυδίνην.**

**Having lain with Heaven, she bore
Oceanus, deep-flowing.**

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐδήλωσεν
ὑπὸ τίνος ἐγένοντο. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ἦν
χάος, καὶ ὕλη τις προϋπέκειτο ἀγένητος
οὔσα, τίς ἄρα ἦν ὁ ταύτην μετασκευάζων,
καὶ μεταρρύθμιζων, καὶ μεταμορφῶν;
Πότερον αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἢ ὕλη
μετεσχημάτιζεν (85) καὶ ἐκόσμει (ὁ γὰρ
Ζεὺς μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν γεγένηται οὐ
μόνον τῆς ὕλης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ
πλήθους ἀνθρώπων· ἔτι μὲν καὶ ὁ πατήρ
αὐτοῦ Κρόνος), ἢ μᾶλλον ἦν κύριόν τι τὸ
ποιῆσαν αὐτήν; λέγω δὴ Θεὸς ὁ καὶ
κατακοσμήσας. "Ἐτι μὲν κατὰ πάντα
τρόπον φλυαρῶν εὐρίσκεται, καὶ ἐναντία
ἑαυτῷ λέγων· εἰπὼν γὰρ γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν
καὶ θάλασσαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς
βούλεται γεγονέναι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων
ἀνθρώπους δεινοτάτους τινὰς συγγενεῖς
θεῶν καταγγέλλει, Τιτάνων γένος καὶ
Κυκλώπων, καὶ Γιγάντων πληθὺν, τῶν τε
κατὰ Αἴγυπτον δαιμόνων, ἢ ματαίων
ἀνθρώπων, ὡς μέμνηται (86) Ἀπολλωνίδης
ὁ καὶ Ὡράπιος ἐπικληθεὶς ἐν βίβλῳ τῇ
ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σεμενουθί, καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς
κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίαις περὶ τε τῆς θρησκείας
τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν
καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ματαιοπονίαν (87),

And having said these things, he did not
even thus make clear from whom they
came into being. For if at first there was
chaos, and some matter existed
beforehand, being uncreated, who then was
the one rearranging this, and reordering,
and transforming? Was it that matter itself
transformed itself (85) and adorned itself?
(For Zeus was born after a long time, not
only of matter, but also of the cosmos, and
of the multitude of men; indeed even his
father Cronus), or rather was there some
lord who made it? I mean God, who also
ordered it. Yet in every way he is found
babbling, and saying things contrary to
himself; for having said earth and heaven
and sea, he wishes the gods to have come
from these, and from these he reports
certain terrible men akin to the gods, the
race of Titans and Cyclopes, and a
multitude of Giants, and the demons
according to Egypt, or vain men, as
Apollodorus, also called Horapius,
remembers in the book entitled Semenuth,
and in the other histories according to him
concerning the religion of the Egyptians
and their kings and their folly (87),

7. Τί δέ μοι λέγειν τοὺς κατὰ Ἑλλήνας

7. But what shall I say about the myths

μύθους; Πλούτωνα μὲν σκότους
βασιλεύοντα, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὸ πόντων
δύνοντα, καὶ τῇ Μελανίππῃ (88)
περιπλεκόμενον, καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρωποβόρον
γεννήσαντα· ἢ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς παίδων
ὅπόσα οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐτραγώδησαν, καὶ
ὅτι οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ θεοὶ
ἐγεννήθησαν, τὸ γένος αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ
καταλέγουσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς
ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ὅρνισιν
ἐπιχειρήσας περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
ποιήσεως, ἔφη, ἐν πρώτοις ὦν γεγενῆσθαι
τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ κόσμου, λέγων·

**Τίτκει πρώτιστον (89) ὑπηνέμιον Νύξ
μελανόπτερος ὦν.**

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Σάτυρος, ἱστορῶν τοὺς δήμους
Ἀλεξανδρέων, (90) ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ
Φιλοπάτορος τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου
προσαγορευθέντος, τούτου μηνύει
Διόνυσον ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ
φυλὴν (91) ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρώτην
κατέστησεν. Λέγει οὖν ὁ Σάτυρος οὕτως·
Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλθέας τῆς Θεστίου
γεγενῆσθαι Δηϊάνειραν, τῆς δὲ καὶ
Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Διὸς οἶμαι Ὑλλον (92), τοῦ
δὲ Κλεόδημον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόμαχον, τοῦ δὲ
Τήμενον, τοῦ δὲ Κεῖσον (93), τοῦ δὲ
Μάρωνα, τοῦ δὲ Θέστιον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀκοὸν, τοῦ
δὲ Ἀριστομίδαν, τοῦ δὲ Καρανὸν, τοῦ δὲ
Κοινὸν, τοῦ δὲ Τυρίμμαν, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκαν,
τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀέροπον, τοῦ δὲ
Ἀλκέταν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύνταν, τοῦ δὲ Βόκρον,
τοῦ δὲ Μελέαγρον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρσινόην, τῆς δὲ
καὶ Λάγου Πτολεμαῖον τὸν καὶ Σωτῆρα, τοῦ
δὲ καὶ Βερενίκης Πτολεμαῖον τὸν
Φιλάδελφον, τοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀρσινόης
Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Εὐεργέτην, τοῦ δὲ καὶ
Βερενίκης τῆς Μάγας (94) τοῦ ἐν Κυρήνῃ

among the Greeks? Pluto reigning over
darkness, and Poseidon plunging beneath
the seas, and entwined with Melanippe
(88), and having begotten a man-slaying
son; or about the many things the writers
have dramatized concerning the children of
Zeus, and that these were born men and
not gods, their own genealogies recount.
Aristophanes the comic poet, in the play
entitled *The Birds*, attempting to speak
about the creation of the world, said that at
first the constitution of the world was born
as an egg, saying:

**First of all, Night with black wings
hatches the egg beneath. (89)**

But also Satyrus, recording the demes of
the Alexandrians, beginning from
Philopator, who was also called Ptolemy,
reports that Dionysus became their leader;
therefore Ptolemy established the first
tribe. Satyrus says thus: Dionysus and
Althea, daughter of Thestius, begot
Deianeira; and she, I suppose, bore Hyllus,
son of Heracles and Zeus (92), then
Cleodemus, then Aristomachus, then
Timomenes, then Ceison (93), then Maron,
then Thestius, then Akoos, then
Aristomidus, then Karanos, then Koinos,
then Tyrimmas, then Perdikkas, then
Philippos, then Aeropos, then Alketas, then
Amyntas, then Bokros, then Meleagros,
then Arsinöe; and from her, Ptolemy, also
called Soter, son of Lagus; and from
Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus; and from
Arsinoe, Ptolemy Euergetes; and from
Berenice the Great, who reigned in Cyrene,
Ptolemy Philadelphus (95). Thus the
kinship with Dionysus among those ruling

βασιλεύσαντος Πτολεμαῖον τὸν
Φιλάδελφον (95). Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸς Διόνυσον
τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεύσασι
συγγένεια, οὕτως περιέχει. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ
Διονυσίᾳ φυλῇ δῆμοι εἰσὶ
κατακεχωρισμένοι· Ἀλθῆς ἀπὸ τῆς
γενομένης (96) γυναικὸς Διονύσου,
θυγατὶς δὲ Θεστίου Ἀλθέας· Δηϊανείρης
ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Διονύσου καὶ Ἀλθέας,
γυναικὸς δὲ Ἡρακλέους, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς
προσωυμίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς
δῆμοι· Ἀριάδνης (97) ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς
Μίνω, γυναικὸς δὲ

in Alexandria is contained in this way.
Hence, in the Dionysian tribe, the demes
are divided: Althes from the woman born of
Dionysus, daughter of Thestius, Althea;
Deianeira from the daughter of Dionysus
and Althea, wife of Heracles, whence the
demes have their surnames; Ariadne (97)
from the daughter of Minos, wife of...

Διονύσου, παιδὸς πατροφίλης (98), τῆς
μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ ἐν μορφῇ πρύμνιδι·
Θεστὶς ἀπὸ Θεστίου τοῦ Ἀλθέας πατρός·
Θοαντὶς ἀπὸ Θόαντος παιδὸς Διονύσου·
Σταφυλὶς ἀπὸ Σταφύλου υἱοῦ Διονύσου·
Εὐαίνις ἀπὸ Εὐνόου υἱοῦ Διονύσου·
Μαρωνὶς ἀπὸ Μάρωνος υἱοῦ Ἀριάδνης καὶ
Διονύσου· οὗτοι γὰρ πάντες υἱοὶ Διονύσου·
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτεραι πολλαὶ ὀνομασίαι
γεγόνασιν καὶ εἰσὶν ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, ἀπὸ
Ἡρακλέους Ἡρακλεΐδαι καλούμενοι, καὶ
ἀπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀπολλωνίδαι, καὶ
Ἀπολλώνιοι, καὶ ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος
Ποσειδώνιοι· καὶ ἀπὸ Διὸς Δῖοι καὶ
Διογέναι.

Dionysus, the son dear to his father (98),
who was mingled with Dionysus in the
form of a stern; Thestis from Thestius,
father of Althea; Thoantis from Thoantus,
son of Dionysus; Staphylis from Staphylus,
son of Dionysus; Euainis from Eunoeus, son
of Dionysus; Maronis from Maron, son of
Ariadne and Dionysus; for all these are
sons of Dionysus. But many other names
have also arisen and exist to this day, called
Heracleidae from Heracles, and
Apollonidae and Apollonii from Apollo, and
Poseidonioi from Poseidon; and from Zeus,
the Dios and Diogenes.

8. Καὶ τί μοι τὸ λοιπὸν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
τοιούτων ὀνομασιῶν καὶ γενεαλογιῶν
καταλέγειν; Ὡστε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον
ἐμπαίζονται οἱ συγγραφεῖς (99) πάντες καὶ
ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι λεγόμενοι· ἔτι μὴν
καὶ οἱ προσέχοντες αὐτοῖς. Μύθους γὰρ
μᾶλλον καὶ μωρίας συνέταξαν περὶ τῶν
κατ' αὐτοὺς θεῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπέδειξαν
αὐτοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώπους, οὓς μὲν
μεθύσους, ἑτέρους πόρνους καὶ φονεῖς.

8. And why should I further recount the
multitude of such names and genealogies?
Thus, in every way, all the writers (99),
both poets and those called philosophers,
mock; indeed, even those who attend to
them. For they composed myths rather
than wisdom concerning the gods among
them. For they did not prove them to be
gods, but men, some drunken, others
prostitutes and murderers. But also

Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἀσύμφωνα
ἀλλήλοισι καὶ φαῦλα ἐξεῖπον. Πρῶτον μὲν
ὅτι τινὲς ἀγένητον τὸν κόσμον
ἀπεφήναντο, καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν
ἐδηλώσαμεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγένητον αὐτὸν
καὶ ἰδίον φύσιν (1) φάσκοντες οὐκ
ἀκόλουθα εἶπον τοῖς γενητὸν αὐτὸν
δογματίσασιν. Εἰκασμῶ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ
ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐννοίᾳ ἐφθέγγαντο, καὶ οὐ κατὰ
ἀλήθειαν· ἕτεροι δ' αὖ εἶπον πρόνοιαν
εἶναι, καὶ τὰ τούτων (2) δόγματα
ἀνέλυσαν. Ἄρατος μὲν οὖν φησιν·

concerning the cosmogony, they spoke
inconsistently with one another and basely.
First, some declared the world to be
ungenerated, as we showed above. And
those who claimed it to be ungenerated and
of a peculiar nature did not speak
consistently with those who held it to be
generated. For these uttered these things
by conjecture and human understanding,
and not according to truth; others again
said that there was providence, and they
explained the doctrines of these. Aratus
therefore says:

**Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέ ποτ'
ἄνδρες ἐῷμεν**

**Let us begin from Zeus, whom men
never forsake**

**Ἄρρητον· μεστὰ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν
ἀγυιαί,**

**Unspoken; and all the streets are full of
Zeus,**

**Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστή δὲ
θάλασσα,**

**All the marketplaces of men, and the sea
is full,**

**Καὶ λιμένες, πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα
πάντες·**

**And harbors, and everywhere we all
make use of Zeus;**

**Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν· ὃ δ' ἥπιος
ἀνθρώποισι**

**For we are of his race; and he is gentle
toward men**

**Δεξιὰ σημαίνει· λαοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἔργον
ἐγείρει,**

**He signals with his right hand; and he
rouses peoples to action,**

Μιμνήσκων βιότοιο· λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος

Reminding of life; and he says when the

ἀρίστη

best morsel

**Βουσί τε καὶ μακέλησιν· λέγει δ' ὅτε
δεξιαὶ ὥραι (3),**

**For cattle and mattocks; and he says
when the right seasons (3),**

**Καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι, καὶ σπέρματα
πάντα βαλέσθαι.**

**And to turn plants around, and for all
seeds to be sown.**

Τίνι οὖν πιστεύσωμεν, πότερον Ἀράτῳ
τῷδε ἢ Σοφοκλεῖ λέγοντι

Whom then shall we trust, whether Aratus
in this or Sophocles speaking

Πρόνοια δ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς σαφὴς (4),

Providence is clear to no one (4),

**Εἰκὴ κράτιστον (5) ζῆν ὅπως δύναιτό
τις.**

**It is best to live by chance (5) as one
might be able.**

Ὅμηρος δὲ πάλιν τούτῳ οὐ συνάδει· λέγει
γάρ·

But Homer again does not agree with this;
for he says:

**Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἄνδρεσσιν ὀφέλει τε
μινύθει τε.**

Zeus grants and increases virtue to men.

Καὶ Σιμωνίδης·

And Simonides:

Οὐτίς ἄνευ θεῶν ἀρετὰν λάβεν,

No one obtains virtue without the gods,

**Οὐ πόλις, οὐ βροτός· Θεὸς ὁ παμμήτις
(6).**

**Neither city nor mortal; God is the all-
wise (6).**

Ἀπήμαντον δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

There is nothing harmful in them.

Ὅμοίως καὶ Εὐριπίδης·

Similarly, Euripides;

**Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χωρὶς ἀνθρώποις
Θεοῦ.**

**There is nothing without God among
men.**

Καὶ Μένανδρος·

And Menander;

**Οὐκ ἄρα φροντίζει τις ἡμῶν, ἢ μόνος
Θεός.**

**Therefore, none of us cares, except God
alone.**

Καὶ πάλιν Εὐριπίδης·

And again Euripides;

Σῶσαι γὰρ ὁπότεν τῷ Θεῷ δοκῇ,

**For to save whenever it seems good to
God,**

**Πολλὰς προφάσεις δίδωσιν εἰς
σωτηρίαν.**

He gives many reasons for salvation.

Καὶ Θέστιος (7)·

And Thestius (7):

**Θεοῦ θέλοντος (8), καὶ ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέης,
Σώζη.**

**God willing (8), even if you sail upon a
wave, you are saved.**

Καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μυρία εἰπόντες, ἀσύμφωνα
ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεῖπον. Ὁ γοῦν Σοφοκλῆς

And having said countless such things, they
contradicted themselves. Sophocles, at
least, speaks of carelessness in another

ἀπρονοησίαν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει (9)·

passage (9):

Θεοῦ δὲ πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπερπηδᾷ βροτός·

A mortal does not leap over a blow from God.

Πλὴν καὶ πληθὺν (10) εἰσήγαγον, ἣ μοναρχίαν εἶπον· καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι τοῖς λέγουσιν, ἀπρονοησίαν τάναντία εἰρήκασιν. Ὅθεν Εὐριπίδης ὁμολογεῖ λέγων·

But they introduced also a multitude (10), or said it was monarchy; and those who say it is providence have called the opposite carelessness. Hence Euripides confesses, saying:

Σπουδάζομεν δὲ πόλλ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων μάτην

But we strive much in vain under hopes.

Πόνους ἔχοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες·

Enduring toils, knowing nothing;

Καὶ μὴ θέλοντες ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ ἀληθὲς μὴ ἐπίστασθαι· ὑπὸ δαιμόνων δὲ ἐμπνευσθέντες, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν φυσιωθέντες, ἃ εἶπον, δι' αὐτῶν εἶπον. Ἦτοι γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ (11), Ὅμηρος δὴ καὶ Ἡσίοδος, ὥς φασιν, ὑπὸ Μουσῶν ἐμπνευσθέντες, φαντασίᾳ καὶ πλάνῃ ἐλάλησαν, καὶ οὐ καθαρῷ πνεύματι, ἀλλὰ πλάνῳ. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ σαφῶς δείκνυται (12), εἰ καὶ οἱ δαιμονῶντες (13) ἐνίστε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἐξορκίζονται κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ αὐτὰ τὰ πλάνα πνεύματα, εἶναι δαίμονες, οἱ καὶ τότε εἰς ἐκείνους ἐνεργήσαντες. Πλὴν ἐνίστε τινες τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκνήψαντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἶπον ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προφήταις, ὅπως εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, περὶ τε Θεοῦ μοναρχίας καὶ κρίσεως, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἔφασαν.

And not willing, they confess that they do not know the truth; inspired by demons, and being possessed by them, what they said, they said through them. For indeed the poets (11), Homer and Hesiod, as they say, inspired by the Muses, spoke in imagination and error, and not with a pure spirit, but with delusion. From this it is clearly shown (12) that even those possessed by demons (13) are sometimes exorcised up to this time in the name of the true God, and those deluded spirits confess themselves to be demons, who then acted through them. Yet sometimes some, having come to their senses in soul from them, spoke following the prophets, so that as a testimony both to themselves and to all men, concerning the monarchy and judgment of God, and the rest of what they declared.

9. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, πνευματοφόροι Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ προφηταὶ γενόμενοι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες καὶ σοφισθέντες ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι, καὶ ὅσιοι καὶ δίκαιοι. Διὸ καὶ κατηξιώθησαν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν ὄργανα Θεοῦ γενόμενοι, καὶ χωρήσαντες (14) σοφίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς σοφίας εἶπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ λοιμῶν καὶ λιμῶν καὶ πολέμων προεῖπον· καὶ οὐχ εἷς ἢ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονες κατὰ χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐγενήθησαν παρὰ Ἑβραίοις (ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἑλλήσι Σίβυλλα) καὶ πάντες φίλα ἀλλήλοις καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρήκασιν, τὰ τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς γεγονότα, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς νυνὶ τελειούμενα· διὸ καὶ πεπεισμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὕτως ἔσεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπήρτισται.

10. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συμφώνως ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. Οὐ γάρ τι τῷ Θεῷ συνήκμασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τόπος ὢν, καὶ ἀνενδεὴς ὢν, καὶ ὑπερέχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ἠθέλησεν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι ᾧ γνωσθῇ· τούτῳ οὖν προητοίμασεν τὸν κόσμον. Ὁ γὰρ γενητὸς καὶ προσδεὴς ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἀγέννητος, οὐδενὸς προσδεῖται. Ἐχων οὖν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Λόγον ἐνδιάθετον (15) ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις σπλάγχνοις, ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ Σοφίας (16) ἐξερευξάμενος πρὸ τῶν ὅλων. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἔσχεν ὑπουργὸν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν. Οὗτος λέγεται ἀρχὴ, ὅτι ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει πάντων τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ δεδημιουργημένων.

9. But the men of God, bearing the Spirit of the Holy Spirit and becoming prophets, inspired and made wise by God Himself, became God-taught, both holy and just. Therefore, they were deemed worthy to receive this recompense, becoming instruments of God, and having received (14) wisdom from Him, through which wisdom they spoke also concerning the creation of the world and all the rest. For they foretold plagues and famines and wars; and not just one or two, but many at various times and seasons came forth among the Hebrews (and also among the Greeks, Sibyl) and all have spoken kindly of one another and in agreement, both the things that happened before them, and those that happened according to them, and those now being fulfilled among us; therefore we are also persuaded that the things to come will be just as the former were completed.

10. And first, they taught us in agreement that He made all things out of non-being. For it was not fitting for God, but being Himself place, and lacking nothing, and existing before the ages, He willed to make man to be known; therefore He prepared the world for him beforehand. For the created is needy and dependent; but the uncreated depends on nothing. Having therefore God His own Word inwardly (15) in His own bowels, He begot it together with His own Wisdom (16), having brought it forth before all things. This Word He had as helper of those things made by Him, and through it He made all things. This one is called the beginning, because He rules and dominates all things created through Him.

Οὗτος οὖν, ὢν Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου κατήρχετο εἰς τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλει τὰ περὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων. Οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προφητῆται ὅτε ὁ κόσμος ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἡ σοφία ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ (17) οὕσα ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ ὁ αἰὶ συμπαρῶν αὐτῷ. Διὸ δὴ καὶ διὰ Σολομῶνος προφήτου οὕτως λέγει· **Ἦνίκα δὴ ἠτοίμασε τὸν οὐρανὸν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὰ ἐποίει τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς, ἤμην παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα.** Μωϋσῆς δὲ ὁ καὶ Σολομῶνος πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν (18) γενόμενος, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς δι' ὄργανου δι' αὐτοῦ φησιν· **Ἐν ἀρχῇ (19) ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.** Πρῶτον ἀρχὴν καὶ ποιήσιν ὠνόμασεν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸν Θεὸν συνέστησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀργῶς χρὴ καὶ ἐπὶ κενῷ Θεὸν ὀνομάζειν. Προήδει γὰρ ἡ θεία σοφία μέλλειν φλυαρεῖν τινας, καὶ πληθὺν θεῶν ὀνομάζειν τῶν οὐκ ὄντων. Ὅπως οὖν ὁ τῷ ὄντι Θεὸς διὰ ἔργων νοηθῇ, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς πεποίηκεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἔφη· **Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.** Εἴτα εἰπὼν τὴν ποιήσιν αὐτῶν, δηλοῖ ἡμῖν· **Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.** Ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις διδάσκει ἡ θεία Γραφή, τρόπῳ τινὶ ὕλην γενητὴν (20), ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν, ἀφ' ἧς πεποίηκε καὶ δεδημιούργηκεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον.

This one, therefore, being the Spirit of God, and beginning and wisdom, and power of the Most High, came down upon the prophets, and through them spoke concerning the creation of the world and all the rest. For the prophets were not when the world was made, but the wisdom in it (17) was that of God, and His holy Word always present with it. Therefore also through the prophet Solomon it says thus: **“When He prepared the heavens, I was present with Him, and as He established the foundations of the earth, I was fittingly with Him.”** Moses, who was before Solomon by many years (18), but rather the Word of God as an instrument through him says: **“In the beginning (19) God made the heaven and the earth.”** First He named beginning and creation, then thus He established God; for it is not fitting to call God late and void. For divine wisdom foreknew that some would babble and name many gods of those not existing. So that God, who is being, might be understood through works, and that in His Word God made the heaven and the earth and the things in them, He said: **“In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.”** Then having spoken of their creation, He shows us: **“But the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was upon the abyss, and the Spirit of God moved upon the water.”** These things the divine Scripture teaches first, in a certain way a created matter (20), made by God, from which God made and fashioned the world.

11. Ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως φῶς ἐστίν· ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοσμούμενα τὸ φῶς φανεροῖ. Διὸ λέγει· «Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς· καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς

11. The beginning of creation is light. Since the things being ordered reveal the light. Therefore He says “And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. and God saw

ὅτι καλόν (21).» δηλονότι καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γεγονός. «Καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσε νύκτα. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα, καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι καλόν. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα δευτέρα. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτω. Καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν, καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσας. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι καλόν. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον, ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ὁμοιότητα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον, ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεός, ὅτι καλόν. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα τρίτη. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὥστε διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα, καὶ εἰς καιροὺς, καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς φαῦσιν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ

the light that it was good (21). Clearly, it was good, having come into being for man. "And He separated between the light and between the darkness, and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day. And God said Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate between the waters and the waters. And it came to pass so. And God made the firmament, and separated between the waters that were under the firmament, and between the waters that were above the firmament. And God called the firmament Heaven. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening, and there was morning, the second day. And God said Let the water under the heaven be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear. And it came to pass so. And the waters were gathered into their gatherings, and the dry land appeared. And God called the dry land Earth, and the gatherings of the waters He called Seas. And God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, herb yielding seed according to its kind and likeness, and fruit tree bearing fruit, whose seed is in itself according to its likeness. And it came to pass so. And the earth brought forth grass, herb yielding seed according to its kind, and fruit tree bearing fruit, whose seed was in itself according to its kind upon the earth. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the third day. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, to separate between day and night, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years. And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven, to shine upon the earth. And it came to pass

Θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους, τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν μέγαν εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὸν φωστῆρα τὸν ἐλάσσων εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. Καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα τετάρτη. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἔρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κτήνη τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῶων ἔρπετων, ἃ ἐξήγαγεν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γένη αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν πτερωτὸν κατὰ γένος. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι καλά· καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεὸς λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ πληθυνέτω ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα πέμπτη. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα, καὶ ἔρπετὰ, καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος, καὶ τὰ κτήνη κατὰ γένος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔρπετὰ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι καλόν. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔρπετων τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς. Καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς, καὶ ἄρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς

so. And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars. And God placed them in the firmament of the heaven, to shine upon the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and to separate between the light and between the darkness. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, the fourth day. And God said Let the waters bring forth creeping creatures of living souls, and flying birds upon the earth, according to the firmament of the heaven. And it came to pass so. And God made the great sea creatures, and every living soul of creeping animals which the waters brought forth according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea, and let the birds multiply upon the earth. And there was evening and there was morning, the fifth day. And God said Let the earth bring forth living creatures according to their kind: cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth according to their kind. And it came to pass so. And God made the beasts of the earth according to their kind, and the cattle according to their kind, and all the creeping things of the earth. And God saw that it was good. And God said Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and the beasts, and all the earth, and all the creeping things that creep upon the earth. And God made man. In the image of God He made him; male and female He made them. And God blessed them, saying Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over all

θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔρπετῶν τῶν ἔρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Ἴδου δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα χόρτον σπόριμον, σπεῖρον σπέρμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπάνω πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶν ξύλον, ὃ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ καρπὸν σπέρματος σπόριμου, ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ παντὶ ἔρπετῷ ἔρποντι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ πνοὴν ζωῆς, πάντα χόρτον χλωρὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα ἕκτη. Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἃ ἐποίησεν, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐποίησε. Καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἑβδόμην, καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι.»

the beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth. And God said Behold, I have given you every seed-bearing herb that is upon all the earth, and every tree that has in itself fruit of seed-bearing seed; to you it shall be for food; and to all the beasts of the earth, and to all the birds of the air, and to every creeping thing upon the earth, which has in itself the breath of life, I have given every green herb for food. And it came to pass so. And God saw all that He had made, and behold, very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day. And the heaven and the earth were completed, and all their host. And God finished on the sixth day His works which He had made, and He rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because on it He rested from all His works. "Which God began to make."

12. Τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἑξαήμερου οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων δυνατὸς κατ' ἀξίαν τὴν ἐξήγησιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν πᾶσαν ἐξεῖπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰ μυρία στόματα ἔχοι καὶ μυρίας γλώσσας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ μυρίοις ἔτεσι βιώσει τις, ἐπιδημῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔσται ἱκανὸς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀξίως τι εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς σοφίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῆς οὐσης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ Ἑξαμέρῳ. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν συγγραφέων ἐμιμήσαντο, καὶ ἠθέλησαν περὶ τούτων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι, καίτοι λαβόντες ἐντεῦθεν τὰς ἀφορμὰς, ἥτοι περὶ κόσμου κτίσεως, ἢ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἔναυσμα ἀξιὸν τι τῆς

12. No human being, therefore, is able to fully recount with due worth the entire narration and arrangement of the Six Days, not even if he had a thousand mouths and a thousand tongues; nor even if one were to live for ten thousand years, dwelling in this life, would he be sufficient to say anything worthy about these things, because of the surpassing magnitude and the wealth of the wisdom of God, which is present in this prewritten Six Days. Many writers, then, have imitated and wished to compose an account concerning these matters, although having taken their starting points from here, either about the creation of the world or about the nature of man, and yet they

ἀληθείας ἐξεῖπον. Δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἢ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν εἰρημένα ἀξιόπιστα μὲν εἶναι, παρὰ τὸ φράσει κεκαλλωπίσθαι· μωρὸς δὲ καὶ κενὸς ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν δείκνυται, ὅτι πολλὴ μὲν πληθὺς τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτῶν ἐστι· τὸ τυχὸν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐχ εὐρίσκεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι δοκεῖ ἀληθὲς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεφωνῆσθαι, σύγκρασιν ἔχει τῇ πλάνῃ. Καθάπερ γὰρ φάρμακόν τι δηλητήριον συγκραθὲν μέλιτι, ἢ οἶνῳ, ἢ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ, τὸ πᾶν ποιεῖ βλαβερόν καὶ ἄχρηστον· οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολυλογία εὐρίσκεται ματαιοπονία, καὶ βλάβη μᾶλλον τοῖς πειθομένοις αὐτῇ. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης (22) ἡμέρας, ἣν πάντες μὲν ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀγνοοῦσιν· ὅτι παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὁ καλεῖται σάββατον Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐβδομάς (23), ἣτις εἰς πᾶν γένος (24) ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεται μὲν, δι' ἣν δὲ αἰτίαν καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐπίστανται. Τὸ δὲ εἰπεῖν Ἡσίοδον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκ χάους γεγενῆσθαι Ἑρεβον (25), καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ Ἑρῶτα κυριεύοντα τῶν κατ' αὐτόν τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μάταιον καὶ ψυχρόν τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλλότριον πάσης ἀληθείας δείκνυται. Θεὸν γὰρ οὐ χρὴ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς νικᾶσθαι· ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ σώφρονες ἄνθρωποι ἀπέχονται πάσης αἰσχροῦς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας κακῆς.

did not say anything worthy of the truth even by chance. It seems that the things said by philosophers or writers and poets are indeed credible, despite being adorned in their expression; but their discourse is shown to be foolish and empty, because there is a great abundance of their nonsense; and the chance of truth is not found in them. For even if something seems to be truly proclaimed through them, it is mixed with error. Just as a medicine combined with poison, or honey, or wine, or something else, makes the whole harmful and useless; so also the verbosity found in them is vanity and rather harmful to those who are persuaded by it. Furthermore, even concerning the seventh (22) day, which all men indeed name, but the majority are ignorant of; for among the Hebrews what is called the sabbath is interpreted in Greek as the week (23), which is named for every kind (24) of men, but they do not understand the cause for which they call it so. To say that Hesiod the poet was born from Chaos Erebus (25), and that Earth and Love rule over the gods and men according to him, is a vain and cold statement, and shows something alien to all truth. For God must not be overcome by pleasure; where even wise men abstain from all shameful pleasure and evil desire.

13. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγείων κάτωθεν ἄρξασθαι καὶ λέγειν τὴν ποίησιν τῶν γεγενημένων, ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ πάννυ ἀσθενὲς τὸ ἐννόημα αὐτοῦ, ὥς πρὸς Θεὸν, ἐστίν. Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ, κάτω ὢν, ἄρχεται ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς τάξιν (26) δύναται καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὸν θεμέλιον ὑπόθῃται. Θεοῦ δὲ τὸ δυνατόν ἐν τούτῳ δείκνυται, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποιῇ τὰ

13. But also to begin and to speak of the creation of things that have come into being from the earthly below is a human, lowly, and very weak conception in relation to God. For a man, being lowly, begins to build from the earth, and is not able to make the structure and the roof in order unless he lays the foundation. The power of God is shown in this, that first He makes what comes into being out of non-being, as

γινόμενα, καθὼς βούλεται (27). Τὰ γὰρ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ ἐστὶ παρὰ Θεῷ. Διὸ καὶ ὁ προφήτης πρῶτον εἴρηκεν τὴν ποιήσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τρόπον ἐπέχοντα ὀροφῆς, λέγων· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, τουτέστι διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν, καθὼς ἔφθημεν δεδηλωκέναι. Γῆν δὲ λέγει δυνάμει ἔδαφος καὶ θεμέλιον, ἄβυσσον δὲ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ σκότος διὰ τὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν (28) γεγονότα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσκεπακέναι καθαπερὶ πῶμα τὰ ὕδατα σὺν τῇ γῇ· πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ζωογόνησιν (29) τῇ κτίσει, καθάπερ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴν τῷ λεπτῷ τὸ λεπτὸν συγκεράσας. Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ λεπτὸν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τρέφῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι τρέφῃ τὴν κτίσιν διικνούμενον πανταχόσε. Ἐν μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα φωτὸς τόπον (30) ἐπέχον ἐμεσίτευεν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα τρόπῳ τινὶ μὴ κοινωνῇ τὸ σκότος τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐγγυτέρῳ ὄντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὸν Θεόν· Γενηθήτω φῶς. Ὡσπερ οὖν καμάρα ὁ οὐρανὸς ὧν συνεῖχε τὴν ὕλην (31), βῶλῳ (32) ἐοικυῖαν. Καὶ γὰρ εἴρηκεν περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕτερος προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἡσαΐας, λέγων· Θεὸς οὗτος ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς καμάραν, καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖσθαι. Ἡ διάταξις οὖν Θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκῇματι συνεχομένῳ (33), ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, χωρὶς μὲν τοῦ κόσμου (34) ποιήσας· καὶ τὸ μὲν φῶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐκάλεσεν ἡμέραν, τὸ δὲ σκότος νύκτα. Ἐπεὶ τοί γε ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἂν ᾔδει καλεῖν τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, ἢ τὸ σκότος νύκτα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν τὰ λοιπὰ, εἰ μὴ τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἰλήφει (35) ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτὰ Θεοῦ. Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτη ὑποθέσει τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ γενέσεως

He wills. For the things impossible for men are possible with God. Therefore, the prophet first spoke of the creation of the heaven as having the nature of a roof, saying In the beginning, God made the heaven, that is, the heaven came into being through the beginning, as we have shown clearly. By "earth" it means the power of the ground and foundation, and by "abyss" the multitude of waters and darkness, because the heaven was made by God to cover the waters like a lid together with the earth. (28) And by "spirit" is meant that which moves over the water, which God gave to the creation for life-giving, (29) just as to a human being the soul mingles the subtle with the subtle. For the spirit is subtle and the water is subtle, so that the spirit nourishes the water, and the water together with the spirit nourishes the creation, permeating everywhere. The spirit, holding a place of light, mediated between the water and the heaven, (30) so that in a certain way the darkness would not share with the heaven, which is nearer to God, before one speaks of God. Let there be light Just as the vault, being the heaven, enclosed the matter (31), resembling a bowl (32). For indeed another prophet named Isaiah also spoke concerning the heaven, saying This is the God who made the heaven like a vault, and stretched it out like a tent to dwell in. The arrangement, therefore, of God is this: His word, appearing like a lamp in a closed room (33), illuminated what is under the heaven, having made it apart from the world (34). And God called the light Day, but the darkness Night. Since indeed a man would not know to call the light Day, or the darkness Night, but neither the other things, if he had not received the naming (35) from God who made them. Therefore,

τοῦ κόσμου εἶρηκεν ἡ ἀγία Γραφή οὐ περὶ
τούτου τοῦ στερεώματος, ἀλλὰ περὶ
ἐτέρου οὐρανοῦ (36) τοῦ ἀοράτου ἡμῖν
ὄντος, μεθ' ὃν οὗτος ὁ ὁρατός (37) ἡμῖν
οὐρανὸς κέκληται στερέωμα, ἐφ' ᾧ
ἀνείληπται τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ὅπως ἢ τῇ
ἀνθρωπότητι εἰς ὑετοὺς καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ
δρόσους. Τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ὕδατος ὑπελείφθη ἐν
τῇ γῇ εἰς ποταμοὺς, καὶ πηγὰς καὶ
θαλάσσας. Ἔτι οὖν συνέχοντος τοῦ ὕδατος
τὴν γῆν, μάλιστα κοίλους τόπους, ἐποίησεν
ὁ Θεὸς, διὰ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὕδωρ
συναχθῆναι εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ
ὁρατὴν γεννηθῆναι τὴν ξηράν, πρότερον
γεγονυῖαν αὐτὴν ἀόρατον. Ὁρατὴ οὖν ἡ γῆ
γενομένη ἔτι ὑπῆρχεν ἀκατασκεύαστος.
Κατεσκεύασεν οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ
κατεκόσμησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ παντοδαπῶν
χλοῶν καὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν.

in the first account of the history and origin
of the world, the Holy Scripture did not
speak about this firmament, but about
another heaven (36) which is invisible to
us, with which this visible (37) heaven is
called the firmament, upon which half of
the water has been lifted so that it may be
for humanity as rain, showers, and dew.
But the other half of the water was left on
the earth in rivers, springs, and seas. While
the water still covered the earth, especially
the hollow places, God, through His Word,
caused the water to be gathered into one
collection, and the dry land to become
visible, which before had been invisible.
The earth having thus become visible was
still unformed. God therefore fashioned and
adorned it with all kinds of grasses, seeds,
and plants.

14. Σκόπει τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν ἐν τούτοις
ποικιλίαν καὶ διάφορον καλλονὴν καὶ
πληθύν, καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν δείκνυται ἡ
ἀνάστασις, εἰς δεῖγμα τῆς μελλούσης
ἔσεσθαι ἀναστάσεως ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων.
Τίς γὰρ κατανοήσας οὐ θαυμάσει ἐκ συκῆς
κεγχραμίδος γίνεσθαι συκῆν, ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν
σπερμάτων ἐλαχίστων φύειν παμμεγέθη
δένδρα; Τὸν δὲ κόσμον ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἡμῖν
λέγομεν εἶναι τῆς θαλάσσης. Ὡσπερ γὰρ
θάλασσα, εἰ μὴ εἶχε τὴν τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ
πηγῶν ἐπίρρυσιν καὶ ἐπιχορηγίαν εἰς
τροφὴν, διὰ τὴν ἀλμυρότητα αὐτῆς πάλαι
ἂν ἐκπεφυγμένη ἦν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος, εἰ
μὴ ἐσχέκει τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμον καὶ τοὺς
προφῆτας ῥέοντας καὶ πηγάζοντας τὴν
γλυκύτητα καὶ εὐσπλαγχνίαν, καὶ
δικαιοσύνην, καὶ διδασχὴν τῶν ἀγίων
ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν κακίαν καὶ
ἁμαρτίαν τὴν πληθύνουσαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ἂν
ἐκλελοίπει. Καὶ καθάπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ νῆσοι
εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν οἰκηταὶ καὶ εὐδροὶ καὶ

14. Consider further the variety, the diverse
beauty, and the abundance in these things,
and that through them the resurrection is
shown, as a sign of the future resurrection
of all men. For who, having understood,
would not marvel that a fig tree comes
from a fig seed, or that from the smallest
seeds great trees grow? We say that the
world is like the sea in likeness. For just as
the sea, if it did not have the flow and
supply of rivers and springs for
nourishment, would long ago have dried up
because of its saltiness; so too the world, if
it did not hold fast to the law of God and the
prophets flowing and springing forth
sweetness and compassion, and justice, and
the teaching of the holy commandments of
God, would already have perished because
of the growing evil and sin within it. And
just as in the sea there are islands, some
inhabited, fertile, and fruitful, having
harbors and ports to provide refuge for

καρποφόροι, ἔχουσαι ὄρμους καὶ λιμένας
πρὸς τὸ τοὺς χειμαζομένους ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς
(38) καταφυγὰς· οὕτω δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ
κόσμῳ κυμαιομένῳ καὶ χειμαζομένῳ ὑπὸ
τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰς συναγωγὰς,
λέγομεν δὲ (39) ἐκκλησίας, ἀγίας, ἐν αἷς
καθάπερ λιμέσιν εὐόρμοις ἐν νήσοις (40) αἱ
διδασκαλῖαι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶ· πρὸς ἃς
καταφεύγουσιν οἱ θέλοντες σῶζεσθαι,
ἐρασταὶ γινόμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ
βουλόμενοι ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ κρίσιν
τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ὥσπερ αὖ νησοὶ εἰσιν ἕτεραι
πετρώδεις καὶ ἄνυδροι καὶ ἄκαρποι καὶ
θηριώδεις καὶ ἀοίκητοι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν
πλεόντων καὶ χειμαζομένων, ἐν αἷς
πείρεται (41) τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἐξαπόλλυνται
ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ κατερχόμενοι, οὕτως εἰσὶν αἱ
διδασκαλῖαι τῆς πλάνης, λέγω δὲ τῶν
αἱρέσεων, αἱ ἐξαπολλύουσι τοὺς
προσιόντας αὐταῖς. Οὐ γὰρ ὁδηγοῦνται
ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ
καθάπερ πειραταὶ (42) ἐπὶ πληρώσωσι
τὰς ναῦς, ἐπὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους
περιπεύρουσιν (43) ὅπως ἐξαπολέσωσιν
αὐτάς· οὕτω συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς
πλανωμένοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
ἐξαπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πλάνης.

those being storm-tossed (38); so God has
given to the world, tossed and stormed by
sins, assemblies, which we call (39)
churches, holy, in which, like safe harbors
on islands, are the teachings of truth (40);
to which those wishing to be saved flee,
becoming lovers of truth, and desiring to
escape the wrath and judgment of God. And
just as there are other islands that are
rocky, barren, fruitless, wild, and
uninhabited, harmful to those sailing and
storm-tossed, in which (41) ships are
wrecked and those who enter perish; so are
the teachings of error, I mean heresies,
which destroy those who approach them.
For they are not guided by the word of
truth; but just as pirates, when they fill
their ships, sail around the aforementioned
places to destroy them (42–43); so it
happens also to those led astray from the
truth to be destroyed by error.

15. Τετάρτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένοντο οἱ φωστῆρες.
Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Θεὸς προγνώστης ὢν, ἡπίστατο
τὰς φλυαρίας τῶν ματαίων φιλοσόφων,
ὅτι ἔμελλον λέγειν (44) ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων
εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα πρὸς τὸ
ἀθετεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Ἴν' οὖν τὸ ἀληθὲς δειχθῇ,
προγενέστερα γέγονεν τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ
σπέρματα τῶν στοιχείων. Τὰ γὰρ
μεταγενέστερα οὐ δύναται ποιεῖν τὰ
αὐτῶν προγενέστερα. Ταῦτα δὲ δεῖγμα καὶ
τύπον ἐπέχει μεγάλου μυστηρίου. Ὁ γὰρ
ἥλιος ἐν τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ σελήνη
ἀνθρώπου (45). Καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος πολὺ
διαφέρει τῆς σελήνης δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ,

15. On the fourth day the lights were made.
Since God, being foreknowing, was aware
of the babblings of vain philosophers, that
they would say (44) that those things
growing on the earth come from the
elements in order to deny God, therefore,
so that the truth might be shown, the plants
and seeds of the elements were made
earlier. For the later cannot produce their
earlier. These things hold a sign and type of
a great mystery. For the sun is a type of
God; the moon, of man (45). And just as the
sun differs greatly from the moon in power
and glory, so God differs greatly from

οὕτως πολὺ διαφέρει ὁ Θεὸς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. Καὶ καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος πλήρης πάντοτε διαμένει μὴ ἐλάσσων γινόμενος, οὕτως πάντοτε ὁ Θεὸς τέλειος διαμένει, πλήρης ὦν πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ συνέσεως καὶ σοφίας καὶ ἀθανασίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἡ δὲ σελήνη κατὰ μῆνα φθίνει, καὶ δυνάμει ἀποθνήσκει, ἐν τύπῳ οὕσα ἀνθρώπου· ἔπειτα ἀναγεννᾶται καὶ αὖξιν εἰς δεῖγμα τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἀναστάσεως. Ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι τῶν φωστήρων (46) γεγονυῖαι τύποι εἰσὶν τῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ. Τετάρτῳ δὲ τόπῳ (47) ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ προσδεῖς τοῦ φωτὸς, ἵνα ᾗ Θεὸς, Λόγος, Σοφία, ἄνθρωπος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγεννήθησαν φωστήρες. Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄστρον θέσις οἰκονομίαν καὶ τάξιν ἔχει τῶν δικαίων καὶ εὐσεβῶν καὶ τηρούντων τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οἱ γὰρ ἐπιφανεῖς ἀστέρες καὶ λαμπροὶ εἰσὶν εἰς μίμησιν τῶν προφητῶν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μένουσιν ἀκλινεῖς μὴ μεταβαίνοντες εἰς τόπον (48) ἐκ τόπου. Οἱ δὲ ἑτέραν ἔχοντες τάξιν τῆς λαμπρότητος τύποι εἰσὶν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν δικαίων. Οἱ δ' αὖ μεταβαίνοντες καὶ φεύγοντες τόπον ἐκ τόπου, οἱ καὶ πλάνητες καλούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τύπος τυγχάνουσιν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καταλιπόντων (49) τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ.

humanity. And just as the sun always remains full, never becoming less, so God always remains perfect, being full of all power, understanding, wisdom, immortality, and all good things. But the moon wanes monthly and in power dies, being a type of man; then it is reborn and grows as a sign of the future resurrection. Likewise, the three days of the lights (46) are types of the Trinity, of God, and of His Word, and of His Wisdom. In the fourth place (47) is man, who needs the light, so that he may be God, Word, Wisdom, and man. For this reason the lights were created on the fourth day. The arrangement of the stars is an economy and order for the righteous and devout who keep the law and commandments of God. For the prominent stars are bright as an imitation of the prophets; therefore they remain steadfast, not moving from place to place (48). Those having a different order of brightness are types of the people of the righteous. And those that move and flee from place to place, called wanderers, are themselves a type of those who fall away from God, abandoning (49) His law and commands.

16. Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐγενήθη ζῶα· δι' ὧν καὶ ἐν τούτοις δείκνυται ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τίς γὰρ δύναται ἂν τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πληθὺν καὶ γονὴν παμποίκιον ἐξαριθμῆσαι; Ἐτι μὴν καὶ εὐλογήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων γενόμενα, ὅπως ἦ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς δεῖγμα τοῦ μέλλειν λαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν

16. On the fifth day the creatures from the waters were made; through them also the manifold wisdom of God is shown. For who could number the abundance and the manifold offspring in them? Moreover, those born from the waters were blessed by God, so that this too might be a sign of the future, that men would receive repentance and forgiveness of sins through

ἀμαρτιῶν διὰ ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ
παλιγγενεσίας, πάντας τοὺς προσιόντας τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἀναγεννωμένους καὶ
λαμβάνοντας εὐλογίαν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κήτη καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ
σαρκοβόρα ἐν ὁμοιώματι τυγχάνει τῶν
πλεονεκτῶν καὶ παραβατῶν. Ὡς περ γὰρ
ἐκ μιᾶς φύσεως ὄντα τὰ ἔνυδρα καὶ τὰ
πετεινὰ, ἕνια μὲν μένει τῷ κατὰ φύσιν (50)
μὴ ἀδικοῦντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσθενέστερα,
ἀλλὰ τηρεῖ νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
σπερμάτων τῆς γῆς ἐσθίει· ἕνια δὲ ἐξ
αὐτῶν παραβαίνει τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ
σαρκοβοροῦντα, ἀδικεῖ (51) τὰ ἑαυτῶν
ἀσθενέστερα· οὕτως καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι
φυλάσσουντες τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδένα
δάκνουσιν ἢ ἀδικοῦσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως
ζῶντες. Οἱ δὲ ἄρπαγες καὶ φονεῖς καὶ ἄθαιοι
εὐόκασιν κήτεσι, καὶ θηρίοις, καὶ πετεινοῖς
τοῖς σαρκοβόροις· δυνάμει γὰρ
καταπίνουσιν τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἑαυτῶν.
Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐνύδρων καὶ ἐρπετῶν (52)
γονή, μετεσχηκυῖα τῆς εὐλογίας τοῦ Θεοῦ,
οὐδὲν ἴδιον πάνυ κέκτηται.

water and the bath of regeneration, all who
come to the truth and are reborn, receiving
blessing from God. But the beasts and the
flesh-eating birds are likewise a likeness of
the greedy and transgressors. For just as
the aquatic creatures and birds come from
one nature, some remain by nature (50)
not wronging their weaker fellows, but
keep the law of God and eat from the seeds
of the earth; others among them transgress
the law of God by being flesh-eaters,
wronging (51) their weaker fellows. So also
the righteous, keeping the law of God,
neither bite nor wrong anyone, living
piously and justly. But the rapacious,
murderers, and godless resemble beasts,
and wild animals, and flesh-eating birds;
for by their power they swallow up the
weaker than themselves. Now the offspring
of the aquatic and creeping creatures (52),
having partaken of the blessing of God,
possess nothing of their own.

17. Ἐκτὴ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Θεὸς ποιήσας τὰ
τετράποδα καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ ἐρπετὰ τὰ
χερσαῖα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ εὐλογίαν
παρασιωπᾷ, τῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν
εὐλογίαν, ὃν ἤμελλεν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
ποιεῖν. Ἀμα καὶ εἰς τύπον ἐγένοντο τὰ τε
τετράποδα καὶ θηρία ἐνίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν
τὸν Θεὸν ἀγνοούντων καὶ ἀσεβούντων, καὶ
τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοούντων, καὶ μὴ
μετανοοούντων. Οἱ γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἀπὸ
τῶν ἀνομιῶν καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες ὥς περ
πετεινὰ ἀνίπτανται τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰ ἄνω
φρονοῦντες καὶ εὐαρεστοῦντες τῷ
θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οἱ δὲ τὸν Θεὸν
ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες ὁμοιοὶ εἰσιν
ὀρνέοις τοῖς πτερὰ μὲν ἔχουσιν, μὴ
δυναμένοις δὲ ἀνίπτασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄνω

17. On the sixth day God made the four-
footed animals, the beasts, and the
terrestrial reptiles, but He is silent
concerning the blessing upon them,
preserving the blessing for man, whom He
was about to make on the sixth day. At the
same time, the four-footed animals and
beasts became types of some men who are
ignorant of God and ungodly, who think
earthly things and do not repent. For those
who turn back from their lawlessness and
live righteously, like birds, soar with their
souls, thinking on things above and
pleasing the will of God. But those who are
ignorant of God and ungodly are like birds
that have wings but cannot fly upward to
the divine; thus such men are called men,

τρέχειν τῆς θειότητος. Οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνθρωποι μὲν λέγονται, τὰ δὲ χαμαιφερῇ καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦσι, καταβαρούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. Θηρία δὲ ὠνόμασται τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τοῦ θηρεύεσθαι (53) οὐχ ὥς κακὰ ἀρχῆθεν (54) γεγεννημένα ἢ ἰοβόλα (οὐ γάρ τι κακὸν γέγονεν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ [55]), ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καλὰ, καὶ καλὰ λίαν· ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἡ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κεκάκωκεν αὐτά. Τοῦ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου παραβάντος, καὶ αὐτὰ συμπαρέβη. Ὡσπερ γὰρ δεσπότης οἰκίας ἐὰν αὐτὸς εὖ πράσῃ, ἀναγκαίως καὶ οἱ οἰκέται εὐτάκτως ζῶσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κύριος ἁμαρτάνῃ, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι συναμαρτάνουσιν· τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ γέγονεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κύριον ὄντα ἁμαρτῆσαι (56) καὶ τὰ δοῦλα συνῆμαρτεν. Ὅποτεν οὖν πάλιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀναδράμῃ εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, μηκέτι κακοποιῶν· κάκεῖνα ἀποκατασταθήσεται εἰς τὴν ἀρχῆθεν (57) ἡμερότητα.

18. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιήσεως, ἀνέκφραστός ἐστιν ὡς πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργία, καίπερ σύντομον ἔχει θεία Γραφή (58) τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκφώνησιν. Ἐν τῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὸν Θεόν· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Πάντα γὰρ λόγῳ ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τὰ πάντα πάρεργα ἡγησάμενος, μόνον ἰδίῳ ἔργον χειρῶν (59) ἄξιον ἡγεῖται τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Ἐτι μὲν καὶ ὡς βοηθείας χρῆζων ὁ Θεὸς εὐρίσκεται λέγων· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. Οὐκ ἄλλῳ δέ τινι εἴρηκε, ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ. Ποιήσας δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εὐλογήσας εἰς τὸ αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ πληρῶσαι τὴν γῆν, ὑπέταξεν αὐτῷ ὑποχέρια καὶ

but they think earthly and lowly things, weighed down by sins. The animals are called beasts from the fact of being hunted (53), not because they were originally evil (54) or venomous (for nothing evil came from God [55]), but all things are good, and very good; sin has corrupted them concerning man. For when man transgressed, they also transgressed along with him. Just as if a master of a house acts well, necessarily the servants live orderly; but if the master sins, the servants sin along with him; in the same way it happened that the master concerning man sinned (56), and the servants sinned together. Therefore, whenever man again runs back to what is according to nature, no longer doing evil, those things also will be restored to their original (57) gentleness.

18. Concerning the creation of man, the divine Scripture, though brief, expresses it in an ineffable manner as regards man himself (58). For when God says, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," He first reveals the dignity of man. For God made all things by His Word, considering all else as secondary, but He regards the creation of man alone as a work worthy of His own hands (59). Moreover, God is found to need help, saying, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." He does not say "let us make" to anyone else, but to His own Word and His own Wisdom. Having made him and blessed him to increase and fill the earth, He subjected all things under him as servants and slaves; and He commanded that from the beginning he should have his sustenance

ὑπόδουλα τὰ πάντα· προσέταξε δὲ καὶ ἔχειν τὴν δίαιταν αὐτὸν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς, καὶ τῶν σπερμάτων, καὶ χλοῶν, καὶ ἀκροδρύων, ἅμα καὶ συνδίαιτα κελεύσας εἶναι τὰ ζῶα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπάντων τῆς γῆς.

19. Οὕτως συντελέσας ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν. Εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται λέγουσα ἡ ἁγία Γραφή· Αὕτη βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρᾳ ἡ (60) ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι· Οὐ γὰρ ἔβρεξεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν. Διὰ τούτου ἐμήνυσεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐποτίζετο ὑπὸ πηγῆς θείας, καὶ οὐκ εἶχε (61) χρεῖαν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα αὐτοματισμῷ ἀνέφυνεν ἡ γῆ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ κοπιᾶν ἐργαζόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ πλάσις δειχθῇ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν εἶναι ζήτημα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀνεύρετον, ἐπειδὴ εἶρητο (62) ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ οὕτω ἡ ποίησις αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται, διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἡ Γραφή λέγουσα· Πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ ὠνόμασται παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πλάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς ἐξελέξατο αὐτῷ χωρίον ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῖς

from the fruits of the earth, and from seeds, and grasses, and nuts, also ordering that the animals should share in his diet, so that he might eat from all the seeds of the earth.

19. Thus God completed the heaven and the earth, and the sea and all that is in them on the sixth day, and rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made. Then the holy Scripture summarizes thus, saying: "This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth, when God made the heaven and the earth, and every green herb of the field before it grew, and every herb of the field before it sprouted" (60). For God had not yet rained upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground. By this He revealed to us that the whole earth at that time was watered by a divine spring, and did not need man to work it; but the earth brought forth all things spontaneously according to the command of God, so that man would not toil in labor. And so that the creation might be shown, so as not to seem a matter found among men, since it was said by God, "Let us make man," and his creation was not yet revealed, Scripture teaches us by saying: "A spring went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground; and God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Hence the soul is called immortal by most. After forming man, God chose for him a place in the eastern regions, distinct in light, with clearer and brighter air, and with all kinds of plants (63), in which He placed man.

ἀνατολικοῖς, διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγὲς ἀέρι
λαμπροτέρῳ, φυτοῖς παγκάλους, (63) ἐν ᾧ
ἔθετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

20. Τὰ δὲ ρητὰ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡ
Γραφὴ σὺν τῷ περιέχει· «Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ
Θεὸς τὸν παράδεισον Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς,
καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἔπλασε.
Καὶ ἐξάνετειλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν
ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν, καὶ καλὸν εἰς
βρώσιν· καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ
παραδείσου, καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι
γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ. Ποταμὸς δὲ
ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ποτίζειν τὸν
παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς
τέσσαρας ἀρχάς. Ὀνομα τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν·
οὗτος (64) ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν
Εὐλάτ· ἐκεῖ οὖν ἐστὶν χρυσίον. Τὸ δὲ
χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν. Κάκεῖ ἐστὶν
ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος. Καὶ ὄνομα
τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γεὼν· οὗτος
κυκλοῖ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας· καὶ ὁ
ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος, Τίγρις. οὗτος ὁ
πορευόμενος κατεναντίας Συρίων. Ὁ δὲ
ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης. Καὶ ἔλαβεν
Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασεν,
καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν. Καὶ
ἐνετείλατο ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀδὰμ, λέγων· Ἀπὸ
παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει
φαγῇ (65)· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν
καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, οὐ φάγησθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ·
Ἴδ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγησθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ
ἀποθανεῖσθε. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεός· Οὐ
καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον·
ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν. Καὶ
ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ
θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ.
Καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὰ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν
ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν
Ἀδὰμ ὀνόματα πᾶσι τοῖς κτήνεσι καὶ πᾶσι

20. The explicit statements of the sacred
history the Holy Scripture thus contains
"And God planted the garden of Eden
toward the east, and placed there the man
whom He had formed" And God caused to
spring up from the earth every tree that is
pleasing to the sight and good for food and
the tree of life in the midst of the garden,
and the tree of the knowledge of good and
evil. And a river flows out of Eden to water
the garden. From there it divides into four
heads. The name of one is Pishon. This one
(64) encircles all the land of Havilah. There,
then, is gold. But the gold of that land is
good. And there is also the onyx and the
green stone. And the name of the second
river is Geon. This one encircles the whole
land of Ethiopia. And the third river, Tigris,
This one flows opposite the Syrians. But the
fourth river is the Euphrates. And the Lord
God took the man whom He had formed,
and placed him in the garden to work it and
to keep it. And God commanded Adam,
saying, From every tree in the garden you
shall eat fruit. (65) But from the tree of the
knowledge of good and evil, you shall not
eat from it. But on the day you eat from it,
you shall surely die. And the Lord God said,
It is not good for man to be alone Let us
make for him a helper corresponding to
him And God formed from the ground all
the wild animals of the field and all the
birds of the sky, and brought them to Adam
And whatever living soul Adam called
them, that was its name. And Adam gave
names to all the cattle and to all the birds of
the sky and to all the wild beasts of the
field. But for Adam there was not found a

τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
θηρίοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ οὐχ εὐρέθη
βοηθὸς ὁμοίος αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ Θεὸς
ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ὑπνωσιν· καὶ
ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἐνεπλήρωσεν σὰρκα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ
ῥκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν, ἣν
ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰς γυναῖκα, καὶ
ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ. Καὶ εἶπεν
Ἀδὰμ· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅστουν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων
μου, καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. Αὕτη
κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὕτη
(66) ἐλήφθη. Ἐνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει
ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα
αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς
σὰρκα μίαν. Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοί, ὃ τε
Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ
ἠσχύνοντο.»

helper like to him. And God cast a deep
sleep upon Adam, and a slumber. And He
took one of his ribs, and filled it with flesh
in its place. And the Lord God built the rib
which He had taken from Adam into a
woman, and brought her to Adam. And
Adam said This now is bone of my bones,
and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called
woman, because she was taken out of man.
(66) Because of this a man shall leave his
father and his mother, and shall be joined
to his wife, and the two shall become one
flesh. And the two were naked, both Adam
and his wife, and they were not ashamed.”

21. Ὁ δὲ ὄφις ἦν φρονιμώτερος πάντων
τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὃν ἐποίησε
Κύριος ὁ Θεός. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικί·
Τί ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, οὐ μὴ φάγητε ἀπὸ
παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου; Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ
γυνὴ τῷ ὄφει· Ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ
παραδείσου φαγόμεθα, ἀπὸ δὲ καρποῦ τοῦ
ξύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου,
εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Οὐ μὴ φάγησθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,
οὐδὲ μὴ ἄψησθε αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε.
Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικί· Οὐ θανάτω
ἀποθανεῖσθε· Ἦδει γὰρ ὁ Θεός ὅτι ἐν ᾗ ἂν
ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, διανοιχθήσονται
ὕμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί,
γινώσκοντες καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. Καὶ εἶδεν
ἡ γυνή, ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ξύλον εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ
ὅτι ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν, καὶ
ὡραῖόν ἐστι τοῦ κατανοῆσαι, καὶ λαβοῦσα
ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ, ἔφαγεν, καὶ
ἔδωκεν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς μεθ' ἑαυτῆς, καὶ
ἔφαγον. Καὶ διηνοιχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί τῶν
δύο, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ

21. But the serpent was more cunning than
all the beasts of the earth which the Lord
God had made. And the serpent said to the
woman “Why is it that God said, ‘You shall
not eat from any tree of the paradise’?” And
the woman said to the serpent From every
tree of the paradise we may eat, but from
the fruit of the tree which is in the middle
of the paradise, God said, you shall not eat.
You shall not eat from it, nor shall you
touch it, lest you die. And the serpent said
to the woman You will not die a death. For
God knows that on the day you eat from it,
your eyes will be opened, and you will be
like gods, knowing good and evil. And the
woman saw that the tree was good for food,
and that it was pleasing to the eyes to look
upon, and that it was desirable for gaining
understanding; and she took from its fruit
and ate, and gave also to her husband with
her, and he ate. And the eyes of both were
opened, and they knew that they were

ἔρραψαν φύλλα συκῆς, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περιζώματα. Καὶ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, περιπατοῦντος ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινὸν, καὶ ἐκρύβησαν ὃ τε Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ποῦ εἶ; Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τὴν φωνήν σου ἤκουσα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὅτι γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ ἐκρύβην. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τίς ἀνήγγειλέ σοι ὅτι γυμνός εἶ, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες; Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀδὰμ· Ἡ γυνὴ ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι, αὐτὴ μοι ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἔφαγον. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ γυναικί· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνή· Ὁ ὄφις ἠπάτησέ με, καὶ ἔφαγον. Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ὄφει· Ὅτι ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου πορεύσῃ, καὶ γῆν φαγῇ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. Καὶ ἔχθραν ποιήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου, καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς, αὐτό (67) σου τηρήσει τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ αὐτοῦ τηρήσεις τὴν πτέρναν. Καὶ τῇ γυναικί εἶπε· Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου, καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν σου· ἐν λύπῃ τέξῃ τέκνα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει. Τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν· Ὅτι ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικὸς σου, καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, οὗ ἐνετείλάμην σοι μόνου τούτου μὴ φαγεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες· ἐπικατάρατος ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου, ἐν λύπῃ φαγῇ αὐτήν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· ἀκάνθας καὶ τριβόλους ἀνατελεῖ σοι, καὶ φαγῇ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ σου. Ἐν ἰδρώτι τοῦ προσώπου σου φαγῇ τὸν ἄρτον σου, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθης· ὅτι γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύση.»

naked. And they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves loincloths. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden at the time of the evening breeze, and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God among the trees of the garden. And the Lord God called to Adam, and said to him Where are you? And he said to him I heard your voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself. And he said to him Who told you that you are naked, except from the tree of which I commanded you alone not to eat, from it you have eaten? And Adam said The woman whom you gave to me, she gave me from the tree, and I ate. And God said to the woman What is this that you have done? And the woman said The serpent deceived me, and I ate. And the Lord God said to the serpent Because you have done this, cursed are you above all the beasts upon the earth; on your breast and on your belly you shall go, and you shall eat dust all the days of your life. And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; it shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise its heel. And He said to the woman I will greatly multiply your pains, and your sighing You shall bear children in pain, and your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you. And to Adam He said Because you have listened to the voice of your wife, and have eaten from the tree of which I commanded you alone not to eat, from it you have eaten. Cursed is the ground because of you; in sorrow you shall eat of it all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you, and you shall eat the herb of the field. By the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread, until you return to the ground, from which you were

Τῆς μὲν οὖν ἱστορίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς οὕτως περιέχει.

taken. For you are dust, and to dust you shall return. The history of man, therefore, and of paradise, the statements of the Holy Scripture contain thus.

22. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι· Σὺ φῆς τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τόπῳ μὴ δεῖν χωρεῖσθαι· καὶ πῶς νῦν λέγεις αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν; Ἄκουε ὃ φημι· Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων ἀχώρητός ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ οὐχ εὐρίσκεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεως αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ Λόγος αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν, δύναμις ὦν καὶ σοφία αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς (68) καὶ Κυρίου τῶν ὅλων, οὗτος παρεγίνετο εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὠμίλει τῷ Ἀδάμ. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἡ θεία Γραφή διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τὸν Ἀδὰμ λέγοντα, τῆς φωνῆς ἀκηκοέναι. Φωνὴ δὲ τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄλλ' ἢ ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶ καὶ Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ; οὐχ ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθογράφοι λέγουσιν υἱοὺς θεῶν ἐκ συνουσίας γεννωμένους, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀλήθεια διηγεῖται τὸν Λόγον, τὸν ὄντα διαπαντὸς ἐνδιάθετον ἐν καρδίᾳ Θεοῦ. Πρὸ γὰρ τι γίνεσθαι, τοῦτον εἶχε σύμβουλον, ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ὄντα. Ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐγέννησε (69) προφορικὸν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, οὐ κενωθείς αὐτὸς τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλὰ Λόγον γεννήσας, καὶ τῷ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διαπαντὸς ὁμιλῶν. Ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἅγιοι Γραφαὶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος· καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Λόγος. Ἐπειτα λέγει· Καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέ ἓν. Θεὸς οὖν ὦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ πεφυκώς, ὁπότ' ἂν βούληται ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν

22. You will say to me, then: You say that God cannot be contained in a place; and how now do you say that He walks in paradise? Listen to what I say: God, the Father of all, is uncontainable, and is not found in a place; for there is no place of His rest. But His Word, through whom all things were made, being His power and wisdom, taking the face of the Father (68) and Lord of all, this one came into paradise in the person of God, and conversed with Adam. For even the divine Scripture teaches us that Adam heard a voice. And what else is a voice but the Word of God, who is also His Son? Not as the poets and mythographers say, sons of gods born from intercourse, but as truth narrates the Word, who is always inwardly present in the heart of God. For before anything came into being, He had this counselor, being His own mind and reason. And when God willed to make all that He had planned, He begot this Word (69) verbally, the firstborn of all creation, not emptying Himself of the Word, but having begotten the Word, and always conversing with His Word. Hence the holy Scriptures and all the spirit-bearers teach us, from whom John says: In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; showing that at first only God existed, and in Him the Word. Then he says: And the Word was God; all things were made through Him, and without Him nothing came into being. Therefore, being God, the Word, and born of God, whenever the Father of all wills, He sends Him to some place, who, coming and being heard

ὄλων, πέμπει αὐτὸν εἰς τινὰ τόπον, ὃς παραγινόμενος καὶ ἀκούεται καὶ ὁρᾶται, πεμπόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ εὐρίσκεται (70).

and seen, is sent by Him, and is found in a place (70).

23. Τὸν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τὴν δὲ πλάσιν αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωκε μετὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, ὁπότε καὶ τὸν παράδεισον πεποίηκεν, εἰς τὸ ἐν κρείσσονι τόπῳ, καὶ χωρίῳ διαφόρῳ αὐτὸν εἶναι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον δείκνυσιν. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι κατανοῆσαι τὴν μὲν ὠδῖνα, ἣν πάσχουσιν ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λήθην τοῦ πόνου ποιοῦνται, ὅπως πληρωθῇ (71) ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, εἰς αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ πληθύνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄφεως κατὰκρισιν, πῶς στυγητὸς τυγχάνει ἔρπων ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ, καὶ ἐσθίων γῆν· ὅπως καὶ τοῦτο ἢ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἡμῖν τῶν προειρημένων;

23. God made man on the sixth day, and revealed his formation after the seventh day, when He also made paradise, to be in a better place and a distinct region. And that these things are true, the work itself shows. For how is it not possible to understand the pain that women suffer in childbirth, and afterward the forgetting of the pain, so that the word of God may be fulfilled, to increase and multiply the human race? And why not also the condemnation of the serpent, how hateful it is, creeping on its belly and eating dust; so that this too may be a demonstration to us of the things previously stated?

24. Ἐξανατείλας οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔτι πᾶν ξύλον, ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. Ἐν γὰρ πρώτοις μόνα ἦν τὰ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ γεγενημένα, φυτὰ καὶ σπέρματα καὶ χλόαι· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐγενήθη διαφόρῳ καλλονῇ καὶ ὠραιότητι· ὅπου γε καὶ φυτεία ὠνόμασται ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πεφυτευμένη. Καὶ τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ φυτὰ ὅμοια καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἔσχηκεν· τὰ δὲ δύο ξύλα, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως, οὐκ ἔσχηκεν ἑτέρα γῆ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ παράδεισος γῆ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεφύτευται, ἡ Γραφὴ λέγει· Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν καὶ

24. Stretching forth again, therefore, God brought forth from the earth every tree, still all, beautiful to behold and good to eat. For at first only those things that were created on the third day existed, plants and seeds and grasses but those in paradise were made with diverse beauty and splendor where indeed the plantation, having been planted by God, was called. And the remaining plants were similar, and the world held them so. But the two trees, that of life and that of knowledge, no other earth held, but only in the paradise alone. That indeed paradise is also earth, and is planted upon the earth, Scripture says. And God planted a paradise in Eden, toward the east, and placed there the man. And God

καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν. Τὸ οὖν ἔτι (72) ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς σαφῶς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ἡ θεία Γραφή τὸν παράδεισον ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὑφ' ὃν καὶ ἀνατολὴ καὶ γῆ εἰσιν. Ἐδὲμ δὲ Ἑβραϊστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐρμηνεύεται τρυφή (73). Ποταμὸν δὲ σεσήμαγκεν ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἐξ Ἐδὲμ, ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον, κάκεῖθεν διαχωρίζεσθαι εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς· ὧν δύο οἱ καλούμενοι Φεισὼν καὶ Γεὼν, ποτίζουν τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη, μάλιστα ὁ Γεὼν, ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας, ὃν φασιν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀναφαίνεσθαι, τὸν καλούμενον Νεῖλον. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι δύο ποταμοὶ φανερώς γινώσκονται παρ' ἡμῖν, οἱ καλούμενοι Τίγρις καὶ Εὐφράτης· Οὗτοι γὰρ γειτνιώνουσιν ἕως τῶν ἡμετέρων κλιμάτων. Θεὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, εἰς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν, ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ, ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν καρπῶν ἐσθίειν, δηλονότι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς, μόνον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ τῆς γνώσεως ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ μὴ γεύσασθαι. Μετέθηκεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεγόνει, εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, διδοὺς αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν προκοπῆς (74) ὅπως αὐξάνων καὶ τέλειος γενόμενος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ θεὸς ἀναδειχθεὶς, οὕτως καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῇ (μέσος γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει, οὔτε θνητὸς ὀλοσχερῶς, οὔτε ἀθάνατος τὸ καθόλου, δεκτικὸς δὲ ἐκατέρων· οὕτω καὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὁ παράδεισος, ὡς πρὸς καλλονὴν, μέσος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γεγένηται), ἔχων ἀιδιότητα (75). Τῷ δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἐργάζεσθε (76), οὐκ ἄλλην τινα ἐργασίαν δηλοῖ ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ φυλάττειν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπως μὴ παρακούσας ἀπολέσῃ ἑαυτὸν, καθὼς καὶ ἀπώλεσε διὰ ἁμαρτίας.

caused to spring up from the earth every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food. Now then, the divine Scripture clearly teaches us that paradise is under this heaven, from the earth and toward the east, under which both sunrise and earth are. Eden, then, in Hebrew, the said word is interpreted as "delight." (73) A river is said to have flowed forth from Eden to water the paradise, and from there to be divided into four heads. Of these, two are called Phison and Geon, which water the eastern regions, especially the Geon, who encircles all the land of Ethiopia, which they say appears in Egypt, called the Nile. The other two rivers are clearly known to us, called the Tigris and the Euphrates. For these border even up to our regions. God placed man, as we have said before, in the paradise, to work it and keep it, and commanded him to eat from all the fruits, evidently including also from the tree of life; but He commanded him not to taste from the tree of the knowledge. God transferred him from the earth, from which he had been formed, into the paradise, giving him a starting point for progress (74) so that, growing and becoming perfect, and moreover having been revealed as a god, he might thus ascend even to heaven (for man was made a middle being, neither wholly mortal nor entirely immortal, but capable of both). Thus also the place, the paradise, as to its beauty, was made the middle of the world and heaven, possessing eternity (75). When He said, "work" (76), He indicated no other labor than to keep the commandment of God, so that by not disobeying, he would not destroy himself, just as he did perish through sin.

25. Τὸ μὲν ξύλον τὸ τῆς γνώσεως αὐτὸ μὲν

25. The tree of knowledge itself was good,

καλόν, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ καλός. Οὐ γάρ, ὡς οἴονται τινες, θάνατον εἶχε τὸ ξύλον, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοή. Οὐ γάρ τι ἕτερον ἦν ἐν τῷ καρπῷ ἢ μόνον γνῶσις· ἡ δὲ γνῶσις καλή, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ οἰκείως τις χρήσεται. Τῇ δὲ οὔσῃ ἡλικίᾳ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἔτι νήπιος ἦν (77), διὰ οὕτω ἡδύνατο τὴν γνῶσιν κατ' ἀξίαν χωρεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ἐπὶ γεννηθῆ παιδίον, οὐκ ἤδη δύναται ἄρτον ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον γάλακτι ἀνατρέφεται, ἔπειτα κατὰ πρόσβασιν τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν στερεὰν τροφήν ἔρχεται. Οὕτως ἂν ἐγγένοι καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ. διὸ οὐχ ὡς φθονῶν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς οἴονται τινες, ἐκέλευσε μὴ ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ τῆς γνῶσεως (78). Ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἐβούλετο δοκιμάσαι αὐτόν, εἰ ὑπήκοος γίνεται τῇ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ. Ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἐβούλετο ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀκέραιον διαμεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον νηπιάζοντα. Τοῦτο γὰρ ὁσιόν ἐστιν, οὐ μόνον παρὰ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἐν ἀπλότῃ καὶ ἀκακίᾳ ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς γονεῦσιν. Ἔτι δὲ χρὴ τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτάσσεσθαι (79). Εἰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτάσσεσθαι, πόσω μᾶλλον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων; Ἔτι μὲν καὶ ἄσχημόν ἐστι τὰ παιδία τὰ νήπια ὑπὲρ ἡλικίαν φρονεῖν· καθάπερ γὰρ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τις πρὸς τάξιν αὔξει, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν. Ἀλλ' ὥστε (80) ἐπὶ νόμος κελεύσῃ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος, καὶ μὴ ὑπακούῃ τις, δηλονότι οὐχ ὁ νόμος κόλασιν παρέχει, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἀπειθεια, καὶ ἡ παρακοή. Καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἰδίῳ τέκνῳ ἐνίοτε προστάσσει ἀπέχεσθαι τινων, καὶ ἐπὶ οὐχ ὑπακούῃ τῇ πατρικῇ ἐντολῇ, δέρεται καὶ ἐπιτιμίας τυγχάνει διὰ τὴν παρακοήν. Καὶ οὐκ ἤδη αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα πληγαί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοή τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι ὕβριν (81) περιποιεῖται. Οὕτω καὶ τῷ πρωτοπλάστῳ ἡ παρακοή περιεποιήσατο ἐκβληθῆναι αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου· οὐ μέντοι γε ὡς κακοῦ τι ἔχοντος τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνῶσεως, διὰ δὲ

and its fruit was good. For the tree did not, as some suppose, bring death, but disobedience did. For there was nothing else in the fruit but knowledge alone; and knowledge is good, provided one uses it properly. But since Adam was still a child in age (77), he was not yet able to receive knowledge worthily. For even now, when a child is born, he cannot yet eat bread, but is first nourished with milk, then gradually, according to his age, he comes to solid food. So it was also with Adam. Therefore, God did not command him not to eat from the tree of knowledge out of envy, as some think (78). Indeed, He wished to test him, whether he would obey His command. Moreover, He wanted man to remain simple and pure for a longer time, as a child. For this is holy, not only before God but also before men, to submit to one's parents in simplicity and innocence. Furthermore, children must obey their parents (79). If children must obey their parents, how much more must they obey God, the Father of all? It is also improper for children to think beyond their age; just as one grows in order according to age, so also in understanding. But so that (80) when a law commands abstaining from something, and someone disobeys, it is clear that the law itself does not inflict punishment, but disobedience and rebellion do. For a father sometimes commands his own child to abstain from certain things, and when the child does not obey the paternal command, he is beaten and punished because of disobedience. And it is no longer the things themselves that are blows, but disobedience brings insult upon the disobedient (81). Thus disobedience caused the first-formed man to be cast out of paradise; not because the tree of knowledge was evil, but because

τῆς παρακοῆς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξήντησεν
πόνον, ὀδύνην, λύπην, καὶ τὸ τέλος ὑπὸ
θάνατον ἔπεσε.

through disobedience man exhausted toil,
pain, sorrow, and finally fell under death.

26. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Θεὸς μεγάλην
εὐεργεσίαν (82) παρέσχε τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, τὸ
μὴ διαμεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐν
ἁμαρτίᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐν
ὁμοιωματι ἐξορισμοῦ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ
τοῦ παραδείσου, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας,
τακτῶ ἀποτίσας χρόνῳ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ
παιδευθεὶς ἐξ ὑστέρου ἀνακληθῇ. Διὸ καὶ
πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
τούτῳ, μυστηριωδῶς ἐν τῇ Γενέσει
γέγραπται, ὡς δις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
τεθέντος· ἵνα τὸ μὲν ἅπαξ ἢ πεπληρωμένον
ποτὲ ἐτέθη (83)· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μέλλει
πληροῦσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ
κρίσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπερ σκεῦός τι
(84), ἐπὶ πλάσθην αἰτίαν τινὰ σχῆ,
ἀναχωνεύεται, ἢ ἀναπλάσσεται, εἰς τὸ
γενέσθαι καινὸν καὶ ὁλόκληρον· οὕτω
γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ διὰ θανάτου·
δυνάμει γὰρ τέθραυσται (85), ἵνα ἐν τῇ
ἀναστάσει ὑγιὲς εὕρεθῇ· λέγω δὲ ἄσπιλος,
καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ ἀθάνατος· τὸ δὲ καλέσαι,
καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν Θεόν· Ποῦ εἶ, Ἀδάμ; οὐχ ὡς
ἀγνοῶν (86) τοῦτο, ἐποίει ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ
μακρόθυμος ὢν, ἀφορμὴν ἐδίδου αὐτῷ
μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως.

26. And this too God granted as a great
benefit (82) to man, that he should not
remain forever in sin, but in a certain
manner, by a likeness of exile, He cast him
out of paradise, so that through
chastisement, having paid for sin in due
time, and having been disciplined, he might
afterward be recalled. Therefore, even
though man was created in this world, it is
mysteriously written in Genesis that he was
placed twice in paradise; so that the first
time might be once and for all fulfilled (83),
and the second time is destined to be
fulfilled after the resurrection and
judgment. Moreover, just as a vessel (84),
when created and bearing some defect, is
melted down or reshaped to become new
and whole, so it happens to man through
death; for he is broken in power (85), so
that in the resurrection he may be found
healthy; I mean spotless, just, and
immortal. And to call and say to God,
"Where are you, Adam?"—not as if God did
not know this (86), but being patient, He
gave him an opportunity for repentance
and confession.

27. Ἀλλὰ φήσιν οὖν τινες ἡμῖν· Θνητὸς φύσει
ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος; Οὐδαμῶς. Τί οὖν
ἀθάνατος; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαμεν. Ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖ
τις· Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐγένετο; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἐγὼ
μέν (87). Οὔτε οὖν φύσει θνητὸς ἐγένετο,
οὔτε ἀθάνατος. Εἰ γὰρ ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς ἐπεποιήκει, Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει.
Πάλιν, εἰ θνητὸν αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει, ἐδόκει
ἂν ὁ Θεὸς αἴτιος (88) εἶναι τοῦ θανάτου

27. But someone will say to us: Was man by
nature mortal? By no means. Then was he
immortal? We do not say that either. But
someone will ask: So nothing came to be?
Not even this, I say (87). Therefore, he
became neither mortal by nature nor
immortal. For if he had been made
immortal from the beginning, he would
have been made God. Again, if he had been

αὐτοῦ. Οὐτε οὖν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, οὔτε μὴν θνητὸν, ἀλλὰ, καθὼς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, δεκτικὸν ἀμφοτέρων· ἵνα ῥέψῃ (89) ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀθανασίας, τηρήσας τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μισθὸν κομίσηται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀθανασίαν, καὶ γένηται θεός· εἰ δ' αὖ τραπῇ ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ θανάτου πράγματα, παρακούσας τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ αἴτιος ἢ τοῦ θανάτου. Ἐλεύθερον γὰρ καὶ αὐτεξούσιον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπον. Ὁ οὖν ἐαυτῷ περιποιήσατο δι' ἀμελείας καὶ παρακοῆς, τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ νυνὶ δωρεῖται διὰ ἰδίας φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης, ὑπακούοντος αὐτῷ (90) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Καθάπερ γὰρ παρακούσας ἄνθρωπος θάνατον ἐαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο, οὕτως ὑπακούσας τῷ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ βουλόμενος δύναται περιποιήσασθαι ἐαυτῷ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν. Ἐδωκε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν νόμον καὶ ἐντολὰς ἀγίας, αἵ πᾶς ὁ ποιήσας δύναται σωθῆναι, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τυχὼν κληρονομήσαι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.

made mortal, God would seem to be the cause (88) of his death. Therefore, God made him neither immortal nor mortal, but, as we said above, capable of both; so that he might incline (89) toward immortality by keeping God's commandment, receiving from Him as reward immortality, and become god; but if he turns toward death, having disobeyed God, he himself is the cause of his death. For God made man free and self-determining. What then he brought upon himself through neglect and disobedience, this God now grants to him through His own philanthropy and mercy, if he obeys Him (90). For just as a disobedient man drew death upon himself, so one who obeys the will of God, if he wishes, can obtain for himself eternal life. For God gave us a holy law and commandments, which anyone who keeps can be saved and, having attained the resurrection, inherit incorruption.

28. Ἐκβλήθεις δὲ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, οὕτως ἔγνω Εὖαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἣν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὥς μὴ δυνάμενος κατ' ἰδίαν πλάσαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ προηπίστατο ὁ Θεός, ὅτι ἡμελλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι πληθὺν θεῶν ὀνομάζειν. Προγνώστης οὖν ὢν, καὶ εἰδώς, ὅτι ἡ πλάνη ἔμελλε διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ὀνομάζειν πληθὺν θεῶν τῶν οὐκ ὄντων (ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος Θεοῦ (91), ἕκτοτε ἤδη ἐμελέτα ἡ πλάνη πληθὺν θεῶν ὑποσπεῖρειν, καὶ λέγειν· Ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί). Μήπως οὖν ὑπονοηθῇ ὅτι ὁδε (92) μὲν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕτερος δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησε (93) τοὺς δύο ἄμφω· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτου δειχθῇ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς μοναρχίας, τῆς

28. And Adam, having been cast out of paradise, thus came to know Eve his wife, whom God made for him as a woman from his side. And this not because God was unable to fashion his wife by His own power, but because He foresaw that men would call a multitude of gods. Being therefore foreknowing and knowing that error through the serpent would call a multitude of gods those who are not (for there is one God), from that time error already took care to sow a multitude of gods, and says "You will be like gods." Might it then be implied that this one (92) God made the man, but another made the woman, and therefore did not make (93) both together? By no means; rather, through this also the mystery of the

κατὰ τὸν Θεόν· ἅμα δ' ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, [καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ δείκνυται τελειούμενον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Τίς γὰρ οὐχὶ ὁ νομίμως γαμῶν οὐ καταφρονεῖ μητρὸς, καὶ πατρὸς, καὶ συγγενείας πάσης καὶ πάντων:] καὶ ἵνα πλείων ἢ ἡ εὐνοια εἰς αὐτούς. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν Εὐάν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν (94)· Τοῦτο νῦν ὅστουν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου, καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. Ἔτι καὶ προεφήτευσεν (95), λέγων· Τούτου ἕνεκεν καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ δείκνυται τελειούμενον ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Τίς γὰρ ὁ νομίμως γαμῶν οὐ καταφρονεῖ μητρὸς, καὶ πατρὸς, καὶ κάσης συγγενείας, καὶ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων, προσκολλώμενος καὶ ἐνούμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί, εὐνοῶν μᾶλλον αὐτῇ; Διὸ καὶ μέχρι θανάτου πολλάκις ὑπεύθυνοι γίνονται τινες διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν γαμετάς. Ταύτην τὴν Εὐάν, διὰ τὸ ἀρχῆθεν πλανηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν ἁμαρτίας γεγονέναι, ὁ κακοποιὸς δαίμων, ὁ καὶ Σατὰν καλούμενος, ὁ τότε διὰ τοῦ ὄψεως λαλήσας αὐτῇ, ἕως καὶ τοῦ δεῦρο ἐνεργῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐνθουσιαζομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώποις, Εὐάν ἐκκαλεῖται (96). Δαίμων δὲ καὶ δράκων καλεῖται, διὰ τὸ ἀποδεδρακέναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· Ἄγγελος γὰρ ἦν ἐν πρώτοις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου πολὺς ὁ λόγος· διὸ τανῦν παραπέμπομαι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διήγησιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέροις ἡμῖν γεγένηται ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος.

29. Ἐν τῷ οὖν γινῶναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Εὐάν, συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν υἱὸν, ὃν τοῦνομα Καῖν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐκτῆσάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ προσέθετο ἔτι τεκεῖν δεύτερον (97), ὃν

monarchy according to God is revealed. At the same time, God made his woman, [and the two shall be one flesh. Which indeed is also shown to be fulfilled in ourselves. For who, lawfully married, does not honor mother, and father, and all kinship and all things:] and so that goodwill toward them may be greater Therefore, Adam spoke to Eve (94) This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh He also prophesied (95), saying For this reason a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh Which indeed is also shown to be fulfilled in us ourselves For who is the one lawfully married who does not disregard mother, and father, and every kinship, and all his relatives, but rather clings to and is united with his own wife, showing more favor toward her? Therefore, even until death, some often become responsible because of their own wives. This Eve, because she was deceived from the beginning by the sight, and became the originator of sin, the evil spirit, who is also called Satan, who then spoke to her through the sight, even up to now working in those inspired by him, is called Eve. (96) The demon is also called a dragon, because he has fled away from God. For he was an angel at first. And much is said concerning this one. Therefore, now I refer you to the account concerning them. For indeed the discourse about him has occurred to us in other places.

29. Therefore, when Adam knew his wife Eve, having conceived, she bore a son, whose name was Cain, and said, "I have acquired a man through God." And she added that she bore a second (97), whose

ὄνομα Ἄβελ, Ὃς ἤρξατο ποιμὴν εἶναι
προβάτων· Καὶν δὲ εἰργάζετο τὴν γῆν. Τὰ
μὲν οὖν κατ' αὐτοὺς πλείω ἔχει τὴν
ἱστορίαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν
(98) τῆς ἐξηγήσεως· διὸ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας
τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς δύναται ἀκριβέστερον
διδάξαι αὐτὴ ἢ βίβλος, ἣτις ἐπιγράφεται,
Γένεσις κόσμου. Ὅποτε οὖν ἐθεάσατο ὁ
Σατανᾶς οὐ μόνον τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν
γυναικα αὐτοῦ ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέκνα
πεποικνότες, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἴσχυσε θανατῶσαι
αὐτοὺς, φθόνῳ φερόμενος, ἠνίκα ἐώρα τὸν
Ἄβελ εὐαρεστοῦντα τῷ Θεῷ, ἐνεργήσας εἰς
τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν καλούμενον Καὶν,
ἐποίησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
τὸν Ἄβελ. Καὶ οὕτως ἀρχὴ θανάτου ἐγένετο
εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ὁδοιπορεῖν ἕως τοῦ
δεῦρο ἐπὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς,
ἐλεήμων ὢν, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀφορμὴν
μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως παρασχεῖν
τῷ Καὶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ, εἶπε· Ποῦ
Ἄβελ, ὁ ἀδελφός σου; Ὁ δὲ Καὶν ἀπεκρίθη
ἀπειθῶς τῷ Θεῷ, εἰπὼν· Οὐ γινώσκω. Μὴ
φύλαξ εἰμὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου; Οὕτως
ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς, ἔφη· Τί ἐποίησας
τοῦτο; Φωνὴ αἵματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου
βοᾷ πρὸς με ἐκ τῆς γῆς. ἢ ἔχανεν δέξασθαι
τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ χειρός σου·
Στένων καὶ τρέμων ἔση ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
Ἐκτοτε φοβηθεῖσα ἡ γῆ οὐκέτι ἀνθρώπου
αἷμα (99) παραδέχεται, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τινας
ζώου. Ἦ φανερόν (1), ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῇ
αἰτία, ἀλλ' ὁ παραβὰς ἄνθρωπος.

30. Ὁ οὖν Καὶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσχεν υἱὸν, ᾧ
ὄνομα Ἐνώχ· καὶ ᾧκοδόμησεν πόλιν, ἣν
ἐπωνόμασεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ Ἐνώχ. Ἀπὸ τότε ἀρχὴ ἐγένετο τοῦ
οἰκοδομεῖσθαι πόλεις, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ
κατακλυσμοῦ· οὐχ ὡς Ὅμηρος (2)
ψεύδεται λέγων·

name was Abel, who began to be a
shepherd of sheep; but Cain was a tiller of
the ground. Now the history concerning
them is more extensive, yet also the
arrangement (98) of the narrative;
therefore, the book entitled *Genesis of the
World* can teach those who love learning
more precisely about the history. When
Satan saw not only Adam and his wife alive
but also children born to them, against
whom he was powerless to bring death,
carried by envy, when he saw Abel pleasing
to God, having acted upon his brother
called Cain, he caused him to kill his
brother Abel. And thus the beginning of
death came into this world, continuing until
now among all human kind. But God, being
merciful and willing to provide an occasion
for repentance and confession to Cain, just
as to Adam, said, "Where is Abel, your
brother?" But Cain answered disobediently
to God, saying, "I do not know. Am I my
brother's keeper?" Thus, angered at him,
God said, "What have you done? The voice
of your brother's blood cries out to me
from the ground, which has received your
brother's blood from your hand. You shall
be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth."
Since then, the earth, fearing, no longer
receives the blood of man (99), nor of any
animal. It is clear (1) that this is not its
cause, but the transgressing man.

30. Now Cain himself also had a son, whose
name was Enoch; and he built a city, which
he named after the name of his son Enoch.
From that time began the building of cities,
and this was before the flood; not as Homer
(2) falsely says:

**Οὐ γάρ πω πεπόλιστο πόλις μερόπων
ἀνθρώπων.**

**For the city of mortal men had not yet
been established.**

Τῷ δὲ Ἐνῶχ ἐγεννήθη υἱὸς ὀνόματι Γαῖδᾶδ (5), ὃ ἐγέννησε τὸν καλούμενον Μεήλ, καὶ Μεήλ τὸν Μαθουσάλα, καὶ Μαθουσάλα τὸν Λάμεχ. Ὁ δὲ Λάμεχ ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῷ δύο γυναῖκας, αἷς ὀνόματα Ἀδᾶ, καὶ Σελᾶ. Ἐκτοτε ἀρχὴ ἐγένετο τῆς πολυμιξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς. Τῷ γὰρ Λάμεχ ἐγένοντο τρεῖς υἱοί, Ὡβήλ, Ἰουβᾶλ, Θοβέλ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὡβήλ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἐν σκηναῖς κτηνοτροφῶν· Ἰουβᾶλ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καταδείξας ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάραν· Θοβέλ δὲ ἐγένετο σφυροκόπος, χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου. Ἔως μὲν οὖν τούτου ἔσχε τὸν κατάλογον τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ Καῖν· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς λήθην αὐτοῦ γέγονε τὸ σπέρμα τῆς γενεαλογίας, διὰ τὸ ἀδελφοκτονῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν ἀδελφόν. Εἰς τὸν τόπον δὲ τοῦ Ἀβελ, ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς συλλαβεῖν τὴν Εὐάν καὶ τεκεῖν υἱὸν, ὃς κέκληται Σήθ· ἀφ' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁδεύει μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο. Τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις φιλομαθέσι καὶ περὶ πασῶν τῶν γενεῶν, εὐκολόν ἐστιν ἐπιδειῖναι διὰ τῶν ἀγίων Γραφῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ μέρους ἡμῖν γεγένηται ἤδη λόγος ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ (4), ὡς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, τῆς γενεαλογίας ἡ τάξις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ τῇ περὶ ἱστοριῶν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμᾶς διδάσκει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, ὥστε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς ἀρχαιότερα γράμματα τυγχάνει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθέστερα πάντων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν δείκνυται ὄντα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς, ἐφλυάρησάν τινες εὐρετὴν Ἀπόλλωνα γεγενῆσθαι· ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀρφέα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὀρνέων ἡδυφωνίας φασὶν ἐξευρηκέναι τὴν μουσικὴν. Κενὸς δὲ

Enoch had a son named Gaidad (5), who begot the one called Mehel, and Mehel begot Methuselah, and Methuselah begot Lamech. Lamech took two wives for himself, whose names were Adah and Zillah. From then on began both polygamy and music. For Lamech had three sons: Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-cain. Jabal became a man dwelling in tents and tending livestock; Jubal is the one who showed the lyre and the pipe; and Tubal-cain became a forger, a smith of bronze and iron. Thus far the genealogy of Cain's seed is recorded; the rest of the lineage fell into oblivion because he killed his brother. In the place of Abel, God allowed Eve to conceive and bear a son named Seth; from him the rest of the human race has descended down to the present. For those who desire to learn about all the generations, it is easy to demonstrate through the holy Scriptures. Indeed, part of this account has already been given by us in another discourse (4), as we said above, the order of genealogy in the first book concerning histories. All these things the Holy Spirit teaches us through Moses and the other prophets, so that the most ancient writings concerning us, the God-fearing, are shown to be not only the oldest but also the truest of all authors and poets. Yet some have foolishly claimed that Apollo was the inventor of music; others say Orpheus discovered music from the sweet-sounding birds. Their argument is empty and vain; for these men lived many years after the flood. The account concerning Noah, whom some call

καὶ μάταιος ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν δείκνυται· μετὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ἔτη τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὗτοι ἐγένοντο. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Νῶε, ὃς κέκληται ὑπὸ ἐνίων Δευκαλίων, ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἣ προειρήκαμεν, ἡ διήγησις ἡμῖν γεγένηται, ἥ, εἰ βούλη (5), καὶ σὺ δύνασαι ἐντυχεῖν.

31. Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἐγένετο πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων, τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Πρῶτη πόλις Βαβυλῶν, καὶ Ὁρέχ, καὶ Ἀρχάθ (6), καὶ Χαλανὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ Σενάαρ. Καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Νεβρώθ. Ἐκ τούτων ἐξῆλθεν ὀνόματι Ἀσσοῦρ, ὃθεν καὶ Ἀσσύριοι προσαγορεύονται. Νεβρώθ δὲ ὠκοδόμησεν πόλεις τὴν Νινευὶ καὶ τὴν Ῥοβοὼμ, καὶ τὴν Καλάκ, καὶ τὴν Δασὲν ἀνὰ μέσον Νινευὶ, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Καλάκ· ἡ δὲ Νινευὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν πρώτοις πόλιν μεγάλη. Ἄλλος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Σὴμ υἱοῦ τοῦ Νῶε ὀνόματι Μεστραεὶμ ἐγέννησε τοὺς Λουδοαῖν, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Ἐνεμιγεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Λαβιεῖμ, καὶ τοὺς Νεφθαλεῖμ, καὶ τοὺς Πατρωσωνιεῖμ (7), καὶ τοὺς Χασλωνιεῖν, ὃθεν ἐξῆλθε Φυλιστιεῖμ. Τῶν μὲν οὖν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε, καὶ τῆς συντελείας (8) αὐτῶν, καὶ γενεαλογίας, ἐγένετο ἡμῖν ὁ κατάλογος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ, ἐν ἣ προειρήκαμεν βίβλῳ. Καὶ νῦν δὲ τὰ παραλελειμμένα ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα περὶ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων, τῶν τε γεγενημένων ὅποτε ἦν χεῖλος ἓν καὶ μία γλῶσσα. Πρὸ τοῦ τὰς διαλέκτους μερισθῆναι, αὗται αἱ προγεγραμμένοι ἐγενήθησαν πόλεις. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλειν αὐτοὺς διαμερίζεσθαι, συμβούλιον ἐποίησαν γνώμη ἰδίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ Θεοῦ, οἰκοδομῆσαι πόλιν, καὶ πύργον, οὗ ἡ ἄκρα φθάσῃ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφικέσθαι, ὅπως ποιήσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα δόξης. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν παρὰ προαίρεσιν Θεοῦ βαρὺ ἔργον ἐτόλμησαν ποιῆσαι, κατέβαλεν αὐτῶν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον

Deucalion, is found in the book we mentioned earlier, which you, if you wish (5), can also consult.

31. After the flood, there began again cities and kings, in this manner. The first city was Babylon, and Orech, and Arphaxad (6), and Calneh in the land of Shinar. And their king was named Nimrod. From these came forth a man named Asshur, from whom the Assyrians are called. Nimrod built cities: Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; and Nineveh became at first a great city. Another son of Shem, son of Noah, named Mestram, begot the Ludim, and those called Anamim, and the Lehabim, and the Naphtuhim, and the Pathrusim (7), and the Casluhim, from whom came forth the Philistines. From the three sons of Noah, and their completion (8), and genealogy, we have a summary list in the book we mentioned before. And now we will recall what was omitted concerning cities and kings, both those that existed when there was one lip and one tongue. These cities were founded before the tongues were divided. When they were about to be scattered, they made a counsel by their own will, and not by God's, to build a city and a tower whose top would reach to heaven, so that they might make a name of glory for themselves. Since they dared to do a grievous work against God's will, God overthrew their city and laid the tower low. From then on, He changed the tongues of men, giving each a different dialect. Thus the Sibyl has prophesied, foretelling the wrath that is to come upon the world; she

κατέστρωσεν. Ἐκτοτε ἐνήλλαξεν τὰς
γλώσσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δοὺς ἐκάστῳ
διάφορον διάλεκτον. Σίβυλλα μὲν οὕτως
σεσήμακε καταγγέλουσα ὀργὴν τῷ
κόσμῳ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι· ἔφη δὲ οὕτως·

said as follows:

**Ἄλλ' ὁπότεν μέγαλοιο Θεοῦ τελέωνται
ἀπειλαί,**

**But whenever the great threats of God
are fulfilled,**

**Ἄς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε
πύργον (9) ἔτευξαν**

**Which He once threatened to mortals,
when they built a tower (9) ,**

**Χώρα ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ· ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν
ἅπαντες,**

**In the land of Assyria; and all were of
one voice,**

**Καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆναι ἐς οὐρανὸν (10)
ἀστερόεντα·**

**And they wished to ascend to the starry
heaven; (10)**

**Αὐτίκα δ' Ἀθάνατος μεγάλην ἐπέθηκεν
ἀνάγκην**

**Immediately the Deathless One imposed
a great necessity**

**Πνεύμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνεμοι μέγαν
ὕψοθι πύργον**

**On the Spirits; but then the winds raised
high a great tower**

**Ῥίψαν (11), καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις
ἔριν ὥρσαν.**

**They cast down, and stirred up strife
among mortals against one another.**

**Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργος τ' ἔπεσεν, γλῶσσαι
τ' ἀνθρώπων**

**But when the tower fell, and the tongues
of men**

Εἰς πολλὰς θνητῶν ἐμερίσθησαν

Were divided into many dialects of

διαλέκτους,

**Γαῖα βροτῶν πληροῦτο μεριζομένων
βασιλῆων·**

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (12). Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγενήθη ἐν
γῇ Χαλδαίων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ Χαναὰν ἐγένετο
πόλις, ἥ ὄνομα Χαρρὰν (13). Κατ' ἐκείνους
δὲ τοὺς χρόνους πρῶτος βασιλεὺς
Αἰγύπτου ἐγένετο Φαραὼ, ὃς καὶ Νεχαῶθ
κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους ὠνομάσθη, καὶ οὕτως οἱ
καθεξῆς βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο (14). Ἐν δὲ τῇ
γῇ Σενναὰρ ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις Χαλδαίοις
πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Ἀριώχ (15)· μετὰ
δὲ τοῦτον ἕτερος Ἑλλάσαρ (16)· καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτον Χοδολλαγόμορ βασιλεὺς Αἰλάμ, καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτον Θαργάλ βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν τῶν
καλουμένων Ἀσσυρίων. Ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις
ἐγένοντο πέντε ἐν τῇ μερίδι τοῦ Χάμ υἱοῦ
Νῶε· πρώτη ἡ καλουμένη Σόδομα· ἔπειτα
Γομόρρα, Ἀδαμὰ, καὶ Σεβωεῖμ, καὶ ἡ Σηγῶρ
ἐπικληθεῖσα (17)· καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν
βασιλέων αὐτῶν ἐστὶ ταῦτα· Βαλλὰς
βασιλεὺς Σοδόμων, Βαρσὰς βασιλεὺς
Γομόρρας, Σενναὰρ βασιλεὺς Ἀδάμας,
Ὑμόρ (18) βασιλεὺς Σεβωεῖμ, Βαλάχ
βασιλεὺς Σηγῶρ, τῆς Κεφαλάκ κεκλημένης.
Οὗτοι ἐδόουλευσαν τῷ Χοδολλαγόμορ
βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἕως ἐτῶν δύο καὶ
δέκα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει ἀπὸ
τοῦ Χοδολλαγόμορ ἀπέστησαν· καὶ οὕτως
ἐγένετο τότε τοὺς τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς τῶν
Ἀσσυρίων συνάψαι πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς
πέντε βασιλεῖς. Αὕτη ἀρχὴ ἐγένετο πρώτη
τοῦ γίνεσθαι πολέμους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ
κατέκοψαν τοὺς γίγαντας Καραναεῖν, καὶ
ἔθνη ἰσχυρὰ ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ
τοὺς Χορραῖους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν
ἐπονομαζομένοις Σηεῖρ, ἕως τῆς
καλουμένης Τερεβίνθου τῆς Φαράν, ἣ ἐστὶν

mortals,

**The earth of mortals was filled with
kings divided;**

And the following: (12) These things
indeed came to be in the land of the
Chaldeans And in the land of Canaan there
arose a city, whose name was Harran (13)
According to those times, the first king of
Egypt was Pharaoh, who among the
Egyptians was also called Necho, and thus
the kings came one after another (14) And
in the land of Senaar, among those called
Chaldeans, the first king was Arioch (15)
And after him, another, Ellasar (16) And
after him, Chodollagomor, king of Elam;
and after him, Thargal, king of the nations
called Assyrians Five other cities arose in
the portion of Ham, son of Noah The first,
the one called Sodom Then Gomorrah,
Admah, and Zeboim, and the one called
Zoar (17) And the names of their kings are
these Ballas king of Sodom, Barsas king of
Gomorrah, Sennaar king of Admah, Hymor
(18) king of Zeboim, Balach king of Zoar,
called Kefalak These served under
Khodollagomor, king of the Assyrians, for
twelve years But in the thirteenth year,
they revolted from Khodollagomor And
thus it came to pass that then the four kings
of the Assyrians made war against the five
kings This was the first beginning of wars
occurring upon the earth And they cut
down the giants Karanaeans, and strong
peoples together with them in the city, and
the Horraioi who are called Sheir in the
mountains, as far as the place called
Terebint of Pharan, which is in the desert.
At the same time, there arose a just king

ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ὀνόματι Μελχισεδέκ ἐν πόλει Σαλήμ, τῇ νῦν Ἱεροσόλυμα. Οὗτος ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο πρῶτος πάντων ἱερέων τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου· ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ προειρημένη Ἱεροσόλυμα. Ἀπὸ τούτου εὐρέθησαν καὶ ἱερεῖς γινόμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀβιμέλεχ ἐν Γεράροις· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἕτερος Ἀβιμέλεχ. Ἐπειτα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐφρών καὶ ὁ Χετταῖος ἐπικληθεὶς. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων πρότερον γεγενημένων βασιλέων οὕτω τὰ ὀνόματα περιέχει. Τῶν δὲ κατὰ Ἀσσυρίους πολλῶν ἐτῶν μεταξὺ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς παρεσιγήθησαν τοῦ ἀναγραφῆναι, πάντων ἐσχάτων καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων (19) ἀπομνημονευόντων. Γεγονότες βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων Θεγλαφάσαρ· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Σελαμανάσαρ· εἴτα Σενναχαρείμ. Τοῦ δὲ τρίαρχος ἐγένετο Ἀδραμέλεχ Λίθιοψ, ὃς καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε· καίπερ ταῦτα, ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα γράμματα, πάνυ νεώτερά ἐστιν.

32. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν κατανοεῖν τὰς ἱστορίας ἐστὶ τοῖς φιλομαθέσι καὶ φιλαρχαίοις, ὅπου πρόσφατά ἐστι (20) τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν. Ὀλίγων γὰρ ὄντων ἐν πρῶτοις τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ Ἀραβικῇ γῇ καὶ Χαλδαϊκῇ, μετὰ τὸ διαμερισθῆναι τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν, πρὸς μέρος ἤρξαντο πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι καὶ πληθύνεσθαι ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔκκλιναν οἰκεῖν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἡπείρου, καὶ τὰ πρὸς βόρειον, ὥστε διατείνειν μέχρι τῶν Βριττανῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκτικοῖς κλίμασιν. Ἄλλοι δὲ γῆν Χαναναίαν, καὶ Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπικληθεῖσαν, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης, καὶ τὴν

named Melchizedek in the city of Salem, which is now Jerusalem. He became the first priest of all priests of God the Most High. From this one, the city was named Jerusalem, the aforementioned Hierosolyma. From this one, priests were also found, becoming over all the earth. After him, Abimelech reigned in Gerar. After him, another Abimelech. Then Ephron, also called the Hittite, reigned. The names of the kings who previously reigned concerning these matters are contained as follows. Among the many years concerning the Assyrians, the remaining kings have been omitted from being recorded, all of the latest in our times being commemorated. (19) The kings of the Assyrians who have been are Theglaphasar. And after him, Sennacherib. Then Sennacherim. And the third ruler was Adramelech Lithios, who also reigned over Egypt. And yet, despite these things, it is much more recent compared to our own writings.

32. Therefore, it is for those who love learning and antiquity to understand the histories, where what is told by us through the holy prophets is recent (20). For in the beginning, there were few people in the land of Arabia and Chaldea, and after their languages were divided, many began to exist and multiply over the whole earth; and some inclined to dwell toward the east, others toward the parts of the great continent, and those toward the north, so that they extended as far as the Britons in the Arctic regions. Others inhabited the land called Canaan, and Judea, and Phoenicia, and the regions of Ethiopia, and Egypt and Libya, and the so-called burnt

καλουμένην διακεκαυμένην, καὶ τὰ μέχρι
δυσμῶν κλίματα παρατείνοντα· οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς παραλίου, καὶ τῆς
Παμφυλίας, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν
Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὰς καλουμένας Γαλλίας, καὶ
Σπανίας, καὶ Γερμανίας· ὥστε οὕτω τὰ νῦν
ἐμπεπλησθαι τὴν σύμπασαν τῶν
κατοικούντων αὐτήν. Τριμεροῦς οὖν
γεγεννημένης τῆς κατοικήσεως τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταρχὰς, ἐν τε
ἀνατολῇ, καὶ μεσημβρίᾳ, καὶ δύσει, ἔπειτα
(21) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη κατωκίθη τῆς γῆς,
χυδαίων (22) τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενομένων.
Ταῦτα δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι οἱ συγγραφεῖς
βούλονται τὸν κόσμον σφαιροειδῆ λέγειν,
καὶ ὥσπερ κύβω συγκρίνειν αὐτόν. Πῶς δὲ
δύνανται ταῦτα ἀληθῆ φάσκειν, μὴ
ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ κόσμου μήτε
τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτοῦ; Πρὸς μέρος
ἀύξανομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ
πληθυνομένων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὡς
προειρήκαμεν, οὕτως κατωκίθησαν καὶ αἱ
νῆσοι τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κλίματα.

33. Τίς οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα ἴσχυσε τῶν
καλουμένων σοφῶν, καὶ ποιητῶν ἢ
ἱστοριογράφων τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, πολὺ
μεταγενεστέρων αὐτῶν γεγεννημένων, καὶ
πληθὺν θεῶν εἰσαγαγόντων, οἵτινες μετὰ
τοσαῦτα ἔτη αὐτοὶ ἐγεννήθησαν τῶν
πόλεων, ἔσχατοι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
ἐθνῶν καὶ πολέμων; Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς
μεμνησθαι πάντων καὶ τῶν πρὸ
κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων· περί τε κτίσεως
κόσμου, καὶ ποιήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὰ τε
ἐξῆς συμβάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐξείπειν τοὺς παρ'
Αἰγυπτίοις προφήτας ἢ Χαλδαίους (23),
τούς τε ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς, εἴπερ θείῳ καὶ
καθαρῷ πνεύματι ἐλάλησαν, καὶ τὰ δι'
αὐτῶν ῥηθέντα ἀληθῆ ἀνήγγειλαν· καὶ οὐ
μόνον τὰ προγενόμενα, ἢ ἐνεστώτα, ἀλλὰ

land, and the climates extending toward
the west; and the rest inhabited the coastal
regions, and Pamphylia, and Asia, and
Greece, and Macedonia, and the remainder
Italy, and the so-called Gaul, and Spain, and
Germany; so that thus the entire inhabited
world was filled. Since the habitation of
humans on earth was originally threefold,
in the east, south, and west, then (21) the
remaining parts of the earth were
inhabited, the people becoming base (22).
Not knowing these things, the writers wish
to say that the world is spherical, and
compare it as if to a cube. How can they
claim these things to be true, not knowing
the creation of the world nor its habitation?
As the number of people increased and
multiplied on the earth, as we said before,
so too were the islands of the sea and the
other climates inhabited.

33. Who then among the so-called wise
men, poets, or historians was able to speak
the truth, having been born long after them,
and introducing a multitude of gods, who
themselves appeared after so many years
of the cities, last also among kings, nations,
and wars? For they ought to have
remembered all things, including those that
happened before the flood; concerning the
creation of the world, and the making of
man, and the subsequent events, to recount
precisely those prophets among the
Egyptians or Chaldeans (23), and the other
writers, if indeed they spoke by divine and
pure spirit, and reported truthfully what
was said through them; and not only the
past or present, but also those things

καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα τῷ κόσμῳ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς προκαταγγεῖλαι. Διὸ δείκνυται πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς πεπλανῆσθαι· μόνους δὲ Χριστιανοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κεχωρηκέναι, οἵτινες ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου διδασκόμεθα, τοῦ λαλήσαντος ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις καὶ τὰ πάντα προκαταγγελόντος.

coming upon the world they ought to have foretold. Therefore, it is shown that all the rest are mistaken; only Christians have received the truth, who are taught by the Holy Spirit, who spoke through the holy prophets and foretold all things.

34. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω σοι φιλοφρόνως ἐρευνᾶν τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, λέγω δὲ τὰ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ρηθέντα, ὅπως, συγκρίνας τὰ τε ὑπὸ ἡμῶν (24) λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν, δυνήσῃ εὐρεῖν τὸ ἀληθές. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα τῶν καλουμένων θεῶν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων εὐρίσκεται, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ιστοριῶν, ὧν συνέγραψαν, ἀπεδείξαμεν (25). Αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες αὐτῶν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο ἐκτυποῦνται, εἰδωλα, **ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων**. Καὶ τούτοις μὲν λατρεῦει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ματαίων ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ τροφέα πάσης πνοῆς ἀθετοῦσι, πειθόμενοι δόγμασι ματαίοις διὰ πλάνης πατροπαράδοτου γνώμης ἀσυνέτου. Ὁ μέντοι γε Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ κτίστης τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπε τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκεν νόμον, καὶ ἔπεμψε προφήτας ἁγίους πρὸς τὸ καταγγεῖλαι καὶ δεῖξαι (26) τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀνανῆσαι καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶ Θεός· οἱ καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρείας, καὶ μοιχείας, καὶ φόνου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας, ὅρκου ψεύδους (27), ὀργῆς, καὶ πάσης ἀσελγείας, καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας· καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούλεται ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μηδὲ ἄλλῳ ποιῇ καὶ οὕτως ὁ δικαιοπραγῶν ἐκφύγῃ τὰς αἰώνιους κολάσεις, καὶ καταξιωθῇ τῆς

34. And henceforth, let it be for you to inquire kindly into the things of God, I mean those spoken through the prophets, so that, comparing both what is said by us (24) and by others, you may be able to find the truth. As for the names of the so-called gods, since among them are found the names of men, as we have shown above, from those very histories which they wrote, we have demonstrated (25). Their images, however, are still daily engraved—idols, **works of human hands**. And the multitude of vain men worship these; but they reject the creator and maker of all things and nourisher of every breath, obeying vain doctrines through the error of foolish ancestral opinion. Yet God, both Father and Creator of all, did not abandon humanity, but gave a law and sent holy prophets to proclaim and show (26) the human race, so that each one of us might be revived and come to know that there is one God; who also taught to abstain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, and fornication, and theft, and greed, and false oath (27), and anger, and all licentiousness and impurity; and all things which a man would not wish to happen to himself, so that he might not do them to another, and thus the righteous doer may escape eternal punishments and be deemed worthy of eternal life from God.

αἰωνίου ζωῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

35. Ὁ μὲν οὖν θεὸς νόμος οὐ μόνον κωλύει τὸ εἰδώλοις προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις, ἡλίῳ, σελήνῃ ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄστροις· ἀλλ' οὔτε τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὔτε γῇ, οὔτε θαλάσσῃ, ἢ πηγαῖς, ἢ ποταμοῖς θρησκεύειν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντως Θεῷ, καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων χρὴ λατρεύειν (28) ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας καὶ εἰλικρινεῖ γνώμῃ. Διό φησιν ὁ ἅγιος νόμος· **Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου.** Ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ προφῆται. Σολομὼν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ διὰ νεύματος μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, λέγων· **Οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὀρθὰ βλεπέτωσαν· τὰ δὲ βλέφαρά σου νευέτω δίκαια.** Καὶ Μωϋσῆς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς προφήτης περὶ μοναρχίας Θεοῦ λέγει· **Οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν (29) ὁ στερεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ κτίζων τὴν γῆν, οὗ αἱ χεῖρες κατέδειξαν πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιάν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐ παρέδειξεν ὑμῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν πορεύεσθαι.** Ἡσαΐας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· **Οὕτως λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεός, ὁ στερεώσας (30) τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ θεμελιώσας τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ διδοὺς πνοὴν τῷ λαῷ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ πνεῦμα τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτήν· οὗτος Κύριος ὁ Θεός ὑμῶν.** Καὶ πάλιν δι' αὐτοῦ· **Ἐγὼ, φησὶν, ἐποίησα γῆν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Ἐγὼ τῇ χειρί μου ἐστερέωσα τὸν οὐρανόν.** Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ κεφαλαίῳ· **Οὗτος ὁ Θεός ὑμῶν ὁ κατασκευάσας τὰ ἅκρα τῆς γῆς· οὐ πεινάσει, οὐδὲ κοπιήσει, οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐξεύρησις τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτοῦ.** Ὁμοίως καὶ Ἱερεμίας, καὶ φησιν· **Ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ, ἀνορθώσας τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρονήσει (31)**

35. The divine law not only forbids worshiping idols, but also the elements, the sun, the moon, or the other stars. But neither to heaven, nor to earth, nor to the sea, nor to springs, nor to rivers is one to offer worship; rather, one must worship only the one true God and creator of all, with holiness of heart and sincere intention (28). Therefore, the holy law says: **You shall not commit adultery. You shall not kill. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness. You shall not covet your neighbor's wife.** Likewise, the prophets Solomon, therefore, teaches us not to sin even by a mere gesture, saying **Let your eyes look straight ahead, and let your eyelids wink rightly.** And Moses himself, also a prophet, speaking concerning the monarchy of God, says **This is your God, (29) who established the heavens, and created the earth, whose hands have formed the entire host of heaven, and did not command them to go backward.** Isaiah also says **Thus says the Lord God, who established (30) the heavens, and founded the earth, and all that is in it, and who gives breath to the people upon it, and spirit to those who walk on it, this is the Lord your God.** And again through him I, he says, **made the earth and man upon it. I with my hand established the heaven.** And in another chapter **This is the God of you who made the ends of the earth. He will not hunger, nor will he grow weary, nor is there any searching for his understanding.** Likewise Jeremiah also says **He who made the earth by his strength, who established the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding (31) stretched**

αὐτοῦ ἐξέτεινεν τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ
πληθος ὕδατος ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἀνήγαγε
νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς· ἀστραπὰς
εἰς ὑπερὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν
ἀνέμους (32) ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ. Ὅρᾱν
ἔστι πῶς φίλα καὶ σύμφωνα ἐλάλησαν
πάντες οἱ προφηταί, ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ
πνεύματι ἐκφωνήσαντες περὶ τε μοναρχίας
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, καὶ τῆς
ἀνθρώπου ποιήσεως. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὠδιναν, πενθοῦντες τὸ ἄθεον γένος τῶν
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι
σοφοὺς, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πλάνην καὶ
πώρωσιν (33) τῆς καρδίας, κατήσχυναν. Ὁ
μὲν Ἰερεμίας ἔφη· Ἐμωράνθη πᾶς
ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γνώσεως
αὐτοῦ· κατησχύνθη πᾶς χρυσοχόος ἀπὸ
τῶν γλυπτῶν αὐτοῦ· εἰς μάτην
ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροκοπεῖ (34)· οὐκ
ἔστι πνεῦμα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολοῦνται. Τὸ αὐτὸ
καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ (35) λέγει· Ἐφθάρησαν καὶ
ἐβδελύχθησαν ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν
αὐτῶν· οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν,
ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν. Ὅμοίως καὶ
Ἀββακούκ· Τί ὠφελεῖ γλυπτὸν
ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι ἐγλυψεν αὐτὸ
φαντασίαν ψευδῆ; Οὐαὶ τῷ λέγοντι τῷ
λίθῳ· Ἐξεγέρθητι, καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ·
Ὑψώθητι. Ὅμοίως εἶπον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῆς
ἀληθείας προφηταί. Καὶ τί μοι τὸ πληθος
καταλέγειν τῶν προφητῶν πολλῶν ὄντων,
καὶ μυρία φίλα καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρηκότων; Οἱ
γὰρ βουλόμενοι δύνανται, ἐντυχόντες τοῖς
δι' αὐτῶν εἰρημένοις, ἀκριβῶς γινῶναι τὸ
ἀληθές, καὶ μὴ παράγεσθαι (36) ὑπὸ
διανοίας καὶ ματαιοπονίας. Οὗτοι οὖν οὓς
προειρήκαμεν προφηταί ἐγένοντο ἐν
Ἑβραίοις, ἀγράμματοι καὶ ποιμένες καὶ
ιδιώται.

out the heaven, and the abundance of
waters is in the sky, and he brings up
clouds from the ends of the earth. He
made lightning for rain, and brought
forth winds (32) from his treasures. It is
evident how all the prophets spoke lovingly
and in harmony, having uttered with one
and the same spirit concerning both the
monarchy of God and the creation of the
world, and the making of man. But indeed
they also writhed in pain, mourning the
godless race of men and those who seemed
to be wise, because of the error and
hardness (33) of their hearts, they
despised. Jeremiah said **Every man has
become foolish through his knowledge;
every goldsmith has been put to shame
by his engravings. In vain the
silversmith silversmiths. (34) There is
no spirit within them; on the day of their
visitation they will perish.** The same also
says David (35) **They have perished and
have been abhorred because of their
own practices. There is no one doing
good; there is not even one. All have
turned aside; together they have
become worthless.** Likewise, Habakkuk
**What profit is there in a carved man,
since he carved for himself a false
image? Woe to the one who says to the
stone, "Arise, and to the wood be
exalted."** Likewise spoke the other
prophets of truth. And why should I
recount to myself the multitude, there
being many prophets, and countless dear
and consistent things having been said? For
those willing are able, encountering what
has been said through them, to know
precisely the truth, and not to be led astray
(36) by reasoning and futility. These then,
whom we mentioned before, became
prophets among the Hebrews, illiterate and
shepherds and laymen.

36. Σίβυλλα δὲ ἐν Ἑλλησι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι γενομένη προφητὴς, ἐν ἀρχῇ
τῆς προφητείας αὐτῆς ὀνειδίζει τὸ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων γένος λέγουσα·

36. But the Sibyl among the Greeks, and
among the other nations becoming a
prophetess, at the beginning of her
prophecy reproaches the race of men,
saying:

**Ἄνθρωποι (37) θνητοὶ καὶ σάρκινοι,
οὐδὲν ἐόντες,**

**Men (37) mortal and fleshly, being
nothing,**

**Πῶς ταχέως ὑψοῦσθε, βίου τέλος οὐκ
έσορωντες;**

**How quickly you are exalted, not seeing
the end of life;**

**Οὐ τρέμετ', οὐδὲ φοβεῖσθε Θεὸν, τὸν
ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν,**

**You neither tremble nor fear God, your
overseer,**

**Ὑψιστον, γνώστην, πανεπόπτην (38),
μάρτυρα πάντων,**

**The Most High, the knower, the all-
seeing (38), witness of all,**

**Παντοτρόφον, κτίστην, ὅστις γλυκὺ
πνεῦμ' ἐν ἅπασιν**

**The all-nourishing, creator, who is a
sweet spirit in all**

**Κάτθετο, χ' ἡγητῆρα βροτῶν πάντων
ἐποίησεν;**

**He established, and made the leader of
all mortals;**

**Εἷς Θεὸς, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει (39),
ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγέννητος,**

**One God, who alone rules (39), immense,
unbegotten,**

**Παντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶν μόνος
αὐτὸς ἅπαντα,**

**Almighty, invisible, who alone sees all
things,**

Αὐτὸς δ' οὐ βλέπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ
σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

He himself, however, is not seen by any
mortal flesh.

Τίς γὰρ σὰρξ (40) δύναται τὸν
ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀληθῆ

For what flesh (40) is able to behold the
heavenly and true

Ὁφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν Θεὸν ἄμβροτον, ὃς
πόλον οἰκεῖ;

with eyes to see God immortal, who
dwells in the heavens?

Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκτίνων κατεναντίον ἡελίοιο

But not even by the rays opposite the
sun

Ἄνθρωποι στῆναι δυνατοὶ (41), θνητοὶ
γεγαῶτες

Can mortals stand, having become
mortal? (41)

Ἄνδρες, ἐν ὀστέεσσι (42) φλέβες καὶ
σάρκες ἐόντες.

Men, in their bones (42) being veins and
flesh.

Αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβεσθ' ἡγήτορα
κόσμου,

Him alone, being the leader of the world,
you should honor,

Ὃς μόνος εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος
ἐτέχθη (43),

Who alone was begotten for eternity
and from eternity (43),

Αὐτογενῆς, ἀγέννητος, ἅπαντα κρατῶν
διαπαντὸς (44),

Self-generated, uncreated, ruling all
things altogether (44),

Πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν ἐνὼν τὸ κριτήριον (45)
ἐν φαί (46) κοινῶ.

Uniting for all mortals the tribunal (45)
in a common light. (46)

Τῆς κακοβουλοσύνης δὲ τὸν ἄξιον ἔξετε μισθόν,	But you will receive the just reward of your malice,
Ὅτι, Θεὸν προλιπόντες ἀληθινὸν ἀένανόν τε	Because, having abandoned the true and eternal God
Δοξάζειν, αὐτῷ τε θύειν ἱερὰς ἑκατόμβας,	to glorify, and to offer to Him sacred hecatombs,
Δαίμοσι τὰς θυσίας ἐποιήσατε, τοῖσιν ἐν ᾗδη (47).	You made sacrifices to demons, those in Hades (47).
Τύφῳ καὶ μανίῃ δὲ βαδίζετε, καὶ τρίβον ὀρθήν	You walk in blindness and madness, and tread a crooked path
Εὐθεΐαν προλιπόντες, ἀπήλθετε τὴν δι' ἀκανθῶν.	Leaving the straight path behind, you have gone the way through thorns.
Καὶ σκολόπων· τί πλανᾶσθε (48); Βροτοὶ, παύσασθε μάταιοι	And of thorns; why do you wander (48)? Mortals, cease your vain ways
Ῥεμβόμενοι σκοτίῃ καὶ ἀφεγγεῖ νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ·	Reckoning in darkness and the black night without light;
Καὶ λίπετε σκοτίνην νυκτὸς, φωτὸς δὲ λάβετε.	And leave the darkness of night, and take up the light.
Οὗτος ἰδοὺ πάντεσσι σαφής, ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει.	Behold, this one is clear to all, and unfailing.

**Ἔλθετε, μὴ σκοτίην δὲ διώκετε, καὶ
γνόφον αἰεὶ,**

**Come, do not pursue darkness, nor ever
the gloom,**

**Ἡελίου γλυκυδερκὲς ἰδοὺ φάος ἔξοχα
λάμπει.**

**Behold, the sweet-seeing light of the sun
shines forth excellently.**

**Γινῶτε δὲ κατθέμενοι (49) σοφίην ἐν
στήθεσιν ὑμῶν·**

**Know, then, laying aside (49) wisdom in
your hearts;**

**Εἷς Θεὸς ἐστι, βροχὰς, ἀνέμους,
σεισμούς ἐπιπέμπων.**

**There is one God, sending down rains,
winds, and earthquakes.**

**Ἀστεροπάς, λιμούς, λοιμούς, καὶ κήδεα
λυγρὰ,**

**He who sends forth lightning, famines,
plagues, and grievous sorrows,**

**Καὶ νιφετούς, πρύσταλλα. Τί δὴ (50)
καθ' ἓν ἐξαγορεύω;**

**And snowfalls, hailstones. What then do
I declare in one?**

**Οὐρανοῦ ἡγεῖται, γαίης κρατεῖ, αὐτὸς
ὑπάρχει (51).**

**He rules the heavens, holds sway over
the earth, he himself exists (51).**

**Καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γενητοὺς λεγομένους
ἔφη·**

**And concerning those called created, he
said:**

**Εἰ δὲ γενητὸν ὅλως καὶ φθείρεται, οὐ
δύνατ' ἄνδρὸς**

**If it is altogether created and perishes, it
is not possible for a man**

**Ἐκ μηρῶν, μήτρας τε Θεὸς
τετυπωμένος εἶναι.**

**To be formed from parts, and God from
a womb.**

Ἀλλὰ Θεὸς μόνος, εἷς, πανυπέρτατος, ὃς πεποίηκεν	But God alone, one, most supreme, who has made
Οὐρανὸν, ἡέλιόν τε, καὶ ἀστέρας, ἡδὲ σελήνην,	The heaven, and the sun, and the stars, and the moon,
Καρποφόρον γαῖάν τε, καὶ ὕδατος οἴδματα πόντου,	The fruit-bearing earth, and the waters' swelling of the sea,
Οὐρεὰ θ' ὑψήεντα (52), καὶ ἀένναα χεύματα πηγῶν·	And the lofty mountains (52), and the ever-flowing streams of springs;
Τῶν τ' ἐνύδρων πάλι γεννᾷ ἀνήριθμον πολὺ πλῆθος·	And of the aquatic creatures again it brings forth an innumerable great multitude;
Ἑρπετὰ δὲ γαίης (53) κινούμενα ψυχροτροφεῖς τε (54),	Reptiles of the earth (53), moving and cold-blooded (54),
Ποικίλα τε πτηνῶν λιγυροθρόα, τραυλίζοντα,	Various clear-voiced birds, chirping,
Ξουθὰ, λιγυρόφωνα (55), ταρασσοῦντ' ἀέρα ταρσοῖς·	Reddish, clear-voiced (55), disturbing the air with their feet;
Ἐν δὲ νάπαις ὀρέων ἀγρίαν γένναν θέτο θηρῶν·	And in the glens of the mountains, it produced a wild race of beasts;
Ἡμῖν τε κτήνη ὑπέταξεν (56) πάντα	And it subjected all beasts to us mortals;

βροτοῖσιν·

Πάντων δ' ἡγητῆρα κατέστησεν
θεότευκτον,

And it appointed the god-formed leader
of all,

Ἄνδρὶ δ' ὑπαὶ τάξεν (57), παμποίκιλα κ'
οὐ καταληπτά (58).

And it placed under man, (57) varied in
many ways and beyond comprehension.
(58)

Τίς γὰρ σὰρξ δύναται θνητῶν γνῶναι
τάδ' ἅπαντα;

For who among mortals is able to know
all these things?

Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος οἶδεν ὁ ποιήσας τάδ'
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,

But he alone knows, the one who made
these from the beginning,

Ἄφθαρτος, κτίστης, αἰώνιος, αἰθέρα
(59) ναίων·

Incorruptible, creator, eternal, dwelling
in the ether; (59)

Τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὸν προφέρων πολὺ
πλείονα μισθόν·

To the good, bestowing good, a far
greater reward;

Τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς, ἀδίκους τε, χόλον καὶ
θυμὸν ἐγείρων,

But to the wicked and unjust, stirring up
wrath and anger,

Καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ λοιμὸν, ἢ ἄλγεα (60)
δακρυόεντα

And war, and plague, or pains (60)
shedding tears

Ἄνθρωποι, τί μάτην ὑψούμενοι
ἐκριζοῦσθε (61);

Men, why do you vainly exalt yourselves
and are uprooted?

Αἰσχυνθῆτε γαλᾶς καὶ κνώδαλα
θειοποιοῦντες·

Be ashamed, you who make divine the
milk and curds;

Οὐ μανίη καὶ λύσσα φρενῶν, καὶ
έτώσια βάρη (62),

Is it not madness and frenzy of the mind,
and fruitless burdens

Εἰ λοπάδας (63) κλέπτουσι θεοὶ,
συλοῦσι δὲ χύτρας;

If the gods steal the dishes, but plunder
the pots;

Ἄντὶ δὲ χρυσήεντα πόλον κατὰ πῖονα
ναίειν (64)

Instead of dwelling by a golden chariot
along fertile pastures

Σητόβρωτα δέδορκε, πυκναῖς δ'
ἀράχναις δεδίασται (65).

He has seen the grain-eater, and he has
feared the dense webs of spiders.

Προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις, κύνας,
αἰλούρους, ἀνόητοι,

Worshipping snakes, dogs, cats,
senseless ones,

Καὶ πετεεινὰ σέβεσθε, καὶ ἔρπετὰ θηρία
γαίης,

And you revere birds, and creeping
beasts of the earth,

Καὶ λίθινα ξόανα, καὶ ἀγάλματα
χειροποίητα,

And stone idols, and hand-crafted
statues,

Κ' ἐν παρόδοις λίθων συγχώματα (66).
Ταῦτα σέβεσθε,

And in the pathways, heaps of stones
(66). You revere these,

Ἄλλα τε πολλὰ μάταια, ἃ δὴ κ' αἰσχρὸν
ἀγορεύειν.

Many other vain things, which indeed it
is shameful even to speak of.

Καί γε θεοὶ (67) μερόπων δολοήτορες
εἰσιν ἀβούλων,

And indeed the gods (67) are deceitful
deceivers of mortals lacking judgment,

Τῶν δὴ κ' ἐκ στόματος χεῖται (68)
θανατηφόρος ἰός.

From whose very mouth (68) deadly
poison flows.

Οὐδ' ἔστι (69) ζωὴ τε, καὶ ἄφθιτον
ἀέναν φῶς,

There is neither (69) life, nor
imperishable, eternal light,

Καὶ μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ (70)
γλυκερώτερον ἀνδράσι χάρμα,

Nor (70) joy sweeter to men than sweet
honey,

Ἐκπροχέη (71)· τῷ δὴ μόνῳ ἀύχένα
κάμπτε,

It pours forth (71); indeed, it alone
bends the neck,

Καὶ τρίβον αἰώνεσσιν ἐν εὐσεβέεσσ'
ἀνακλινοῖ.

And it smooths, through the ages, those
who recline in piety.

Ταῦτα λιπόντες ἅπαντα, δίκης μεστόν
τε κύπελλον,

Leaving all these things behind, a cup
full of justice,

Ζωρότερον, στιβαρόν, βεβαρημένον, εὖ
μάλ' ἄκρητον

More lively, solid, burdened, and very
full to the brim,

Εἰλκύσατ' ἀφροσύνησι μεμηνότι (72)
πνεύματι πάντες,

All drew it in with reckless spirits
driven mad (72),

Καὶ οὐ θέλετ' ἐκνήψαι, καὶ σώφρονα
πρὸς νόον ἐλθεῖν,

And it does not wish to awaken, nor to
come to a sober mind,

**Καὶ γινῶναι βασιλῆα Θεὸν, τὸν πάντ’
ἐφορῶντα.**

**And to know the King God, who watches
over all.**

**Τοῦνκεν αἰθομένοιο πυρὸς σέλας
ἔρχετ’ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς,**

**Therefore, the gleam of blazing fire
comes upon you,**

**Λαμπάσι καυθήσεσθε δι’ αἰῶνος, τὸ
πανῆμαρ,**

**You will be burned by flames forever, all
day long,**

**Ψεύδεσιν αἰσχυνθέντες ἐπ’ εἰδώλοισιν
ἀχρήστοις.**

**Ashamed because of falsehoods before
useless idols.**

**Οἱ δὲ Θεὸν τιμῶντες (73) ἀληθινόν,
ἀέναόν τε,**

**But those who honor God (73) the true
and eternal,**

**Ζωὴν κληρονομήσουσ’
αἰῶνος[τὸν]χρόνον αὐτοὶ**

**They themselves will inherit life for the
age [the time].**

**Οἰκοῦντες παραδείσου ὁμῶς ἐριθηλέα
κῆπον,**

**Dwelling likewise in paradise, a fruitful
garden,**

**Δαινύμενοι γλυκὺν ἄρτον ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ
ἀστερόεντος.**

**Feasting on the sweet bread from the
starry heaven.**

**Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, καὶ ὠφέλιμα, καὶ
δίκαια, καὶ προσφιλῆ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
τυγχάνει, δῆλόν ἐστιν.**

**That these things are indeed true, and
beneficial, and just, and pleasing to all men,
is clear.**

**37. Καὶ ὅτι οἱ κακῶς δράσαντες ἀναγκαίως
ἔχουσιν κατ’ ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων
κολασθῆναι, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες**

**37. And that those who have acted
wickedly necessarily deserve to be
punished according to the worth of their**

ὥς περὶ λόγια (74) ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεῖποντο, καὶ εἰς μαρτύριον τοῖς τὰ ἄδικα πράσσουσιν, λέγοντες ὅτι μέλλουσι κολάζεσθαι. Αἰσχύλος ἔφη·

deeds, some of the poets have already expressed in words for themselves, and as a testimony to those who commit injustice, saying that they will be punished. Aeschylus said:

Δράσαντι γάρ τοι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται.

For indeed, the one who has acted is also bound to suffer.

Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη·

Pindar himself also said:

Ἐπεὶ ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν.

Since one who has done something seems also to suffer.

Ὡσαύτως καὶ Εὐριπίδης·

Likewise, Euripides said:

Πάσχων ἀνάσχου (75), δρῶν γὰρ ἔχαιρες·

Endure suffering (75), for you rejoiced in acting;

Νόμος (76) τὸν ἐχθρὸν δρᾶν, ὅπου λάβῃς, κακῶς.

The law (76) is to act against the enemy, wherever you find him, badly.

Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός·

And again the same [author] says:

Ἐχθρὸς κακῶς δρᾶν ἀνδρὸς ἡγοῦμαι μέρος.

I consider it part of a man to act badly against an enemy.

Ὅμοίως καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος·

Similarly, Archilochus also says:

Ἐν δὲ ἐπίσταμαι μέγα, τὸν κακῶς

One great thing I know, to act badly

**Τὶ δρῶντα δεινοῖς (77) ἀνταμείβεσθαι
κακοῖς.**

**To repay evil with evil for one who has
done something terrible. (77)**

Καὶ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ οὐδὲν
αὐτὸν λανθάνει, μακρόθυμος δὲ ὢν
ἀνέχεται (78) ἕως οὔ μέλλει κρίνειν, καὶ
περὶ τούτου Διονύσιος εἴρηκεν·

And that God watches over all things, and
nothing escapes Him, being long-suffering
He endures (78) until the time comes to
judge, and concerning this Dionysius has
said:

Ὁ τῆς δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς, ὥς δι' ἡσύχου

The eye of justice, as through quiet

**Λεύσσων προσώπῳ (79), πανὸς ὁμόσαι
εἰ βλέπει.**

**Gazing steadily at the face (79), to swear
by all if he sees.**

Καὶ ὅτι μόλλει ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσις γίνεσθαι,
καὶ τὰ κακὰ (80) τοὺς πονηροὺς αἰφνιδίως
καταλαμβάνειν, καὶ τοῦτο Αἰσχύλος
ἐσήμανε, λέγων·

And that the judgment of God is about to
take place, and that evils suddenly overtake
the wicked, this too Aeschylus indicated,
saying:

**Τό τοι κακὸν (81) ποδῶκες ἔρχεται
βροτοῖς,**

Evil comes swiftly (81) upon mortals,

**Κεῖτ' ἀμπλάκημα τῷ περῶντι τὴν
θέμιν.**

**And it lies as a stumbling block to the
one who transgresses the law.**

Ὅρᾳς δίκην ἀναυδον, οὐχ ὁρωμένην,

**You see a silent judgment, not one that
is visible,**

Εϋδοντι, καὶ στεῖχοντι, καὶ καθημένῳ

To the one sleeping, and to the one walking, and to the one sitting

Ἐξῆς ὀπάζει δοχμίον, ἄλλοθ' ὕστερον·

In succession it provides a standard, at another time later;

**Οὐκ ἐγκαλύπτει νύξ κακῶς
εἰργασμένον.**

Night does not conceal what has been ill wrought.

**Ὅτι δ' ἂν ποιῆς δεινὸν, νόμιζε ὄρᾶν
τινά.**

But whatever dreadful thing you do, believe that someone sees it.

Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης·

Why not also Simonides says:

**Οὐκ ἔστιν (82) ἀνεπιδόκητον
ἀνθρώποις,**

It is not (82) unavenged by men,

**Ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντα μεταρρίπτει
θεός.**

But God overturns all things in a short time.

Πάλιν Εὐριπίδης·

Again Euripides:

Οὐδέποτε' εὐτυχίην (83)

Never happiness (83)

Κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὑπέρφρονα δ' ὄλβον

The misfortune of a wicked man, and arrogant prosperity

Βέβαιον εἰκάσαι χρεῶν,

One must rightly guess with certainty,

Οὐδὲ ἀδίκων γενεάν (84).

Nor the race of the unjust.

Ὅ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐκφύς χρόνος

For no time, born of anyone,

Δείκνυσιν ἀνθρώπων κακότητας (85).

Shows the wickedness of men. (85)

Ἔτι ὁ Εὐριπίδης·

Euripides also [says]:

Οὐ γὰρ ἀσύνητον

For it is not foolish

Τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔχει συνιέναι

The divine, but it requires
understanding

Κακῶς παγέντας (86) ὅρκους καὶ
συνηναγκασμένους.

Badly fixed (86) oaths and compelled.

Καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς·

And Sophocles:

Εἰ δεινὰ ῥέξας (87), δεινὰ καὶ παθεῖν σε
δεῖ.

If you have done terrible things (87),
you must also suffer terrible things.

Ἦτοι οὖν περὶ ἀδίκου ὅρκου, ἢ καὶ περὶ
ἄλλου τινὸς πταίσματος, ὅτι μέλλει ὁ Θεὸς
ἐξετάζειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν προειρήκασιν·
ἢ καὶ περὶ ἐκφυρσίσεως κόσμου, θέλοντες
καὶ μὴ θέλοντες, ἀκόλουθα ἐξεῖπον τοῖς
προφήταις, καίπερ πολὺ μεταγενέστεροι
γενόμενοι, καὶ κλέψαντες (88) ταῦτα ἐκ
νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

That is, then, concerning the unjust oath, or
indeed concerning some other fault,
because God is about to examine it, and
they themselves have almost foretold it; or
even concerning the burning up of the
world, whether willing or unwilling, they
have spoken in consequence to the
prophets, although coming much later, and

having stolen (88) these things from the law and the prophets.

38. Καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ τε ἔσχατοι (89), ἢ καὶ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο; Πλὴν ὅτι γοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προφήταις εἶπον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκπυρώσεως Μαλαχίας ὁ προφήτης προεῖρηκεν· **Ἴδου ἡμέρα ἔρχεται Κυρίου ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ ἀνάψει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.** Καὶ Ἡσαΐας· **Ἦξει γὰρ ὀργὴ Θεοῦ ὡς χάλαζα συγκαταφερομένη βίᾳ, καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ σύρον ἐν φάραγγι.** Τοῖνυν Σίβυλλα, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφηταὶ, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, καὶ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ δεδηλώκασιν περὶ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ κρίσεως, καὶ κολάσεως· ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ προνοίας, φροντίζει (90) ὁ Θεὸς οὐ μόνον τῶν ζώντων ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων, καίπερ ἅπαντες (91) ἔφασαν· ἠλέγχοντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προφητῶν, Σολομῶν περὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων εἶπεν· **Ἔσται ἱασις ταῖς σαρκί, καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ὀστέων.** Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Δαδίδ· **Ἀγαλλιάσεται ὅστέα τεταπεινωμένα.** Τούτοις ἀκόλουθα εἴρηκεν καὶ Τιμοκλῆς, λέγων·

Τεθνεῶσιν ἔλεος ἐπιεικὴς Θεός.

Καὶ περὶ πλήθους οὖν θεῶν οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰπόντες, κατήλθον εἰς μοναρχίαν, καὶ περὶ ἀπρονοησίας λέγοντες, εἶπον περὶ προνοίας, καὶ περὶ ἀκρισίας φάσκοντες, ὠμολόγησαν ἔσεσθαι κρίσιν, καὶ οἱ μετὰ θάνατον ἀρνούμενοι εἶναι αἴσθησιν, ὠμολόγησαν. Ὁμηρος μὲν οὖν εἰπών·

38. And why indeed did they become last (89), or even first? Except that at least they themselves spoke in consequence to the prophets. Concerning the burning up, the prophet Malachi foretold: **Behold, the day of the Lord comes like a burning furnace, and it will set on fire all the impious.** And Isaiah: **For the wrath of God will come like hail violently falling, and like water rushing down a ravine.** Therefore Sibyl, and the other prophets, but indeed also the poets and philosophers, have made clear concerning righteousness, and judgment, and punishment; moreover, even concerning providence, God cares (90) not only for those of us living, but also for the dead, although all (91) declared this; for they were convicted by the truth. And of the prophets, Solomon said concerning the dead: **There will be healing for the flesh, and care for the bones.** The same also David: **The humbled bones will rejoice.** Following these, Timocles also spoke, saying:

God is merciful and gentle toward the dead.

And concerning the multitude of gods, the writers having spoken, descended into monarchy, and speaking about lack of providence, they spoke about providence, and asserting about lack of discernment, they agreed that there will be judgment, and those who deny sensation after death,

they agreed as well. Homer indeed said:

Ψυχὴ ἥϋτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη
πεπόνηται,

The soul, like a fair dream, flies away
and departs,

ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει·

he says in another place:

Ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη, αἰδόςδε
βέβηκει.

But the soul, having flown from the river
depths, has gone to Hades.

Καὶ πάλιν·

And again:

Θάπτε με, ὅττι τάχιστα πύλας αἶδαο
περήσω.

Bury me, so that I may quickly pass
through the gates of Hades.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὓς ἀνέγνωκας,
ἡγοῦμαί σε ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθαι ὧ τρόπῳ
εἰρήκασιν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνήσει πᾶς ὁ
ζητῶν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ
εὐαρεστῶν αὐτῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ
δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀγαθοεργίας. Καὶ γὰρ τις
εἶπεν προφήτης, ὧν προεγράψαμεν,
ὀνόματι Ὡσηέ· **Τίς σοφὸς, καὶ συνήσει
ταῦτα; συνετὸς, καὶ γνώσεται; ὅτι
εὐθεῖαι αἱ ὁδοὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ δίκαιοι
εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐταῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς
ἀσθενήσουσιν ἐν αὐταῖς.** Χρὴ οὖν τὸν
φιλομαθῆ καὶ φιλομαθεῖν (92)· πειράθητι
οὖν πυκνότερον συμβαλεῖν, ὅπως καὶ
ζώσης ἀκούσας φωνῆς, ἀκριβῶς μάθης
τάληθές.

As for the rest of what you have read, I
think you understand precisely how they
have been spoken. And all who seek the
wisdom of God will comprehend these
things, and will please Him through faith,
righteousness, and good works. For a
certain prophet, Hosea by name, whom we
have cited, said: **“Who is wise, and will
understand these things? prudent, and
will know? That the ways of the Lord are
straight, and the righteous will walk in
them; but the wicked will stumble in
them.”** Therefore, the lover of learning and
of learning itself must (92) strive to bring
together more closely, so that having heard
the living voice, you may accurately learn
the truth.

Book III (BIBΛION Γ')

381 1. Θεόφιλος Αὐτολύκῳ χαίρειν (93). Ἐπειδὴ οἱ συγγραφεῖς βούλονται πληθὺν βιβλίων συγγράφειν, πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν, οἱ μὲν περὶ θεῶν, καὶ πολέμων, ἢ χρόνων, τινὲς δὲ καὶ μύθων ἀνωφελῶν, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ματαιοπονίας, ἧς ἤσκεις καὶ σὺ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, κάκεινός μὲν τοῦ καμάτου οὐκ ὀκνεῖς ἀνεχόμενος, ἡμῖν δὲ συμβαλὼν, ἔτι λῆρον ἢ τυχάνειν τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, οἰόμενος προσφάτους καὶ νεωτερικὰς εἶναι τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν γραφάς· διὸ δὴ κάγῳ οὐκ ὀκνήσω ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαί σοι, παρέχοντος Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γραμμμάτων, ὑπόμνημά σοι ποιούμενος δι' ὀλίγων, ὅπως μὴ ὀκνήσῃς ἐντυχάνειν αὐτῷ· ἐπιγνῶς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν συνταξάντων (94) τὴν φλυαρίαν.

2. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ τοὺς συγγράφοντας αὐτοὺς αὐτόπτας γεγενῆσθαι περὶ ὧν διαβεβαιοῦνται, ἢ ἀκριβῶς· μεμαθηκέναι ὑπὸ τῶν τεθεαμένων αὐτά· τρόπον γὰρ τινα οἱ τὰ ἄδηλα συγγράφοντες ἀέρα δέρουσι. Τί γὰρ ὠφέλησεν Ὅμηρον συγγράψαι τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῆσαι· ἢ Ἡσίοδον ὁ κατάλογος τῆς Θεογονίας τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ θεῶν ὀνομαζομένων, ἢ Ὀρφέα οἱ τριακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα (95) πέντε θεοί, οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἀθετεῖ, ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις (96) αἰψοῦ λέγων ἕνα εἶναι Θεόν; Τί δὲ ὠφέλησεν Ἀρατὸν ἢ σφαιρογραφία τοῦ κοσμικοῦ κύκλου, ἢ τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῷ εἰπόντας, πλὴν τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπον δόξης, ἧς οὐδὲ αὐτῆς κατ' ἀξίαν ἔτυχον; Τί δὲ καὶ ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν; ἢ τί ὠφέλησαν Εὐριπίδην, καὶ Σοφοκλέα, ἢ τοὺς λοιποὺς τραγωδιογράφους αἱ τραγωδίαί; ἢ Μένανδρον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην,

1. Theophilus to Autolycus, greetings (93). Since writers desire to compose a multitude of books for empty glory—some concerning gods and wars, or times, others even about useless myths and the remaining vanity, which you also have practiced up to now—and you do not shrink from enduring that toil, yet joining with us, you still consider the discourse of truth to be foolish, thinking that the writings among us are recent and novel; therefore indeed I will not hesitate to summarize for you, God granting, the antiquity of the writings among us, making a brief memorial for you, so that you may not hesitate to meet with it; and you will recognize the nonsense of those who have composed the rest (94).

2. For those who write ought to have been eyewitnesses concerning what they affirm, or at least to have learned accurately from those who have seen them; for in some way those who write about the invisible grasp at air. What benefit, then, did Homer gain by composing the Iliad and deceiving many? Or Hesiod by his catalog of the gods named among those with him? Or Orpheus by his three hundred and sixty-five gods, whom he himself at the end of his life rejects, saying in his testament that there is one God? What benefit did Aratus gain from his spherography of the cosmic circle, or those who said similar things, except for human praise, which they did not even receive worthily? And did they say anything true? Or what benefit did the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, or the other tragedians, bring? Or the

καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς κωμικοὺς αἱ κωμωδίαί; ἢ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Θουκυδίδην αἱ ἱστορίαι αὐτῶν; ἢ Πυθαγόραν τὰ ἄδυτα, καὶ Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι (97); ἢ Διογένην ἡ κυνικὴ φιλοσοφία; ἢ Ἐπικούρου τὸ δογματίζειν μὴ εἶναι πρόνοιαν; ἢ Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸ διδάσκειν ἀθεότητα (98); ἢ Σωκράτην τὸ ὀμνύειν τὸν κύνα, καὶ τὸν χῆνα, καὶ τὴν πλάτανον, καὶ τὸν κεραυνωθέντα Ἀσκληπιὸν, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια (99) ἃ ἐπεκαλεῖτο; πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ ἐκὼν ἀπέθνησκεν; τίνα καὶ ὁποῖον μισθὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἀπολαβεῖν ἐλπίζων; τί δὲ ὠφέλησε Πλάτωνα ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεία; ἢ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους τὰ δόγματα αὐτῶν; ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν καταλέγω πολλῶν ὄντων, Ταῦτα δὲ φάμεν εἰς τὸ ἐπιδειῖναι τὴν ἀνωφελεῖ καὶ ἄθεον διάνοιαν αὐτῶν.

comedies of Menander and Aristophanes and the other comedians? Or the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides? Or the secrets of Pythagoras, and the pillars of Heracles? Or the Cynic philosophy of Diogenes? Or Epicurus' doctrine that there is no providence? Or Empedocles' teaching of atheism? Or Socrates' swearing by the dog, the goose, the plane tree, and the thunderstruck Asclepius, and the demons he invoked? And why did he willingly die? What kind and what reward did he hope to receive after death? What benefit did Plato gain from his education according to himself? Or the doctrines of the other philosophers? So as not to enumerate their number, since there are many, we say these things to show their useless and godless thinking.

3. Δόξης γὰρ κενῆς καὶ ματαίου πάντες οὗτοι ἐρασθέντες, οὔτε αὐτοὶ (1) τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔγνωσαν, οὔτε μὴν ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν προετρέψαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἃ ἔφασαν αὐτὰ ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς, ἢ ἀσύμφωνα εἰρήκασιν· καὶ τὰ ἴδια δόγματα οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν κατέλυσαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀλλήλους μόνον ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τινὲς καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν δόγματα ἄκυρα ἐποίησαν· ὥστε ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν καὶ μωρίαν ἐχώρησεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν συνετῶν καταγινώσκονται. Ἦτοι γὰρ περὶ θεῶν ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ, ὕστερον (2) ἀθεότητα ἐδίδαξαν· ἢ εἰ καὶ (3) περὶ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἔσχατον αὐτοματισμὸν εἶπον εἶναι τῶν πάντων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ προνοίας λέγοντες, πάλιν ἀπρονόητον εἶναι κόσμον ἐδογμάτισαν. Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ σεμνότητος πειρώμενοι γράφειν, ἀσελγείας καὶ πορνείας καὶ μοιχείας ἐδίδαξαν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι (4), ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὰς στυγερὰς ἀρρήτοποιίας εἰσηγήσαντο; Καὶ πρῶτους γε τοὺς θεοὺς

3. For all these, having been enamored of empty and vain glory, neither themselves knew the truth, nor did they urge others toward the truth; for what they said refutes them, in that they spoke inconsistently; and most of them even destroyed their own doctrines. For they not only overturned one another, but some already made their own doctrines invalid; so that their glory turned into disgrace and folly, being condemned by the wise. For they themselves spoke about gods, but later taught atheism; or even concerning the origin of the world, they said that everything is the last product of chance. But even speaking about providence, they dogmatized that the world is without providence. And why not, attempting to write about reverence, they taught that licentiousness, fornication, and adultery are to be practiced, and even introduced detestable obscene acts? And they proclaim their own gods first to be

αὐτῶν κηρύσσουσιν ἐν δάρρῃτοῖς μίξεσι
συγγίνεσθαι, ἐν τε ἀθέσμοις βρώσεσι. Τίς
γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδει Κρόνον τεκνοφάγον· Δία δὲ
τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ τὴν Μῆτιν καταπίνειν, καὶ
δεῖπνα μιὰρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐτοιμάζειν· ἔνθα
καὶ χωλὸν Ἥφαιστον τινα χαλκέα φασὶ
διακονεῖν αὐτοῖς, τὴν τε Ἥραν ἰδίαν
ἀδελφὴν (5) μὴ μόνον τὸν Δία γαμεῖν (6),
ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἀνάγνου
ἀρρήτοποιεῖν; τὰς τε λοιπὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ
πράξεις, ὅποσας ᾔδουσιν οἱ ποιηταί, εἰκὸς
ἐπίστασαι. Τί μοι λοιπὸν καταλέγειν τὰ
περὶ Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ
Διονύσου, καὶ Ἡρακλέος, Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς
φιλοκόλπου, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης τῆς
ἀναισχύντου, ἀκριβέστερον πεποιηκότων
ἡμῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ (7) τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον;

united in shameless intercourse, and in
unlawful feasts. For who does not sing of
Cronus devouring his children, and Zeus
swallowing his child Metis, and preparing
foul banquets for the gods; where also
some lame Hephaestus is said to serve
them as a smith, and Hera, his own sister,
not only marries Zeus but also through her
mouth performs impure acts? You are
likely aware of the rest of the deeds
concerning him, as many poets sing of
them. Why then should I recount the
matters concerning Poseidon, Apollo,
Dionysus, Heracles, Athena the lover of the
bosom, and Aphrodite the shameless,
whose story we have more accurately
composed elsewhere?

4. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς ταῦτα
ἀνασκευάζειν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι σὲ θεωρῶ (8) νυνὶ
διστάζοντα περὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.
Φρόνιμος γὰρ ὢν ἡδέως μωρῶν ἀνέχῃ.
Ἐπεὶ τοι (9) οὐκ ἂν ἐκινήθης ὑπὸ ἀνοήτων
ἀνθρώπων κενοῖς λόγοις ἀπάγεσθαι, καὶ
φήμῃ πείθεσθαι προκατεσχηκυῖα,
στομάτων ἀθέων ψευδῶς
συκοφαντούντων ἡμᾶς, τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ
Χριστιανοὺς καλουμένους, φασκόντων ὡς
κοινὰς ἀπάντων οὔσας τὰς γυναικας ἡμῶν
καὶ διαφόρῳ (10) μίξει ξυνόντας (11), ἔτι
μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀδελφαῖς συμμίγνυσθαι,
καὶ τὸ ἀθεώτατον, καὶ ὠμότατον, πασῶν
σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων (12) ἐφάπτεσθαι
ἡμᾶς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προσφάτου ὀδεύοντος
τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς
λέγειν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἀληθείας τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς
καὶ διδασκαλίας· μωρίαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν λόγον
ἡμῶν φασιν. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν θαυμάζω
μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοί, ὃς ἐν μὲν τοῖς λοιποῖς
γενόμενος σπουδαῖος, καὶ ἐκζητητὴς
ἀπάντων πραγμάτων, ἀμελέστερον ἡμῶν
ἀκούεις. Εἰ γὰρ σοι δυνατὸν, καὶ νύκτωρ

4. For it was not necessary for us to refute
these things, were it not that I see you now
hesitating concerning the discourse of
truth. For being wise, you patiently endure
fools gladly. Since you would not be moved
to be led away by empty words of senseless
men, nor to believe the slanders falsely
uttered by godless mouths against us, who
are called God-fearing and Christians,
claiming that our women are common to all
and joined in various intercourse, even
with their own sisters, and that we touch
the most godless and most savage of all
human flesh. But also, since the discourse
concerning us is recent, and they say we
have nothing to say in proof of the truth of
our teaching, and that our discourse is
foolishness. I indeed marvel especially at
you, who, having become serious and a
seeker of all things in other matters, listen
to us more carelessly. For if it is possible
for you, you do not hesitate even to spend
the night in the libraries.

οὐκ ὤκνεῖς διατρίβειν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις.

5. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν πολλὰ ἀνέγνως, τί σοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ζήνωνος ἢ τὰ Διογένους, καὶ Κλεάνθους, ὅποσα περιέχουσιν αἱ βίβλοι αὐτῶν, διδάσκουσαι ἀνθρωποβορίας, πατέρας μὲν ἀπὸ ἰδίων τέκνων ἔψεσθαι (13) καὶ βιβρώσκεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τις οὐ βούλοιτο ἢ μέλος τι τῆς μυσερᾶς τροφῆς ἀπορρίψειεν (14), αὐτὸν κατεσθίεσθαι τὸν μὴ φαγόντα; Πρὸς τούτοις ἀθεωτέρα τις φωνὴ εὐρίσκεται, ἢ τοῦ Διογένους, διδάσκοντος τὰ τέκνα τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς θυσίαν (15) ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους κατεσθίειν. Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος μυθεύει, τὸν Καμβύσην (16) τὰ τοῦ Ἀρπάγου τέκνα σφάζαντα, καὶ ἐψήσαντα παρατεθεικέναι τῷ πατρὶ βοράν; Ἔτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς μυθεύει κατεσθίεσθαι τοὺς πατέρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων. Ὡς τῆς ἀθέου διδασκαλίας τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγραψάντων, μᾶλλον δὲ διδαξάντων! ὦ τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ ἀθεότητος αὐτῶν! ὦ τῆς διανοίας (17) τῶν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς φιλοσοφησάντων, καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαγγελλομένων! Οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα (18) δογματίσαντες τὸν κόσμον ἀσεβείας ἐνέπλησαν.

6. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἀθέσμου πράξεως σχεδὸν πᾶσιν συμπεφώνηκεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν χορὸν (19) τῆς φιλοσοφίας πεπλανημένοις. Καὶ πρῶτός γε Πλάτων, ὁ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς σεμνότερον πεφιλοσοφηκέναι, διαρρήδη ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ (20) βίβλῳ τῶν Πολιτειῶν ἐπιγραφομένη. τρόπον τινὶ νομοθετεῖ εἶναι (21) κοινὰς ἀπάντων τὰς γυναῖκας, χρώμενος παραδείγματι τῷ Διὶ (22), καὶ Κρητῶν νομοθέτῃ, ὅπως διὰ προφάσεως (23) παιδοποιία πολλὴ γίνηται ἐκ τῶν

5. Since then you have read many things, what did the writings of Zeno or Diogenes, and Cleanthes, contain, as their books teach man-eating, that fathers should boil and devour their own children, and if anyone did not wish or rejected a portion of the miserable food, that he himself should be eaten for not having eaten? Moreover, there is an even more godless voice, that of Diogenes, teaching that children should offer their own parents as a sacrifice and eat them. And does not Herodotus the historian relate that Cambyses killed the children of Harpagus, boiled them, and set them before their father as food? Furthermore, even among the Indians, it is said that fathers are eaten by their own children. O the godless teaching of those who wrote such things, and even more those who taught them! O the impiety and atheism of them! O the mind of those who philosophized so precisely and professed philosophy! For those who dogmatized these things filled the world with impiety.

6. For concerning lawless acts, almost all who have been led astray about the chorus of philosophy have agreed. And first indeed Plato, who seems to have philosophized more solemnly among them, in the first book of the *Republic* explicitly legislates in a certain way that the women are common to all, using the example of Zeus and the Cretans as lawmakers, so that through this pretext there may be much procreation from such unions, and that those distressed

τοιούτων, καὶ ὥς δῆθεν τοὺς λυπουμενούς διὰ τοιούτων ὁμιλιῶν χρῆν παραμυθεῖσθαι· (Ἐπίκουρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀθεότητι διδάσκειν συμβουλεύει καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς συμμίγνυσθαι (24),) καὶ πέρα (25) τῶν νόμων τοῦτο κωλύοντων· ὁ γὰρ Σολομῶν (26) καὶ περὶ τούτου σαφῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν, ὅπως ἐκ τοῦ γήμαντος οἱ παῖδες νομίμως γίνονται, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκ μοιχείας τοὺς γεννωμένους εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὸν οὐκ ὄντα πατέρα τιμήσῃ τις ὡς πατέρα, ἢ τὸν ὄντως πατέρα ἀτιμάσῃ τις, ἀγνοῶν ὡς μὴ πατέρα· ὅποσα τε οἱ λοιποὶ νόμοι κωλύουσι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσεσθαι. Πρὸς τί οὖν Ἐπίκουρος καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ δογματίζουσιν ἀδελφοκοιτίας καὶ ἀρρενοβασίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ἐξ ὧν διδασκαλιῶν μεστὰς βιβλιοθήκας πεποιήκασιν, εἰς τὸ ἐκ παίδων μανθάνειν τὴν ἄθεσμον κοινωνίαν; Καὶ τί μοι λοιπὸν κατατρίβεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένων τὰ ὅμοια κατηγορέω;

by such relations should be comforted accordingly; (Epicurus also advises to teach atheism and to consort with mothers and sisters,) even beyond the laws that forbid this; for Solomon also clearly legislated concerning this, that children born from lawful marriage be recognized, so that those born from adultery would not be, lest someone honor a man who is not a father as a father, or dishonor the true father, not knowing him as father; and as many other laws of the Romans and Greeks forbid such practices. Why then do Epicurus and the Stoics dogmatize that brotherly cohabitation and male dominance are to be performed, from whose teachings they have filled libraries, so that from children one learns lawless communion? And why should I further waste time concerning them, where even about the gods they proclaim similar things?

7. Θεοὺς γὰρ φήσαντες εἶναι, πάλιν εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαντο. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀτόμων αὐτοὺς ἔφασαν συνεστάναι· οἱ δὲ αὖ χωρεῖν εἰς ἀτόμους, καὶ μηδὲν πλεῖον ἀνθρώπων δύνασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς φασι. Πλάτων δὲ, θεοὺς εἰπὼν εἶναι, ὑλικοὺς αὐτοὺς βούλεται συνιστᾶν. Πυθαγόρας δὲ, τοσαῦτα μοχθήσας περὶ θεῶν, καὶ τὴν ἄνω κάτω πορείαν ποιησάμενος, ἔσχατον ὀρίζει φύσιν καὶ αὐτοματισμὸν εἶναί φησι τῶν πάντων καὶ θεοὺς (27) ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν φροντίζειν. Ὅποσα τε Κλειτόμαχος ὁ Ἀκαδημαῖκός (28) περὶ ἀθεότητος εἰσηγήσατο. Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ Κριτίας, καὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης λέγων· **Εἴτε γὰρ εἰσὶ θεοὶ, οὐ δύναμαι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν, οὔτε ὁποῖοί εἰσι δηλῶσαι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔστι τὰ κωλύοντά με.** Τὰ γὰρ περὶ

7. For although they said there are gods, they again considered them to be nothing. Some said that they were composed of atoms; others that they could be divided into atoms, and that the gods are no more than men. But Plato, having said that there are gods, wishes to compose them of material substance. Pythagoras, having labored so much concerning the gods, and having made the journey up and down, defines their nature at last and says that the gods are automatons and care nothing for men. And as much as Cleitomachus the Academic introduced concerning atheism. And why not also Critias and Protagoras the Abderite, saying: **“For whether there are gods or not, I am unable to speak about them, nor to show what sort they**

Εὐημέρου τοῦ ἀθεωτάτου περισσὸν ἡμῖν καὶ λέγειν. Πολλὰ γὰρ περὶ θεῶν τολμήσας φθέγγασθαι, ἔσχατον καὶ τὸ ἐξόλου μὴ εἶναι θεοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα αὐτοματισμῷ διοικεῖσθαι βούλεται. Πλάτων (29) δὲ ὁ τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν περὶ μοναρχίας Θεοῦ, καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου, φάσκων ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ὕστερον εὐρίσκεται ἐναντία ἑαυτῷ λέγων, τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς μετέρχεσθαι εἰς ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπους, ἐνίῳν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄλογα ζῶα χωρεῖν; Πῶς οὐ δεινὸν καὶ ἀθέμιτον δόγμα αὐτοῦ τοῖσγε νοῦν ἔχουσι φανήσεται, ἵνα ὁ ποτε ἄνθρωπος πάλιν ἔσται λύκος, ἢ κύων, ἢ ὄνος, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἄλογον κτῆνος; Τούτῳ ἀκόλουθα καὶ Πυθαγόρας εὐρίσκεται φλυαρῶν, πρὸς τῷ καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐκκόπτειν. Τίνι οὖν αὐτῶν πιστεύσωμεν; Φιλήμονι τῷ Κωμικῷ λέγοντι·

are; for many things prevent me.” As for Euhemerus, the most atheistic, it is superfluous for us even to speak. For having dared to utter many things about the gods, he finally wishes that there are no gods, but that all things are governed by automatism. Plato, having said so much about the monarchy of God and the human soul, asserting that the soul is immortal, is not found later to contradict himself by saying that souls pass into other men, and some even pass into irrational animals? How terrible and unlawful will his doctrine appear to those who have understanding, that a man may at some time again be a wolf, or a dog, or a donkey, or some other irrational beast? Following this, Pythagoras is found babbling, and cutting off providence as well. Whom then shall we trust among them? To Philemon the Comic, who said:

Οἱ γὰρ Θεὸν σέβοντες ἐλπίδας καλὰς

For those who worship God have good hopes

ἔχουσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν·

They have hope for salvation;

ἢ οἷς προειρήκαμεν Εὐημέρῳ καὶ Ἐπικούρῳ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ (30), καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀρνούμενοις εἶναι θεοσέβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ἀναιροῦσιν; Περὶ μὲν οὖν Θεοῦ καὶ προνοίας Ἀρίστων ἔφη·

Or shall we trust those we mentioned before, Euhemerus and Epicurus and Pythagoras (30), and the rest who deny piety and abolish providence? Concerning God and providence, Ariston said:

Θάρσει, βοηθεῖν πᾶσι τοῖσιν ἀξίοις (31)

Take courage, for he helps all who are worthy (31)

Εἴωθεν ὁ Θεός· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις
σφόδρα.

God is accustomed; and especially to
such as these.

Εἰ μὴ παρέσται προεδρία τις κειμένη

If no high office is granted

Τοῖς ζῶσιν ὡς δεῖ, τί πλέον ἐστὶν
εὐσεβεῖν;

For those living as is proper, what more
is there than to be pious?

Εἴη γὰρ οὕτως (32)· ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ὁρῶ

Let it be so (32); but I also see very
clearly

Τοὺς εὐσεβῶς μὲν ἐλομένους διεξάγειν

To lead those who choose piety rightly

Πράττοντας ἀτόπως· τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν
ἕτερον ἢ

Acting improperly; but those who do
nothing other than

Τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς (33)
μόνον,

What is profitable and what is solely for
themselves (33) alone,

Ἐντιμωτέραν ἔχοντας ἡμῶν διάθεσιν

Having a disposition more honorable
than ours

Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. Ἀλλὰ δεῖ (34) πόρῳ
βλέπειν,

Regarding the present. But one must
look far ahead, (34)

Καὶ τὴν ἀπάντων ἀναμένειν
καταστροφὴν.

And await the destruction of all things.

Οὐχ ὃν τρόπον γὰρ παρ' ἐνίοις ἴσχυκέ

For not in the manner that in some it has

τις

prevailed

Δόξα κακοήθης, τῷ βίῳ τ' άνωφελής,

A malignant reputation, and useless to life,

Φορά τις (35) ἔστ' αὐτόματος, ἢ βραβεύεται

There is a certain impulse (35) that is spontaneous, or is judged

Ὡς ἔτυχε πάντα. Ταῦτα γὰρ κρίνουσ' ἔχειν

As everything happened. For those who judge these things have

Ἐφόδια πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον οἱ φαῦλοι τρόπον.

The wicked have provisions for themselves in a base manner.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς (36) ζῶσιν ὁσίως προεδρία,

There is also for living beings a pious precedence, (36)

Καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὡς προσήκ', ἐπιτιμία.

And for the wicked, as is fitting, a punishment.

Χωρὶς προνοίας γίνεται γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔν (37).

For nothing happens without forethought. (37)

Ὅποσα τε καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ σχεδόν γε (38) οἱ πλείους εἶπον περὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ προνοίας, ὁρᾷν ἔστι πῶς (39) ἀνακόλουθα ἀλλήλοις ἔφασαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τό ἐξ ὅλου Θεὸν καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι ἀνέϊλον· οἱ δ' αὖ συνέστησαν Θεὸν, καὶ πάντα προνοία διοικεῖσθαι ὡμολόγησαν. Τὸν οὖν συνετὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις δεῖ (40)· καθὼς

As for the many others who have spoken about God and providence, nearly all, it is possible to see how they declared these things to be consistent with one another. For some rejected God and providence as a whole; but others established God, and agreed that all things are governed by providence. Therefore, the intelligent listener and reader must pay close

καὶ ὁ Σίμυλος ἔφη·

attention to what is said; just as Simylus also said: (40)

Κοινῶς ποιητὰς ἔθος ἐστὶ καλεῖν

It is customary to call poets common.

Καὶ τοὺς περιττοὺς (41) τῇ φύσει, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς.

And those who are extraordinary by nature, and those who are noble. (41)

Ἦδει δὲ κρίνειν.

It was proper to judge.

Καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Φιλήμων (42)·

Just as Philémon also (42);

Χαλεπὸν ἀκροατῆς ἀσύνετος καθήμενος·

A difficult listener, sitting without understanding;

Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀνοίας οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μέμφεται.

For through folly he does not blame himself.

Χρὴ οὖν προσέχειν καὶ νοεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, κριτικῶς ἐξετάζοντα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ποιητῶν εἰρημένα.

Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention and to understand what is said, critically examining the statements made by the philosophers and the other poets.

8. Ἀρνούμενοι γὰρ θεοὺς εἶναι, πάλιν ὁμολογοῦσιν αὐτοὶ, καὶ τούτους πράξεις ἀθέσμους ἐπιτελεῖν ἔφασαν. Καὶ πρώτου (43) γε τοῦ Διὸς οἱ ποιηταὶ εὐφωνότερον ἄδουσι τὰς χαλεπὰς πράξεις. Χρύσιππος δὲ ὁ πολλὰ φλυαρήσας, πῶς οὐχὶ εὕρισκεται σημαίνων τὴν Ἥραν στόματι μιαρῶ συγγίνεσθαι τῷ Δί; Τί γάρ μοι καταλέγειν τὰς ἀσελγείας τῆς μητρὸς θεῶν λεγομένης;

8. For by denying that gods exist, they themselves again confess, and say that these very gods commit lawless deeds. And first (43) of all, the poets sing more melodiously the harsh deeds of Zeus. But Chrysippus, who has spoken much nonsense, how is he not found to signify that Hera is joined in a foul union with Zeus by his mouth? For what shall I recount of

ἡ Διὸς τοῦ Λατιαρίου διψῶντος αἵματος
ἀνθρωπείου; ἢ Ἄττου τοῦ (44)
ἀποκοπτομένου· ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ καλούμενος
τραγωδὸς, κατακλύσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα,
ὥς φασι, νῦν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεὸς τιμᾶται;
Σιγῶ τὰ Ἀντινόου τεμένη καὶ τὰ τῶν
λοιπῶν καλουμένων θεῶν. Καὶ γὰρ
ἱστορούμενα τοῖς συνετοῖς καταγέλωτα
(45) φέρει. Ὅτι οὖν περὶ ἀθεότητος αὐτοὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν ιδίων δογμάτων ἐλέγχονται οἱ τὰ
τοιαῦτα φιλοσοφήσαντες, ἢ καὶ περὶ
πολυμιξίας καὶ ἀθέσμου κοινωνίας. Ἔτι μὴν
καὶ ἀνθρωποβορία παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐρίσκεται,
δι' ὧν συνέγραψαν γραφῶν, καὶ πρώτους
γε οὓς τετιμήκασιν θεοὺς, ταῦτα
πεπραχότας (46) ἀναγράφουσιν.

the debaucheries of the mother called a
goddess? Or of Zeus the Latian thirsting for
human blood? Or of Attus being beheaded;
(44) or that Zeus, called the tragedian,
having drenched his own hand, as they say,
is now honored as a god among the
Romans? I keep silent about the temples of
Antinous and those of the other so-called
gods. For even the accounts given to the
wise are laughable (45). Therefore,
concerning impiety, those who have
philosophized such things are themselves
refuted by their own doctrines, or even
concerning promiscuity and lawless
association. Moreover, cannibalism is found
among them, through which they
composed writings, and they record these
deeds as done by the very first whom they
honored as gods. (46)

9. Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἓνα,
τὸν κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν
τοῦδε τοῦ παντός (47), καὶ προνοίᾳ τὰ
πάντα διοικεῖσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ μόνου· καὶ νόμον ἅγιον
μεμαθήκαμεν· ἀλλὰ νομοθέτην ἔχομεν τὸν
ὄντως Θεὸν, ὃς διδάσκει (48) ἡμᾶς
δικαιοπραγεῖν, καὶ εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ
καλοποιεῖν. Καὶ περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας λέγει·
Οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλην ἐμοῦ.
Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ
παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
ἄνω, ἢ (49) ἅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω, ἢ ὅσα ἐν
τοῖς ὕδασιν ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς· οὐ
προσκυνήσεις αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ μὴ
λατρεύσεις αὐτοῖς. Ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Κύριος
ὁ Θεός σου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλοποιεῖν ἔφη·
Τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα
σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα
μακροχρόνιος ἔσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἣν ἐγὼ
δίδωμί σοι Κύριος ὁ Θεός. Ἔτι περὶ
δικαιοσύνης· **Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ**

9. But we also confess God, yet one only,
the creator and maker and artisan of this
whole universe (47), and we know that all
things are governed by providence, but by
him alone. and we have learned the holy
law. But we have as our lawgiver the true
God, who teaches (48) us to act justly, to be
devout, and to do good. And concerning
piety he says **You shall have no other**
gods besides me You shall not make for
yourself an idol, nor any likeness of
anything that is in heaven above, or (49)
that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the
waters under the earth. You shall not
worship them, nor serve them. For I am the
Lord your God. **And concerning doing**
good, he said Honor your father and your
mother, that it may go well with you, and
that you may be long-lived upon the earth,
which the Lord your God gives you.
Further, concerning righteousness You
shall not commit adultery, you shall not

φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ
ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον
σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῇ. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις
τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου. Οὐκ
ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸν
ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ,
οὐδὲ τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῦ
βοῦς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῦ ὑποζυγίου αὐτοῦ,
οὐδὲ παντὸς κτήνους αὐτοῦ, οὔτε ὅσα
ἐστὶ τῷ πλησίον σου. Οὐ διαστρέψεις
κρῖμα πένητος ἐν κρίσει αὐτοῦ. Ἀπὸ
παντὸς ῥήματος ἀδίκου διαποστήσῃ.
Ἀθῶν καὶ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖς· οὐ
δικαιώσεις τὸν ἀσεβῆ· καὶ δῶρα οὐ
λήψῃ· τὰ γὰρ δῶρα ἀποτυφλοῖ
ὀφθαλμοὺς· βλέπόντων, καὶ
λυμαίνεται ῥήματα δίκαια. Τούτου μὲν
οὖν τοῦ θείου νόμου διάκονος γεγένηται
Μωϋσῆς, ὁ καὶ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ, παντὶ
μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ, παντελῶς δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
τοῖς καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καλουμένοις, οὓς
κατεδούλωσεν (50) ἀρχῆθεν βασιλεὺς
Αἰγύπτου, τυγχάνοντας σπέρμα δίκαιον
ἀνδρῶν θεοσεβῶν, καὶ ὁσίων, Ἀβραὰμ καὶ
Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ὁ Θεὸς (51) μνησθεὶς
καὶ ποιήσας θαυμάσια καὶ τέρατα διὰ
Μωϋσεὺς παράδοξα, ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς, καὶ
ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἀγαγὼν αὐτοὺς
διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου καλουμένης· οὓς καὶ
ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν γῆν,
μετέπειτα Ἰουδαίαν ἐπικληθεῖσαν, καὶ
νόμον (52) παρέθετο, καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς
ταῦτα. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν νόμου μεγάλου καὶ
θαυμασίου πρὸς πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην
ὑπάρχοντος δέκα κεφάλαια ἃ
προειρήκαμεν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν.

murder, you shall not steal, you shall not
bear false witness against your neighbor
with false testimony** You shall not covet
your neighbor's wife. You shall not covet
his house, nor his field, nor his male
servant, nor his female servant, nor his ox,
nor his donkey, nor any of his cattle, nor
anything that belongs to your neighbor.
You shall not pervert the judgment of the
poor in his cause. You shall keep yourself
away from every unjust word. You shall not
kill the innocent and the righteous. You
shall not justify the ungodly. And you shall
not receive bribes. For gifts blind the eyes.
Seeing, he also plunders just words.
Therefore, Moses became the servant of
this divine law, who is also the servant of
God, to all the world indeed, but especially
to the Hebrews, who are also called Jews,
whom the king of Egypt enslaved from the
beginning, being a righteous seed of God-
fearing and holy men, Abraham and Isaac
and Jacob. (50) God (51), remembering and
performing wondrous and extraordinary
miracles through Moses, delivered them
and led them out of Egypt, guiding them
through the desert called whom He also
restored to the land of Canaan, later called
Judea, and He set forth the law (52) and
taught them these things. The great and
wondrous law, surpassing all
righteousness, consists of ten chapters,
which we have previously mentioned, and
are as follows.

10. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν προσήλυτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐν
γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, ὄντες τὸ γένος Ἑβραῖοι (53)
ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς (κατ' ἐκεῖνο (54)
καιροῦ λιμοῦ γενομένης ἀνάγκην ἔσχον
μετελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον σιτίων ἐκεῖ

10. Since then they became proselytes in
the land of Egypt, being of the Hebrew race
(53) from the land of Chaldea (at that time
(54) a famine having arisen, they were
compelled to go into Egypt where food was

πιπρασκομένων, ἔνθα καὶ χρόνῳ
παρώκησαν· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς συνέβη κατὰ
προαναφώνησιν Θεοῦ)· παροικήσαντες
οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ
τριάκοντα, ἐν τῷ τὸν Μωϋσῆν μέλλειν
ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ὁ Θεὸς
ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ νόμου λέγων·
**Προσήλυτον οὐ θλίψετε· ὑμεῖς γὰρ
οἴδατε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ προσηλύτου·
αὐτοὶ γὰρ προσήλυτοι ἦτε ἐν τῇ γῇ
Αἰγύπτῳ.**

11. Τὸν μὲν οὖν νόμον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ
δεδομένον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παραβῆναι τὸν
λαὸν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ οἰκτίρμων ὁ Θεός, μὴ
βουλόμενος διαφθεῖραι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ
δεδωκέναι (55) τὸν νόμον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ
(56) προφῆτας ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ διδάσκειν καὶ
ἀναμνησθεῖν τὰ τοῦ νόμου αὐτοὺς, καὶ
ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς μετάνοιαν, τοῦ μηκέτι
ἀμαρτάνειν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιμένοιεν ἐν ταῖς
φαύλαις (57) πράξεσι, προανεφώνησεν
(58) ὑποχείριους αὐτοὺς παραδοθῆναι
πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς· καὶ ὅτι
ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἀπέβη, φανερόν μὲν ἔστι.
Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς μετανοίας Ἡσαΐας ὁ
προφῆτης κοινῶς μὲν πρὸς πάντας,
διάρρηδην δὲ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγει·
**Ζητήσατε τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐν τῷ
εὕρισκιν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσασθε· ἡνίκα
δ' ἂν ἐγγίξῃ ὑμῖν, ἀπολιπέτω ὁ ἀσεβὴς
τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνὴρ ἄνομος τὰς
βουλάς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστραφήτω ἐπὶ
Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἐλεηθήσεται, ὅτι ἐπιπολὺ ἀφήσει τὰς
ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν.** Καὶ ἕτερος προφῆτης
Ἐζεκιήλ φησιν· Ἐὰν ἀποστραφῇ ὁ
ἄνομος ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν ὧν
ἐποίησε, καὶ φυλάξῃ τὰς ἐντολάς μου,
καὶ ποιήσῃ τὰ δικαιώματά μου,
ζωνήσεται (59), καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ,

sold, and there they sojourned for a time;
these things happened to them according
to the forewarning of God); having
sojourned in Egypt for four hundred and
thirty years, at the time when Moses was
about to lead them out into the desert, God
taught them through the law saying: **You
shall not oppress a proselyte; for you
yourselves know the soul of the
proselyte, for you were once proselytes
in the land of Egypt.**

11. The law given to them by God when the
people transgressed, God being good and
merciful, not wishing to destroy them for
the law He had given, later also sent
prophets from among their own brothers
to teach and remind them of the law, and to
turn them to repentance, so that they
would sin no more. But if they persisted in
their evil deeds, He foretold that they
would be handed over as subjects to all the
kingdoms of the earth; and it is clear that
this has already happened to them.
Concerning repentance, Isaiah the prophet
speaks generally to all, but explicitly to the
people: **Seek the Lord, and when you find
Him, call upon Him; and when He draws
near to you, let the wicked forsake his
ways, and the lawless man his plans, and
let him turn to the Lord his God, and He
will have mercy, for He will abundantly
pardon your sins.** And another prophet,
Ezekiel, says: **If the wicked turns away
from all the sins he has committed, and
keeps my commandments, and does my
judgments, he shall surely live, and shall
not die; all his injustices which he has
done shall not be remembered, but
because he has done what is just, he
shall live; for I do not desire the death of
the wicked, says the Lord, but that he**

πᾶσαι αἱ ἀδικίαι αὐτοῦ ἃς ἐποίησεν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ἣ ἐποίησε ζήσεται, ὅτι οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνόμου, λέγει Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέψαι (60) ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν. Πάλιν ὁ Ἡσαΐας· Ἐπιστρέφητε οἱ τὴν βαθεῖαν βουλήν βουλευόμενοι καὶ ἄνομον, ἵνα σωθῆσεσθε. Καὶ ἕτερος, Ἱερεμίας· Ἐπιστρέφητε ἐπὶ Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν, ὡς ὁ τρυγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν κάρτελλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλεηθήσεσθε. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναρίθμητά ἐστι τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις Γραφαῖς εἰρημένα περὶ μετανοίας, αἰ τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλομένου ἐπιστρέφειν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.

12. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἥς ὁ νόμος εἶρηκεν, ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἐν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λελαληκέναι. Ὁ γοῦν Ἡσαΐας οὕτως ἔφη· Ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐκζητήσατε κρίσιν, ῥύσασθε ἀδικούμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶν (61), καὶ δικαιώσατε χήραν. Ἔτι ὁ αὐτὸς, Διάλυε, φησὶν, πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας· λύε στραγγαλίας βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων· ἀπόστελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει· καὶ πᾶσαν συγγραφὴν ἁδίκον διάσπα· διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ πτωχοὺς ἀστέγους εἰσάγαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. Ἐὰν ἴδῃς γυμνὸν, περίβαλλε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψη. Τότε ῥαγήσεται πρῶϊμον τὸ φῶς σου (62), καὶ τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ· καὶ προπορεύεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου. Ὁμοίως καὶ Ἱερεμίας, Στῆτε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ

should turn from his evil way and live. Again Isaiah says: **Turn back, you who devise deep plans and lawlessness, that you may be saved.** And another, Jeremiah: **Turn back to the Lord your God, as a grape-gatherer to his cluster, and you shall be shown mercy.** Many, indeed, and even more countless are the things said in the holy Scriptures about repentance, always with God willing that the race of men turn from all their sins.

12. Moreover, concerning righteousness, of which the law spoke, the words of the prophets are found to follow, and those of the Gospels also, because all who are inspired spoke with one Spirit of God. Isaiah, then, said thus: **Remove the evil from your souls, learn to do good, seek justice, rescue the oppressed, judge the orphan, and defend the widow.** Again the same prophet says: **Break every yoke of injustice; undo the bonds of violence; send away the oppressed with forgiveness; and tear apart every unjust writing; give your bread to the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house. If you see one naked, clothe him, and do not despise from your own seed. Then your light will break forth early, and your healing will quickly rise; and your righteousness will go before you.** Similarly Jeremiah says: **Stand on the roads, and look, and ask which is the good way of the Lord our God, and walk in it, and you will find rest for your**

ταῖς ὁδοῖς, καὶ ἴδετε, καὶ ἐπερωτήσατε ποία ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀγαθὴ, καὶ βαδίζετε ἐν αὐτῇ (63), καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπausιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. Κρῖμα δίκαιον κρίνετε, ὅτι ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ τὸ θέλημα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ Μωϋσῆς (64) λέγει· Φυλάσσεσθε κρῖμα, καὶ ἐγγίζετε πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν, τὸν στερεώσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ κτίσαντα τὴν γῆν. Καὶ ἕτερος, Ἰωὴλ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ἔφη· **Συναγάγετε λαὸν, ἀγιασάτε Ἐκκλησίαν** (65), εἰσδέξασθε πρεσβυτέρους, συναγάγετε νήπια θηλάζοντα μαστούς. Ἐξελθέτω νυμφίος ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ νύμφη ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ αὐτῆς, καὶ εὕξασθε πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν ἐκτενῶς, ὅπως ἐλεήσῃ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ (66) τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἕτερος, Ζαχαρίας· **Τάδε λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ· Κρῖμα ἀληθείας κρίνετε** (67), καὶ ἔλεος καὶ οἰκτιρμὸν ποιεῖτε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ· καὶ χήραν καὶ ὀρφανὸν, καὶ προσήλυτον μὴ καταδυναστεύσητε, καὶ κακίαν ἕκαστος μὴ, μνησικακεῖτω τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

13. Καὶ περὶ σεμνότητος οὐ μόνον διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ὁ ἅγιος λόγος τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρις ἐννοίας, τὸ μηδὲ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐννοηθῆναι περὶ τινος κακοῦ, ἢ θεασάμενον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλοτρίαν γυναῖκα ἐπιθυμῆσαι. Σολομῶν μὲν οὖν, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης γενόμενος, ἔφη· **Οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὀρθὰ βλέπέτωσαν· τὰ δὲ βλέφαρά σου νευέτω δίκαια· ὀρθὰς ποίει τροχιάς σοῖς ποσίν.** Ἡ δὲ Εὐαγγέλιος φωνὴ ἐπιτατικώτερον διδάσκει περὶ ἀγνείας λέγουσα· **Πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν**

souls. Judge with righteous judgment, for in these things is the will of the Lord your God. Likewise Moses says: **Guard justice, and draw near to the Lord your God, who established the heavens and created the earth.** And another, Joel, said following these: **Gather the people, sanctify the Church, receive elders, gather infants nursing at the breast. Let the bridegroom come forth from his chamber, and the bride from her bridal chamber, and earnestly pray to the Lord your God, that He may have mercy on you, and wipe away your sins.** Likewise another, Zechariah: **Thus says the Lord Almighty: Judge with true judgment, and show mercy and compassion each to his neighbor; and do not oppress the widow, the orphan, or the proselyte, and let no one harbor malice against his brother in your hearts, says the Lord Almighty.**

13. And concerning chastity, the holy word teaches us not only not to sin in deed, but even in intention—not to conceive any evil in the heart, nor, having seen with the eyes, to desire another's wife. Solomon, then, becoming king and prophet, said: **Let your eyes look straight ahead; let your eyelids look right before you; make straight the paths of your feet.** But the Gospel voice teaches more strictly concerning purity, saying: **Everyone who looks at a woman to desire her has**

γυναῖκα ἀλλοτρίαν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ γαμῶν, φησὶν, ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μοιχεύει· καὶ ὃς ἀπολύει γυναῖκα παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας, ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι. Ὅτι ὁ Σολομῶν φησιν· Ἀποδήσειτις πῦρ ἐν ἱματίῳ, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οὐ κατακαύσει; Ἡ περιπατήσει τις (68) ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρὸς, τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐ κατακαύσει; Οὕτως (69) ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος πρὸς γυναῖκα ὑπανδρον οὐκ ἄθωωθήσεται.

already committed adultery with her in his heart; and he who marries a divorced woman commits adultery; and whoever divorces a wife except for the reason of fornication causes her to commit adultery. For Solomon says: Can one bind fire in his garment, and his clothes not be burned? Or can one walk on hot coals, and his feet not be scorched? So he who goes to a woman who is not his wife will not be innocent.

14. Καὶ τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἡμεῖς εὐνοεῖν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις (70), ὡς οἴονται τινες, Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης ἔφη· **Εἴπατε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῖς βδελυσσομένοις, «Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐστε,» ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου δοξασθῇ, καὶ ὁφθῇ ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ αὐτῶν.** Τὸ δὲ Εὐαγγέλιον, Ἀγαπᾶτε, φησὶ, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποῖον μισθὸν ἔχετε; **Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ λησταί, καὶ οἱ τελῶναιοι οὖσι.** Τοὺς δὲ ποιοῦντας τὸ ἀγαθὸν διδάσκει μὴ καυχᾶσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι ᾖσιν. **Μὴ γνώτω γὰρ, φησὶν, ἡ χεὶρ σου ἢ ἄριστερὰ, τί ποιεῖ ἡ χεὶρ σου ἢ δεξιὰ.** Ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμᾶς (71) ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὅπως **ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν** (72). Καὶ διδάσκει ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσι τὰ πάντα, **Τῷ τὴν τιμὴν, τὴν τιμὴν· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον, μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας.**

14. And not only to favor foreigners, as some suppose, Isaiah the prophet said: **Say to those who hate you and to those who detest you, "You are our brothers," so that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and joy may be seen in them.** But the Gospel says, **Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you.** For if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Even the tax collectors and the robbers do the same. He teaches those who do good not to boast, so that they may not be people-pleasers. **Let not your left hand know what your right hand is doing,** he says. Moreover, concerning submission to authorities and praying for them, the divine word commands us, so that **we may lead a quiet and peaceful life.** And it teaches to give to all what is due: **To the one who honors, honor; to the one who fears, fear; to the one who pays tax, pay tax; owe nothing to anyone except to love all.**

15. Σκόπει τοίνυν εἰ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα
μανθάνοντες δύνανται ἀδιαφόρως ζῆν, καὶ
συμφύρεσθαι ταῖς ἀθεμίτοις μίξεσιν, ἢ τὸ
ἀθεώτατον πάντων, σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπείων
ἐφάπτεσθαι· ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν
μονομάχων ἡμῖν ἀπείρηται ὀρᾶν, ἵνα μὴ
κοινωνοὶ καὶ συνίστορες φόνων γενώμεθα.
Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς λοιπὰς θεωρίας ὀρᾶν χρή, ἵνα
μὴ μολύνωνται ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ τὰ
ᾤα, γινόμενα συμμετόχα τῶν ἐκεῖ φωνῶν
(73) ἀδομένων. Εἰ γὰρ εἴποι τις περὶ
ἀνθρωποβορίας, ἐκεῖ τὰ Θυέστου καὶ
Τηρέως τέκνα ἐσθιόμενα· ἃ δὲ περὶ
μοιχείας (74), οὐ μόνον περὶ ἀνθρώπων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν, ὧν καταγγέλλουσιν
εὐφώνως μετὰ τιμῶν (75) καὶ ἄθλων, παρ'
αὐτοῖς τραγωδεῖται. Μακρὰν δὲ ἀπείη
Χριστιανοῖς ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι τοιοῦτο πρᾶξαι
παρ' οἷς σωφροσύνη πάρεστιν, ἐγκράτεια
ἀσκεῖται, μονογαμία (76) τηρεῖται, ἀγνεία
φυλάσσεται, ἀδικία ἐκπορθεῖται, ἁμαρτία
ἐκριζοῦται, δικαιοσύνη μελετᾶται, νόμος
πολιτεύεται, θεοσέβεια πράσσεται, Θεὸς
ὁμολογεῖται, ἀλήθεια βραβεύει, χάρις
συντηρεῖ, εἰρήνη περισκέπει (77), λόγος
ἅγιος ὁδηγεῖ, σοφία διδάσκει, ζωὴ
βραβεύει, Θεὸς βασιλεύει. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν
ἔχοντες λέγειν περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς
πολιτείας, καὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ,
καὶ δημιουργοῦ πάσης κτίσεως, τὰ νῦν
αὐτάρκως ἡγούμεθα ἐπιμενησθαι, εἰς τὸ
καὶ σὲ ἐπιστῆναι μάλιστα ἐξ ὧν
ἀναγινώσκειν (78) ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο ἵνα ὡς
φιλομαθὴς ἐγενήθης, οὕτω καὶ φιλομαθὴς
(79) ἔσῃ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο.

15. Consider then whether those who learn
such things can live indifferently, and
consort with unlawful unions, or the most
impious of all, to touch human flesh; where
even the spectacles of the gladiators are
forbidden to us, lest we become sharers
and accomplices of murders. But one must
not even watch the other spectacles, lest
our eyes and ears be defiled, becoming
participants in the voices sung there. For if
someone were to speak of cannibalism,
there are the children of Thyestes and
Tereus being eaten; but if about adultery,
not only concerning humans but also
concerning gods, whom they announce
with sweet voices amid honors and
contests, it is acted out in tragedy before
them. Far be it from Christians even to
think of doing such a thing among those
where temperance is present, self-control
is practiced, monogamy is kept, chastity is
guarded, injustice is destroyed, sin is
uprooted, righteousness is cultivated, law
is observed, piety is practiced, God is
confessed, truth is honored, grace is
preserved, peace watches over, the holy
word guides, wisdom teaches, life is
rewarded, God reigns. Having much to say
concerning our own conduct, and the
commandments of God, and the creator of
all creation, we now consider it sufficient to
remind you, so that you may especially
stand firm in what you read up to this
point, that just as you have become a lover
of learning, so also you will remain a lover
of learning up to this point.

16. Θέλω δέ σοι καὶ τὰ τῶν χρόνων, Θεοῦ
παρέχοντος, νῦν ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιδεῖξαι,
ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς, ὅτι οὐ πρόσφατος οὐδὲ
μυθώδης ἐστὶν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγος, ἀλλ'
ἀρχαιότερος καὶ ἀληθέστερος ἀπάντων

16. And now, God willing, I want to show
you more precisely the times, so that you
may recognize that the teaching concerning
us is neither recent nor fictitious, but older
and truer than all poets and writers who

ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων, τῶν ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ συγγραψάντων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν κόσμον ἀγέννητον εἰπόντες εἰς τὸ ἀπέραντον ἐχώρησαν· ἔτεροι δὲ γέννητον φήσαντες, εἶπον ὡς ἤδη μυριάδας ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐληλυθέναι καὶ τρισχίλια ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε ἔτη. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἱστορεῖ. Πλάτων δὲ ὁ δοκῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτερος γεγενῆσθαι, εἰς πόσῃν φλυαρίαν ἐχώρησεν; Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς **Πολιτείαις** αὐτοῦ ἐπιγραφομέναις ῥητῶς κεῖται λέγοντος· «**Πῶς γὰρ ἂν (80) εἴγε ἔμμενε τάδε οὕτω τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς νῦν διακεκόσμηται, καινὸν ἀνευρίσκετό ποτε ὅτιοῦν;** Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ μυριάκις μυρία ἔτη ἀνελάνθανεν ἄρα τοὺς τότε, χίλια δὲ ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ δις τοσαῦτα ἔτη τὰ μὲν Δαιδάλῳ καταφανῇ γέγονεν, τὰ δὲ Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαμῇδει.» Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν γεγενῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν μυριάκις μυρία ἔτη ἀπὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως Δαιδάλου δηλοῖ. Καὶ πολλὰ φήσας περὶ πόλεων κατακοσμῶν (81), καὶ οἰκίσεων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, ὁμολογεῖ εἰκασμῶ ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι. Λέγει γάρ· **Εἴγουν, ὦ ξένε (82), τίς ἡμῖν ὑποσχῆται Θεός, ὡς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσωμεν τῇ τῆς νομοθεσίας σκέψει, τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων (83),** δηλονότι εἰκασμῶ ἔφη· εἰ δὲ εἰκασμῶ, οὐκ ἄρα ἀληθὴ ἔστι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένα.

have written on uncertain matters. For some, having said that the world is uncreated, have gone into the infinite; others, saying it is created, have stated that fifteen myriad years and three thousand seventy-five years have already passed. These things, then, Apollonius the Egyptian records. But Plato, who is thought to have become the wisest of the Greeks, to what great nonsense did he descend? For in his **Republic**, which is titled as such, it plainly says: “**For how could anything new ever be found, if all time remained as it is now arranged? For indeed, those times then were fifteen myriad years ago, and a thousand years or twice as many have passed since then, some belonging to Daedalus, some to Orpheus, some to Palamedes.**” And having said these things, he indicates that fifteen myriad years passed from the flood to Daedalus. And having said many things about the ordering of cities, houses, and nations, he admits that these things were spoken in conjecture. For he says: “**If, stranger, God has promised us that we may attempt the consideration of lawmaking concerning what has now been said,**” clearly meaning in conjecture; but if in conjecture, then the things said by him are not truly certain.

17. Δεῖ οὖν μᾶλλον μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τῆς νομοθεσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς (84) ὠμολόγηκεν ἄλλως μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς μαθεῖν, ἂν μὴ ὁ Θεὸς διδάξῃ διὰ τοῦ νόμου (85). Τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί, Ὅμηρος, καὶ Ἡσίοδος, καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ θείας προνοίας μεμαθηκέναι; Ἔτι μὴν μάντεις καὶ προγνώστας γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς, καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν μαθόντας ἀκριβῶς

17. Therefore, one must rather become a disciple of the law of God, as even he himself confessed that it is impossible to learn the truth otherwise, unless God teaches through the law. And why not also the poets—Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus—claimed that they had learned from divine providence? Moreover, seers and prophets have come to be, according to the writers, and those who learned from them are said

συγγεγραφέναι φασίν. Πόσῳ οὖν μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς τὰ ἀληθῆ εἰσόμεθα, οἱ μανθάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, τῶν χωρησάντων τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ; Διὸ σύμφωνα καὶ φίλα ἀλλήλοις οἱ πάντες προφητῆται εἶπον, καὶ προεκήρυξαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ. Τοὺς γὰρ φιλομαθεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλαληθεῖς δύναται αὐτὴ ἡ ἔκβασις τῶν προαναπεφωνημένων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἥδη ἀπηρτισμένων ἐκδιδάσκειν ὄντως ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δι' αὐτῶν κεκηρυγμένα περὶ τε χρόνων, καὶ καιρῶν τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ἔκτισται ὁ κόσμος ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο, ὡς ἐνέστηκε (86) τὰ ἔτη, εἰς τὸ ἐπιδειξαι τὴν φλυαρίαν τοῦ ψεύδους τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶ τὰ δι' αὐτῶν ρηθέντα.

to have written accurately. How much more, then, shall we know the truth, who learn from the holy prophets, who were endowed with the holy Spirit of God? Therefore, all the prophets spoke in agreement and affection for one another, and proclaimed beforehand the things that would come to pass for the whole world. For those who love learning, and even more those who love truth, this outcome is able to truly teach that the things previously foretold, and already fulfilled, are indeed true concerning the times and seasons before the flood, from which the world was created until now, as the years have passed, in order to show the folly of the falsehood of the writers, that what was said by them is not true.

18. Πλάτων γὰρ, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, δηλώσας κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἔφη μὴ πάσης τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν πεδίων μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις ὄρεσιν αὐτοὺς διασεσῶσθαι. Ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι γεγονέναι Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρρην, καὶ τούτους ἐν λάρνακι διασεσῶσθαι· καὶ τὸν Δευκαλίωνα, μετὰ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος, λίθους εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πεπομφέναι (87), καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν λίθων γεγενῆσθαι· ὅθεν φασὶ λαοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων. Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ Κλύμενον εἶπον ἐν δευτέρῳ κατακλυσμῷ γεγονέναι. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἄθλιοι, καὶ πάνυ δυσσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀνόητοι εὐρίσκονται οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγράψαντες, καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντες ματαίως, ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων δῆλόν ἐστιν. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος προφήτης καὶ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆς, περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου ἐξιστορῶν, διηγήσατο τίνι τρόπῳ γεγένηται ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ὧς τρόπῳ γέγονεν· οὐ

18. For Plato, as we have said before, having declared that a flood occurred, said that it was not of the whole earth, but only of the plains, and that those who escaped were saved on the highest mountains. Others say that Deucalion and Pyrrha existed, and that they too were saved in an ark; and that Deucalion, after coming out of the ark, cast stones behind him, and men were born from the stones; whence it is said that peoples are called the multitude of men. Others again said that Clymenus lived in a second flood. That those who wrote such things and philosophized in vain are wretched, very impious, and foolish, is clear from what has been said before. But our prophet and servant of God, Moses, recounting the origin of the world, related in what manner the flood came upon the earth; and also how the flood happened; not inventing Pyrrha, nor Deucalion, nor Clymenus, nor that only the plains were flooded, and that those who escaped on the

Πύρρῳ, οὐδὲ Δευκαλίωνα ἢ Κλύμενον
μυθεύων, οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ πεδία μόνον
κατακεκλῦσθαι, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἐπὶ
τοῖς ὄρεσι μόνους διασεσῶσθαι.

mountains alone were saved.

19. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ δεύτερον κατακλυσμὸν
γεγονέναι δηλοῖ. Ἄλλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔφη μηκέτι
τῷ κόσμῳ κατακλυσμὸν ὕδατος ἔσεσθαι,
οἷος (88) οὔτε γέγονεν, οὔτε μὴν ἔσται.
Ὅκτῳ δέ φησι τὰς πάσας ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων
ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ διασεσῶσθαι, ἐν τῇ
κατασκευασθείσῃ προστάγματι Θεοῦ, οὐχ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Νῶε
Ἑβραϊστὶ, ὃς διερμηνεύεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι
γλῶσση **ἀνάνησις**· καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ
(89) λόγῳ ἐδηλώσαμεν, ὡς Νῶε,
καταγγέλλων τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις μέλλειν
κατακλυσμὸν ἔσεσθαι, προεφήτευσεν
αὐτοῖς, λέγων· **Δεῦτε, καλεῖ ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς
εἰς μετάνοιαν**. Διὸ οἰκείως Δευκαλίον
ἐκλήθη. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Νῶε υἱοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν,
καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόμῳ
ἐδηλώσαμεν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστι Σῆμ, καὶ
Χάμ, καὶ Ἰαφέθ· οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες τρεῖς ἦσαν
τὸ καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν (90), καὶ αὐτὸς (91) καὶ
ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἔνιοι
Εὐνοῦχον προσηγορεύουσιν. Ὅκτῳ οὖν αἱ
πᾶσαι ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων διεσώθησαν, οἱ ἐν
τῇ κιβωτῷ εὐρεθέντες.

19. But he does not indicate that a second
flood occurred. Rather, he said that there
would never again be a flood of water upon
the world, such as neither happened before
nor will happen in the future. He says that
eight souls of men were saved in the ark,
constructed by the command of God, not by
Deucalion, but by Noah in Hebrew, which is
interpreted into the Greek language as
rest; as we also showed in another passage,
that Noah, announcing to the people of that
time that a flood was about to come,
prophesied to them, saying: **"Come, God
calls you to repentance."** Therefore,
Deucalion was appropriately named. This
Noah had three sons, as we also stated in
the second volume, whose names are Shem,
Ham, and Japheth; and each of them had a
wife, and he himself and his wife. Some
have called this man Eunouchos. Thus, all
eight souls of men were saved, those found
in the ark.

Τὸν δὲ κατακλυσμὸν ἐσήμανεν ὁ Μωϋσῆς
ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ νύκτας
τεσσαράκοντα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ τῶν καταρράκτων ῥυέντων, καὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου βλυσάντων
(92), ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ ὑψωθῆναι ἐπάνω
παντὸς ὄρους ὀψηλοῦ, πεντεκαίδεκα
πῆχεις. Καὶ οὕτω διεφθάρη τὸ γένος
πάντων τῶν τότε (93) ἀνθρώπων· μόνοι δὲ
διεσώθησαν οἱ φυλαχθέντες ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ,

Moses indicated that the flood lasted for
forty days and forty nights, the floodgates
pouring down from the sky, and bursting
forth from the springs of the abyss so that
the water was raised above every high
mountain, fifteen cubits. And thus the race
of all the men of that time perished; only
those kept safe in the ark, whom we
mentioned as eight, were saved. The
remains of this ark are still shown to this

οὓς προειρήκαμεν ὀκτώ· ἥς κιβωτοῦ τὰ λείψανα μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο δείκνυται εἶναι ἐν τοῖς Ἀραβικοῖς (94) ὄρεσιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν ἱστορίαν.

20. Ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς, ὁδηγήσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ἔφθηνεν εἰρηκέναι, ἐκβεβλημένους ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ βασιλέως Φαραῶ, οὗ τοῦνομα Ἄμασις (95), ὃς, φασὶν (96), μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἰκοσιπέντε, καὶ μῆνας δ', ὡς ὑφῆρηται Μαναίθως. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Χεβρῶν ἔτη ιγ. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀμένωφισ ἔτη κ', μῆνας ἐπτά. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀμέσση ἔτη κα', μῆνα α'. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Μήφρης, ἔτη ιβ', μῆνας θ'. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μηθραμμούθωσις, ἔτη κ', μῆνας ι'. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Τυθμώσης ἔτη θ', μῆνας η'. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Δαμφενόφισ ἔτη λ', μῆνας ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ὡρος ἔτη λε', μῆνας πέντε. Τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ (97) ἔτη ι', μῆνας γ'. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Μερχερῆς, ἔτη ιβ', μῆνας γ'. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀρμαῖς ἔτη λ', μῆνα α'. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μέσσης Μιαμμού, ἔτη ς' καὶ μῆνας β'. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥαμεύσης ἐνιαυτὸν, μῆνας δ'. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμένωφισ, ἔτη ιθ', μῆνας ς'. Τοῦ δὲ Θεοῖσσοις καὶ Ῥαμέσσης (98), ἔτη ι', οὓς φασιν ἐσχηκέναι πολλὴν δύναμιν ἱππικῆς, καὶ παράταξιν ναυτικῆς. Μετὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χρόνους (99) οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι, κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ παροικήσαντες ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ καταδουλωθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως, ὡς προείρηται, Τέθμωσις, ὠκοδόμησαν αὐτῶ πόλεις ὀχυράς, τὴν τε Πειθῶ καὶ Ῥαμεσῆ, καὶ Ὡν, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἡλιόπολις· ὥστε καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν τότε ὀνομαστῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δείκνυνται προγενέστεροι οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ὄντες, οἱ καὶ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἔχομεν ἀρχαιοτέρας οὕσας ἀπάντων συγγραφέων,

day in the Arabian mountains. Such, then, is the summary account of the flood.

20. Moses, having led the Jews, as we have said before, expelled from the land of Egypt by the king Pharaoh, whose name was Amasis, who, they say, reigned for twenty-five years and four months after the expulsion of the people, as Manaethon records. And after him, Chebron reigned for thirteen years. After him, Amenophis for twenty years and seven months. After him, his sister Amessis for twenty-one years and one month. After her, Mipherres for twelve years and nine months. After him, Methrammothosis for twenty years and ten months. And after him, Tuthmosis for nine years and eight months. And after him, Daphenophis for forty years and ten months. After him, Horus for fifty-five years and five months. His daughter reigned for ten years and three months. After her, Mercheres for twelve years and three months. After him, Armais for forty years and one month. After him, Messes Miammo for six years and two months. And after him, Rameses for one year and four months. And after him, Amenophis for nineteen years and six months. Then Thoissos and Rameses for ten years, who are said to have had great power in cavalry and a fleet. After their own times, the Hebrews, dwelling in Egypt at that time and enslaved by the king, as mentioned before, Tethmosis, built for him fortified cities, both Pithom and Rameses, and On, which is Heliopolis. Thus, the Hebrews are shown to be earlier than the famous cities of Egypt at that time, being our ancestors, from whom

καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. Αἴγυπτος δὲ ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Σέθως. Τὸ γὰρ Σέθως (1), φασὶν, Αἴγυπτος καλεῖται. Τῷ δὲ Σέθως ἦν ἀδελφὸς ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀρμαῖν· οὗτος Δαναὸς κέκληται ὁ εἰς Ἄργος ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου παραγενόμενος, οὗ μέμνηνται οἱ λοιποὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὡς πάνυ ἀρχαίου τυγχάνοντος.

we have the sacred books, which are the oldest of all writers, as we have said before. Egypt, the land, was named after the king Sethos. For Sethos, they say, is the name from which Egypt is called. Sethos had a brother named Armain, who is called Danaus, the one who came to Argos from Egypt, as other writers, who are considered very ancient, remember.

21. Μαναιθὼς δὲ ὁ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους (2) πολλὰ φλυαρήσας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ βλάσφημα εἰπὼν ὥστε Μωϋσέα (3) καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑβραίους, ὡς δὴθεν διὰ λέπραν ἐκβληθέντος (4) ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· Ποιμένας μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν, καὶ πολεμίους Αἰγυπτίων, οὐχ εὔρεν (5) τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν χρόνων εἰπεῖν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας ἄκων εἶπεν, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας· ἦσαν γὰρ ὄντως ποιμένες οἱ προπάτορες ἡμῶν, οἱ παροικήσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ λεπροί. Παραγενόμενοι γὰρ εἰς τὴν γῆν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔνθα καὶ μετὰ κατώκησαν, δηλοῦται τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν, διὰ προστάγματος Θεοῦ, προσκαρτεροῦντες τῷ ναῷ, τότε ἐθεράπευον πᾶσαν νόσον (6), ὥστε καὶ λεπρῶντας (7) καὶ πάντα μῶμον ἰώντο. Ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολομὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι τὸν Μαναιθῶ περὶ τῶν χρόνων (8) ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένων (9) δῆλόν ἐστιν. (Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (10) τοῦ ἐκβαλόντος αὐτοὺς, Φαραὼ τοῦνομα. Οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευσε. Καταδιώξας γὰρ Ἑβραίους μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ οὐς ἔφη ποιμένας πεπολεμηκέναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ψεύδεται). Πρὸ ἐτῶν (11) γὰρ τριακοσίων δεκατριῶν ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ὤκησαν ἔκτοτε τὴν χώραν, τὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν

21. Manaethon, the Egyptian, having spoken many things at length, indeed even blasphemously, said that Moses and the Hebrews with him were expelled from Egypt supposedly because of leprosy. For he called them shepherds and enemies of the Egyptians, but he did not find the exact times to say. He unwillingly called them shepherds, being refuted by the truth; for our ancestors, who dwelt in Egypt, were indeed shepherds, but not leprous. For when they came to the land called Jerusalem, where they also lived among each other, it is shown by the manner of their priests, by the command of God, who steadfastly served the temple, that they then healed every disease, so that even those with leprosy and every defect were cured. King Solomon of Judah built the temple. Regarding the error of Manaethon about the times from those he mentioned, it is clear. (But also concerning the king who expelled them, Pharaoh by name, he no longer reigned over them. For having pursued the Hebrews with his army, he was drowned in the Red Sea. Moreover, he lies about those he said were shepherds who fought the Egyptians.) For three hundred and thirteen years ago they came out of Egypt, and since then they have inhabited the land still called Judea, before Danaus also arrived in Argos. That this one

καλουμένην Ἰουδαίαν, πρὸ τοῦ καὶ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἀρχαιότερον ἡγοῦνται τῶν λοιπῶν κατὰ Ἑλλήνας οἱ πλείους, σαφές ἐστίν. Ὡστε ὁ Μαναιθὼς (12) δύο τάξεις ἄκων τῆς ἀληθείας μεμήνυκεν ἡμῖν, διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων· πρῶτον μὲν ποιμένας αὐτοῦς ὁμολογήσας, δεύτερον εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ἐξεληλυθέναι αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου· ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀναγραφῶν (13) δείκνυσθαι προγενέστερον εἶναι τὸν Μωϋσῆν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐννεακοσίους ἢ καὶ χιλίους ἐνιαυτοὺς (14) πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου.

22. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς, τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, ὃν ὠκοδόμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν μετὰ ἑτὴ πεντακόσια ἐξήκοντα (15) ἐξ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξοδίας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, παρὰ Τυρίοις ἀναγέγραπται, ὡς ὁ ναὸς ὠκοδόμηται, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αὐτῶν πεφυλάκται τὰ γράμματα, ἐν αἷς ἀναγραφαῖς εὐρίσκεται γεγονῶς ὁ ναὸς πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Τυρίους τὴν Καρχηδόνα κτίσαι, θᾶπτον ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν (16) τεσσαράκοντα τρισὶν, μηνὶν ὀκτῶ (17) (ἀνεγράφη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἱερώμου (18) τοῦνομα βασιλέως Τυρίων, υἱοῦ δὲ Ἀβειμάλου, διὰ τὸ (19) ἐκ πατρικῆς συνηθείας τὸ Ἱέρωμον γεγενῆσθαι φίλον τοῦ Σολομῶντος· ἅμα καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν σοφίαν, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Σολομῶν. Ἐν γὰρ προβλήμασιν ἀλλήλους συνεχῶς ἐγύμναζον. Τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν αὐτῶν φησι (20) μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πεφυλαγμένα, γράμματά τε ἀλλήλοις διέπεμπον) καθὼς μέμνηται Μένανδρος (21) ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ἱστορῶν περὶ τῆς Τυρίων βασιλείας, λέγων οὕτως· **Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ Ἀβειμάλου βασιλέως Τυρίων, διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἱέρωμος,**

is considered older than the others among the Greeks is clear. Thus, Manaethon unwillingly revealed two elements of the truth to us through his writings: first, he acknowledged that they were shepherds; second, he said that they went out from the land of Egypt. Therefore, even from these records it is shown that Moses and those with him lived nine hundred or even a thousand years before the Trojan War.

22. But also concerning the building of the temple in Judea, which King Solomon built five hundred and sixty-six years after the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, it is recorded by the Tyrians that the temple was built, and in their archives the records have been preserved, in which writings it is found that the temple existed one hundred and forty-three years before the Tyrians founded Carthage, eight months (the record was made by Hierom, the name of the king of the Tyrians, son of Abimalech, because by paternal connection Hierom had become a friend of Solomon). Also on account of the surpassing wisdom which Solomon possessed. For they continually exercised one another with riddles. As proof of this, it says that copies of their letters have been preserved up to the present among the Tyrians, and that they sent letters to one another, as Menander of Ephesus recalls, writing concerning the kingship of the Tyrians, saying thus: **For at the death of Abimelus, king of the Tyrians, his son Hiram succeeded to the kingship, having lived fifty-three years (22) He was succeeded by Bazorus,**

βιώσας ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία (22). Τοῦτον δὲ διεδέξατο Βάζωρος, βιώσας ἔτη μγ', ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιζ'. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μεθουάσταρτος, βιώσας ἔτη νδ', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιβ'. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (23) ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀθάρυμος, βιώσας ἔτη νη', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ'. Τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἑλλης τοῦνομα, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη ν', ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας ὀκτώ. Τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν Ἰουθώβαλος, ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀστάρτης, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη μ', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιβ'. Τοῦτον διεδέξατο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Βαζωρὸς, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη με', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ζ'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Μεττήν, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη λβ', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κθ'. Τοῦτον διεδέξατο Πυγμαλίων Πυγμαλίου, ὃς, βιώσας ἔτη νς', ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ζ'. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ (24), εἰς Λιβύην φυγοῦσα, πόλιν ὠκοδόμησε τὴν μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο Καρχηδονίαν καλουμένην. Συνάγεται οὖν πᾶς χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνης κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε', μῆνες ὀκτώ. Τῷ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἱερώμου βασιλείας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὁ ναὸς ὠκοδομήθη. Ὡστε τὸν πάντα χρόνον γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομῆς μέχρι Καρχηδόνης κτίσεως ἔτη ρμγ', μῆνες η'.

23. Τῆς μὲν οὖν Φοινίκων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων μαρτυρίας, ὡς ἱστορήκασιν περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων οἱ συγγράψαντες Μαναιθῶς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ὁ ἀναγράψας τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον, τὸν γενόμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἀρκετῶς ἤτω ἡμῖν τὰ εἰρημένα. Ἐκ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀρχαίων δείκνυται καὶ τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν συγγράμματα ἔσχατα εἶναι τῶν διὰ Μωϋσέως ἡμῖν

having lived fifty-three years, who reigned for seventeen years After him Methusastartes, having lived fifty-four years, reigned for twelve years After him (23) his brother Atharymos, having lived fifty-nine years, reigned for nine years His brother Hellēs, by name, killed him; who, having lived fifty years, reigned eight months. Iouthōbalos, priest of Astarte, killed him; who, having lived forty years, reigned twelve years. His son Bazōros succeeded him; who, having lived fifty years, reigned seven years. His son, Mettēn, who, having lived forty-two years, reigned twenty-nine years. He was succeeded by Pygmalion, son of Pygmalion, who, having lived fifty-six years, reigned seven years. In the seventh year of his reign, his sister (24), fleeing into Libya, founded a city which to this day is called Carthage. Therefore, the entire time from the reign of Hieron to the founding of Carthage amounts to 154 years and eight months. In the twelfth year of Hieron's reign, the temple was built in Jerusalem. So that the entire time from the building of the temple until the founding of Carthage amounts to 143 years and eight months.

23. Concerning the testimony of the Phoenicians and Egyptians, as those who have written about the times concerning us have recorded, namely Manaethus the Egyptian, and Menander of Ephesus, and also Josephus who wrote the Jewish War, which happened to them under the Romans, what has been said is sufficient for us. For from these ancient sources it is shown that the other writings are later

δεδομένων γραμμάτων, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ προφητῶν. Ὁ γὰρ ὕστερος τῶν προφητῶν γενόμενος Ζαχαρίας ὀνόματι ἠκρίβωσε κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου βασιλείαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νομοθέται πάντες μεταξὺ εὐρίσκονται νομοθετοῦντες. Εἰ γὰρ τις εἴποι Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, οὗτος γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου τῶν βασιλέων, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προειρημένου προφήτου, μεταξὺ γεγενημένου πάνυ πολλοῖς (25) ἔτεσιν· ἦτοι καὶ περὶ Λυκούργου, ἢ Δράκοντος, ἢ Μίνω τῶν νομοθετῶν, Ἰώσηπος (26) γράφων λέγει, ὅτι προάγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀρχαιότητι αἱ ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, ὅπου γε καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κρητῶν βασιλεύσαντος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου δείκνυται προάγοντα τὰ γράμματα τοῦ θεοῦ νόμου, τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἡμῖν δεδομένου. Ἵνα δὲ ἀκριβεστέραν ποιήσωμεν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων, Θεοῦ ἡμῖν παρέχοντος, οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ κατακλυσμὸν ἱστοροῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ, εἰς τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, νυνὶ ποιησόμεθα, ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνέκαθεν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κτίσεως, ἣν ἀνέγραψε Μωϋσῆς ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Εἰπὼν γὰρ τὰ περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως κόσμου, τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐξῆς γεγενημένων, ἐσήμανε καὶ τὰ πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔτη γενόμενα. Ἐγὼ δ' αἰτοῦμαι χάριν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ τάληθῃ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀκριβῶς εἰπεῖν, ὅπως καὶ σὺ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτοις ἐντυγχάνων ὁδηγῆται ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ χάριτος αὐτοῦ. Ἀρξομαι δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων γενεαλογιῶν, λέγω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος.

than the books given to us through Moses, and indeed also later than those among the prophets. For the last of the prophets, named Zechariah, lived during the reign of Darius. Moreover, all the lawgivers are found in between, legislating. For if someone were to say Solon the Athenian, he lived in the times of the kings Cyrus and Darius, during the time of the aforementioned prophet Zechariah, separated by very many years (25). Likewise, concerning Lycurgus, or Draco, or Minos among the lawgivers, Josephus writes that the sacred books precede them in antiquity, where it is also shown that letters preceded the divine law given to us through Moses, even from the time of Zeus who reigned over the Cretans, and indeed from the time of the Trojan War. In order to make the demonstration of the times and years more precise, God granting us the ability, we will now recount not only those things recorded after the flood, but also those before the flood, so that we may speak the number of all things as far as possible. We will begin from the very beginning of the world's creation, which Moses the servant of God wrote down through the Holy Spirit. For having spoken about the creation and origin of the world, of the first-formed man, and of those things that happened afterward, he also indicated the years before the flood. I ask grace from the one God, so that I may speak all things accurately according to His will, so that you, and all who encounter these things, may be guided by the truth and by His grace. I will therefore begin first from the recorded genealogies, speaking from the beginning by making the origin from the first-formed man.

24. Ἀδὰμ ἕως οὗ ἐτέκνωσεν ἔτη σλ' (27). Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Σὴθ ἔτη σε'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Ἐνὼς ἔτη ρς'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Καϊνὰν ἔτη ρο'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Μαλελεὶλ ἔτη ρξε'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Ἰάρεθ ἔτη ρξβ'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Ἐνὼχ ἔτη ρξε'. Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Μαθουσάλα ἔτη ρξζ' (28). Υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Λάμεχ ἔτη ρπη'. Τούτῳ δὲ υἱὸς ἐγενήθη ὁ προειρημένος Νῶς, ὃς ἐτέκνωσε τὸν Σὴμ ὦν ἐτῶν φ'. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν χ'. Τὰ πάντα οὖν μέχρι κατακλυσμοῦ γεγένηται ἔτη ,βσμβ'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐθέως ὁ Σὴμ, ὦν ἐτῶν ρ' (29), ἐτέκνωσε τὸν Ἀρφαξάθ. Ἀρφαξάθ δὲ ἐτέκνωσε Σαλὰ ὦν ἐτῶν ρλε'. Ὁ δὲ Σαλὰ ἐτέκνωσεν ὦν ἐτῶν ρλ'. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Ἐβὲρ ὦν ἐτῶν ρλδ'· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν Ἑβραῖοι προσηγορεύθησαν. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Φαλὲγ ὦν (30) ἐτῶν ρλ'. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Πραγεῦ ὦν ἐτῶν ρλβ'. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Σεροῦχ ὦν ἐτῶν ρλ'. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Ναχώρ ὦν ἐτῶν οε'. Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Θάρρα ὦν ἐτῶν ο' (31). Τούτου δὲ υἱὸς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῶν ἐτέκνωσε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ὦν ἐτῶν ρ'. Γίνονται οὖν μέχρι Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη ,γσοη' (32). Ἰσαὰκ ὁ προειρημένος ἕως τεκνογονίας ἔζησεν ἔτη ξ', ὃς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. Ἐζήσεν ὁ Ἰακώβ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενομένης, ἧς ἐπάνω προειρήκαμεν, ὦν ἐτῶν ρλ'. Ἡ δὲ παροίκησης τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐγενήθη ἔτη υλ'· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καλουμένῃ διέτριψαν ἔτη μ'. Γίνεται οὖν τὰ πάντα ἔτη ,γλλη' (33), ὧ καὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως τελευτήσαντος, διεδέξατο ἄρχειν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυή, ὃς προσέστη αὐτῶν ἔτεσι κζ'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ παραβάντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐδούλευσαν βασιλεῖ Μεσοποταμίας Χουσαράθων ὀνόματι (34) ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ. Εἴτα, μετανοήσαντος τοῦ λαοῦ, κριταὶ

24. Adam until he begot [his son], 130 years (27) His son, Seth, [lived] 105 years His son Enos [lived] 90 years His son Cainan [lived] 70 years His son Mahalalel [lived] 65 years His son Jared [lived] 62 years His son Enoch [lived] 65 years His son Methuselah [lived] 67 years (28) His son Lamech [lived] 182 years And to him a son was born, the aforementioned Noah, who begot Shem at the age of 40 years At his time the Flood occurred, when he was 600 years old All things, therefore, up to the Flood, were 1,656 years in number But immediately after the Flood, Shem, being 100 years old (29), begot Arphaxad Arphaxad, being 35 years old, begot Salah Salah, being 30 years old, begot Of him, a son, Eber, being 34 years old From whom also their race was called Hebrews Of him, a son, Peleg, being (30) years old 34 Of him, a son, Reu, being (31) years old 32 Of him, a son, Serug, being (30) years old Of him, a son, Nahor, being (59) years old Of him, a son, Tharra, being (70) years old (31) Of him, a son, Abraham, our patriarch, begot Isaac, being (100) years old There are therefore until Abraham years 398 (32) Isaac, the aforementioned, lived until fatherhood for 60 years, who begot Jacob Jacob lived until the migration that took place in Egypt, which we mentioned above, being 130 years old. The sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt lasted 400 years. And after their departure from the land of Egypt, they dwelt in the desert called [the wilderness] for 40 years. Thus the whole period amounts to 480 years (33), at which time, upon the death of Moses, Joshua son of Nun succeeded to leadership, who led them for 27 years. After Joshua, the people having transgressed the commandments of God, served a king of Mesopotamia named

ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς· Γοθονοήλ ἔτεσιν τεσσαράκοντα, Ἐγλὼν ἔτεσιν ιη', Ἀὼθ ἔτεσιν η'. Ἔπειτα πταισάντων αὐτῶν ἀλλόφυλοι ἐκράτησαν ἔτεσιν κ'. Ἔπειτα Δεββώρα ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν μ'. Ἔπειτα Μαδιανῖται ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν ζ'. Εἴτα Γεδεὼν ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν μ', Ἀβιμέλεχ ἔτεσιν γ', Θωλὰ ἔτεσιν κβ' (35), Ἰαεὶρ ἔτεσιν κβ'. Ἔπειτα Φυλιστιεῖμ καὶ Ἀμμωνῖται ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν ιη'. Εἴτα Ἰεφθάε ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἕξ, Ἑσβὼν ἔτεσιν ζ', Αἰλὼν ἔτεσιν ι', Ἀβδὼν ἔτεσιν η'. Ἔπειτα ἀλλόφυλοι ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν μ'. Εἴτα Σαμψὼν ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν κ'. Ἔπειτα εἰρήνη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο ἔτεσι μ'. Εἴτα Σαμηρὰ ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτόν· Ἥλις ἔτεσιν κ', Σαμουὴλ ἔτεσιν ιβ'.

Chusarathon (34) for eight years. Then, when the people repented, judges were appointed over them. Gothoniel for forty years, Eglon for eighteen years, Oth for eight years. Then, when they sinned, foreigners ruled over them for twenty years. Then Deborah judged them for forty years. Then the Midianites ruled over them for seven years. Then Gideon judged them for forty years, Abimelech for three years, Tola for twenty-two years (35), Jair for twenty-two years. Then the Philistines and the Ammonites ruled over them for eighteen years. Then Jephthah judged them for six years, Ibzan for seven years, Elon for ten years, Abdon for eight years. Then foreigners ruled over them for forty years. Then Samson judged them for twenty years. Then peace came to them for forty years. Then Samgar judged them for a year. Elijah for twenty years, Samuel for twelve years.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κριτὰς ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς, πρῶτος ὀνόματι Σαοὺλ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κ', ἔπειτα Δαβὶδ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν ἔτη μ'. Γίνεται οὖν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Δαβὶδ βασιλείας τὰ πάντα ἔτη υἷς'. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐβασίλευσε Σολομῶν, ὁ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ βουλὴν Θεοῦ πρῶτος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὠκοδομήσας δι' ἐτῶν μ', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ῥοβοὰμ ἔτεσιν ιζ', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἐβίας ἔτεσι ζ', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἑσὰ ἔτεσι μα', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἰωσαφὰτ ἔτεσιν κε', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἰωρὰμ ἔτη η', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ὀχοσίας ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Γοθολία (36) ἔτεσιν ἕξ, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Ἰωσίας ἔτεσι μ', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀμασίας ἔτεσι λθ', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ὀζίας ἔτεσιν νβ', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἰωαθὰμ ἔτεσιν ις', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀχάζ ἔτεσιν ιζ', καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον

25. After the judges, kings arose among them, the first named Saul, who reigned for twenty years, then David our ancestor for thirty years. Therefore, everything comes down to the reign of David, a total of seventy-six years. After these, Solomon reigned, who first built the temple in Jerusalem according to the counsel of God, reigning for thirty years; after him Rehoboam for seventeen years, and after him Abijah for seven years, and after him Asa for forty years, and after him Jehoshaphat for twenty-five years, after him Joram for eight years, after him Ahaziah for one year, and after him Athaliah for six years, after her Josiah for thirty years, and after him Amaziah for twenty-nine years, and after him Uzziah for fifty-two years, after him Jotham for sixteen

Ἐζεκίας ἔτεσιν κθ', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον
Μανασσῆς ἔτεσιν νε', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀμώς
ἔτεσιν δυσί, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἰωσίας ἔτεσιν
λα', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ὠχᾶς μῆνας γ'. Μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτον Ἰωακεὶμ ἔτη ια'. Ἐπειτα Ἰωακεὶμ
ἕτερος μῆνας γ', ἡμέρας ι', μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον
Σεδεκίας ἔτη ια'. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς
βασιλεῖς (37) διαμένοντος τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπὶ
τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, καὶ μὴ μετανοοῦντος,
κατὰ προφητείαν Ἰερεμίου, ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος, ὄνομα
Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Οὗτος μετώκησε τὸν
λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ τὸν
ναὸν κατέστρεψεν, ὃν ὠκοδομῇκει
Σολομῶν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μετοικεσίᾳ Βαβυλῶνος,
ὁ λαὸς ἐποίησεν ἔτη ο'. Γίνεται οὖν μέχρι
τῆς παροικεσίας ἐν γῇ Βαβυλῶνος τὰ
πάντα ἔτη ,δλνδ' (38), μῆνες ς', ἡμέραι ι'.
Ὅν τρόπον δὲ ὁ Θεὸς προεῖπε διὰ Ἰερεμίου
τοῦ προφήτου, τὸν λαὸν αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι
εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, οὕτως (39) προεσήμανε καὶ
τὸ πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν
αὐτῶν μετὰ ο' ἔτη. Τελειουμένων (40) οὖν
ο' ἐτῶν, γίνεται Κύρος βασιλεὺς Περσῶν,
ὃς κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν Ἰερεμίου, δευτέρῳ
ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐκήρυξε, κελεύων
δι' ἐγγράφων τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πάντας, τοὺς
ὄντας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐπιστρέφειν
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν (41) χώραν, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ
ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὸν ναὸν, ὃν καθηρῇκει
βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ὁ προειρημένος. Πρὸς
τούτοις δὲ ὁ Κύρος, κατ' ἐγκέλευσιν τοῦ
Θεοῦ, προσέταξε Σαβессάρῳ καὶ
Μιθριδάτῃ τοῖς ἰδίῳις σωματοφύλαξι, τὰ
σκεύη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ (42) τῆς
Ἰουδαίας ληφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ
Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἀποκομισθῆναι καὶ
ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὸν ναόν. Ἐν τῷ οὖν
δευτέρῳ ἔτει Κύρου (43) πληροῦται τὰ ο'
ἔτη, τὰ προειρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰερεμίου.

years, after him Ahaz for seventeen years,
and after him Hezekiah for twenty-nine
years, after him Manasseh for fifty years,
after him Amos for two years, after him
Josiah for thirty years, and after him
Jehoahaz for three months. After him
Jehoiakim for eleven years. Then another
Jehoiakim for three months and ten days,
and after him Zedekiah for eleven years.
After these kings (37), the people
remaining in their sins and not repenting,
according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, the
king of Babylon, named Nebuchadnezzar,
came up against Judah. He deported the
people of the Jews to Babylon. And he
destroyed the temple, which Solomon had
built. And during the Babylonian exile, the
people spent ninety years. Thus, everything
occurs until the exile in the land of Babylon
for 438 years, 6 months, 11 days (38). Just
as God foretold through Jeremiah the
prophet that the people would be taken
captive to Babylon, so (39) He also signified
their return again to their land after forty
years. When the forty years were
completed (40), Cyrus became king of the
Persians, who, according to the prophecy of
Jeremiah, in the second year of his reign
proclaimed, commanding by written decree
all the Jews in his kingdom to return to
their own (41) land, and to rebuild the
temple to God, which the aforementioned
king of Babylon had destroyed. Moreover,
Cyrus, following the command of God,
ordered Sabassar and Mithridates, his
personal bodyguards, to bring back and
place in the temple the vessels taken from
the temple of Judea (42) by
Nebuchadnezzar. In the second year of
Cyrus (43), the forty years foretold by
Jeremiah are fulfilled.

26. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁρᾷν ἔστι πῶς ἀρχαιότερα καὶ ἀληθέστερα δείκνυται τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήνας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους, ἢ καὶ τινων ἐτέρων ἱστοριογράφως (44). Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἢ καὶ Ξενοφῶν, ἢ ὅπως οἱ ἄλλοι ἱστοριογράφοι, οἱ πλείους ἤρξαντο σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύρου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀναγράφειν, μὴ ἐξισχύσαντες τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ προτέρων χρόνων τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν. Τί γὰρ μέγα ἔφασαν εἰ περὶ Δαρείου, καὶ Κύρου, τῶν κατὰ βαρβάρους βασιλέων, εἶπον, ἢ καθ' Ἑλλήνας, Ζωπύρου (45) καὶ Ἰππίου, ἢ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμους, ἢ τὰς Ξέρξου πράξεις, ἢ Πausανίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λιμῷ κινδυνεύσαντος διαφθαρῆναι, ἢ τὰ περὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Πελοποννησίων (46), ἢ τὰ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Θρασύβουλον; Οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται ἡμῖν ὕλη πολυλογίας, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ φανερῶσαι τὴν τῶν χρόνων ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ποσότητα, καὶ ἐλέγξει τὴν ματαιοπονίαν καὶ φλυαρίαν τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐτῶν οὔτε δισμύρια μυριάδες, ὡς Πλάτων ἔφη, ταῦτα ἀπὸ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων, τοσαῦτα ἔτη γεγενῆσθαι δογματίζων· οὔτε μὴν ἑ' μυριάδες, καὶ τοε' (47) ἔτη, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἱστορεῖν· οὐδὲ ἀγέννητος ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὐτοματισμὸς τῶν πάντων, καθὼς Πυθαγόρας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πεφλυαρήκασιν· ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν γεννητὸς, καὶ προνοία διοικεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ· καὶ ὁ πᾶς χρόνος καὶ τὰ ἔτη δείκνυται, τούτοις βουλομένοις (48) πείθεσθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Μὴ πως οὖν δόξω μὲν μέχρι Κύρου δεδηλωκέναι, τῶν δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνων ἀμελεῖν, ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ἀποδειῖναι, Θεοῦ παρέχοντος, καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς χρόνων τὴν τάξιν πειράσομαι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἐξηγήσασθαι.

26. From this point, it is possible to see how the sacred writings that concern us are older and more accurate than those concerning the Greeks and Egyptians, or even some other historians (44). For Herodotus and Thucydides, or even Xenophon, or however the other historians, mostly began their accounts almost from the reigns of Cyrus and Darius, unable to accurately recount the earlier and more ancient times. For what great things did they say concerning Darius and Cyrus, the kings over the barbarians, or concerning the Greeks, Zopyrus (45) and Hippias, or the wars of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, or the deeds of Xerxes, or Pausanias who was endangered by famine in the sanctuary of Athena, or concerning Themistocles, and the Peloponnesian War (46), or concerning Alcibiades and Thrasybulus? For our purpose is not a matter of lengthy discourse, but to reveal the total span of years from the foundation of the world, and to refute the vanity and babbling of the writers who claim that there are neither tens of thousands nor myriads of years, as Plato said, from the flood until his own time, asserting such a number of years; nor indeed fifteen myriads and forty years, as we have said Apollonius the Egyptian to have recorded; nor is the world uncreated and an automatic unfolding of all things, as Pythagoras and others have babbled; but rather it is created, and governed by the providence of God who made all things; and all time and years are shown to those willing to obey the truth (48). Therefore, I do not wish to seem to have demonstrated only up to Cyrus, yet to neglect the times in between, as if lacking the means to prove them, God providing; and I will attempt, as far as possible, to explain the order of the

subsequent years.

27. Κύρου οὖν βασιλεύσαντος ἔτεσι καθ' (49), καὶ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Τομύριδος ἐν Μασσαγετία, τότε οὔσης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξηκοστῆς δευτέρας· ἔκτοτε ἤδη οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμεγαλύνοντο, τοῦ Θεοῦ κρατύνοντος αὐτοὺς, ἐκτισμένης τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου, τοῦ παιδὸς ἱστορουμένου Ἀρεως καὶ Ἰλίας (50), Ὀλυμπιάδι ζ', τῇ πρὸς ι' καὶ α' (51) Καλανδῶν Μαΐων, τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τότε δεκαμήνου ἀριθμουμένου. Τοῦ οὖν Κύρου τελευτήσαντος, ὡς ἔφθηνεν εἰρηκέναι, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ δευτέρᾳ, γίνεται καιρὸς ἀπὸ κτίσεως Ῥώμης ἔτη σκ', ὧ καὶ (52) Ῥωμαίων ἦρξε Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος τοῦνομα, ὃς πρῶτος ἐξώρισε Ῥωμαίους τινὰς, καὶ παῖδας διέφθειρε, καὶ σπάδοντας ἐγχωρίους ἐποίησεν· ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὰς παρθένους διαφθείρων πρὸς γάμον ἐδίδου. Διὸ οἰκείως Σούπερβος ἐκλήθη τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ γλώσσῃ· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ **ὑπερήφανος**. Αὐτὸς γὰρ πρῶτος ἐδογματίσεν τοὺς ἀσπαζομένους αὐτὸν, ὑπὸ ἐτέρου ἀντασπάζεσθαι. Ὅς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεσιν κε'. Μεθ' ὃν ἦρξαν ἐνιαύσιοι ὑπατοὶ, χιλιάρχοι ἢ ἀγορανόμοι ἔτεσιν υνγ', ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα καταλέγειν πολὺ καὶ περισσὸν ἡγούμεθα. Εἰ γὰρ τις βούλεται μαθεῖν, ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν εὐρήσει ὧν ἀνέγραψε Χρύσερος ὁ Νομενκλάτωρ (53), ἀπελεύθερος γενόμενος Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου, ὃς ἀπὸ κτίσεως Ῥώμης, μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς (54) τοῦ ἰδίου πατρωνος αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήρου, σαφῶς πάντα ἀνέγραψε, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους. Ἐκράτησαν οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαίων (55) ἐνιαύσιοι, ὡς φαμεν, ἔτεσιν υνγ'. Ἐπειτα οὕτως ἦρξαν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες καλούμενοι· πρῶτος Γάιος Ἰούλιος ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη γ', μῆνας δ', ἡμέρας ἕξ. Ἐπειτα Αὐγουστος ἔτη νς',

27. In the twenty-ninth year (49) of Cyrus' reign, and after he was killed by Tomyris in Massagetae, at that time being the two hundred sixty-second Olympiad, From then on, the Romans were already growing greater, strengthened by God, with Rome founded by Romulus, the child said to be of Ares and Ilia (50), in the seventh Olympiad, on the 11th and 1st Kalends of May (51), of the year then counted as ten months. When Cyrus died, as we have said, in the sixty-second Olympiad, the time from the founding of Rome amounted to sixty years (52), at which time the Roman Tarquinius Superbus began to rule, who was the first to exile certain Romans, to corrupt children, and to make local slaves. Moreover, he also corrupted the virgins, giving them over for marriage. Therefore, Superbus was aptly called by the Roman language. It is interpreted as **arrogant**. For he himself was the first to decree that those who embraced him should be embraced in return by another. Who reigned for seventy years. (10) After him, annual consuls, military tribunes, or market officials began for fifty-nine years, whose names we consider it excessive and unnecessary to enumerate. (10) For if anyone wishes to learn, from the records he will find those which Chryseros the Nomenclator (53), having become a freedman of Aurelius Verus, wrote down, who from the founding of Rome until the death (54) of his own patron emperor Verus, clearly recorded everything, both the names and the times. The annual magistrates of the Romans, therefore, held office, as we say, for fifty-nine years. (55) Then in this way the so-called emperors began to rule. The first

μῆνας δ', ἡμέραν μίαν. Τιβέριος ἔτη κβ',
εἵτα Γάϊος ἕτερος ἔτη γ', μῆνας η', ἡμέρας ζ'.
Κλαύδιος ἔτη κγ', μῆνας η', ἡμέρας κδ'.
Νέρων ἔτη ιγ', μῆνας ς', ἡμέρας κη'. Γάλβας
ἔτη β', μῆνας ζ', ἡμέρας ς'. Ὅθων μῆνας γ',
ἡμέρας ε'. Οὐϊτέλλιος μῆνας ς', ἡμέρας κβ'.
Ούεσπασιανὸς ἔτη θ', μῆνας ια', ἡμέρας κβ'.
Τίτος ἔτη β', ἡμέρας κβ'. Δομετιανὸς ἔτη ιε',
μῆνας ε', ἡμέρας ς'. Νερούας ἐνιαυτὸν,
μῆνας δ', ἡμέρας ι'. Τραϊανὸς ἔτη ιθ', μῆνας
ἕξ, ἡμέρας ις'. Ἀδριανὸς ἔτη κ', μῆνας ι',
ἡμέρας κη'. Ἀντωνῖνος ἔτη κβ', μῆνας ζ',
ἡμέρας ς'. Οὐῆρος ἔτη ιθ', ἡμέρας ι'. Γίνεται
οὖν ὁ χρόνος τῶν Καيسάρων μέχρι Οὐήρου
αὐτοκράτορος τελευτῆς ἔτη σλζ' (56),
ἡμέραι ε'. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῆς Κύρου τελευτῆς,
Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἀρχῆς Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου,
μέχρι τελευτῆς αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήρου, οὗ
προειρήκαμεν, ὁ πᾶς χρόνος συνάγεται ἔτη
ψμδ'.

was Gaius Julius, who reigned three years,
four months, and six days. Then Augustus
[reigned] sixteen years, four months, and
one day. Tiberius [reigned] twenty-two
years; then another Gaius [reigned] three
years, eight months, and seven days.
Claudius [reigned] twenty-three years,
eight months, and twenty-four days. Nero
[reigned] thirteen years, six months, and
twenty-seven days. Galba [reigned] two
years, seven months, and six days. Otho
[reigned] three months, and five days.
Vitellius [reigned] six months, and twenty-
two days. Vespasian [reigned] nine years,
eleven months, and twenty-two days. Titus
[reigned] two years, and twenty-two days.
Domitian [reigned] fifteen years, five
months, and six days. Nero [reigned] one
year, four months, and ten days. Trajan
[reigned] nineteen years, six months, and
sixteen days. Hadrian [reigned] twenty
years, eleven months, and twenty-seven
days. Antoninus [reigned] twenty-two
years, seven months, and six days.
Vespasian [reigned] nineteen years and ten
days. Thus, the time of the Caesars until the
death of Emperor Vespasian amounts to 57
years (56), and 5 days. Therefore, from the
death of Cyrus, and the beginning of the
Romans under Tarquinius Superbus, until
the death of Emperor Vespasian, as we
have said before, the entire time amounts
to 784 years.

28. Ἀπὸ δὲ καταβολῆς κόσμου ὁ πᾶς
χρόνος κεφαλαιωδῶς οὕτω κατάγεται. Ἀπὸ
κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως κατακλυσμοῦ
ἐγένοντο ἔτη ,βσμβ'. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τεκνογονίας Ἀβραάμ τοῦ
προπάτορος ἡμῶν ἔτη ,αλς'. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰσαὰκ
τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀβραάμ ἕως οὗ ὁ λαὸς σὺν
Μωϋσῇ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέτριβεν, ἔτη χξ'. Ἀπὸ

28. From the foundation of the world, the
entire time is summarized as follows. From
the creation of the world until the flood,
there were 1656 years. From the flood until
the birth of Abraham our forefather, there
were 430 years. From Isaac, the son of
Abraham, until the time when the people
dwelt with Moses in the wilderness, there

δὲ τῆς Μωϋσέως τελευτῆς, ἀρχῆς δὲ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ, μέχρι τελευτῆς Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἔτη υἷη'. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς Δαβὶδ, βασιλείας (57) δὲ Σολομῶνος, μέχρι τῆς παροικίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν γῇ Βαβυλῶνος, ἔτη φη', μῆνες ζ', ἡμέραι ι'. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κύρου ἀρχῆς μέχρι αὐτοκράτορος Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου τελευτῆς ἔτη ψμδ'. Ὅμοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου συνάγονται τὰ πάντα ἔτη ,εχζη', καὶ οἱ ἐπιτρέχοντες μῆνες καὶ ἡμέραι.

were 26 years. From the death of Moses, and the beginning of Joshua son of Nun, until the death of David the patriarch, there were 40 years. From the death of David, and the reign of Solomon, until the exile of the people in the land of Babylon, there were 515 years, 6 months, and 10 days. From the beginning of Cyrus until the death of Emperor Aurelian Vespasian, there were 784 years. Altogether, from the creation of the world, all amount to 6966 years, including the running months and days.

29. Τῶν οὖν χρόνων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπάντων συνηθροισμένων (58), ὁρᾷν ἔστι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῶν προφητικῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ τὴν θεϊότητα τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγου, ὅτι οὐ πρόσφατος ὁ λόγος, οὔτε μὴν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὥς οἴονταί τινες, μυθώδη καὶ ψευδῆ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότερα καὶ ἀληθέστερα. Καὶ γὰρ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύσαντος, καὶ Κρόνου τοῦ Τιτᾶνος θάλλος μέμνηται, φάσκων τὸν Βῆλον πεπολεμηκέναι σὺν τοῖς Τιτᾶσι πρὸς τὸν Δία, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοὺς λεγομένους, ἔνθα φησὶν, καὶ ὁ Γύγος ἠττηθεὶς (59) ἔφυγεν εἰς Ταρτησὸν, τότε μὲν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης Ἀκτῆς κληθείσης, νῦν δὲ Ἀττικῆς προσαγορευομένης, ἧς ὁ Γύγος τότε ἥρξε. Καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ χώρας καὶ πόλεις, ἀφ' ὧν τὰς προσωνυμίας ἔσχον, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμεθα καταλέγειν, μάλιστα πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον τὰς ἱστορίας. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότερος ὁ Μωϋσῆς δείκνυται ἀπάντων συγγραφέων (οὐκ αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πλείους μετ' αὐτὸν προφηταὶ γενόμενοι), καὶ Κρόνου, καὶ Βήλου, καὶ τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου, δῆλόν ἐστι (60). Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν θάλλου (61) ἱστορίαν ὁ Βῆλος προγενέστερος εὐρίσκεται τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτεσι τκβ'. Ὅτι δὲ πρὸς που ἔτεσι ᾗ ἢ καὶ χιλίοις (62) προάγει ὁ Μωϋσῆς τῆς

29. Therefore, when all the years and those previously mentioned are summed together (58), one can see the antiquity of the prophetic writings, and the divinity of the word among us, in that the word is not recent, nor indeed, as some suppose, are the things concerning us fictitious and false, but rather they are older and truer. For even Thallos, when Belus reigned over the Assyrians, and Cronus the Titan, recalls, saying that Belus waged war with the Titans against Zeus and the gods said to be with him, where he says also that Gyges, having been defeated (59), fled to Tartessus, then called the Coast of that land, now called Attica, over which Gyges then ruled. And the remaining lands and cities, from which they received their surnames, we do not consider it necessary to enumerate, especially to you who are knowledgeable in histories. That Moses is shown to be the oldest of all writers (not only he alone, but also most of the prophets who came after him), and that of Cronus, and Belus, and the Trojan War, is evident (60). For according to the history of Thallos (61), Belus is found to be earlier than the Trojan War by 32 years. That Moses precedes the fall of Troy by about 70 or

τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ ἀλώσεως, ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω
δεδηλώκαμεν. Τοῦ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ τοῦ
Βήλου συνακμασάντων ὁμόσε, οἱ πλείους
οὐκ ἐπίστανται τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, ἢ τίς ὁ
Βῆλος. Ἐνιοὶ μὲν σέβονται τὸν Κρόνον, καὶ
τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι Βῆλ, καὶ Βάλ,
μάλιστα οἱ οἰκοῦντες τὰ ἀνατολικά
κλίματα, μὴ γινώσκοντες μήτε τίς ἐστὶν ὁ
Κρόνος, μήτε τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Βῆλος. Παρὰ δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις Σατοῦρνος ὀνομάζεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ
αὐτοὶ γινώσκουσιν τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν
πρότερον, ὁ Κρόνος ἢ ὁ Βῆλ. Ὅση μὲν οὖν
ἀρχὴ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων, ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου (63)
φασὶν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν θρησκείαν, κατὰ δέ
τινας ἀπὸ Λίνου ὃς καὶ Ἰλιος ἐπεκλήθη. Ὁ
μὲν οὖν ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν, καὶ
Ὀλυμπιάδων ὡς ἔχει τὴν τάξιν ἐν τοῖς
ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν. Τῆς μὲν οὖν
ἀθεότητος τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν (64)
πραγμάτων, καὶ τῶν χρόνων, τὸν πάντα
ἀριθμὸν, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, οἶμαι τὰ νῦν
ἀκριβῶς εἰρησθαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἔλαθεν (65)
ἡμῶν χρόνος, εἰ τύχοι εἶπεῖν, ἔτη ν', ἢ ρ', ἢ
καὶ σ' (66), οὐ μὲν τοι μυριάδες, ἢ χιλιάδες
ἐτῶν, καθὼς προειρήκασι Πλάτων καὶ
Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, ψευδῶς
ἀναγράψαντες. Ὅπερ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀκριβὲς
ἴσως ἀγνοοῦμεν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐτῶν τὸν
ἀριθμὸν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐν ταῖς
ιεραῖς βίβλοις τοὺς ἐπιτρέχοντας μῆνας καὶ
ἡμέρας. Ὅτι δὲ (67) περὶ ὧν φαμεν χρόνων
συνάδει καὶ Βήρωσος, ὁ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις
φιλοσοφήσας, καὶ μηνύσας Ἑλλησι τὰ
Χαλδαϊκὰ γράμματα, ὃς ἀκολούθως τινὰ
εἶρηκε τῷ Μωϋσεῖ, περὶ τε κατακλυσμοῦ
καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν ἐξιστορῶν· ἔτι μὲν καὶ
τοῖς προφήταις, Ἰερεμίας καὶ Δανιὴλ
σύμφωνα ἐκ μέρους εἶρηκε. Τῶν γὰρ
συμβάντων (68) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέως Βαβυλωνίων, ὃν αὐτὸς ὀνομάζει
Ἀβοβάσσαρον, κέκληται δὲ παρὰ Ἑβραίοις
Ναβουχοδονόσορ, μέμνηται· ἔτι δὲ (69) καὶ
περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς

even a thousand years (62), we have shown
above. When Cronus and Belus flourished
together, most do not know who Cronus is,
or who Belus is. Some worship Cronus, and
call him Bel, or Bal, especially those
dwelling in the eastern regions, not
knowing who Cronus is, nor who Belus is.
Among the Romans, he is called Saturn. For
they themselves do not know which of
them came first, Cronus or Bel. As for the
origin of the Olympiads, they say that the
religion began from Iphitus (63), but
according to some, from Linus, who was
also called Ilius. We have, then, shown
above the number of years and the order of
the Olympiads as it stands. As for the
impiety of the matters among you (64), and
the entire number of years, I believe that
now they have been stated accurately, as
far as possible. For even if time has escaped
us (65), if it happens to be said, nine years,
or twenty, or even thirty (66), certainly not
myriads or thousands of years, as Plato and
Apollonius and the others have previously
stated falsely. Which perhaps we do not
know precisely—the number of all the
years—because the running months and
days were not recorded in the sacred
books. That Berossus also agrees
concerning the years we mention (67), he
who philosophized among the Chaldeans
and revealed to the Greeks the Chaldean
letters, and who subsequently said certain
things to Moses, recounting the flood and
many other matters. Moreover, he has
spoken in part in agreement with the
prophets, Jeremiah and Daniel. For he
mentions the events that happened to the
Jews under the king of the Babylonians,
whom he himself calls Abovassaron, but
who is known among the Hebrews as
Nebuchadnezzar. And also concerning the
temple in Jerusalem, how it was laid waste

ήρημῶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως·
καὶ ὅτι Κύρου τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος
βασιλεύσαντος τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν θεμελίων
τεθέντων, Δαρείου πάλιν βασιλεύσαντος
τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος, ὁ ναὸς ἐπετελέσθη.

by the king of the Chaldeans. And that in
the second year of Cyrus's reign, the
foundations of the temple were laid, and
again in the second year of Darius's reign,
the temple was completed.

30. Τῶν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστοριῶν Ἕλληνες
οὐ μέμνηνται· πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ νεωστὶ
αὐτοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων τῆς ἐμπειρίας
μετόχους γεγενῆσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὶ
ὁμολογοῦσι, φάσκοντες τὰ γράμματα
εὕρησθαι, οἱ μὲν παρὰ Χαλδαίων, οἱ δὲ παρ'
Αἰγυπτίων, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ ἀπὸ Φοινίκων (70)·
δεύτερον, ὅτι ἔπταιον, καὶ πταίουσι, περὶ
θεοῦ μὴ ποιούμενοι τὴν μνείαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
ματαίων καὶ ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων. Οὕτω
μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὀμήρου, καὶ Ἡσιόδου, καὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν ποιητῶν φιλικῶς μέμνηνται· τῆς δὲ
τοῦ ἀφθάρτου καὶ μόνου θεοῦ δόξης οὐ
μόνον ἐπελάθοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατελάλησαν·
ἔτι μὴν καὶ τοὺς σεβομένους αὐτὸν
ἐδίωξαν, καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν διώκουσιν· οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐφώνως ὑβρίζουσι τὸν
θεὸν, ἄθλα καὶ τιμὰς τιθέασιν· τοὺς δὲ
σπεύδοντας πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀσκοῦντας
βίον ὄσιον, οὓς μὲν ἐλιθοβόλησαν, οὓς δὲ
ἐθανάτωσαν· καὶ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο ὁμοῖς
αἰκισμοῖς περιβάλλουσι. Διὸ οἱ τοιοῦτοι
ἀναγκαίως ἀπώλεσαν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ
θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐχ εὔρον. Εἰ οὖν
βούλει, ἀκριβῶς ἔντυχε τούτοις, ὅπως σχῆς
σύμβολον (71), καὶ ἀρράβωνα τῆς
ἀληθείας.

30. The Greeks do not remember the
histories of the truth; firstly, because they
have only recently become participants in
the knowledge of experience. And they
themselves admit, claiming that the letters
were found, some from the Chaldeans,
others from the Egyptians, and still others
from the Phoenicians (70). Secondly,
because they follow and err, not making
mention of God, but of vain and useless
matters. For thus they remember Homer,
Hesiod, and the other poets fondly; but the
glory of the incorruptible and only God
they not only forgot, but also slandered.
Indeed, they even persecuted those who
worship Him, and continue to persecute
them daily; moreover, they assign prizes
and honors to those who blaspheme God
with flattering words; but those who
hasten toward virtue and live a holy life,
some they stoned, others they put to death;
and even to this day they surround them
with cruel insults. Therefore, such people
necessarily lost the wisdom of God, and did
not find the truth well. If then you wish,
come upon these things carefully, so that
you may have a sign (71) and a pledge of
the truth.