

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

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- 1 Ἰ. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς ἀδήλου καὶ σπουδαίου πράγματος θεὸν καλεῖν ἄξιον, διότι ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ γεννητῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδελον παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀκριβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην εἰληχότι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου λόγον ἀναγκαιότατον· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς παντελέστερόν τι τοῦ κόσμου οὔτε ἐν νοητοῖς θεοῦ τελεώτερον, αἰεὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμὼν νοῦς καὶ νοητὸν αἰσθητοῦ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων παρ' ἡγεμόνος τε καὶ ἐπιστάτου νόμος¹ φιλοπευστεῖν, οἷς ἐμπέφυκε πόθος ἀληθείας πλείων.
- 2 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνασκηθέντες τοῖς φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς δόγμασιν ἀπερρυψάμεθα τὰς ἐκ παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων κηλίδας, οὐκ ἂν ἴσως ἀπηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἄκρως κεκαθαρμέναις καὶ φαιδρυναμέναις αὐγοειδῶς² ψυχαῖς ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων ἢ δι' ὄνειράτων ἢ διὰ χρησμῶν³ ἢ διὰ σημείων ἢ τεράτων ὑφηγεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν

¹ MSS. πόνος.

² MSS. αὐτοειδῶς.

³ MSS. χρήσεων.

^a Bernays gives several references to the practice of invoking God at the beginning of a discussion, and clearly Philo has in mind *Timaeus* 27 c, where Socrates calls on Timaeus to speak after invoking the Gods, and Timaeus replies that

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD

I. In dealing with every obscure and weighty 1 question it is well to call upon God, because He is good, because He is the Creator, and possessed as He is of absolutely exact knowledge of all things nothing is obscure to Him. But it is particularly necessary when the subject in question is the indestructibility of the world.^a For nothing in the realm of the sensible is more complete in every way than the world, nothing in the intelligible realm more perfect than God, and intelligence always takes command of sense and the intelligible of the sensible. And those in whom the love of truth is implanted in greater measure observe the law that knowledge about the subjects must be sought from the Commander and Ruler. Now, if schooled in the doctrines 2 of wisdom and temperance and every virtue we had scoured away the stains of the passions and soul-distempers, perhaps God would not have refused to impart the knowledge of things heavenly through dreams or oracles or signs or wonders to souls thoroughly purged and bright and radiant. But since we bear upon us deep ingrained the imprints

every sensible person does so when speaking on any matter great or small, and he will certainly do so when speaking about the universe, whether it is created or uncreated (*ἢ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν*).

ἀναμαζάμενοι [στοχασμούς¹· καὶ] τύπους δυσεκ-
[488] πλύτους | ἔχομεν, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, κὰν εἰκόσι <στο-
χασμοῖς> δι' αὐτῶν μίμημά τι τῆς ἀληθείας
ἀνευρίσκωμεν.

3 "Αἷον οὖν τοὺς ζητοῦντας εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ "φθορά" καὶ "κόσμος" τῶν πολ-
λαχῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐκότερον, πρῶτον ἐρευνῆσαι
περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα καθ' ὃ σημαίνόμενον² νυνὶ
[καὶ] τέτακται διαγνώμεν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσα δηλοῦται³
<πάντα> καταριθμητέον, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν παροῦ-

4 σαν διδασκαλίαν χρήσιμα. II. λέγεται
τοῖνυν ὁ κόσμος καθ' ἓν μὲν [πρῶτον] σύστημα ἐξ
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρον κατὰ περιοχὴν <καὶ> γῆς καὶ
τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ
μόνος οὐρανός, εἰς ὃν ἀπιδὼν Ἀναξαγόρας πρὸς
τὸν πυθόμενον, ἧς ἔνεκα αἰτίας ταλαιπωρεῖται
διανυκτερεύων⁴ ὑπαιθρος, ἀπεκρίνατο "τοῦ τὸν
κόσμον θεάσασθαι," τὰς χορείας καὶ περιφορὰς τῶν
ἀστέρων αἰνιττόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τρίτον, ὡς δοκεῖ
τοῖς Στωικοῖς, διῆκον⁵ ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, οὐσία

¹ Bernays μολυσμοὺς. Cumont retains στοχασμοὺς where it is in the mss., but does not attempt to make sense of it. I have followed Cohn's transference of the word, but would prefer to read εἰκόσι καὶ στοχασμοῖς. Cohn in *Hermes*, 1916, p. 181, says that εἰκότες στοχασμοί is an exceedingly common collocation in Philo, but he gives no examples, and up to the present I have not found any. On the other hand, εἰκότα coupled with πιθανά occurs several times, e.g. στοχασταὶ . . . πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων *Spec. Leg.* i. 61, and it is an established term in rhetoric; cf. also στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις *De Som.* i. 23.

² MSS. σημαίνεται.

³ MSS. δηλοῦνται.

⁴ MSS. τὰ πολλὰ πειρᾶται διανυκτερεύειν. The correction made by Bernays and accepted by Cohn and Cumont is based on *Thuc.* i. 134. 1 ἵνα μὴ ὑπαιθριος ταλαιπωροῖη.

⁵ MSS. διήκων. Bernays and others διήκουσα. The correc-

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of injustice and folly and the other vices we must be content if through a study of probabilities and by our own efforts we may discover some semblance of the truth.

Now the words "world" and "destruction" are 3 both such as are used in many senses and therefore it will be well to open the discussion whether the world is indestructible by examining these terms in order to distinguish under what signification they stand in this case. Still we need not make a complete list of all the meanings they bear but only such as are instructive for our present purpose.

II. In one sense, the world or Cosmos signifies the 4 whole system of heaven and the stars including the earth and the plants and animals thereon; in another sense the heaven only. It was on heaven that Anaxagoras had been gazing, when in answer to the person who asked why he suffered discomfort by spending the whole night under the open sky said he did it in order to contemplate the Cosmos, meaning by Cosmos the choric movements and revolutions of the stars. The third sense, which is approved by the Stoics, is something existing continuously to and through the general conflagration,^a a substance either

^a That ἄχρι is here used inclusively is, I think, shown by ἀδιακόσμητος, a condition which only exists during the ἐκπύρωσις (cf. Philo's disquisition on the inclusive use of ἀπό in *De Som.* ii. 257). I understand Bernays to say that the addition of ἡ ἀδιακ. is inaccurate ("ungenau") according to Stoic doctrine. But Philo implies the same in § 9.

tion to διήκων in preference to διήκουσα seems to have been originally made by Jessen (see note, vol. viii. p. 428) to accord with his canon, that an open vowel is followed by μέχρι instead of ἄχρι in Philo. I do not see why <ὁ> διήκων (*sc.* κόσμος) should not be possible.

τις ἢ διακεκοσμημένη ἢ ἀδιακόσμητος, οὐ τῆς
 κινήσεώς φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον διάστημα.
 νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις περὶ κόσμου τοῦ
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 5 γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζώων¹ συνέστηκε. λέγεται
 μέντοι καὶ φθορὰ ἢ τε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολή
 [λέγεται δὲ] καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναίρεσις παντελής,
 ἣν καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν· ὥσπερ γὰρ
 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν γίνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν
 φθείρεται.

“ ἔκ τε γὰρ οὐδὰμ' ἔόντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι
 [τι]
 καὶ τ' ἔὸν ἐξαπολέσθαι ἀνήνυστον καὶ ἄπυστον². ”

καὶ ὁ τραγικός·

“ θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
 διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο³
 μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν. ”

6 οὐδέν⁴ γε οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐήθες ὥς τὸ ἀπορεῖν, εἰ ὁ
 κόσμος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν φθείρεται, ἀλλ' εἰ δέχεται τὴν
 ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως μεταβολήν, τὰς ποικίλας
 μορφὰς στοιχείων τε καὶ συγκριμάτων εἰς μίαν
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ιδέαν ἀναλυθεὶς ἢ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
 θλάσμασι καὶ τοῖς κατάγμασι δεξάμενος παντελεῖ
 σύγχυσιν.

¹ mss. ἐξ ὧν.

² mss. ἄπυστον.

³ As a long syllable is required in the anapaestic, Cumont has ἄλλου, Bernays ἄλλω and so in the other places (§§ 30 and 144) where the lines are quoted.

⁴ mss. οὐδέ: Bernays and Cumont οὐδεὶς . . . εὐήθης, followed by ὥστε with most mss., though one has τὸ but without ὥς.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 4-6

reduced or not reduced to order, and time, they say, is what measures its movement.^a Our present discussion is concerned with the world in the first sense, namely the world which consists of heaven and earth and the life on them.^b The word destruction ⁵ in one sense means a change for the worse, in another complete removal from existence, and this we must pronounce to be a thing which cannot possibly be, for just as nothing comes into being out of the non-existent, so nothing is destroyed into non-existence.

Nothing from what is not can come to be,
Nor was it ever heard or brought to pass,
That what exists should perish utterly.^c

So too the tragic poet

Naught that is born can die;
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take another form.^d

Nothing in fact is so foolish as to raise the question ⁶ whether the world is destroyed into non-existence. The point is whether it undergoes a transmutation from its ordered arrangement through the various forms of the elements and their combinations being either resolved into one and the self-same conformation or reduced into complete confusion as things are when broken or shattered.

^a For this accepted Stoic definition of time *cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 141. It is repeated in this treatise, §§ 52 ff., *cf.* *De Op.* 26, where it was translated "a measured space determined by the world's movement," which perhaps gives the idea of *διάστημα* (distance or interval) more exactly.

^b The stars are regarded as ζῶα.

^c Stated to be a fragment from Empedocles.

^d See on § 30.

- [489] III. | Τριτταὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου γεγónασι
 7 δόξαι, τῶν μὲν αἰδίων τὸν κόσμον φαμένων,
 ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας
 γενητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ παρ' ἑκατέρων
 ἐκλαβόντες, τὸ μὲν γενητὸν παρὰ τῶν ὑστέρων
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν προτέρων τὸ ἄφθαρτον, μικτὴν δόξαν
 ἀπέλιπον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰθθέντες αὐτὸν
 8 εἶναι. Δημόκριτος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐπί-
 κουρος καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς
 φιλοσόφων γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἀπολείπουσι τοῦ
 κόσμου, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς
 κόσμους ὑπογράφουσιν, ὧν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλλη-
 λοτυπίαῖς καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθέασι, τὴν
 δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ προσράξεσι τῶν γεγο-
 νότων· οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ κόσμον μὲν ἓνα, γενέσεως δ'
 αὐτοῦ θεὸν αἷτιον, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεόν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου
 δύναμιν χρόνων μακραῖς περιόδοις ἀναλύουσιν τὰ
 πάντα εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐξ ἧς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου
 9 συνίστασθαι προμηθεΐα τοῦ τεχνίτου. δύναται δὲ
 κατὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν τις κόσμος αἰδῖος, ὁ δὲ τις
 φθαρτὸς λέγεσθαι, φθαρτὸς μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν διακό-
 σμῃσιν, αἰδῖος δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν παλιγ-
 γενεσίαις καὶ περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος οὐδέποτε
 10 ληγούσας. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μήποτ'
 εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐνιστάμενος¹ ἀγένητον καὶ
 ἄφθαρτον ἔφη τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, δεινὴν δὲ ἀθεότητα
 κατεγίνωσκε τῶν τάναντία διεξιόντων, οἳ τῶν

¹ MSS. ἐπιστάμενος.

^a The meaning would be clearer if ἐκπύρ. and διακ. changed places. When we consider the former we see that a world
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III. Three views have been put forward on the 7 question before us. Some assert that the world is eternal, uncreated and imperishable. Some on the contrary say that it is created and destructible. Others draw from both these. From the latter they take the idea of the created, from the former that of the indestructible and so have laid down a composite doctrine to the effect that the world is created and indestructible.

Democritus with Epi- 8 curus and the great mass of Stoic philosophers maintain the creation and destruction of the world but in different ways. The two first named postulate many worlds, the origin of which they ascribe to the mutual impacts and interlacings of atoms and its destruction to the counterblows and collisions sustained by the bodies so formed. The Stoics admit one world only ; God is the cause of its creation but not of its destruction. This is due to the force of the ever-active fire which exists in things and in the course of long cycles of time resolves everything into itself and out of it is constructed a reborn world according to the design of its architect. According 9 to these the world may be called from one point of view an eternal, from another a perishable world ; thought of as a world reconstructed it is perishable, thought of as subject to the conflagration it is everlasting through the ceaseless rebirths and cycles which render it immortal.^a

But Aristotle 10 surely showed a pious and religious spirit when in opposition to this view he said that the world was uncreated and indestructible and denounced the shocking atheism of those who stated the contrary

has perished. When we see it followed by the latter we recognize that it did not really perish.

- χειροκμήτων οὐδὲν ὥθήσαν διαφέρειν τοσοῦτον ὁρατὸν θεόν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς περιέχοντα
- 11 πάνθειον· ἔλεγέ τε, ὡς ἔστιν ἀκούειν, κατακερτομῶν, ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ἐδεδίει περὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μὴ βιαίοις πνεύμασιν ἢ χειμῶσιν ἐξαισίοις ἢ χρόνῳ ἢ ῥαθυμία τῆς ἀρμοττοῦσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνατραπῇ, νυνὶ δὲ φόβον ἐπικρέμασθαι μείζονα πρὸς τῶν τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ καθαιρουμένων.
- 12 ἔνιοι δ' οὐκ Ἀριστοτέλην τῆς δόξης εὐρετὴν λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινάς. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀκέλλου συγγράμματι, Λευκανοῦ γένος, ἐπιγραφομένῳ “Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως” ἐνέτυχον, ἐν ᾧ ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀφθαρτόν οὐκ
 [490] ἀπεφαίνετο μόνον¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἀποδείξεων | κατεσκεύαζε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.
- 13 IV. Γενητόν δὲ καὶ ἀφθαρτόν φασιν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους θεοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος· “θεοὶ θεῶν, (ᾧν) ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἅλυστα ἐμοῦ γε μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ² δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. δι’ ᾧ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγέννησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε οὐδ’ ἅλυστοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὕτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε

¹ MSS. μὲν οὖν.² MSS. μὴ.^a See Introd. p. 175 note a.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 10-13

and held that there was no difference between hand-made idols^a and that great visible God who embraces the sun and moon and the pantheon as it may be truly called of the fixed and wandering stars. He 11 is reported to have said in bitter mockery that in the past he had feared for his house lest it should be overthrown by violent winds or terrific storms or lapse of time or neglect of proper care. But now he lived under the fear of a greater menace from the theorists who would destroy the whole world.

Some say that the author of this doctrine was not 12 Aristotle but certain Pythagoreans, and I have read a work of Ocellus a Lucanian^b entitled *On the Nature of the Universe*, in which he not only stated but sought to establish by demonstrations that it was uncreated and indestructible.

IV. That it is created and indestructible is said to 13 be shown by Plato in the *Timaeus*^c in his account of the great assembly of deities in which the younger gods are addressed thus by the eldest and chief. "Gods sprung from gods, the works of which I am the Maker and Father are indissoluble unless I will otherwise. Now all that is bound can be loosed but only the bad would will to loose what is well put together and in good condition. So since you are created beings you are not immortal nor altogether indissoluble, yet you will not be dissolved nor will death be your fate, for in my will you have a greater and mightier bond than those by which you were

^b Ocellus was a Pythagorean of earlier times. The work attributed to him, which is still extant and which Philo alludes to here, belongs to the first or second century B.C. See further App. p. 525.

^c *Tim.* 41 A. For other ways of taking the opening words see App. p. 525.

- 14 συνεδείσθε.” τινὲς δὲ οἴονται σοφίζόμενοι κατὰ Πλάτωνα γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον οὐ τῷ λαβεῖν γενέσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ, εἴπερ ἐγίγνετο, μὴ ἂν ἑτέρως ἢ τὸν εἰρημένον συστήναι τρόπον, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ τὰ μέρη θεω-
 15 ρεῖσθαι. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστερον ὑπονοεῖν τὸ πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγγράμματος πατέρα μὲν καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεοπλάστην ἐκείνον καλεῖ, ἔργον¹ δὲ καὶ ἔγγονον τουτουῖ² τὸν κόσμον, ἀπ’ ἀρχετύπου <καὶ> νοητοῦ παραδείγματος μίμημα αἰσθητόν, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητὰ περιέχοντα αἰσθητὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, τελειοτάτου πρὸς νοῦν³ τελειότατον ἐκμα-
 16 γεῖον πρὸς αἴσθησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ Πλάτωνος, διὰ τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας αἰδῶ μηδὲν ἂν ψευσάμενος, καὶ διότι πιστότερος οὐδεὶς ὑφηγητῇ⁴ γνωρίμου μαρτυρεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοιούτου, ὃς οὐ πάρεργον ἔθετο παιδείαν ἀψικόρῳ ραθυμία, προσυπερβαλεῖν δὲ σπουδάσας τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν εὐρέσεις ἔνια τῶν

¹ MSS. καλλίεργον.

² Bernays τουτουῖ, i.e. τοῦ θεοπλάστου.

³ Bernays νοῦ, see note c.

⁴ MSS. ὑφηγητῆς.

^a For the first of these explanations Bernays refers to Ar. *De Caelo* i. 10, 279 b 34: “They (i.e. those who hold that it is indestructible but generated) claim that what they say is analogous to the diagrams drawn by mathematicians; their exposition does not mean that the world ever was generated, but is used for instructional purposes, since it makes things easier to understand, just as the diagram does for those who see it in process of construction” (Guthrie’s translation, who adds that the defence according to Simplicius is “that of Xenocrates and other Platonists”).

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bound when you were created." Some hold the 14 notion that when Plato speaks of the world as created he does not mean that it began by being created but that if it had been created it would not have been formed in any other way than that which he describes, or else that he uses the word because the parts of the world are observed to come into being and to be changed.^a

But this subtlety of 15 theirs is not so good or true an idea as the view before mentioned, not merely because throughout the whole treatise ^b he speaks of the great Framer of deities as the Father and Maker and Artificer and this world as His work and offspring, a sensible copy of the archetypal and intelligible model, embracing in itself as objects of sense all which that model contains as objects of intelligence, an impress ^c for sense perception as absolutely perfect as that is for the mind. Another reason is that this view of Plato's meaning 16 has the testimony of Aristotle, who had too much respect for philosophy to falsify anything. A teacher can have no more trustworthy witness than a disciple and particularly one like Aristotle who did not treat culture as a by-work or with frivolous carelessness, but sought earnestly to transcend the truths discovered by the ancients and so struck out a new

^b Though the reference is to the *Timaeus*, *passim*, Bernays notes *ἔργον*=*κόσμος* 30 B, *περίεχον* 31 A and *ἔκγονα* 50 D. We have also *μίμημα παραδείγματος* 49 A and *ἐκμαγεῖον* 50 C.

^c Or perhaps rather "plastic substance" (for receiving imprints), which seems to be the meaning in 50 C, in which case *τελειοτάτου* will agree with *ἐκμαγεῖον* understood rather than as *Leisegang* (in index) with *παραδείγματος*. The other is the regular meaning in Philo, but does not suit *πρός* so well. Bernays indeed translates "Abdruck," but he reads *νοῦ* for *νοῦν*—i.e. "issuing from a most perfect mind."

ἀναγκαιοτάτων εἰς ἕκαστον φιλοσοφίας μέρος και-
17 νοτομήσας προσεξεύρετο. V. πατέρα δὲ

τοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἔνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν
ποιητὴν Ἑσίοδον, γεννητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰόμενοι
τὸν κόσμον ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, γεννητὸν μὲν, ὅτι
φησὶν

“ ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαί' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,”

ἄφθαρτον δέ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμή-
18 νυκεν αὐτοῦ. χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον
οἶεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προὔπο-
κεῖσθαι σώματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ
παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιῆσθαι νομίζοντες.

ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ γεννητὸν εἶναι
τὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ' Ἑσιόδῳ μεμῆνυται.

19 μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
[491] νομοθέτης Μωυσῆς γεννητὸν καὶ | ἄφθαρτον ἔφη
τὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε, ὧν
τὴν πρώτην ἐπέγραψε Γένεσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἄρχεται τὸν
τρόπον τοῦτον· “ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ
ἀκατασκεύαστος,” εἰτα προελθὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα
μηνύει πάλιν, ὅτι ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ ὥραι
καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ σελήνη τε καὶ ἥλιος, οἱ χρόνου με-

^a *Theogony* 116 f.

^b *Ar. Phys.* iv. 1, 208 b 29. “Hesiod seems to have been

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 16-19

path by discovering some very vital additions to every part of philosophy. V. Some think 17 that the poet Hesiod is the father of this Platonic doctrine and suppose that he calls the world uncreated and indestructible, uncreated because he says

First Chaos was, and then broad-breasted earth
Safe dwelling-place for all for evermore,^a

indestructible because he never declared that it will be dissolved or destroyed. Chaos in Aristotle's 18 opinion is a space because a body must have something there already to hold it,^b but some of the Stoics suppose that it is water and that the name is derived from its diffusion (χύσις).^c But

whichever of these is right Hesiod very clearly states the view that the world is created and long before 19 Hesiod Moses the lawgiver of the Jews said in the Holy Books that it was created and imperishable. These books are five in number, to the first of which he gave the name of Genesis. In this he begins by saying "In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth and the Earth was invisible and without form."^d Then again he goes on to say in the sequel that "days and nights and seasons and years and the sun and moon whose natural function is to

right in putting Chaos first, where he says Chaos was first, then earth *ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι χώραν τοῖς οὐσι διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι που καὶ ἐν τόπῳ.*"

^c This opinion is attributed to Zeno himself, *S. V. F.* i. 103, 104.

^d This remarkable difference in the LXX of Gen. i. 2 from the Hebrew translated in the A.V. "without form and void" (R.V. "waste and void") is compared with *Timaeus* 51 *ἡ ἀνόρατον εἶδος τι καὶ ἄμορφον* by Bernays, who thinks that the translators had it in mind. He notes also Wisdom xi. 17 *κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.*

τρήσεως φύσιν ἐδέξαντο,¹ μετὰ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ
μοίρας ἀθανάτου λαχόντες διατελοῦσιν ἄφθαρτοι.

- 20 Τοὺς δὲ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον κατασκευάζοντας λόγους ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὁρατὸν <θεὸν> αἰδοῦς προτέρους τακτέον οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας. ἅπασι τοῖς φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένοις αἰτίαι διτταὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἡ μὲν ἐντός, ἡ δὲ ἐκτός, προϋπόκεινται· σίδηρον γοῦν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ τὰς τοιουτοτρόπους οὐσίας εὖροις ἂν ἀφανιζόμενας ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὲν, ὅταν ἐρπηνώδους νοσήματος τρόπον ἰὸς ἐπιδραμῶν διαφάγη, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκτός, ὅταν ἐμπιπραμένης οἰκίας ἢ πόλεως συναναφλεχθεῖσαι τῇ πυρὸς βιαίῳ ῥιπῇ διαλυθῶσιν· ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ζώοις ἐπὶ γίνεται τελευτὴ νοσήσασι μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκτός σφαττομένοις ἢ καταλευομένοις ἢ ἐμπιπραμένοις ἢ θάνατον οὐ καθαρὸν τὸν δι’
- 21 ἀγχόνης ὑπομένουσιν. εἰ δὲ φθείρεται καὶ κόσμος, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἤτοι ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐκτός ἢ πρὸς τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθαρήσεται δυνάμεων· ἀμήχανον δ’ ἐκάτερον· ἐκτός μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου, πάντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ συνερα-

¹ Cohn ἔδειξαν. He quotes § 52 below and also *De Op. 60* and *Spec. Leg.* i. 90, and what is closer to this passage *Leg. All.* i. 2 ἡ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. Still “indicating the nature of time” is not quite the same as “indicating the nature of the measurement of time.” On the other hand *ἐδέξαντο φύσιν*, which Bernays translates “die Eigenschaft empfinden,” is a strange expression.

^a The allusion is no doubt to Gen. viii. 22 E.V. “While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.”

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 19-21

measure time are together with the whole heaven destined to immortality and continue indestructible."^a

Respect for that visible God requires that we ²⁰ should begin the discussion in the proper way by setting forth first the arguments which contend that it is uncreated and indestructible. All things which are liable to perish are subject to two fundamental sources of destruction, the external and the internal. Thus iron, brass and similar substances will be found to vanish of themselves when devoured by the rust which courses over them like a creeping sickness ^b; and also through external agencies, when a house or city is burnt and they too are caught in the flames and dissolved through the violence of the rushing fire. Similarly, too, living creatures die of themselves through disease or through external causes, being slain with the sword or stoned or burnt or suffering the unclean death of hanging.^c Now if the world is ²¹ destroyed it will necessarily be through either some force from without or some of those which it contains within itself, and both of these are impossible. For there is nothing outside the world since all things have been brought into contribution to fill it up, and

The LXX text is confused and difficult to translate grammatically, but gives the same meaning that these will continue while the earth lasts, but not that the earth will last. In the words οἱ χρόνοι κτλ. there is also an allusion to Gen. i. 14 "Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," which again gives no proof of everlastingness.

^b A familiar figure with Philo, applied to desire or vice, *Quod Det.* 110, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 83, *De Dec.* 150 and to the spread of famine *De Ios.* 160 (there called ἐρπήν). See also *De Prov.* 30.

^c Cf. *De Mut.* 62 ἐπ' ἀγχόνην ἦξεν, ἵνα . . . μηδὲ καθαρῶ θανάτῳ τελευτήσει.

σθέντων· οὕτως γὰρ εἰς τε ἔσται καὶ ὅλος καὶ ἀγήρως, εἰς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀπολειφθέντων τινῶν ἕτερον ἂν τῷ νῦν ὄντι γενέσθαι ὅμοιον, ὅλος δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ σύμπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξανηλῶσθαι, ἀγήρως δὲ καὶ ἄνοσος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ νόσοις καὶ γήρα σώματα ἄλωτὰ θερμότησι καὶ ψύξεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντιότησι προσεμπιπτούσαις ἔξωθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἀνατρέπεται, ὣν οὐδεμία δύναμις ἀποδρᾶσα κυκλοῦται καὶ ἐπιτίθεται, πασῶν,¹ μηδενὸς ἀποστατοῦντος μέρους, ὀλοκλήρων ἐγκατειλημμένων εἶσω. εἰ δ' ἄρα τί ἐστὶν ἐκτός, πάντως ἂν εἴη κενόν, ἢ ἀπαθὴς φύσις, ἣν ἀδύνατον
 22 παθεῖν τι ἢ δρᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τινος αἰτίας διαλυθήσεται τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ κραταιότερον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀτοπώτατον· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος
 [492] ἀνυπερβλήτῳ κράτει | χρώμενος ἄγει τὰ πάντα μέρη, πρὸς μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἀγόμενος· ἔπειτα διότι² διττῶν οὐσῶν φθορᾶς αἰτιῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς δὲ ἐκτός, ἃ τὴν ἐτέραν οἶά τε³ ὑπομένειν,
 23 δεκτικὰ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστὶ πάντως. σημεῖον δέ, βούς καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ζῶα, διότι πέφυκεν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ σιδήρου, καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσῃ· χαλεπὸν γὰρ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν, ὃ τι τὴν ἔξωθεν αἰτίαν πεφυκὸς ὑπομένειν
 [497] τῆς φθορᾶς ἄδεκτον ἔσται⁴ | κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τῆς
 24 ἐνδοθεν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκτός

¹ MSS. παθῶν.

² So MSS. and the other editors. Cohn corrects it to ἔπειτα δέ, ὅτι, which is not needed. πρῶτον μὲν is, I believe, more often followed by ἔπειτα than by ἔπειτα δέ or at least as often.

³ MSS. οἶεται.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 21-24

filled it must be if it is to be one and a total and unaging: one because if some things are left out another world would come into being like the one that now is; total because all that exists is used up to make it; proof against age and disease because the bodies which fall a prey to diseases and old age succumb to the powerful onsets from outside of heat and cold and all other opposite extremes,^a and none of these forces can escape from the world to surround and attack it, for they are all in their entirety confined within it and no part of them stays away from it. And if there is anything outside it will necessarily be a void, the impassive form of existence which cannot be acted on or act. Neither again will any- 22 thing internal cause its dissolution. First because if it did the part would be greater and stronger than the whole, which is against all reason. For the world while exerting a force which nothing can surpass propels all its parts and is propelled by none. Secondly because as the sources of destruction are twofold, one external and one internal, things which can be subject to one of these two must certainly be susceptible to the other. As a proof of this we see 23 that an ox or a horse or a man or other similar creatures since they are liable to be killed by an iron weapon are also liable to die through disease. For it is difficult or rather impossible to find anything which if susceptible to destruction through an external cause is entirely proof against an internal. Since then it has been shown that the world will not 24

^a See App. p. 526.

⁴ On the displacement of the text in the mss. at this point see App. p. 527.

φθαρησόμενος ἐδείχθη ὁ κόσμος, τῷ μηδὲν ἔξω καταλείψθαι πάντως, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν προεπιλογισθεῖσαν ἀπόδειξιν, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἀλωτὸν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν 25 ἐπεφύκει δέχεσθαι. VI. μαρτύρια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τιμαίῳ περὶ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἄνοσον εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθαρησόμενον τάδε· “ τῶν δὲ δὴ τεττάρων ἐν ὅλον ἕκαστον εἴληφεν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις· ἐκ γὰρ πυρὸς παντὸς ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς συνέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ συνιστάς, μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ὑπολιπών, τάδε διανοηθεῖς· 26 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα ὅλον ὅτι μάλιστα ζῶον, τέλειον ἐκ τελείων μερῶν, εἴη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔν, ἅτε οὐχ ὑπολελειμμένων ἐξ ὧν ἄλλο τοιοῦτον γένοιτ' ἂν· ἔτι δέ, ἵνα ἀγέρων καὶ ἄνοσον ᾗ, κατανοῶν ὡς συστάτῳ¹ σώματι θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δυνάμεις ἰσχυρὰς ἔχει περιστάμενα ἔξωθεν καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκαίρως λυπεῖ² καὶ νόσους καὶ γῆρας ἐπάγοντα φθίνειν ποιεῖ. διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε θεὸς³ ὅλον ἐξ ὅλων ἀπάντων τέλειον 27 καὶ ἀγέρων καὶ ἄνοσον αὐτὸν ἐτεκτήνατο.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ Πλάτωνος πρὸς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν τοῦ κόσμου μαρτύριον εἰλήφθω, τὸ δ' ἀγένητον παρὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας⁴. ἔπεται μὲν γὰρ τῷ γενομένῳ διάλυσις, ἀφθαρσία δὲ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκεῖνο ποιήσας

“ τό τοι γενόμενον κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται ”

¹ mss. ὡς τὰ τῷ.

² Plato λύει. On this and other variations in the quotations from Plato's text see App. p. 527.

³ Plato ἐν.

⁴ mss. ἀληθείας.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 24-27

be destroyed by anything external because nothing at all has been left outside, neither will anything within it cause its destruction as demonstrated by the argument stated above, namely that that which is liable to be destroyed by one of the causes must be susceptible to the other. VI. In the 25

Timaeus, too, we have the following testimony to show that the world is proof against disease and destruction in the future.^a "Now the framing of the world took up the whole of each of these four elements, for out of all fire, of all water and air and earth did the framer fashion it, leaving no part nor power of any without. Therein he had this intent, first that it might be a creature, perfect to the utmost 26 with all its parts perfect, next that it might be one, seeing that nothing was left over by which another of the kind should be formed: furthermore, that it might be free from age and sickness, for he reflected that when hot things and cold and all such as have strong powers gather round a composite body from without and fall unseasonably upon it they annoy it and bringing upon it sickness and age cause it to decay. With this motive and on such reasons God fashioned it as a whole, with each of its parts whole in itself so as to be perfect, and free from age and sickness." We may take this as Plato's testimony 27 to the indestructibility of the world; that it is uncreated follows the natural law of consequences. Dissolution is consequential to the created, indestructibility to the uncreated. The author of the verse "All that is born is due to death"^b seems to

^a *Timaeus* 32 c. The translation here and in § 38 mostly follows that of Archer-Hind.

^b The source is unknown.

δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, συνεῖς¹ ἀκολουθίαν τῶν αἰτιῶν τῆς <γενέσεως καὶ τῆς> φθορᾶς, * * * ὥδ' ἔχει.²

- 28 [498] Ἐτέρως δέ ἐστι τοιόνδε· | πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν συν-
 θέτων φθείρεται, διάλυσιν εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη
 λαμβάνει· διάλυσιν δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα ἢ πρὸς τὸ
 κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστων ἐπάνοδος, ὥστε κατὰ τοῦ-
 ναντίον ἢ σύνθεσις εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν τὰ συν-
 ελθόντα βεβίασται. καὶ δὴ τὰδ'³ οὕτως ἔοικεν
 29 ἀψευδέστατα ἔχειν. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τετ-
 τάρων στοιχείων, ἃ δὴ ὅλα τοῦ παντός ἐστιν
 οὐρανοῦ,⁴ γῆς, <ὔδατος>, ἀέρος τε καὶ πυρός,
 βραχέα τὰ μέρη δανεισάμενοι συνεκράθημεν· τὰ
 δ' ἀνακραθέντα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θέσεως ἐστέρηται,
 θερμότητος μὲν τῆς ἀνωφοίτου κατω<σθείσης>,
 τῆς δὲ γεώδους καὶ βάρους ἐχούσης οὐσίας ἐπελα-
 φρισθείσης καὶ τὸν ἄνω τόπον ἀντιλαβούσης, ὃν⁵
 τὸ γεωδέστατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπέσχηκε κεφαλὴ.
 30 δεσμῶν δὲ φαυλότατος ὃν ἐσφιγξε βία, βαιὸς⁶ καὶ
 ὀλιγοχρόνιος· ῥήγνυται γὰρ θάπτον ὑπὸ τῶν δε-
 θέντων, ἅτε ἀπαυχενιζόντων διὰ πόθον [ὑπὸ] τῆς
 κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, πρὸς ἣν σπεύδοντα μετ-

¹ MSS. συνθεῖς.

² Suggestions for completing or correcting this sentence are: (1) Cumont εἰπεῖν for ἔχει, (2) Bernays <ὥδε λέγειν καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπόδειξις> ὥδ' ἔχει, (3) Cohn and Bücheler <μαρτυρεῖν or ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι> ὥδ' ἔχει.

³ MSS. καὶ δὴτα.

⁴ Cohn, presumably like Bernays, takes οὐρανοῦ as agreeing with παντός. But though οὐρανός can = κόσμος (see § 4), can it be said to have four elements? Cumont expunges οὐρανοῦ. He quotes *De Som.* i. 15, where the constituents, of which we as well as the Cosmos are composed, are said to be earth, water, air, heaven, and to the same effect *Mos.* i. 113,

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 27-30

have hit the truth and to have understood the causal connexion between birth and destruction.

The matter is put otherwise thus. All compound 28 things which are destroyed are dissolved into what they were compounded from. Dissolution then is found to be nothing else than a return to the natural condition of each, and therefore conversely composition has forced the ingredients thus collected into an unnatural condition. And indeed the absolute truth of this appears as follows. We men are 29 an amalgamation out of the four elements which in their totality are elements of the universe, namely earth, water, air and fire, out of which we have borrowed only small pieces. But the pieces thus amalgamated have lost their natural position. Heat the upward soaring is thrust down and the earthy and weighty substance is lightened and has taken instead the upper position which is occupied by the most earthy of our constituents, the head.^a But the 30 bond which violence has clinched is the most worthless of all bonds and lasts for but a little time. Quickly it is broken by the rebellious prisoners in their yearning for their natural free movement towards which they eagerly take their departure.

^a *i.e.* the skull. Cumont's reading (see note 5) gives a more natural sense. It is strange to find the head called our most earthy part.

ii. 37. These however rather point to the omission of *πυρός*. The addition of *ῥῥατος* which all three editors make is evidently necessary.

⁵ One MSS. *κεφαλῇ*. Cumont *ὥστε . . . ἐν κεφαλῇ*. In this case *ἐπέσχηκε* = "has stopped"; or "takes up its place," see note *a*.

⁶ MSS. *βίαιος*.

PHILO

ανίσταται· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν τραγικὸν

“χωρεῖ δ’ ὀπίσω
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ’ εἰς γαῖαν,
τὰ δ’ ἀπ’ αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς¹
εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν·
θνήσκει δ’ οὐδέν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφὴν ἰδίαν² ἀπέδειξεν.”

- 31 τοῖς μὲν δὴ φθειρομένοις ἅπασι νόμος ἀναγέ-
γραφται καὶ θεσμός οὗτος, ὁπότε μὲν ὑφέστηκε
τὰ συνεληλυθότα ἐν τῇ κράσει, πρὸ τῆς κατὰ
φύσιν τάξεως ἀταξίας ἀντιμετειληφέναι καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς ἐναντίους τόπους μετανίστασθαι, ὡς τρόπον
τινὰ ξενιτεύειν δοκεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ διαλύοιτο, πρὸς
τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς φύσεως λήξιν ἀνακάμπτειν.
- 32 VII. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἀμέτοχος τῆς ἐν
τοῖς λεχθείσιν ἀταξίας ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, θεα-
σώμεθα· φθειρομένου τὰ μέρη νυνὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη
τετάχθαι τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα χώραν· τοῦτο
δὲ ὑπονοεῖν οὐκ εὐαγές· ἀρίστην γὰρ θέσιν καὶ
τάξιν ἐναρμόνιον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη πάντα
εἴληχεν, ὡς ἕκαστον καθάπερ πατρίδι φιλοχωροῦν
- 33 μὴ ζητεῖν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν. διὰ τοῦτο γῇ μὲν
ὁ μεσαίτατος ἀπενεμήθη τόπος, ἐφ’ ἣν πάντα τὰ
γεώδη, καὶ ἀναρρίψης, καταφέρεται — τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ

¹ MSS. γῆς.

² So MSS. here, elsewhere ἐτέραν. See note a.

^a These seven lines, the last three of which are quoted also in §§ 5 and 144, are quoted in bits by several writers including Clement, who says that they come from the *Chrysippus* 206

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 30-33

As the tragic poet says

What springs from earth goes back to earth,
The ether-born to heaven's vault returns ;
Naught that is born can die ;
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take their proper form.^a

Now the law laid down to govern all things which 31
are destroyed is this. When the assembled things
are in the combined state of existence they have
accepted conditions of disorder in exchange for their
natural order and move away into positions opposite
to the natural. So in a sense they seem to live like
strangers in a foreign land. But when they are
dissolved they return to the condition proper to
their nature.

VII. But the world has 32
nothing of the disorder which exists in the com-
pounds of which we have been speaking. Observa-
tion will show that if it undergoes destruction its
several parts must at present have been arranged
in an unnatural position and such a supposition is
irreverent. For all the parts of the world have been
given the best possible situation and harmony of
order, so that each is as it were in its beloved father-
land and does not seek any change for the better.
And so the earth has been assigned the mid-most 33
position to which all things of earth descend even if
they are thrown up, a sign that this is their natural

of Euripides. Besides these seven there are seven others,
given by Sextus Empiricus, which, we learn from the para-
phrase given by Vitruvius of the whole fourteen, must have
preceded our seven. In these Aether and Earth are addressed
as the father and mother of all things living. Vitruvius's
paraphrase ends with "in eandem recidere, in qua fuerant,
proprietaem," which shows that he read *ιδίαν* and not *ἐρέπαι*.
See Nauck on Fr. 839 of Euripides.

- [499] | σημεῖον χώρας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν· ἔνθα γὰρ μὴ ὑπὸ βίας ὅτιοῦν ἐνεχθὲν ἴσταται καὶ ἡρεμεῖ, τὸν οἰκεῖον εἴληχε χῶρον — ὕδωρ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνακέχυται [δεύτερον], ἀὴρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἄνω κεχώρηκεν, ἀὴρ μὲν τὸν μεθόριον ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς κληρωσάμενος τόπον, πῦρ δὲ τὸν ἀνωτάτω· διὸ καὶ ἀναψάμενος δᾶδα πρὸς γῆν καταφέρει, ἢ φλόξ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀντιβιάσεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς κίνησιν ἐπικουφίσασα
- 34 αὐτὴν ἀναδραμεῖται. εἰ δὲ φθορᾶς μὲν αἴτιον ἢ παρὰ φύσιν τάξις τῶν ἄλλων [ἔχει] ζώων, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν διατέτακται τὰς οἰκείας διακληρωσάμενα χώρας, ἐνδίκως ἂν λέγοιτο ὁ κόσμος ἄφθαρτος.
- 35 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐκείνο παντί τῳ δῆλον, ὅτι φύσις ἐκάστη διατηρεῖν καὶ διασώζειν, εἰ δ' οἶόν τε εἴη, καὶ ἀθανατίζειν ἕκαστα ὧν φύσις ἐστὶν ἐσπούδακεν, ἢ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δένδρεσι τὰ δένδρα, ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς
- 36 ζώοις τῶν ζώων ἕκαστον. ἐξασθενεῖ¹ δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀναγκαίως ἄγειν πρὸς αἰδιότητα· ἢ γὰρ ἔνδεια ἢ φλογμὸς ἢ κρυμὸς ἢ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν εἰωθότων ἐπισυνίστασθαι κατασκήψαντα διέσεισε καὶ διέλυσε τὸν συνέχοντα δεσμὸν καὶ τέλος κατέρρηξε· τοιοῦτον δ' εἰ μηδὲν ἐφῆδρευεν ἔξω, καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα
- 37 ἀγῆρω διεφύλαττεν.² ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν γλίχεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὅλου διαμονῆς· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστὶ χείρων, ὥς ἀπο-

¹ Cohn suspects ἐξασθενεῖ on account of the infinitive following it. It may perhaps be justified on the analogy of the construction not uncommon with adjectives, e.g., νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν, or ὡς may have fallen out after ἀναγκαίως on the

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 33-37

position, for if anything stands at rest anywhere without being forced thither it is there that it has found its proper place. Water is spread over the surface of earth, and air and fire have made their way from the middle to the upper position, air having allotted to it the space between water and fire and fire the uppermost. And so even if you light a torch and make it descend to earth the flame will all the same force its way against you and speed upwards lightening itself to gain the motion natural to fire. In fact if we grant that in other creatures destruction 34 is caused by their unnatural arrangement of their parts, while in the world each of the parts is arranged naturally and has its proper position apportioned to it, we are justified in saying that the world is indestructible.

Another point which must be clear to everyone is 35 this. Nature in each case strives to maintain and conserve the thing of which it is the nature and if it were possible to render it immortal. Tree nature acts so in trees, animal nature in each kind of animal, but the nature of any particular part is necessarily 36 too feeble to carry it into a perpetual existence. For privation or scorching or chilling or the vast multitude of other circumstances which ordinarily affect it descend to shake it violently and loosen and finally break the bond which holds it together, though if no such external force were lying ready to attack it, so far as itself was concerned, it would preserve all things small or great proof against age. The 37 nature of the world then must necessarily desire the conservation of the All. For it is not inferior to

analogy of *ψυχρόν ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὥστε λούσασθαι* (Madvig 149, 150).
² MSS. *διαφυλάττειν*.

διδράσκουσα καὶ λιποτακτοῦσα νόσον ἀνθ' ὑγείας
καὶ φθορὰν ἀντὶ σωτηρίας παντελοῦς ἐπιχειρεῖν
τεχνάζειν, ἐπειδὴ

“ πασάων ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἡδὲ μέτωπα,
ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι.”

ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστι, φθορὰν ὁ κόσμος οὐ
δέξεται. διὰ τί ; ὅτι ἡ συνέχουσα φύσις αὐτὸν
ἀήττητός ἐστι κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχύος ῥώμην, τῶν
ἄλλων ὅσα βλάπτειν ἔμελλεν ἀπαξ ἀπάντων ἐπι-
38 κρατοῦσα. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων εἰ “ ἀπῆει τε γάρ ”
φησὶν “ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ προσῆει αὐτῷ ποθεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἦν. αὐτὸ¹ γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τροφήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φθίσιν
παρέχον¹ καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ
πάσχον¹ καὶ δρῶν ἐκ τέχνης γέγονεν· ἡγήσατο γὰρ
αὐτὸ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐταρκες ὃν ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ προσδεῆς (ἄλλων).”

39 VIII. Ἀποδεικτικώτατός γε μὴν καὶ κεῖνος ὁ
λόγος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ μυρίους οἶδα σεμνυνομένους
ὥς ἡκριβωμένῳ καὶ πάννυ ἀνεξελέγκτῳ. πυνθά-
νονται γάρ· τίνος ἔνεκα τὸν κόσμον φθερεῖ ὁ θεός;
[500] ἦτοι γὰρ | ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι κοσμοποιῆσαι ἢ ὑπὲρ
40 τοῦ ἕτερον κατασκευάσαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ
πρότερον ἀλλότριον θεοῦ· πρὸς τάξιν γὰρ ἀταξίαν
μεταβάλλειν δέον, οὐ πρὸς ἀταξίαν τάξιν· εἰτα δ'
ὅτι καὶ μετάνοιαν πάθος καὶ νόσημα δέξεται
ψυχῆς· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ μὴ κοσμοποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν
ἢ κρίνοντα πρέπον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον χαίρειν τῷ
41 γενομένῳ. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἄξιον οὐ

¹ MSS. αὐτὸς . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων.

^a Od. vi. 107 f., said of Artemis and her nymphs.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 37-41

the nature of particular parts that it should take to its heels and leave its post and try to manufacture sickness rather than health, destruction rather than complete preservation, since

High o'er them all she rears her head and brows
Easy to recognize though all are fair.^a

But if this is true the world will not be susceptible to destruction. Why so? Because the nature which holds it together fortified by its great fund of strength is invincible and prevails over everything which could injure it. And so Plato says well^b: "For nothing 38 went out from it nor entered it from anywhere. For there was nothing. For by design it was created to supply its own sustenance by its own wasting^c and have all its actions and passions in itself and by itself. For its framer deemed that were it self-sufficing it would be far better than if it required aught else."

VIII. There is another highly logical line of proof 39 which thousands, I know, hail with pride as very exact and absolutely irrefutable. They ask what motive will God have for destroying the world. It must be either to cease from world-making or to construct another.

Now the first of these is incon- 40 sistent with God's nature, which demands that He should change disorder to order, not order to disorder. Secondly He will be allowing Himself to change His mind, and such change is an affection and distemper of the soul. For rightly He should either have made no world at all or judge His work to be befitting to Himself and rejoice in what has been made.

The second motive suggested 41

^b *Timaeus* 33 c.

^c *i.e.* each part or element feeds upon another. Archer-Hind compares the saying of Heracleitus quoted in § 111.

βραχείας ἐρεύνης. εἰ γὰρ ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος κατασκευάσει, πάντως ὁ γενόμενος ἢ χείρων ἢ ὅμοιος ἢ κρείττων ἀποτελεσθήσεται· ὦν ἕκαστον ἐπίληπτον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ χείρων ὁ κόσμος, χείρων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός. ἀμώμητα δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ ἀνεπανόρθωτα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τελειοτάτη τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη δημιουργηθέντα·

“ οὐδὲ ” γὰρ “ γυνή ” φασὶ “ τοσσόνδε νόου ἐπιδεύεται ἐσθλοῦ,
ὥστε χερεῖον^a ἐλέσθαι ἀμεινότερων <παρεόντων>.”

ἐμπρεπὲς δὲ θεῶ τὰ ἄμορφα μορφοῦν καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις περιτιθέναι θαυμαστὰ κάλλη.

- 42 εἰ δ' ὅμοιος, ματαιοπόνος ὁ τεχνίτης, οὐδὲν κομιδῇ νηπίων παίδων διαφέρων, οἱ πολλάκις παρ' αἰγιαλοῖς ἀθύροντες ψάμμου γεωλόφους ἀνιστᾶσι κᾶπειθ' ὑφαίρουντες ταῖς χερσὶ πάλιν ἐρείπουσι· πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὅμοιον μηδὲν μήτε ἀφαιροῦντα μήτε προστιθέντα μηδ' αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον μεταβάλλοντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄπαξ
43 γενόμενον κατὰ χώραν ἔαν. εἰ δὲ κρείτ-

τονα δημιουργήσει, γενήσεται τότε κρείττων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός, ὥσθ' ἡνίκα τὸν πρότερον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν ἀτελέστερος, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν ἐστίν· ἴσος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅμοιος ὁ θεός, μήτε ἀνέσιν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μήτ' ἐπίτασιν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον δεχόμενος.

^a Source unknown.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 41-43

demands no little examination. If he should construct another world to take the place of that which now exists, the work thus made must be either a worse, or a like or a superior construction and each of these suppositions is unsatisfactory. For if it is worse its framer also is worse, but the works of God framed with the most consummate skill and knowledge are not liable to censure or condemnation or correction. As they say,

Not even a woman so far lacks good sense
As when the better's there to choose the worse.^a

And it befits God to give form to the formless and invest the ugliest things with marvellous beauties.

If it is a similar world, the craftsman ⁴² has wasted his toil and differs not a whit from quite senseless children who often when playing on the beach erect great mounds of sand and then undermine them with their hands and send them tumbling back to the ground.^b Far better than constructing a similar world would it be neither to take away nor to add, neither to change for the better or for the worse but to leave where it is what was once originally created.

If the work is to be better, the ⁴³ workman also will then be better, consequently less perfect in skill and intelligence when he constructed the first world. And even to harbour such a thought is profane, for God is equal to Himself and like Himself; His power admits neither relaxation to make it worse, nor tension to make it better. Such

^b Cf. *Il.* xv. 362 ff. :

ὥς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἄγχι θαλάσσης,
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησιν,
αἷψ' αὐτίς συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνωμαλίας ἄνθρωποι κεχωρήκασι, πρὸς ἐκάτερον τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον πεφυκότες μεταβάλλειν, αὐξήσῃσι καὶ προκοπαῖς καὶ βελτιώσεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰωθότες
 44 χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν τῶν θνητῶν ἔργα ἡμῶν φθαρτὰ δεόντως ἂν γένοιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀθανάτου κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον ἀφθαρτα δῆπου· τῇ γὰρ φύσει τῶν τεχνιτῶν εὐλογον τὰ δημιουργηθέντα ἐξομοιοῦσθαι.

- 45 IX. Καὶ μὴν ἅπαντί που¹ κακεῖνο δηλόν, ὅτι φθειρομένης μὲν τῆς γῆς ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ χερσαῖα τῶν ζώων καθ' ὅλον τὸ γένος ἀπόλλυσθαι, φθειρομένου δὲ ὕδατος τὰ ἔνυδρα, καὶ αἶρος μέντοι καὶ
 46 πυρὸς τὰ ἀεροπόρα καὶ πυρίγονα. κατ' ἀνάλογον οὖν εἰ φθείρεται ὁ οὐρανός, φθαρήσεται μὲν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ λοιποὶ πλάνητες, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες, ὁ τοσοῦτος |
 [501] αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εὐδαίμων τὸ πάλαι νομισθεὶς στρατός. ὁ δὴ [εἰ] γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ θεοὺς φθειρομένους ὑπονοεῖν· ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀθανάτους ὑπονοεῖν. καίτοι τις² ἐν ἀτίμων συγκρίσει τοῦτ' ἂν εὖροι σκοπῶν εὐλογώτερον ἐκείνου· χάριτι μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ³ θνητὸν ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν εἰκὸς ἐστίν, ἀφθαρσίαν δὲ θεοὺς ἀπο-

¹ Cohn corrects to *τω*, I think, unnecessarily. He says that *παντί τω* is very common in Philo, which is certainly true, and that *που* is unsuitable. Why? Having used *παντί τω* just above, § 35, he might naturally prefer to vary the form of introduction.

² MSS. *καὶ τοῖς οἱ καίτοι*.

³ MSS. *ἐκείνου, χάριτι μὲν θεοῦ ὃν θνητὸν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.*

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 43-46

irregularities occur in the lives of men. It is their nature to change in both directions for good and for worse. To grow, to advance, to improve and their opposites are to them common events. Add to this 44 that the works of us mortals will rightly be destructible, while those of Him the immortal may surely be expected to be indestructible. For it is reasonable to suppose that what the craftsmen have wrought should be assimilated to the nature of those who wrought them.

IX. Further, it is surely clear to everyone that if 45 the earth is destroyed land animals too as a race must all perish : so, too, if water is destroyed, the aquatic, if air and fire, the traversers of the air and the fire-born.^a On the same analogy, if heaven is 46 destroyed, the sun and moon will be destroyed, so also the other planets, so also the fixed stars, that mighty host of visible gods whose blessedness from of old has been recognized. This would be the same as supposing that gods are destroyed, and that is on a par with supposing also that men are immortal.^b Though if we compare one futility with another we shall find on examination that this is more reasonable than that. Through the grace of God a mortal may conceivably gain immortality, but that gods should

^a Cf. *De Gig.* 7 and *De Plant.* 12, where they are said to be seen particularly in Macedonia.

^b Bernays explains this as a Peripatetic hit at the Stoic readiness to believe that men become gods. He quotes among other references Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* i. 39, where Chrysippus is declared to have included among the many things which he held to be divine "homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti." The Peripatetic then says here that a doctrine which involved the death of the heavenly beings is even worse than that which asserts the deification of men.

βαλεῖν ἀδύνατον, κἂν αἱ ἀνθρώπων σοφαί κακο-
 47 μανῶσι. καὶ μὴν οἷ γε τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς
 παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου νομίζουσι
 καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι, οὓς τῷ
 λόγῳ διαφθείρειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν. ἔδει γὰρ ἢ
 μύδρους διαπύρους ἀποφήνασθαι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι
 τῶν οἶα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων τοῦ σύμ-
 παντος οὐρανοῦ, ἢ θείας ἢ δαιμονίας φύσεις νομί-
 ζοντας τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν θεοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσ-
 ομολογῆσαι. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἀληθοῦς
 διήμαρτον, ὥστε λελήθασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ
 — ψυχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου — φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντες
 48 ἐξ ὧν ἀνακόλουθα φιλοσοφοῦσι. Χρύσιππος γοῦν
 ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ
 αὐξανομένου τερατεύεται τι τοιοῦτον· προκατα-
 σκευάσας ὅτι “ δύο ἰδίως ποιᾶ¹ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 οὐσίας ἀμήχανον συστήναι,” φησὶν. “ ἔστω θεωρίας
 ἕνεκα τὸν μὲν τινα ὀλόκληρον, τὸν δὲ χωρὶς ἐπι-
 νοεῖσθαι τοῦ ἑτέρου ποδός, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν
 ὀλόκληρον Δίωνα, τὸν δὲ ἀτελῆ Θέωνα, κἄπειτα
 ἀποτέμεσθαι Δίωνος τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν ποδοῖν.”
 ζητουμένου δὴ, πότερος ἔφθαρται, τὸν Θέωνα
 φάσκειν οἰκειότερον εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ παραδοξο-

¹ So Cohn and Cumont for mss. εἰδοποιουός. Arnim how-
 ever in *S.V.F.* ii. 397 quoting this passage has ἰδίως ποιούς,
 and as several other passages from Plutarch, etc., have the
 masculine, it seems that this as nearer to the mss. is correct.

^a The meaning is to be judged from *De Som.* i. 22 “ Some
 people have declared them (the stars) to be . . . masses of fiery
 metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-
 house (*i.e.* a place for hard labour like Lat. “*pistrinum*”), in

lose their indestructibility is impossible whatever the mischievous ravings of men's philosophies may say. And indeed those who propound the doctrines of 47 conflagration and rebirth hold and openly declare the god-head of the stars which they destroy in their theorizing without a blush. For they must either declare them to be lumps of red hot metal as do some of those who nonsensically talk of the whole heaven as if it were a prison,^a or regarding them as divine or superhuman beings also acknowledge that they have the indestructibility which befits gods. In fact they err so far from the true doctrine that they fail to observe that in their inconsistent philosophizing they are imposing destruction on providence also which is 48 the soul of the world. So at least says the most esteemed among them, Chrysippus, who in his treatise on "increase" makes the following marvellous statement.^b Starting from the premise that there cannot be two individuals qualifying the same substance he continues "as an illustration, suppose that one person has all his members and that another has only one foot and let us call the first Dion and the defective one Theon and then suppose that Dion has one of his feet cut off." Now if we ask which of the two has suffered destruction, he thinks that Theon is the more correct answer. This savours

which such instruments are kept to punish impiety." And both passages seem to be connected with the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for impiety because he said that the sun was a *μύδρος διάπυρος*. They seem to be the only passages which suggest that such a form of punishment was used in prisons. Was there perhaps a story that Anaxagoras when imprisoned, as according to one version he was, was subjected to this as an appropriate punishment?

^b On the meaning of the term *ιδίως ποιόν* or *ποιός* and the argument of §§ 48-51 see App. p. 528.

49 λογοῦντος μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ ἀληθεύοντος. πῶς γάρ
 ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς μέρος, ὁ Θέων,
 ἀνήρπασται, ὁ δ' ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων οὐχὶ
 διεφθάρται; “δεόντως” φησὶν. “ἀναδεδράμηκε
 γὰρ ὁ ἐκτμηθεὶς τὸν πόδα Δίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀτελῆ
 τοῦ Θέωνος οὐσίαν, καὶ δύο ἰδίως ποιὰ¹ περὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνατ' εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν τὸν
 μὲν Δίωνα μένειν ἀναγκαῖον, τὸν δὲ Θέωνα
 διεφθάρθαι.”

“τὰ δ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
 ἀλίσκόμενα”

φησὶν ὁ τραγικός· ἀπομαζάμενος γάρ τις τὸν |
 [502] τύπον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ
 δείξει σαφέστατα καὶ αὐτὴν φθειρομένην τὴν πρό-
 50 νοιαν. σκόπει δ' ὧδε· ὑποκείσθω τὸ μὲν² ὥσανεὶ
 Δίων ὁ κόσμος — τέλειος γάρ —, τὸ δὲ² ὥσανεὶ
 Θέων ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, διότι τοῦ ὅλου τὸ
 μέρος ἔλαττον, καὶ ἀφαιρείσθω, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Δίωνος ὁ πούς, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ὅσον
 51 αὐτοῦ σωματοειδές. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη λέγειν ὅτι ὁ
 μὲν κόσμος οὐκ ἐφθάρται ὁ τὸ σῶμα ἀφαιρεθείς,
 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων, ἀλλ' ἢ
 τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, ὥσπερ Θέων ὁ μηδὲν παθών.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος ἐπ' ἐλάττονα οὐσίαν ἀνέδραμεν,
 ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ἐφθάρη δ'
 ἢ ψυχὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δύο ἰδίως ποιὰ¹ εἶναι
 περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἔκθεσμον δὲ τὸ λέγειν

¹ See note 1, p. 216.

² MSS. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 49-51

more of paradox than of truth. For how can one 49 say that Theon the unmutilated has been made away with while Dion whose foot is amputated has suffered no destruction? "Quite rightly," he replies, "for Dion who has had his foot amputated has passed over to the defective substance of Theon. Two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum and so Dion must remain and Theon has been destroyed."

Themselves, no others, winged the shaft which slew them,"^a

as says the tragic poet. For by reproducing this form of argument and applying it to the whole world one can very clearly show that providence itself is also destroyed. Consider it as follows. Postulate 50 on the one hand the world which is complete like Dion and on the other the soul of the world as Theon, for the part is less than the whole. Then just as we take away Dion's foot, take away from the world all its bodily part. Then we must say 51 that the world which has lost its body has not been destroyed just as Dion whose foot was cut off was not destroyed. But the soul of the world has been destroyed just as Theon who suffered no injury was destroyed. The world has passed over into a lesser state of being since its bodily part has been taken from it and its soul has been destroyed because two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum.

^a A fragment of the *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus. The passage is often quoted with or without the preceding lines

ὦδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτω τοξικῶ τὸν αἰετὸν
εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,
τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἀλισκόμεσθα.

φθείρεσθαι τὴν πρόνοιαν· ἀφθάρτου δὲ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφθαρτον εἶναι.

- 52 X. Μεγίστην μέντοι παρέχεται πίστιν εἰς αἰδιό-
τητα καὶ ὁ χρόνος. εἰ γὰρ ἀγένητος ὁ χρόνος, ἐξ
ἀνάγκης καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀγένητος. διὰ τί ; ὅτι, ἢ
φησιν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων, ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες μῆνές
τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι χρόνον ἔδειξαν. ἀμή-
χανον δέ τι τούτων συστήναι δίχα ἡλίου κινήσεως
καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ περιφορᾶς· ὥστ' εὐθυ-
βόλως ἀποδεδόσθαι πρὸς τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ πράγ-
ματα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
κινήσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑγιές ἐστι, γίνεται ὁ
53 κόσμος ἰσῆλιξ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αἴτιος. πάντων δ'
ἀτοπώτατον ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι ἦν ποτε κόσμος,¹ ἥνίκα
οὐκ ἦν χρόνος¹. ἀναρχος γὰρ καὶ ἀτελεύτητος ἡ
τούτου φύσις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἦν, τὸ ποτέ,
τὸ ἥνίκα, χρόνον συνεμφαίνει. τούτῳ δ' ἀκό-
[492] λουθον τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον² | ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτόν,
ἥνίκα κόσμος οὐκ ἦν· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑπάρχον οὐδὲ
κινεῖται· διάστημα δὲ κοσμικῆς κινήσεως ἐδείχθη
ὁ χρόνος ὢν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐκάτερον ἐξ αἰδίου
ὑφεστάναι γενέσεως ἀρχὴν μὴ λαβόντα· τὰ δ' αἰδία
54 φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτα. τάχα τις εὐρεσιλογῶν Στωι-
κὸς ἐρεῖ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεδόσθαι διάστημα τῆς τοῦ
κόσμου κινήσεως οὐχὶ τοῦ νυνὶ διακεκοσμημένου
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὑπο-
νοουμένου. πρὸς ὃν λεκτέον· τὴν ἀκοσμίαν, ᾧ
γενναῖε, μετατιθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα κόσμον καλεῖς· εἰ

¹ MSS. χρόνος . . . κόσμος.

² On the transposition of the text at this point see App. p. 527.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 51-54

Now to say that providence is destroyed is an atrocity but if providence is indestructible the world also is indestructible.

X. Another very weighty proof to show its per- 52
petuity is supplied by time. If time is uncreated, the world also necessarily must be uncreated. Why? Because as great Plato says time is indicated by days and nights and months and successions of years, and none of these can subsist without the movement of the sun and the revolution of the whole heaven.^a Thus people who are accustomed to define things have correctly explained time as what measures the movement of the universe, and since this is sound, the world is coeval with time and its original source. But nothing can be so preposterous as to suppose that 53
there was a time when the world was when time was not. Time by its nature has no beginning or end,^a since these very terms "was, time when, when," involve the idea of time. From this it follows that time also did not exist of itself when the world was not, for what does not subsist does not move either and time has been shown to be what measures the cosmic movement. It is necessary therefore that both should have subsisted from everlasting without having any beginning in which they came into being and things which are from everlasting are not susceptible of destruction. Possibly some argumenta- 54
tive Stoic quibbler will say that time is explained as the measurement of the movement not only of the world of the present cosmic order but of that postulated at the conflagration. The answer to this is, "My friend, you are transferring your terms and give the sense of Cosmos to the negation of Cosmos, for if this world which we see is very fitly called

PHILO

γὰρ οὗτος ὃν ὁρῶμεν ἐτύμως καὶ προσφύεστατα κόσμος κέκληται, διατεταγμένος καὶ διακεκοσμημένος ἀνεπανορθώτου¹ τέχνης ἀκρότητι, τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεόντως ἂν τις ἀκοσμίαν ὀνομάσαι.

- 55 XI. Κριτόλαος δέ (τις) τῶν κεχορευκόντων Μούσαις, τῆς Περιπατητικῆς ἐραστῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῷ περὶ τῆς αἰδιότητος κόσμου δόγματι συνειπὼν ἐχρήσατο τοιαύταις πίστεσιν· εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν γῆν γεγονέναι· εἰ δέ ἡ γῆ γενητῇ, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀγένητον, ἐξ αἰδίου τοῦ γένους ὑφειστώτος, ὥσπερ
56 ἐπιδειχθήσεται· αἰδῖος ἄρα καὶ ὁ κόσμος. τὸ δὲ ὑπερτεθὲν ἤδη κατασκευαστέον, εἰ δεῖ καὶ ἀποδείξωσι τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι· δεῖ δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἔνεκα τῶν μυθοπλαστῶν, οἱ ψευσμάτων ἀναπλήσαντες τὸν βίον ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον πεφυγαδεύκασιν, οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ οἴκους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον τοῦ (ἀρίστου) κτήματος χηρεύειν βιασάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φράσεως² ὀλκὸν μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐπινοήσαντες, οἷς ἀφρόνων ὦτα καταγοητεύουσι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς αἱ ἄμορφοι καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς ἐταῖραι περιάπτοις καὶ
57 νόθῳ κόσμῳ χρεῖα γνησίου. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γενέσις ἀνθρώπων νεώτερον φύσεως ἔργον,
[493] ἀρχεγονώτερον δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον | ἡ ἐκ γῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντων μήτηρ ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται· τοὺς δὲ ἀδομένους παρ' Ἑλλήσι Σπαρτοὺς ἐκφῦναι,

¹ MSS. ἄτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου.

² MSS. πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὀράσεως.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 54-57

Cosmos in the proper sense of the word being ordered and disposed with consummate craftsmanship, which admits of no improvement, one may rightly describe its change into fire as the negation of Cosmos."

XI. ^a Critolaus, one of the votaries of the Muses, 55 a lover of the Peripatetic philosophy, who assents to the doctrine of the perpetuity of the world, used the following arguments. If the world has been created, the earth must have been so too, and if the earth was created, so certainly must have been the human race, but man is uncreated and his race has existed from everlasting as will be shown, therefore the world also is everlasting. Now for the 56 establishment of the point just left for discussion ^b if, indeed, facts so obvious need proof. But they do need it, because of the myth-makers who have infected our life with their falsehoods and chased away truth from its borders. They have forced not only cities and houses but also every single individual to lack that best of possessions and devised as a bait to trap them metres and rhythms and so expressed their views in an attractive form. With these they bewitch the ears of the foolish as uncomely and repulsive courtesans bewitch their eyes with their trappings and spurious adornment for lack of the genuine. These people say that the birth of man- 57 kind from mankind is a later work of nature and that the earlier and more original form was a generation from the earth, since the earth both is and is held to be the mother of all things and that the Sown men celebrated in Grecian lore sprang from

some remarks on the part assigned to him in the argumentation which follows see Intr. p. 176.

^b Or "assumed"; cf. § 125.

καθάπερ νῦν τὰ δένδρα, τελείους καὶ ἐνόπλους
 58 γῆς παῖδας. ὅτι δὲ μύθου πλάσμα τοῦτ'
 ἐστί, συνιδεῖν ἐκ πολλῶν ῥάδιον. αὐτίκα τῷ
 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ἔδει καθ' ὠρισμένα μέτρα καὶ
 ἀριθμούς χρόνων αὐξήσεως· βαθμούς γάρ τινας ἡ
 φύσις τὰς ἡλικίας ἐγέννησε, δι' ὧν τρόπον τινὰ
 ἀναβαίνει καὶ κάτεισιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀναβαίνει μὲν
 αὐξόμενος, κατέρχεται δ' ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσιν· ὅρος
 δ' ὁ τῶν ἀνωτάτω¹ βαθμῶν ἀκμή, πρὸς ὃν φθάσας
 τις οὐκέτι πρόεισιν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ διαυλοδρο-
 μοῦντες ἀνακάμπτουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ὅσα παρ'
 ἰσχυούσης νεότητος ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν² ἀσθενεῖ
 59 γήρᾳ. τὸ δὲ γεννηθῆναί τινας οἶεσθαι τελείους ἐξ
 ἁρχῆς ἡγνοηκότων ἐστὶ νόμους φύσεως, θεσμούς
 ἀκινήτους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεραι γινώμαι προσανα-
 ματτόμεναι τὸ πλημμελὲς ἐκ τοῦ συνεζευγμένου
 θνητοῦ τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς εἰκότως ἐνδέχονται,
 ἄτρεπτα δὲ τὰ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἅτε
 πάντων ἐπικρατούσης καὶ διὰ βεβαιότητα τῶν
 ἅπαξ γνωσθέντων τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς παγέντας ὅρους
 60 ἀκινήτους διαφυλαττούσης. εἴπερ οὖν ἀρμόττον
 ἐνόμιζεν ἀποτίκτεσθαι τελείους, καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐτε-
 λειογονεῖτο ἄνθρωπος, μὴ βρέφος, μὴ παῖς, μὴ
 μειράκιον γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ εὐθύς ὢν, ἴσως
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν ἀγήρως καὶ ἀθάνατος· ὧ γὰρ
 μὴ αὐξήσις, μηδὲ μείωσις πρόσσεστιν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἄχρι τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίας μεταβολαὶ κατ' αὐξήσιν,
 αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄχρι γήρως καὶ τελευτῆς κατὰ
 μείωσιν συνίστανται· τῷ δὲ μὴ κοινωνοῦντι τῶν

¹ Cohn thinks the superlative meaningless and suggests ἄνω, but "the uppermost steps are bounded by the ἀκμή" seems an intelligible phrase. ² mss. ἀποδίδωσιν ἐν ἀσθενεί.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 57-60

the earth as trees do now, full-grown and in armour.

That this is a mythical fiction can be easily seen on many grounds ; one is that the growth of the man first born must have followed periods of time determined by fixed measurements and numerical rules. For nature has created the stages of age as a sort of steps by which man may be said to go up and down, up while he is growing, down in the times of his decreasing. The limit of the upward steps is the culmination of youth. When he has reached this he no longer advances but like the runners of the double course who return along the self-same track he repays to feeble old age all that he received from lusty youth. But to think that any were born full-grown from the first shows an ignorance of those immutable statutes, the laws of nature. Our decisions and judgements reflect the discord which belongs to the mortal element, our yoke-fellow, and may be expected to admit of change and instability. But there is no swerving in the nature of the universe, for that nature is supreme above all and so steadfast are its decisions once taken that it keeps immutable the limits fixed from the beginning. If then nature had thought it fitting that they should be produced full-grown, mankind would even now be created in that condition, not as infants, nor boys nor youths, but in manhood straight away, and perhaps altogether proof against old age and death. What is not subject to increase is not subject to decrease either, for the process of the changes up to manhood is one of increase but from manhood to old age and death one of decrease, and it is reasonable that one who is exempt from the first set of

προτέρων καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας εὐλογον μὴ ἐπιγί-
 61 γνεσθαι. τί δ' ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἀνθρώπους καθάπερ
 φασὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν βλαστάνειν; οὕτως καὶ ἡ
 γῆ γεγήρακεν, ὥς διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐστειρῶσθαι
 δοκεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένει νεάζουσα αἰεὶ, διότι
 τετάρτη μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἐστι καὶ ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ
 ὅλου διαμονῆς ὀφείλει μὴ φθίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ
 ἀδελφὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτῆς ὕδωρ ἀήρ τε καὶ πῦρ
 62 ἀγῆρω διατελεῖ. πίστις δὲ ἐναργῆς τῆς

ἀδιαστάτου καὶ αἰδίου περὶ γῆν ἀκμῆς τὰ φυό-
 μενα· καθαρθεῖσα¹ γὰρ ἡ ποταμῶν ἀναχύσειςιν,
 ὥσπερ φασὶν Αἴγυπτον, ἡ τοῖς ἐτησίοις ὄμβροις
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς φορᾶς² κάματον ὑπανίεται καὶ χαλᾶται,
 κᾶπειτα διαναπαυσασμένη τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν
 ἀνακτᾶται μέχρι παντελοῦς ῥώμης, εἰτ' ἄρχεται
 πάλιν τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων γενέσεως τροφὰς ἀφθόνους
 63 ἀπάσαις ζώων ιδέαις ἀναδιδούσα. XII. παρ' ὃ
 [494] μοι δοκοῦσιν | οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ποιηταὶ Πανδώραν
 αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαι, πάντα δωρουμένην [καὶ] τὰ πρὸς
 ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ
 πᾶσιν ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται. εἰ γοῦν τις ἕαρος
 ἀκμάσαντος πτερωθεὶς ἀρθείη μετάρσιος καὶ κατ-
 ἰδοι τὴν τε ὄρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, τὴν μὲν εὐχορτον
 καὶ χλοηφόρον πόας καὶ χιλὸν κριθάς τε καὶ
 πυροὺς καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας σπαρτῶν φύσεις ἀνα-
 διδοῦσαν, ἃς τε γεωργοὶ κατεβάλλοντο καὶ ἃς
 ἀπαντοματίζουσα ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παρέχεται, τὴν

¹ Mangey, Bernays and Cumont correct to *καταρθεῖσα* (from *κατάρδω* = "irrigate"), and Cohn's reference to *Timaeus* 22 D ("When the gods send a flood upon earth to purify her") is hardly to the point; but the example which he quotes (*Hermes*, 1916, p. 184) from *De Providentia* 43, where the purification is effected by the ordinary rains which

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 60-63

changes should not be subject to those which follow. And what is to prevent men from springing now as they are alleged to have sprung in former times? Has the earth too grown so old that it may be thought to have been sterilized by length of time? On the contrary it remains as it was ever young, because it is the fourth part of the All and is bound to remain undecayed in order to conserve the sum of things, just as also its sister elements, water, air and fire, continue to defy old age. 61

A clear proof 62
that the earth retains its vigour continually and perpetually at its height is its vegetation, for purified either by the overflow of rivers, as they say is the case in Egypt, or by the annual rains, it takes a respite and relaxation from the weary toil of bearing fruit, and then after this interval of rest recuperates its native force till it reaches its full strength and then begins again to bear fruits like the old and supplies in abundance to each kind of living creature such food as they need. XII. And therefore it seems 63
to me that the poets did not do amiss in giving her the name of Pandora, because she gives all things that bring benefit and pleasurable enjoyment not to some only but to all creatures endowed with conscious life. Suppose one soaring aloft on wings when spring has reached its height were to survey the uplands and the lowlands, he would see the lowlands verdant with herbage, producing pasturage and grass fodder and barley and wheat and numerous other forms of grain, some sown by the farmer, others provided self-grown by the season of the year. He would

nourish animal and vegetable life, justifies the retention of *καθαρθεῖσα*.

² MSS. *φθορᾶς*.

δὲ κλάδοις καὶ φυλλάσι κατάσκιον, οἷς ἐπικο-
 σμεῖται τὰ δένδρα, καὶ καρπῶν περιπληθεστάτην,
 οὐχὶ τῶν πρὸς ἔδωδὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς πόνους
 ἀκεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν—ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς
 σώματος κάματον ἰᾶται, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου ποθεῖς
 64 μετρίως ἐπιχαλᾷ τὰς σφοδρὰς ὀδύνας ψυχῆς—, ἔτι
 δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναφερομένας εὐωδεστάτας
 αὔρας καὶ τὰς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀμυθήτους ιδιότητας
 τέχνη δαιμονίῳ πεποικιλμένας, τὴν δ' ὄψιν ἀπο-
 κλίνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων ἐν μέρει πάλιν αἰγείρους,
 κέδρους, πεύκας, ἐλάτας, δρυῶν ὕψη περιμηκέ-
 στατα, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀγρίων συνεχεῖς καὶ βαθείας
 ὕλας περιαθρήσειεν, αἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα
 τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ὄση βαθύγειος τῆς
 ὑπορείου συσκιάζουσι, γινώσεται τὴν ἀνένδοτον καὶ
 65 ἀκάματον τῆς γῆς αἰεὶ νεαζούσης ἀκμήν· ὥστ'
 οὐδὲν ἐλαττωθεῖσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἰσχύος καὶ νῦν ἂν,
 εἴ γε τὸ πρότερον, ἔτικτεν ἀνθρώπους, ὑπὲρ δυοῖν
 τοῖν ἀναγκαιοτάτοι, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μὴ λιποτακτεῖν
 τάξιν οἰκείαν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν σπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει
 τοῦ χερσαίων ἀπάντων ἀρίστου καὶ ἡγεμόνος
 ἀνθρώπου δευτέρου δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπικουρίας, αἱ
 κύουσai μὲν βαρυτάτοις ἄχθεσι δέκα πού μῆνας
 πιέζονται,¹ μέλλουσai δ' ἀποτίκτειν πολλάκις ὠδίσιν
 66 αὐταῖς ἐναποθνήσκουσιν. ὅλως τοῦτ' οὐκ εὐήθεια
 δεινὴ μήτραν ὑπολαμβάνειν γῆν ἐγκεκολπίσθαι
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπων σποράν; τὸ γὰρ ζωογονοῦν
 χωρίον ἐστὶ μήτρα, “ φύσεως,” ὥς εἶπέ τις,

¹ MSS. βιάζονται.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 63-66

see the uplands overshadowed with the branches and foliage which deck the trees and filled with a vast quantity of fruits, not merely those which serve for food, but also those which prove to be a cure for troubles. For the fruit of the olive heals the weariness of the body and that of the vine if drunk in moderation relaxes the violence of sorrow in the soul. Further he would perceive the sweet fragrance of 64 the exhalations wafted from the flowers and the multitudinous varieties of their colours diversified by superhuman skill. Again looking away from the cultivated vegetation, he would survey poplars, cedars, pines, firs, tall towering oaks and the other deep, unbroken forests of wild trees which overshadow the vast expanse of the huge mountains ^a and the wide stretch of deep soil which lies at their feet. Seeing all this he will recognize that the ever-youthful earth still has the indomitable and unwearying 65 vigour of its prime. And therefore the earth, which has suffered no diminution of its ancient strength, would, if she brought forth men before, be doing so still, and this for two most cogent reasons, part to avoid desertion of her proper post, particularly her duty of sowing and generating man, the best and chief of all the creatures who walk the land, and secondly to aid women, who in pregnancy labour with very grievous burdens for some ten months and when they are on the point of child-birth often actually die in the pains of travail. Indeed is it not 66 terribly foolish to suppose that earth has in its bosom a womb for the sowing of men? For the place which generates life is the womb, the "workshop of meaning perhaps "nearly all and even the highest." In the next line *τῇν πολλήν* may = "the greater part."

“ἐργαστήριον,” ἐν ᾧ ζῶα μόνον διαπλάττεται· τὸ δὲ οὐ γῆς μέρος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ζώου θήλεος, δημιουργηθὲν εἰς γενέσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ μαζοὺς καθάπερ γυναικὶ γῇ φατέον ἡνίκα ἡνθρωπογόνει προσγενέσθαι, τροφὴν ἔχουσιν οἰκείαν οἱ πρῶτον ἀποκυθηθέντες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ποταμός, οὐ πηγὴ τις οὐδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθ’ ὕδατος μνημονεύεται
 67 ποτε ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις, ὥσπερ γαλακτοτροφείσθαι χρὴ τὸ ἀρτίγονον, οὕτως καὶ τῇ δι’ ἀμπεχόνης σκέπη χρῆσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ
 [495] κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας τοῖς σώμασι ζημίας, οὗ χάριν μαῖαι καὶ μητέρες, αἷς ἀναγκαῖα φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται¹ τῶν γεννωμένων, κατασπαργανοῦσι τὰ βρέφη. τοὺς δὲ γηγενεῖς φύντας πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εὐθὺς διέφθειρε γυμνοὺς ἐαθέντας ἢ ἀέρος κατάψυξις ἢ ἀφ’ ἡλίου φλογμός; κρυμοὶ γὰρ καὶ θάληη κρατήσαντα νόσους καὶ φθοράς
 68 ἀπεργάζονται. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ἀλογεῖν ἀληθείας οἱ μυθοπλάσται, τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνόπλους ἑτερατεύσαντο ἐκφῶναι. τίς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ γῆς χαλκουργὸς ἢ τοσοῦτος Ἡφαιστος, ὥς αὐτίκα παντευχίας εὐτρεπίζεσθαι; τίς δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις γενομένοις εἰς ὀπλισιν² οἰκειότης; ἡμερώτατον γὰρ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λόγον δωρησαμένης φύσεως αὐτῷ γέρας, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἐξηγριωμένα πάθη κατεπάδεται καὶ τιθασεύεται. πολὺ βέλτιον ἦν ἀνθ’ ὀπλων κηρύκεια ἀναδύναι, συμβατηρίων

¹ MSS. εἰσέρχεται.

² So Cohn and Cumont from Diels for MSS. ἰσόπαις ἦν, Bernays ὀπλίσεως ἦν.

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nature,"^a as someone calls it, where alone the living are moulded into shape, and this is not a part of the earth but of a female creature framed for generation of other creatures. Folly indeed, since we should also have to say that the earth like a woman has the addition of breasts when she bore men, that the offspring when first brought to birth might have their proper sustenance. But no river or spring anywhere in the habitable earth is recorded as having ever run milk instead of water. Besides just as the 67 newly born needs to be fed with milk, so too he needs to be sheltered by clothing to meet the harms brought upon the body by cold and heat, and therefore midwives and mothers necessarily feeling anxious to protect the offspring wrap the infants in swaddling clothes. Must not then earth-born creatures if left naked have been at once destroyed either by some refrigeration of the air or scorching of the sun, for the powers of cold and heat produce diseases and fatalities?

But the myth- 68 makers having once begun to disregard truth also made out these Sown men to have been born armed, a marvel indeed, for what smith was there on earth or a Vulcan so powerful as to prepare full suits of armour straightaway? And what suitable connexion is there between the first generation of men and wearing arms? Man is the gentlest and kindest of animals, because nature has given him the prerogative of reason, with which the savage passions are charmed away and tamed. Far better would it be for a reasonable being if instead of arms, the herald

^a This phrase is used several times by Philo, *Mos.* ii. 84, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 33, 109 and *Legatio* 56. This is the only place where he indicates that it is a definite quotation.

σπονδῶν σύμβολα, λογικῇ φύσει, ὅπως εἰρήνην
 πρὸ πολέμου πᾶσι τοῖς πανταχοῦ καταγγέλλῃ.

- 69 XIII. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιτειχιζόντων
 ψευδολογίαν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας φλυαρήματα με-
 τρίως ἐξελέλεγκται. χρὴ δ' εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐξ
 αἰδίου κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βλαστάνουσιν
 ἄνθρωποι, σπείροντος μὲν εἰς μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ὡς
 εἰς ἄρουραν, γυναικὸς δ' ὑποδεχομένης τὰ σπέρ-
 ματα σωτηρίως, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἀοράτως ἕκαστα
 καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δια-
 πλαττούσης μερῶν καὶ ὅπερ οὐκ ἴσχυσε λαβεῖν
 ἡμῶν ἕκαστος τοῦθ' ἅπαντι τῷ γένει δωρησαμένης,
 τὸ ἀθάνατον· μένει γὰρ εἰς αἰεί, φθειρομένων τῶν
 ἐν εἶδει, τεράστιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον ἔργον.
 εἰ δ' αἰδίων ἄνθρωπος, βραχεῖα μοῖρα τοῦ παντός,
 ἀγέννητος δῆπου καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ὥστε ἀφθαρτος.

- 70 XIV. Ἐπαγωνιζόμενος δ' ὁ Κριτόλαος ἐχρήτο
 καὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ· τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν
 ἄνοσόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγρυ-
 πνεῖν ἀγρυπνόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ αἷτιον
 αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αἰδιόν ἐστιν· αἷτιος δ' ὁ κόσμος
 αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν, εἴ γε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν·
 αἰδῖος ἄρα ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.

- 71 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κακέينو σκοπεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ
 γενόμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν δεῖ πάντως ἀτελὲς εἶναι,
 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος αὖξασθαι μέχρι παντελοῦς
 τελειώσεως· ὥστε, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἦν μὲν

^a Perhaps a reminiscence of Plato, *Symp.* 206 c ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῶντι ἀθάνατον ἔνεστιν, ἢ κύσεις καὶ ἢ γέννησις. See App. p. 521 (on *De Vit. Cont.* 59).

^b Alluding perhaps to the use of κομδῇ νήπιος in § 42.

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staff, the symbol of treaties of agreement, should spring from the ground, so that it should proclaim peace instead of war to all men everywhere.

XIII. So then since the foolish imaginations of those 69 who fortify falsehood against truth have been satisfactorily refuted, we must be well assured that from everlasting men spring from men in successive generations. The man sows the seeds into a womb as into a field, the woman receives the seed for safe-keeping ; nature invisibly moulds and shapes each part of the body and soul and bestows upon the race as a whole what individually we were not able to receive, namely immortality. For the race remains for ever, though particular specimens perish, a marvel in very truth and the work of God.^a And if man, a small portion of the All, is everlasting, the world must surely be uncreated and therefore is indestructible.

XIV. Critolaus in his contention used also this 70 further kind of argument : That which causes itself to be healthy is free from disease, that which causes itself to be wakeful is wakeful, and if this is so, that which causes itself to exist is everlasting. But the world, since it causes all other things to exist, causes itself to exist, and therefore the world is everlasting.

This is not all. A further point worth considera- 71 tion is that every created thing must in its beginning be quite imperfect and only as time advances grow to its full perfection. Consequently if the world has been created it was once, if I too^b may borrow a Philo here speaks in the person of Critolaus, forgetting that Critolaus would not know what arguments had been adduced in the earlier parts of the treatise. This goes to show that Critolaus is throughout these sections paraphrased rather than quoted.

- ποθ', ἵνα καὶ γὰρ χρήσωμαι τοῖς ἡλικιῶν ὀνόμασι, κομιδῇ νήπιος, ἐπιβαίνων δ' αὖθις ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ μήκεσι χρόνων ὅψε καὶ μόλις ἐτελειώθη·
- 72 τὸν γὰρ μακροβιωτάτου βραδεῖα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκμή.
 [496] τὸν δὲ | κόσμον εἴ τις νομίζει χρήσασθαι ποτε ταῖς τοιαύταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀθεραπεύτω μανίᾳ κεκρατημένος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω¹. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματοειδὲς αὐξηθήσεται, λήψεται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φθείροντες αὐτὸν λογικὸν εἶναι ὑπονοοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπου τρόπον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἄλογος ἔσται, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀκμάζουσιν ἡλικίαν λογικός· ἅπερ οὐ μόνον λέγειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπονοεῖν ἀσεβές· τὸν γὰρ τελειότατον ὁρατῶν περίβολον καὶ (θεοὺς)² τοὺς ἐν μέρει περιέχοντα κληρούχους πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν αἰεὶ τέλειον κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἀμέτοχον κηρῶν, αἷς τὸ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν πᾶν συνέζευκται;
- 74 XV. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φησὶ τριττὰς αἰτίας δίχα τῶν ἔξωθεν ὑποβεβλήσθαι ζώοις τελευτῆς, νόσον, γῆρας, ἔνδειαν, ὧν οὐδεμιᾶ τὸν κόσμον ἀλωτὸν εἶναι· πεπηγέναι τε γὰρ ἐξ ὅλων τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντος μέρους βιασθῆναι, κατακρατεῖν τε τῶν

¹ MSS. ἀγνοεῖσθω.

² θεοὺς in this place is my insertion. Cumont and Cohn have τῶν ὁρατῶν (θεῶν). It seems to me necessary, for the sense, to state that the κληρούχοι of the περίβολος are gods, and with this insertion it is not necessary with Cumont to suppose that κληρούχους is corrupt. On the other hand ὁρατῶν can stand alone. Bernays also does not insert either θεῶν or θεοὺς, translates καὶ τοὺς . . . κληρούχους "welcher die einzelnen göttlichen Theilmächte umschliesst," and περίβολος by "Tempelbezirk." He says that περίβολος is speci-

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term from those applied to the stages of human life, a mere infant, and afterwards progressing through the revolutions of years and long stretches of time, was at long last and with difficulty brought to perfection. For the very long-lived is necessarily slow to reach its culmination. Now if anyone thinks that the world has passed through such changes, he had better recognize that he is under the sway of a fatal delusion. For clearly not only will the world's bodily parts increase but its mind also will make advances, for those who preach its destruction also suppose that it is rational. So then like a man, when it originally comes into being it will be irrational, but at the age of culmination rational. Such things are impious not merely to speak but even to think. Surely this the all-perfect which embraces things visible wherein the several occupants included are gods, deserves to be held ever perfect both in body and soul, immune from the plagues inseparable from all that is created and destructible.

XV. In addition to all this Critolaus says^a that apart from external causes of death to living creatures, there are three to which they are subject, disease, old age and privation, to none of which the world can fall a prey. For it is compacted from the whole of the elements, so that it cannot suffer violence from any part that has been left out and defies control.

^a The argument in this section is substantially the same as in §§ 20 ff., but it is expressed in a different way in many respects, particularly at the end.

ally applied to temples. But I do not think the index bears this out for Philo. Though in several places it is used with reference to the temple, it does not seem in itself to mean more than "enclosure."

δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀσθένειαι, τὰς δ' ὑπεικούσας ἄνοσον καὶ ἀγήρων αὐτὸν διαφυλάττειν, αὐταρκέστατόν τε αὐτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεπιδεᾶ παντὸς γεγονέναι, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς διαμονὴν ὑστερίζοντα, τὰς κενώσεως καὶ πληρώσεως ἐν μέρει διαδοχὰς ἀπώσάμενον, αἷς διὰ τὴν ἄμουσον ἀπληστίαν τὰ ζῶα χρῆσθαι, θάνατον ἀντὶ ζωῆς μνόμενα ἢ, τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρότερον βίον ἀπωλείας.

- 75 Ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδεμία φύσις αἰδίδιος ἐωρᾶτο, ἦττον ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα αἰδιότητος, [ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου ἂν] εὐπροφάσιστα ἀδικεῖν.¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη κατὰ τοὺς ἄριστα φυσιολογοῦντας ἄναρχος καὶ ἀτελεύτητός ἐστιν, εἵρουσα τὰς ἐκάστων ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως αἰτίας, τί δήποτ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν λεκτέον εἶναι μακραίωνα, τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἀτάκτων, τὴν ἁρμονίαν τῶν ἀναρμόστων, τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἀσυμφώνων, τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν διεστηκότων, τὴν ξύλων μὲν καὶ λίθων ἕξιν,

¹ Bernays has *ἀνευ προφάσεως* for the mss. *εὐπροφάσιστα*, Cumont *ἦττον ἂν ἡδίκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα αἰδιότητος ἐδόκουν ἂν εὐπροφάσιστα διδάσκειν*. I have simply printed Cohn's text rather than adopt that of Bernays or Cumont, neither of which I feel to be quite satisfactory. Cohn discusses his text in *Hermes* (1916) and professes himself quite satisfied with it (he defends the anacoluthic *γὰρ* by other examples). But I cannot translate it, and the translation I have given involves either the omission of *ἦττον* or the substitution of *ἀνευ προφάσεως* for *εὐπροφάσιστα*.

^a This end of the section seems to be a not very happy adaptation of *Timaeus* 73 A, where the bowels are said to 236

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It has dominion over the forces which produce infirmities, and the subservience of these forces keeps it from disease and decay of age. It is absolutely self-sufficient and independent of every need. It is lacking in nothing which can ensure permanence and has excluded the successive alternations between inanition and repletion, which living creatures experience through their gross avidity and thereby court not life but death, or to speak more cautiously, an existence more pitiful than extinction.^a

Again if there was no everlasting form of nature 75 to be seen, those who propound the destruction of the world might seem to have a good excuse for their iniquity, since they had no example of perpetual existence before them. But since according to the best professors of natural philosophy, fate has no beginning or end, being a chain^b connecting the causes of each event in unfailing continuity without a gap or break, why should we not also declare that the nature of the world or cosmic system is age-long, since it is order of the disordered, adjustment of the unadjusted, concord of the discordant, unification of the discrepant, appearing as cohesion in wood and

have been formed so that the food should not pass too quickly, and so, producing ἀπληστία, make the whole race ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ ἄμουσον through gluttony (γαστριμαργία). Grammatically ἄμουσον might agree with γαστριμαργίαν or even with ἀπληστίαν, and so perhaps Philo (or Critolaus?) took it.

^b This is an allusion to the supposed connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, which would involve connexion with εἶρω also, cf. *De Mut.* 135 ἡ εἰμαρμένη, ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμόν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον. See note there (vol. v. p. 590), where reference is given to *S. V. F.* ii. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὕσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται. It may be noted that here it appears in a non-Stoical argument.

σπαρτῶν δὲ καὶ δένδρων φύσιν, ψυχὴν δὲ ζώων
ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, ἀρετὴν δὲ
σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην; εἰ δ' ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις
ἀγέννητός τε καὶ ἀφθαρτος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος,
αἰωνίῳ συνεχόμενος καὶ διακρατούμενος δεσμῷ.

- 76 Νικηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ἀντι-
δοξούντων ἔνιοι μετεβάλλοντο· προσκλητικὴν γὰρ
[497] ἔχει δύναμιν τὸ κάλλος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς | δαιμονίως
ἐστὶ καλόν, ὥς τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκτόπως αἰσχρόν.
Βοηθὸς γοῦν ὁ Σιδώνιος¹ καὶ Παναίτιος,² ἄνδρες
ἐν τοῖς Στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἰσχυρότες, ἅτε θεό-
ληπτοι, τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας κατα-
λιπόντες πρὸς ὀσιώτερον³ δόγμα τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας
77 τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἡὑτομόλησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
[502] Διογένης ἡνίκα νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος | τῷ
δόγματι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως ὁπὲρ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνδοιάσας
ἐπισχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ νεότητος ἀλλὰ γήρως τὰ σεμνὰ
καὶ περιμάχῃα διυδεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα μὴ δικάζει
ἡ ἄλογος καὶ ἀπατηλὸς αἴσθησις ἀλλ' ὁ καθαρῶ-
78 τας καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς. XVI. ἀποδείξει
δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Βοηθὸν κέχρηται πιθανωτάταις, ἃς
αὐτίκα λέξομεν· εἰ, φασί, γενητὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς ὁ
κόσμος, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γενήσεται, ὅπερ καὶ
τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ. διὰ τί ;

¹ Mangey and earlier editors read καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, which is rejected by later editors on the grounds that Boethus is elsewhere called a Sidonian and that Posidonius upheld the doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις.

² MSS. πάνεπος.

³ So Cohn following Cumont for the MSS. θειώτερον, which Bernays retains, translating "göttlicheren." I do not feel that it is impossible.

^a For the fourfold classification cf. particularly *Quod*
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stone, growth in crops and trees, conscious life in all animals, mind and reason in men and the perfection of virtue in the good?^a And if the nature of the world is uncreated and indestructible, clearly the world also is the same, held together as it is by the might of an eternal bond.

Some conquered by truth and the arguments of 76 their opponents have changed their views. For beauty has power to call us to it and truth is marvellously beautiful as falsehood is monstrously ugly. Thus Boethus of Sidon and Panaetius,^b powerful supporters of the Stoic doctrines, did under divine inspiration abandon the conflagrations and regenerations and deserted to the more religious doctrine that the whole world was indestructible. It is said 77 too that Diogenes^c in his youth subscribed to the doctrine of the conflagration but in later years felt doubts and suspended judgement, for it is not given to youth but to old age to discern things precious and worthy of reverence, particularly those which are judged, not by unreasoning and deceitful sense, but by mind when absolutely pure and unalloyed. XVI. The demonstrations given by the school of 78 Boethus are very convincing and I will proceed to state them. If, they say, the world is created and destructible we shall have something created out of the non-existent and even the Stoics regard this as quite preposterous. Why so? Because it is im-

Deus 35 ff. This too appears to be an exclusively Stoic theory (see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 196). The addition of the fifth quality "virtue in the good" I have not seen elsewhere.

^b Boethus, middle of third century B.C. Panaetius, second century.

^c Diogenes (the Babylonian), late third and early second century.

[503] ὅτι οὐδεμίαν φθοροποιὸν | αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν ἔστιν, οὐτ' ἐντὸς οὐτ' ἐκτὸς, ἢ τὸν κόσμον ἀνελεῖ· ἐκτὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ τάχα που κενόν, τῶν στοιχείων ἀποκριθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὀλοκλήρων, εἴσω δ' οὐδὲν νόσημα τοιοῦτον, ὃ γένοιτ' ἂν αἴτιον θεῶ¹ τοσούτῳ διαλύσεως. εἰ δ' ἀναιτίως φθείρεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἔσται ἡ γένεσις τῆς φθορᾶς, ὅπερ οὐδ' ἡ διάνοια παραδέξεται.

- 79 Καὶ μὴν φασιν, ὅτι γενικοὶ τρόποι φθορᾶς εἰσι τρεῖς· ὃ τε κατὰ διαίρεσιν καὶ ὃ κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος καὶ ὃ κατὰ σύγχυσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ διεστηκόντων, αἰπόλια, βουκόλια, χοροί, στρατεύματα, ἢ πάλιν ἐκ συναπτομένων² σώματα παγέντα διαστάσει καὶ διαιρέσει λύεται· κατὰ δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος ὁ μετασχηματιζόμενος κηρὸς ἢ καταλεινόμενος,³ ἵνα μὴδὲ ἑτεροειδῆ τινα παράσχη τύπον μορφῆς· κατὰ δὲ σύγχυσιν, ὡς ἡ παρὰ ἰατροῖς τετραφάρμακος· αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν συνενεχθέντων ἠφανίσθησαν
- 80 εἰς ἐξαιρέτου μιᾶς γένεσιν ἀποτελεσθείσης. ποίῳ δὴ τούτων ἄξιον τὸν κόσμον φθείρεσθαι φάναι; τῷ κατὰ διαίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ διεστηκόντων

¹ MSS. τῷ.

² MSS. συναπτόμενον.

³ MSS. καὶ λεαινόμενος.

^a This again is to some extent the same argument as that of §§ 20 and 74. But to these dissident Stoics the main point is that since there is nothing to cause destruction either within or without the world, the destruction, if it came, would come from the non-existent, which is unthinkable.

^b Or perhaps "inherent." I have not found any examples of such a meaning nor yet of "prevailing." Bernays "umhaftenden," Mangey "primariae." Later we have simply ποιότης.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 78-80

possible to find any destructive cause either within or without to make away with the world. For there is nothing outside it except possibly a void, since the elements have been completely merged into it and within it there is no distemper such as to cause a dissolution of so great a deity. And if it is destroyed without a cause, clearly the origin of the destruction will arise from what does not exist and this the understanding will reject as not even thinkable.^a

Further they say that the methods of destruction 79 are of three kinds, namely, dismemberment, annihilation of the prevailing^b quality and amalgamation.^c Combinations of detached units, such as herds of goats or oxen, choirs and armies, or again bodies compacted of conjoined parts are disjoined by detachment and dismemberment. We find annihilation of the prevailing quality in wax when moulded into a new form or when smoothed out without taking any other different shape. We have amalgamation in the quadruple drug^d used by physicians, for the properties of the substances collected vanish and the effect thus produced is one single value of a special kind. Which of these can we say is adequate for the destruc- 80 tion of the world? Dismemberment? The world is neither composed of detached units, so that its parts

^c Cf. *De Conf.* 183-187, where the use of the word throughout the treatise makes it necessary to translate "confusion," but here it can be avoided. But I do not know of any word which suggests the *φθορά τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιότητων*. Possibly "fusion" may be better than "amalgamation," cf. the quotation from Chrysippus in *S. V. F.* ii. 473, given in vol. iv. p. 558.

^d The same illustration is given in *De Conf.* 187, where the drug is said to be a compound of wax, tallow, resin and pitch.

- ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ μέρη σκεδασθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκ συναπτο-
μένων, ὡς διαλυθῆναι, οὔτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς
ἡμετέροις ἡγνῶται σώμασι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικῆρως
τε ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχει καὶ δυναστεύεται πρὸς μυρίων
ὑφ' ὧν βλάπτεται, τοῦ δ' ἀήττητος ἡ ῥώμη πολλῇ
- 81 τινι περιουσίᾳ πάντων κατακρατοῦσα. ἀλλ' ἀν-
αιρέσει παντελεῖ τῆς ποιότητος; ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον
τοῦτό γε· μένει γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς τὰναντία αἵρου-
μένους ἢ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ποιότης ἐπ' ἐλάττονος
οὐσίας τῆς τοῦ Διὸς σταλεῖσα¹ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρω-
- 82 σιν. ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ σύγχυσιν; ἄπαγε, δεήσει γὰρ
πάλιν εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεσθαι τὴν φθορὰν παρα-
δέχεσθαι. τοῦ χάριν; ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἕκαστον ἐν μέ-
ρει τῶν στοιχείων ἐφθείρετο, μεταβολὴν ἐδύνατο
τὴν εἰς ἕτερον δέχεσθαι, πάντων δὲ συλλήβδην
ἀθρόων κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀναγκαῖον²
ὑπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον.
- 83 Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, ἐὰν ἐκπυρωθῇ, φασί, τὰ
πάντα, τί κατ' ἐκείνον ὁ θεὸς πράξει τὸν χρόνον;
ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν; καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· νυνὶ
μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστα ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντων οἶα γνήσιος
πατὴρ ἐπιτροπεύει καί, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν,
ἡνιόχου καὶ κυβερνήτου τρόπον ἡνιοχῇ καὶ πηδα-
λιουχῇ τὰ σύμπαντα, ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις πλάνησι καὶ ἀπλανέσιν ἔτι δ' ἀέρι καὶ τοῖς

¹ So Bernays from τῇ τούτου ἰδιοσταλεῖσα found in the corresponding passage of the *De Mundo*, the spurious work made up of centos from Philo. The mss. themselves leave blanks of various length before σταλεῖσα. See note a.

² mss. ἀνάγκη.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 80-83

can be dispersed, nor of conjoint parts which can be disjoined, nor is it a unity of the same kind as that of our bodies, for they are in themselves perishable, and under the sway of innumerable instruments of mischief, while the world's strength is invincible and far more than sufficient to give it domination over all. What of a complete annihilation of its quality? 81 This is impossible, for according to those who hold the opposite view, the quality of its original construction remains at the conflagration, though contracted, in a diminished substance, namely, Zeus.^a What of amalgamation? Nonsense. For again we 82 shall have to admit that destruction passes into non-existence. Why? Because if each of the elements were severally destroyed each might be capable of changing into something else, but if all are annihilated in a body together by amalgamation we should be obliged to suppose something which is impossible.

Moreover if all things are as they say consumed 83 in the conflagration, what will God be doing during that time? Will He do nothing at all? That surely is the natural inference. For at present He surveys each thing, guardian of all as though He were indeed their father, guiding in very truth the chariot and steering the bark of the universe, the defender of the sun and moon and stars whether fixed or wandering, and also the air and the other parts of the world, co-

sovereign of the world and subordinate gods; in other words, between the universal divine power as a Unity working in the world and its individual parts and manifestations. The former they denoted by the term Zeus; to the latter they applied the names of the subordinate gods" (Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 328). Thus at the *ἐκπύρωσις*, such Unity alone remained.

〈ἄλλοις〉 μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου παριστάμενος καὶ
 συνδρῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου διαμονὴν καὶ τὴν
 84 κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἀνυπαίτιον διοίκησιν. πάντων
 [504] δ' ἀναιρεθέντων, ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ ἀπραξίας | δεινῆς
 ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ χρήσεται· οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτοπώ-
 τερον; ὁκνῶ λέγειν, ὃ μηδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι
 ἀκολουθήσει θεῷ θάνατος, εἴ γε καὶ ἡρεμία· τὸ
 γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἔαν ἀνέλῃς ψυχῆς, καὶ αὐτὴν πάν-
 τως συνανελείς· ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ τοὺς
 ἀντιδοξοῦντας ὁ θεός.

- 85 XVII. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνάξιον¹ διαπορῆσαι, τίνα
 τρόπον ἔσται παλιγγενεσία, πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-
 θέντων· ἐξαναλωθείσης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπὸ πυρός,
 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐκέτ' ἔχον τροφὴν ἀποσβε-
 σθῆναι. μένοντος μὲν οὖν, ὃ σπερματικὸς τῆς
 διακοσμῆσεως ἐσώζेत' 〈ἂν〉 λόγος, ἀναιρεθέντος
 δὲ συνανήρηται. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἔκθεσμον καὶ ἀσέβημα
 ἤδη διπλοῦν, μὴ μόνον φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατη-
 γορεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν
 ἀκοσμία καὶ ἀπραξία καὶ τοῖς πλημμελέσι πᾶσι
 86 χαίροντος θεοῦ. τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀκρι-
 βέστερον ὧδε διερευνητέον· πυρὸς τριττὸν εἶδος·
 τὸ μὲν ἄνθραξ, τὸ δὲ φλόξ, τὸ δὲ αὐγὴ. ἄνθραξ
 μὲν οὖν ἐστι πῦρ ἐν οὐσίᾳ γεώδει, ὃ τρόπον ἔξεως

¹ MSS. οὐκ ἄξιον.

^a The thought of God as "the soul of the world" is mentioned by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 91, *De Mig.* 179 and 181, in each case with a certain amount of disapproval (see note on *Leg. All.* i. 91, vol. i. p. 478). The words κατὰ τοὺς ἀντι-
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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 83-86

operating in all that is needful for the preservation of the whole and the faultless management of it which right reason demands. But if all things are 84 annihilated inactivity and dire unemployment will render His life unworthy of the name and what could be more monstrous than this? I shrink from saying, for the very thought is a blasphemy, that quiescence will entail as a consequence the death of God, for if you annihilate the perpetual motion of the soul you will annihilate the soul itself also and, according to our opponents, God is the soul of the world.^a

XVII. Another question worthy of examination is: 85 How will the rebirth come about if all things are resolved into fire? For if the substance is consumed by fire, the fire too must be extinguished having nothing any longer to feed it. Now if the fire remains the seminal principle^b of the ordered construction would be preserved, but if the fire perishes that principle perishes with it, and it is an enormity, a twofold sacrilege, not only to predicate destruction of the world but to do away with the rebirth as though God rejoiced in disorder and inactivity and every kind of faultiness. But we must examine 86

it more carefully. Consider it from this point of view. Fire takes three forms: these are the live coal, the flame and the fire-light. Now live coal is fire embodied in an earthy substance, a sort of

δοξοδύνας quite suit Boethus, if we are still having his opinion. For he definitely rejected the common Stoic view that God was contained in the universe (Zeller, p. 152).

^b Or "Generative Reason" or "Seed Power" (Arnold). By the term "Generative Reason" must be understood the creative and forming forces in nature, which have collectively produced the universe, and particular exercises of which (*σπερματικοὶ λόγοι*) produce individual things (Zeller).

πνευματικῆς πεφώλευκε καὶ ἔλλοχα δι' ὅλης ἄχρι
 περάτων τεταμένον· φλόξ δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἐκ τροφῆς
 αἴρεται μετεωριζόμενον· αὐγὴ δὲ τὸ ἀποστελλό-
 μενον ἐκ φλογός, συνεργὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
 ὁρατῶν ἀντίληψιν. μέσσην δὲ χώραν αὐγῆς τε καὶ
 ἄνθρακος εἴληχε φλόξ· σβεσθεῖσα μὲν γὰρ εἰς
 ἄνθρακα τελευτᾷ, ζωπυρουμένη δ' ἔχει φέγγος, ὃ
 87 τὴν καυστικὴν ἀφηρημένον δύναμιν ἀστράπτει. εἰ
 κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν οὖν τὸν κόσμον ἀναλύεσθαι
 φαῖμεν, ἄνθραξ μὲν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, διότι παμ-
 πληθὲς ὑπολείψεται τοῦ γεώδους, ὥς τὸ πῦρ ἐγ-
 κατειλήφθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρέσκει δὲ μηδὲν τότε
 τῶν ἄλλων ὑφεστάναι σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ
 88 καὶ αἶρα εἰς ἄκρατον πῦρ ἀναλελύσθαι. καὶ μὴν
 οὐδὲ φλόξ· ἄμμα¹ γὰρ τροφῆς ἐστι, μηδενὸς δὲ
 καταλειφθέντος, ἀτροφήσασα αὐτίκα ἀποσβεσθή-
 σεται. τούτοις ἔπεται τὸ μηδ' αὐγὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι·
 καθ' ἑαυτὴν γὰρ ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχει, ρεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῶν προτέρων, ἄνθρακος καὶ φλογός, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν
 ἐλάττων, πολλὴ δ' ἀπὸ φλογός· χεῖται γὰρ ἐπὶ
 μήκιστον· ἐκείνων δ', ὡς ἐδείχθη, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύ-
 ρωσιν οὐκ ὄντων, οὐδ' ἂν αὐγὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ
 ἡ μεθημερινὴ πολλὴ καὶ βαθεῖα αὐγὴ, τὸν ὑπὸ
 γῆς ἡλίου δρόμον ἰόντος, εὐθύς ἀφανίζεται νυκτὶ

¹ Some mss. ἄμα.

^a Bernays "geistiger Zusammenhalt." But see the definition of *ἐξ* in *Quod Deus* 35 as πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό, and note on *Quis Rerum* 242 "the three terms πνεῦμα, *ἐξ*, *τόνος* for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible." See *S. V. F.* ii. 439-462.

^b Or "kindled by." The word ἄμμα is common enough

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 86-88

permeating current ^a which has taken the fuel for its lair and lurks there extending through it from end to end. Flame is what rises up into the air from that which feeds it. Fire-light is what is sent out from the flame and co-operates with the eyes to give apprehension of things visible. The middle place between the light and the coal is held by flame, for when it is extinguished it dies away into coal, but when kindled into a blaze it has a radiance which flashes from it, though destitute of combusive force. If we say that at the conflagration the world is dis- 87
solved there would be no coal there, because if there were the great quantity of earthy matter which is the substance in which fire is contained will be still remaining and it is one of their tenets that nothing else of other bodies then subsists and that earth, water and air are resolved into fire pure and simple. Further there is no flame either, for flame is linked 88
on to ^b the fuel and when nothing is left it will be extinguished for lack of sustenance. It follows also that the light is not produced. For it has no existence of itself but issues from the first two, the coal and the flame, in a smaller stream from the coal but a great outflow from the flame, for it is diffused to a very great distance. But since the other two, as has been shown, do not exist at the conflagration, there will be no light either. For when the sun takes its course under the earth, the daylight, great and far-reaching as it is, is immediately hidden from our sight by the night, especially if it is moonless.

for a knot or fastening, but there is no example = "the thing fastened," though such a meaning might easily have been developed. Nor is there any example = "the thing kindled," though there is *ἀναμμα* in this sense. Perhaps we should read *ἀναμμη*.

[505] καὶ μάλιστα ἀσελήνω. | οὐ τοίνυν ἐκπυροῦται ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄφθαρτος· εἰ δ' ἐκπυρωθήσεται, ἕτερος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο.

- 89 XVIII. Διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ὀξύδερκέστερον ἐκ μακροῦ θεασάμενοι τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἔλεγχον ἠξίωσαν ὥσπερ θανατῶντι κεφαλαίῳ βοηθήματα προευτρεπίζεσθαι· τὰ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἴτιον κινήσεως ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, κίνησις δὲ γενέσεως ἀρχή, γενέσθαι δ' ἄνευ κινήσεως ὀτιοῦν ἀδύνατον, ἔφασαν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ νέος κόσμος μέλλῃ δημιουργεῖσθαι, σύμπαν μὲν τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, ποσὴ δέ τις αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ὑπολείπεται· πάνυ γὰρ ἠύλαβήθησαν, μὴ σβεσθέντος ἀθρόου μείνῃ τὰ πάντα ἡσυχάσαντα ἀδιακόσμητα, τοῦ τῆς κινήσεως
- 90 αἰτίου μηκέτ' ὄντος. εὐρεσιλογούντων δὲ πλάσματα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τεχνάζοντων. τί δήποτε; ὅτι τὸν κόσμον ἐκπυρωθέντα γενέσθαι μὲν ἄνθρακι παραπλήσιον ἀμήχανον, ὡς δέδεικται, γεώδους πολλῆς ἂν ὑπολειφθείσης οὐσίας, ἣ δεήσει τὸ πῦρ ἔλλοχᾶν, ἴσως δ' οὐδ' ἐκπυρώσεως τότε κρατούσης, εἴ γε¹ μένει τὸ στοιχείων βαρύτατον καὶ δυσαναλωτότατον ἔτι, γῇ μὴ διαλυθεῖσα, μεταβάλλειν δὲ ἢ εἰς φλόγα ἢ εἰς αὐγὴν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς μὲν φλόγα, ὡς ᾤετο Κλεάνθης, εἰς δ' αὐγὴν, ὡς
- 91 ὁ Χρύσιππος. ἀλλ' εἴ γε φλόξ γίνεται, τραπομένη πρὸς σβέσιν ἅπαξ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους ἀλλ' ἀθρόα σβεσθήσεται· συννύρχει γὰρ τῇ τροφῇ². διὸ πολλῆς μὲν οὐσης ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ χεῖται, στελλομένης δὲ

¹ MSS. εἴτε.

² MSS. ἡ τροφή.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 88-91

Therefore the world is not consumed by conflagration but is indestructible, and if it should be so consumed another world could not come into existence.

XVIII. This has induced some of the Stoic school, 89 whose keener sight discerned from a distance the oncoming refutation, to assist their cardinal doctrine when lying as it were at the point of death, but without avail. They said that since fire is the cause of motion and motion the origin of generation, without which it is impossible that anything should be generated, after the conflagration when the new world has to be created all the fire in it is not extinguished but a part of it of some amount remains. For they were filled with great alarm lest, if the whole mass was extinguished, the universe would remain at a standstill and not be reconstructed, since there was no longer anything to cause motion. But 90 these are the fictions of ingenious quibblers who are scheming to overthrow truth. Why so? Because the world when consumed by fire cannot become like live coal, as has been shown, since a lot of earthy matter would be left in which the fire will be bound to lurk encamped, and in that case perhaps we may say that the conflagration has still to establish its power, since the heaviest and most resistant of the elements, namely, earth, remains undissolved. It must therefore either change into fire as Cleanthes or light as Chrysippus thought. But if it becomes 91 flame, once it starts being extinguished it will not be extinguished partially but altogether.^a For its existence is bound up with its feeder and therefore if that feeder is plentiful it increases and diffuses

^a Or "totally and simultaneously," and so below, § 92.

- μειοῦται. τεκμηριώσαιοι δ' ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ γινόμενον· ὁ λύχνος, ἕως μὲν τις ἔλαιον ἄρδει, περιφεγγεστάτην δίδωσι φλόγα, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπίσχη, δαπανήσας ὅσον τῆς τροφῆς λείψανον αὐτίκα κατεσβέσθη, μηδὲν μέρος ταμιευσάμενος
- 92 τῆς φλογός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλ' αὐγὴ γίνεται, πάλιν ἄθροα μεταβάλλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχει, γεννᾶται δ' ἐκ φλογός, ἧς ὅλης δι' ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλ' ἄθροαν ἀναιρεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφήν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγὴ πρὸς φλόγα· καθάπερ οὖν τροφῇ συναναιρεῖται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγὴ
- 93 φλογί. ὥστ' ἀμήχανον παλιγγενεσίαν τὸν κόσμον λαβεῖν, μηδεὶς ἐντυφομένου σπερματικοῦ λόγου, πάντων δὲ δαπανηθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπὸ πυρός, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας. ἐξ ὧν ἐστι δῆλον, ὅτι ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος ὢν διατελεῖ.
- 94 XIX. Φέρε δ' οὖν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος, τὸ ἀναστοιχειῶσαν τὴν διακόσμησιν εἰς αὐτὸ πῦρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κόσμου σπέρμα εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεφιλοσόφηκε μηδὲν ἐψεῦσθαι, πρῶτον
- [506] μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ | σπέρματος ἢ γένεσις καὶ εἰς σπέρμα ἢ ἀνάλυσις, ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι φυσιολογεῖται ὁ κόσμος καὶ φύσις λογική, οὐ μόνον ἔμφυχος ὢν ἀλλὰ καὶ νοερός, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φρόνιμος, ἐκ τούτων τούναντίον οὐ βούλεται κατασκευάζεται, τὸ μηδέ-
- 95 ποτε φθαρῆσθαι. αἱ δὲ πίστεις προχειρόταται τοῖς συνεξετάζειν μὴ ἀποκνοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ὁ κόσμος

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 142 ζῶν ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμφυχον καὶ νοερόν. The argument that follows does not depend upon these higher qualities, but they make it still

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 91-95

itself, but if that shrinks it diminishes. We can judge the result from our own experience. A lamp as long as we feed it with oil gives a very brilliant light, but if we cease to do so after using up what little of the feeder remains, it goes out at once as it has no reserve of flame to fall back upon. Alternatively if it becomes light, again the change is total. Why? Because it has no definite existence of its own but is generated from flame, and if the flame is wholly and absolutely extinguished the light must also perish not partially but totally. For what the flame is to the feeder that the light is to the flame. Therefore, just as the flame perishes with its feeder, the light perishes with the flame. Therefore it is impossible that the world should have a rebirth, as no embers of the seminal principle are alive within it, but all have been exhausted, the rest by the fire, the seminal principle by lack of sustenance. These facts show clearly that it continues uncreated and indestructible.

XIX. Now suppose that as Chrysippus says the fire which has resolved the world as constructed into itself is the seed of the world which will result and that there is no fallacy in his theories on the subject, primarily that its generation comes from seed and its resolution passes into seed; secondly that natural philosophy shows the world to be also a rational being, having not only life but mind, and further a wise mind,^a still these establish nothing of what he wishes to prove but its opposite, namely that it will never be destroyed. The proofs of this lie ready at hand for those who do not shrink from examining more impossible that its qualities should be below even those of a plant.

ἢ φυτόν, (ὥς) ἔοικεν,¹ ἢ ζῶον· ἀλλ' εἴτε φυτόν
 ἐστὶν εἴτε καὶ ζῶον, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθαρεῖς
 οὐδέποτε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενήσεται σπέρμα. μαρτυρεῖ
 δὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὧν οὐδέν οὐκ ἔλαττον οὐ μείζον
 96 ποτε φθαρὲν εἰς σπέρματος ἀπεκρίθη γένεσιν. οὐχ
 ὁρᾷς ὅσαι μὲν ἡμέρων φυτῶν ὕλαι, ὅσαι δὲ ἀγρίων
 κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τῆς γῆς ἀνακέχυνται; τούτων
 τῶν δένδρων ἕκαστον, ἄχρι μὲν ὑγιαίνει τὸ στέ-
 λεχος, ἅμα τῷ καρπῷ καὶ τὸ ὄχυμα² τίκτει,
 μήκει δὲ χρόνων ἀφανανθὲν (ἢ) καὶ ἄλλως αὐταῖς
 ρίζαις φθαρὲν οὐδέποτε τὴν ἀνάλυσιν εἰς σπέρμα
 97 ἔλαβεν. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ τὰ γένη
 τῶν ζώων, ἃ μὴδὲ εἰπεῖν διὰ πλήθος ῥάδιον, ἄχρι
 μὲν περίεστι καὶ ἡβᾶ, σπέρμα προῖεται γόνιμον,
 τελευτήσαντα δ' οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς γίνεται σπέρμα·
 καὶ γὰρ εὐῆθες ἄνθρωπον ζῶντα μὲν ὀγδόῳ μέρει
 ψυχῆς, ὃ καλεῖται γόνιμον, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου
 σπορὰν χρῆσθαι, τελευτήσαντα δὲ ὅλῳ³ ἑαυτῷ·
 98 θάνατος γὰρ οὐτὶ ζωῆς ἀνυσιμώτερος. ἄλλως τε
 τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν ἐκ μόνου σπέρματος δίχα τῆς
 οἰκείας τροφῆς ἀποτελεῖται· σπέρμα γὰρ ἔοικεν
 ἀρχῇ, ἀρχὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐ τελειογονεῖ. μὴ γὰρ
 αὐ νομίσης τὸν στάχυν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ καταβληθέντος
 ὑπὸ γεωργῶν εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας βλαστάνειν πυροῦ,
 τὸ δὲ πλείστον εἰς αὔξησιν αὐτοῦ⁴ συνεργεῖν ὑγρὰν
 τε καὶ ξηρὰν διττὴν ἐκ γῆς τροφήν· καὶ τὰ ἐν
 μήτραις μέντοι διαπλαττόμενα πέφυκεν οὐκ ἐκ

¹ MSS. φυτῷ ἔοικεν.² MSS. ὄχημα.³ MSS. ὅλον.⁴ MSS. αὐτῶν.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 95-98

them. The world has evidently either plant-life or animal-life, but whether it has one or the other, if it is destroyed at the conflagration it will never become seed to itself. Take the testimony of the plants and animals in our experience; none of them lesser or greater ever when destroyed pass into the condition of producing seed. We see how many types of 96 cultivated trees and of uncultivated also are spread over every part of the earth. Each of these trees so long as the stem is sound produces with its fruit the germ of impregnation also. But when it withers away by length of time, or is destroyed in some other way with its roots as well it is never anywhere capable of being resolved into seed. In the same 97 way also the different kinds of animals so numerous that it would be difficult even to give their names, while they survive and are vigorous, emit generating seed, but when they are dead they never anywhere become seed. For it is foolish to suppose that a man when alive uses the eighth part ^a of his life principle, called the generative, to produce his like, but when dead uses his whole self. For death is not more efficacious than life. Besides nothing that exists is made 98 completely out of seed alone without its proper sustenance. Seed is analogous to beginning and the beginning by itself does not generate fullness. For neither must you suppose that the ear of wheat grows only from the seed laid down in the field by the husbandmen. The double sustenance from the earth, moist and dry is a very great factor in its growth and the embryos moulded in the womb cannot

Philo has given the same classification in *De Op.* 117, though there the point is that the *irrational* soul has seven parts. So too *De Agr.* 30, *Quod Det.* 168, *Quis Rerum* 232.

μόνου ζωογονεῖσθαι σπέρματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
 ἕξωθεν ἀρδομένης τροφῆς, ἣν ἡ κύουσα προσ-
 99 φέρεται. πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι κατὰ τὴν
 ἐκπύρωσιν σπέρμα μόνον ὑπολειφθήσεται, τροφῆς
 μὴ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀπάντων ὅσα τρέφειν ἔμελλεν εἰς
 πῦρ ἀναλυθέντων, ὥσθ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν
 ἀποτελούμενος κόσμος χωλὴν καὶ ἀτελῇ γένεσιν
 ἕξει, τοῦ μάλιστα πρὸς τελείωσιν συνεργούντος, ᾧ
 καθάπερ βάκτρῳ τινὶ τὴν σπερματικὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἐφιδρῦεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἐφθαρμένου. τοῦτο δ' ἦν
 100 ἄτοπον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐλεγχόμενον τῆς ἐναργείας.¹ ἔτι
 τοῖνυν ὅσα λαμβάνει τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ σπέρματος,
 μείζονα τὸν ὄγκον ἐστὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ ἐν
 τόπῳ μείζονι θεωρεῖται· δένδρα γοῦν οὐρανομήκη
 πολλάκις ἀναβλαστάνει ἐκ βραχυτάτης κέγχρου καὶ
 ζῶα πιότατα καὶ περιμηκέστατα ἐξ ὀλίγου τοῦ
 προεθέντος ὑγροῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μικρῷ πρότερον
 [507] εἰρημένον | συμβαίνει, κατὰ μὲν τὸν γειτνιῶντα
 τῇ γενέσει χρόνον βραχύτερα τὰ γεννηθέντα εἶναι,
 μεγεθύνεσθαι δ' αὖθις ἄχρι παντελοῦς τελειώσεως.
 101 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς γενήσεται τὸναντίον· τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ σπέρμα καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ πλείονα τόπον
 ἐφέξει, τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα βραχύτερον καὶ ἐν
 ἐλάττονι φανεῖται τόπῳ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐκ σπέρ-
 ματος συνιστάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπι-
 δώσει πρὸς αὔξησιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξ ὄγκου
 102 μείζονος εἰς ἐλάττονα συναιρεθήσεται. τὸ δὲ λεγό-
 μενον ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν· ἅπαν σῶμα ἀναλυόμενον

be brought to life merely from the seed, but need also the fostering sustenance from outside which the pregnant mother administers. What is the purpose 99 of these remarks? It is to show that at the conflagration seed alone will remain and nothing will exist to nourish it, as all things that would give nourishment are resolved into fire, and lame and imperfect therefore will be the genesis of the world brought about at the rebirth, since that which could best co-operate in its consummation, which the originating seed takes as a staff for its support, has been destroyed. The absurdity of this is self-evident and needs no further refutation. Again all things 100 which originate from seed are greater in bulk than that which made them and visibly occupy a greater space. Thus trees which soar to heaven often spring from a very small grain, and animals of great corpulence and stature come from the emission of a little moisture. Also there is the fact mentioned a little above^a that during the time following closely on the birth the things generated are smaller but afterwards increase in size till they reach their full consummation. But in the universe the opposite 101 will take place. The seed will both be greater and will occupy more space, but the result produced will be smaller, and will be seen to take up less space, and the Cosmos which forms itself from the seed will not gradually advance in growth but on the contrary will be reduced from a greater bulk to a lesser. The truth of this statement can be easily seen. 102 Every body which is resolved into fire is diffused as

^a *i.e.* in § 71.

¹ MSS. *ἐνεργείας*.

εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεται¹ τε καὶ χεῖται, σβεννυμένης δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογός, στέλλεται καὶ συνάγεται· πίστεων δὲ τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι πρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὡς ἀδηλουμένοις οὐδεμία χρεία. καὶ μὴν ὁ κόσμος ὁ πυρωθεὶς γενήσεται μείζων, ἅτε συμπάσης τῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὸν λεπτότατον ἀναλυθείσης αἰθέρα. ὃ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ προϊδόμενοι κενὸν ἄπειρον ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ λόγῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἢν', ἐπειδὴ χύσιν ἀπέραντόν τινα ἔμελλε λήψεσθαι, μὴ ἀπορῇ τοῦ δεξομένου χωρίου τὴν ἀνάχυσιν.

103 ὅτε μὲν οὖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ συνηύξεται, ὡς μονονουχὶ τῇ ἀορίστῳ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσει τῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ἀπειρομεγέθει συνδραμεῖν, σπέρματος ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ἐκ τελείων τῶν μερῶν² τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας * * *, στελλομένου μὲν κατὰ τὴν σβέσειν τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς παχὺν αἶρα, στελλομένου δ' αἶρος εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ συνίζοντος, παχυνομένου δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὕδατος κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν, τὸ πυκνότατον τῶν στοιχείων, μεταβολήν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας τῶν δυναμένων ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι.

¹ Cohn pronounces ἀναλύεται to be corrupt. Alternatives suggested are ἐλαύνεται (based on ἐλάσεως in § 103), ἀναδίδοται and διαλύεται, which Bernays reads. I do not feel that ἀναλ. is quite impossible; see translation.

² Cumont ἐκτελειοῦται μείων, in which case there is no lacuna, ἔχει λόγον being understood before τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας. See note b.

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 140 ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτοῦ περιεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι.

^b The text as printed gives "when at the rebirth it . . .

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 102-103

well as resolved, but when the flame in it is being quenched, it is contracted and drawn in. Facts so clear as these need no proofs to testify to them as though they were matters of uncertainty. Assuredly the world when consumed by fire will become greater because its whole substance is resolved into very fine ether. This the Stoics seem to me to have foreseen and therefore left room in their theory for an infinite void outside the Cosmos,^a so that when it had to accept a sort of infinite diffusion, it might not lack a place to receive the overflow. So then 103 when it has advanced and grown to such an extent that, under the infinite magnitude of the pressure forcing it, it extends its course almost to the illimitable existence of the void, even this ranks as seed, but when at the rebirth it is brought to its consummation in a diminished condition it ranks as a whole substance,^b though the fire at its extinction is contracted into the thickness of air and the air is contracted and subsides into water and the water condenses still more as it changes into the most compressed of the elements, earth. These conclusions are contrary to the accepted principles^c of those who are capable of judging the sequence of events aright.

of the whole substance . . .", *i.e.* we must supply some verb as *συνίσταται* = "consisting of" to complete the protasis, and then something more = "it will take up less room." This does not give any real antithesis to *σπέρματος*. Cumont's suggestion (see note 2) was not accepted by Cohn, but seems to me very probable, and as it avoids the lacuna I have translated it.

^c "Common notions," otherwise translated as "primary conceptions." According to Zeller, *Stoics*, pp. 79 f., they are not innate ideas, but "those conceptions which from the nature of thought can be equally formed by all men out of experience."

- 104 XX. Δίχα τοίνυν τῶν εἰρημένων κακείνων χρή-
 σαιτ' ἄν τις εἰς πίστιν, ὃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ πέρα τοῦ
 μετρίου φιλονεικεῖν αἰρουμένους ἐπισπάσεται. τῶν
 ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις ἐναντίων ἀμήχανον τὸ μὲν εἶναι,
 τὸ δὲ μὴ· λευκοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἀνάγκη καὶ μέλαν
 ὑπάρχειν καὶ μεγάλου βραχὺ καὶ περιττοῦ ἄρτιον
 καὶ γλυκέος πικρὸν καὶ ἡμέρας νύκτα καὶ ὅσα
 τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα. γενομένης δ' ἐκπυρώσεως,
 ἀδύνατόν τι συμβήσεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ὑπάρξει
 τῶν ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔσται.
- 105 φέρε δ' οὕτωςι θεασώμεθα· πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-
 θέντων, κοῦφον μὲν ἔσται τι καὶ μανὸν καὶ θερμόν
 —ἴδια γὰρ πυρὸς ταῦτα—, βαρὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ πυκνὸν
 ἢ ψυχρόν, τὰ τοῖς λεχθείσιν ἐναντία. πῶς οὖν ἄν
 τις ἐπιδείξαι¹ μᾶλλον τὴν πεπλεγμένην ἐκ τῆς
 ἐκπυρώσεως ἀκοσμίαν ἢ τὰ φύσει συνυπάρχοντα
 δεικνὺς ἀπαρτῶμενα τῆς συζυγίας; ἢ δ' ἄλλο-
 τρίωσις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κεχώρηκεν, ὥς τοῖς μὲν
 [508] αἰδιότητα | προσομολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον.
- 106 "Ἐτι τοίνυν κακείνῳ μοι δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ
 τοῖς ἰχνηλατοῦσι τἀληθὲς εἰρῆσθαι· φθειρόμενος ὁ
 κόσμος ἦτοι ὑπὸ τινος ἐτέρας φθαρῆσεται αἰτίας
 ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ. ὑπ' ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν
 δέξεται διάλυσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ μὴ περιέχει·
 τὸ δὲ περιεχόμενον καὶ κατακρατούμενον² ἀσθενέ-
 στερον δήπου τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὅφ' οὐ καὶ κατα-
 κρατεῖται. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοῦ φθειρεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν
 πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκ ἀταξίας καὶ
 ἀκοσμίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλὰ τάξεως καὶ εὐκοσμίας

¹ MSS. ἐπιχῆται or ἐπισχῆται.² MSS. κρατούμενον.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 104-106

XX. Besides those already mentioned, there is 104
another argument which may be used to prove the
point, and this, too, will win the assent of those who
prefer not to carry their contentiousness to an
immoderate extent. In couples of opposites, it is
impossible that one member should exist and the
other not. If there is white there must be black
also, if there is great there must be small, and so
with odd and even, bitter and sweet, night and day,
and the like. But when the conflagration has taken
place we shall have an impossibility. For one of the
opposites in couples will exist and the other will not.
Consider the following facts. When all things are 105
resolved into fire, there will be something light, rare
and hot, since these qualities belong to fire, but
nothing of their opposites, heavy, dense and cold.
How could we better express the disorder woven
by the conflagration theory than by showing that
things naturally coexistent are disjoined from the
coupling which holds them, and so far does this
dissociation extend that we have to predicate
perpetuity of the one set and non-existence of
the other.

Still further, a good point I think is made by the 106
investigators of truth when they say that if the
world is destroyed, it will be destroyed either by
some other cause or by God. Nothing else at all
will cause it to undergo dissolution. For there is
nothing which it does not encompass and what is
encompassed and dominated is surely weaker than
what encompasses and therefore also dominates it.
On the other hand, to say that it is destroyed by
God is the worst of profanities. For those who hold
the true creed acknowledge Him to be the cause,

καὶ ζωῆς καὶ παντὸς αἵτιος ἀνωμολόγηται τοῦ ἀρίστου παρὰ τοῖς τάληθῇ δοξάζουσι.

- 107 XXI. Θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις τοὺς τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας θρυλοῦντας οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷς ἀπελέγχονται ψευδοδοξοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνο μάλιστα. τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, πυρός, τίνος ἔνεκα πάντων ἀποκληρωσάμενοι τὸ πῦρ τὰ ἄλλα φασὶν εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἀναλυθήσεσθαι; δέον γάρ, εἴποι τις ἂν,—πῶς οὐκ;—εἰς ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν· ὑπερβάλλουσαι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις εἰσὶ δυνάμεις. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐξαε-
ροῦσθαι ἢ ἐξυδατοῦσθαι ἢ ἀπογεοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον εἶπεν, ὥστ' εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ ἐκπυροῦσθαι φάναι.

- 108 Χρῆ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἰσονομίαν τῷ κόσμῳ κατανοήσαντας ἢ δεῖσαι ἢ αἰδεσθῆναι τοσούτου θεοῦ¹ κατηγορεῖν θάνατον· ὑπερβάλλουσα γάρ τις τῶν τεττάρων ἀντέκτισις δυνάμεων ἰσότητος κανόσι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅροις σταθμωμένων
109 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι κύκλον ἀμείβουσιν ἀλλήλας ἀντιπαραδεχόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν οὐδέποτε ληγόντων περιόδους, [εἰς] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [τίθῃσι]² καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ταῖς εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταβολαῖς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, θνήσκειν δοκοῦντα ἀθανατίζεται δολιχεύοντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω συνεχῶς ἀμεί-
110 βοντα. ἢ μὲν οὖν προσάντης ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρχεται·

¹ MSS. θείου.

² Cumont reads αἰεὶ for εἰς, and περιθέει for τίθῃσι, but the latter has little resemblance to the word which it replaces. Bernays φησί, but the introduction of the disputant at this point seems unlikely. But the mere omission is equally unsatisfactory.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 106-110

not of disorder, disharmony and destruction, but of order and harmony and life and all that is most excellent.

XXI. The people whose talk is for ever of con- 107
flagration and rebirth may well excite our wonder, not only for the aforesaid reasons which prove the falsity of their creed, but particularly on the following grounds. As there are four elements, earth, water, air and fire, of which the world is composed, why out of all these do they pick out fire and assert that it will be resolved into that alone? Surely it may be said that it is just as right that it should be resolved into earth or water or air, for all these have transcendent powers, and yet no one has declared that the world is converted into any of the three, and therefore the natural conclusion is that it is not turned into fire either.

Indeed also observation of the equality inherent in 108
the world should make them afraid or ashamed to affirm the death of so great a deity. For there is a vast reciprocation between the four powers and they regulate their interchanges according to the standards of equality and the bounds laid down by justice. For just as the annual seasons circle round and round, 109
each making room for its successor as the years ceaselessly revolve, so, too, the elements of the world in their mutual interchanges seem to die, yet, strangest of contradictions, are made immortal as they ever run their race backwards and forwards and continually pass along the same road up and down. The 110
uphill journey begins from earth.^a Earth is trans-

^a The idea of the "uphill" and "downhill" journey comes from Heracleitus, see Diog. Laert. ix. 9, where they are called *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω* and *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω ὁδός*.

- τηκομένη γὰρ εἰς ὕδωρ [μετα]λαμβάνει¹ τὴν μεταβολήν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἐξατμιζόμενον εἰς ἀέρα, ὃ δ' ἄηρ λεπτυνόμενος εἰς πῦρ· ἡ δὲ κατάντης ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, συνίζοντος μὲν πυρὸς κατὰ τὴν σβέσιν εἰς ἀέρα, συνίζοντος δ' ὅποτε συνθλίβεται εἰς ὕδωρ [509] ἀέρος, ὕδατος δὲ [τὴν πολλὴν | ἀνάχυσιν]² κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν πυκνουμένου μεταβολήν. εὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐν οἷς φησι· “ψυχῇσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι.” ψυχὴν γὰρ οἰόμενος εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν μὲν ἀέρος τελευτὴν γένεσιν ὕδατος, τὴν δὲ ὕδατος γῆς πάλιν γένεσιν αἰνίττεται, θάνατον οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀν-αίρεσιν ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἕτερον στοιχείον 112 μεταβολήν. ἀπαραβάτου³ δὴ καὶ συνεχοῦς τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἰσονομίας ταύτης αἰὲν φυλαττομένης, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰκὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνισον ἄδικον, τὸ δ' ἄδικον κακίας ἔγγονον, κακία δ' ἐξ οἴκου τῆς ἀθανασίας πεφυγάδεται, θεῖον δὲ τι <διὰ τὸ> μέγεθος⁴ ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδέδεικται, τὸ δὲ φάσκειν ὅτι φθείρεται μὴ συνωρώντων ἐστὶ φύσεως εἰρμὸν καὶ πραγμάτων συνηρητημένην ἀκολουθίαν.
- 113 XXII. Προσφιλοτεχνούντες δὲ τινες τῶν αἰδίων ὑπολαμβάνόντων τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοιούτῳ

¹ The other editors retain μεταλαμβάνει, which gives a fair sense, “has, like the other elements, its share of change.”

² Here again the omission is drastic. Cumont declares the text to be right, possibly regarding τὴν πολλὴν ἀνάχυσιν as an accusative of respect. Bernays τῇ πολλῇ ἀναχύσει, corresponding to μετὰ σβέσιν and ὅποτε θλίβεται. (If so why not <διὰ> τὴν πολλὴν ἀνάχυσιν?) The mss. have πυκνουμένην (one πηγνυμένου).

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 110-113

formed by melting into water, water by evaporation into air, air by rarefaction into fire. The downhill path leads from the top, the fire as it is extinguished subsides into air; air as it is compressed subsides into water, while water is condensed as it changes into earth. Well, too, spoke Heracleitus 111 when he says, "death for souls is to become water, death for water to become earth," for conceiving that soul^a is breath he indicates that the final end of air is to become water and again of water to become earth, while by the term death he does not mean complete annihilation but transmutation into another element. That this self-determined equality should 112 be maintained for ever inviolate and constant is not only natural but necessary. And, therefore, since inequality is unjust and injustice is the child of wickedness, and wickedness is banished from the dwelling-place of immortality, while the world is divine in its vastness and has been shown to be the dwelling-place of visible deities, the assertion that it is destroyed shows inability to descry the chain of nature and the unbroken sequence of events.

XXII. Some of those who consider that the world 113 is everlasting carry their ingenuity still farther and

^a Philo is apparently mistaken here, and Heracleitus by "soul" meant fire, not air, which he did not consider to be one of the fundamental elements. See Zeller, *Presocratics*, vol. ii. p. 50.

³ MSS. ἀπαραβλήτου (-ους) or ἀπεριβλήτου.

⁴ Bernays θεῖον δέ τι τέμενος, Cumont θεῖος δὲ τὸ μέγεθος. The objection to this and Cohn's is that size is a poor reason for the divinity of the Cosmos. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is Wendland's θεῖον δέ τι (μᾶλλον δὲ) μέγας θεός, which might perhaps be simplified with ἦ instead of μᾶλλον δέ.

- πρὸς κατασκευὴν λόγῳ χρῶνται· φθορὰς τέτταρας εἶναι τρόπους τοὺς ἀνωτάτω συμβέβηκε, πρόσθεσιν ἀφαίρεσιν μετάθεσιν ἀλλοίωσιν. δυὰς μὲν οὖν προσθέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα φθίρεται μηκέτι μένουσα δυὰς, τετράς δ' ἀφαιρέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα, μεταθέσει δὲ τὸ Γ^1 στοιχείον εἰς Η, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐγκάρσιοι παράλληλοι πρὸς ὀρθὰς διαναστώσιν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἐπεξευγμένη πλαγιασθεῖσα συνάψῃ τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα, κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν δὲ μετα-
- 114 βάλλων οἶνος εἰς ὄξος. τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τρόπων οὐδεὶς ἐφάπτεται τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φῶμεν; προστίθεσθαί τι τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκτός, ὃ μὴ μέρος γέγονεν αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ὅλου· περιέχεται γὰρ καὶ κατακρατεῖται. ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν πάλιν κόσμος ἔσται, τοῦ νῦν βραχύτερος· ἔπειτα <δ'> ἀμήχανον ἔξω τι σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου διαρτηθὲν τῆς συμφυίας σκεδασθῆναι.
- 115 ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη μετατίθεσθαι; μενεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τοὺς τόπους οὐκ ἐναλλάττοντα· οὐ γὰρ ἐποχήσεται ποτε οὔτε² ὕδατι πᾶσα γῆ οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἀέρι οὔτε ἀήρ πυρί, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν φύσει βαρέα, γῆ³ καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸν μέσον ἐφέξει τόπον, γῆς μὲν θεμελίου τρόπον ὑπερειδούσης, ὕδατος δ' ἐπιπολάζοντος,
- [510] ἀήρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ, τὰ φύσει κοῦφα, | τὸν ἄνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἀήρ γὰρ πυρὸς ὄχημα γέγονε, τὸ

¹ MSS. ζ or ζῆτα . . . ἥ or ῆτα (the letter printed here for zeta is an old form which accords with the argument).

² MSS. ἔτι.

³ MSS. ἐν γῇ.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 113-115

employ an argument of the following kind to establish their view. We find, they say, four principal ways in which destruction occurs, addition, subtraction, transposition, transmutation.^a Thus two is destroyed and becomes three by the addition of one and similarly four by subtraction of one becomes three. The letter **II** becomes **H** by transposition when the horizontal parallels rise vertically and the line which joined them vertically has been turned sideways to connect the lines on either side of it. By transmutation wine perishes and becomes vinegar. But none of the ways enumerated affects 114 the world at all. For can we say that anything can be added to the world to destroy it? No, there is nothing outside it, nothing which is not a part of itself, that is of the whole, since each thing is encompassed and dominated by it. What of subtraction? In the first place anything subtracted will in its turn be a world only smaller than the present world. Secondly, it is impossible that any body should be detached from its fellow substance and dispersed outside the whole. Can its parts be 115 transposed? No, they will remain as they are and do not change their relative positions. For earth will never anywhere stand mounted on water, nor water on air, nor air on fire. But the naturally heavy elements, earth and water, will occupy the central position, with earth forming the support like a foundation and water floating on its surface, while the naturally light air and fire occupy the upper position though with a difference, for air is the vehicle on which fire rests and that which rests on a

Atomistic as contrasted with the three of the Stoics given in § 79" (Bernays).

- 116 δ' ἐποχούμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπερφέρεται. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν φθείρεσθαι νομιστέον· ἰσοκρατῆς γὰρ ἡ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολή, τὸ δ' ἰσοκρατὲς ἀκλινοὺς βεβαιότητος καὶ ἀσαλεύτου μονῆς αἴτιον, ἅτε μήτε πλεονεκτοῦν μήτε πλεονεκτούμενον· ὥσθ' ἡ ἀντίδοσις καὶ ἡ ἀντέκτισις τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας¹ ἐξισουμένη κανόνισιν ὑγιείας καὶ ἀτελευτήτου σωτηρίας δημιουργός. ἐξ ὧν αἰδίδιος ὁ κόσμος ἀποδείκνυται.
- 117 XXIII. Θεόφραστος μέντοι φησὶ τοὺς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατηγοροῦντας ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀπατηθῆναι τῶν μεγίστων, γῆς ἀνωμαλίας, θαλάττης ἀναχωρήσεως, ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μερῶν διαλύσεως, χερσαίων φθορᾶς κατὰ γένη
- 118 ζώων. κατασκευάζειν² δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως· εἰ μὴ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ γῆ, μέρος ὑπανεστὸς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἑωρᾶτο, χθαμαλὰ δ' ἦδη τὰ ὄρη πάντα ἐγεγένητο καὶ οἱ γεώλοφοι πάντες ἰσόπεδοι τῇ πεδιάδι· τοσούτων γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὄμβρων ἐξ αἰδίου φερομένων, εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν διηρμένων πρὸς ὕψος τὰ μὲν χεῖμάρροις ἀπερρῆχθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπονοστήσαντα κεχαλάσθαι, πάντα δὲ διὰ πάντων ἦδη λελειάνθαι.

¹ MSS. ἀναλογίας.

² MSS. κατασκευάζει. See note b.

^a Or more exactly "those who affirm of the world that it is subject to *γένεσις* and *φθορά*," with the suggestion perhaps that such an idea is depreciatory (*κατηγοροῦντας*).

^b Bernays retains the indicative *κατασκευάζει*, which is I think quite defensible. In either case the statement is 266

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 116-118

vehicle is necessarily carried above it. Once more 116 we must not suppose that the world is destroyed by transmutation, for there is a balance of powers in the interchange of the elements and such a balance produces unswerving stability and unshaken permanence, since it neither encroaches nor is encroached on. And thus the reciprocation, the giving and taking of values, equalized according to the standards of proportion creates sound health and perpetual security. These things show the world to be everlasting.

XXIII. Further, Theophrastus says that those who 117 maintain the creation and future destruction of the world^a are misled by four main considerations, the unevenness of the earth's surface, the withdrawal of the sea, the dissolution of each several part of the universe, and the perishing of whole species of land animals. The proof which they base on the first 118 of these is according to him the following.^b If the earth had no beginning in which it came into being, no part of it would still be seen to be elevated above the rest. The mountains would now all be quite low, the hills all on a level with the plain, for with the great rains pouring down from everlasting each year, objects elevated to a height would naturally in some cases have been broken off by winter storms, in others would have subsided into a loose condition and would all of them have been completely planed

loosely worded. The "first part" may be either that the surface of the world is uneven, or that they are deceived by this unevenness. Taking the infinitive, they prove neither of these, but that the unevenness shows that the world is everlasting. Taking the indicative, Theophrastus states their reason for holding this opinion, but the proof that it is misleading is deferred till § 143.

119 νυνὶ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀνωμαλῖαι καὶ παμπόλλων ὀρῶν αἱ πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος ὑπερβολαὶ μηνύματ' ἐστὶ τοῦ τὴν γῆν μὴ αἰδῖον εἶναι. πάλαι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσ' ἂν λεωφόρος ἐγεγένητο· πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ ὕδατος φύσις καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ ὑψηλοτάτων καταράπτουσα τὰ μὲν ἐξωθεῖν τῇ βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῶν ψεκάδων κολάπτουσα κοιλαίνειν ὑπεργάζεσθαι τε τὴν σκληρόγεω καὶ λιθωδεστάτην ὀρυκτῆρων οὐκ ἔλαττον.

120 Καὶ μὴν ἥ γε θάλασσα, φασίν, ἤδη μεμείωται. μάρτυρες δ' αἱ νήσων εὐδοκιμώταται Ῥόδος τε καὶ Δῆλος· αὐταὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἠφανισμέναι κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐδεδύκεσαν ἐπικλυζόμεναι, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐλαττουμένης ἡρέμα, κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνίσχουσαι διεφάνησαν, ὡς αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνα-

121 γραφεῖσαι μηνύουσιν ἱστορίαι. τὴν δὲ Δῆλον καὶ Ἀνάφην¹ ὠνόμασαν δι' ἀμφοτέρων ὀνομάτων πιστούμενοι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναφανείσα δήλη ἐγένετο, ἀδηλουμένη καὶ ἀφανῆς οὔσα τὸ πάλαι. ² διὸ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τῆς Δήλου φησί·

¹ MSS. ἀναγραφὴν (-ειν).

² διὸ . . . αἰνιττόμενος appears in the MSS. after ἀποβράττεσθαι at the end of § 122. It certainly is less appropriate there. Both Bernays and Cumont however retain it there.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 119-121

down. As it is, the constant unevennesses and the 119
great multitude of mountains with their vast heights
soaring to heaven are indications that the earth is
not from everlasting. For in the course of infinite
time it would long ago as I have said ^a have under the
rain-pour become an open, level road from end to
end. For it is a natural characteristic of water that
sometimes, particularly when it dashes down from
a great height, it drives everything out before it by
its force, sometimes by constant dripping it scoops
out and hollows and so completely undermines the
hardest and stoniest ground quite as much as a
digger would.

Again, they say, the sea is already diminished. 120
Witness the most famous of the islands, Rhodes and
Delos. For these in old times had disappeared,
sunk and submerged below the sea, but in the
course of time as the sea was slowly diminishing
they gradually emerged and became conspicuous, as
we read in the narratives written about them. Men 121
also gave the name of Anaphe to Delos,^b using both
names to vouch for the fact here stated, because ^c it
became apparent and visible, while in the past it
was unapparent and invisible, and so Pindar says
of Delos.

^a Note the first person singular, an illustration of Philo's tendency to identify himself with the argument he is stating, even though he disagrees with it. See on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 6 ff. It can hardly be that he is verbally reproducing Theophrastus, for this is not what Theophrastus says but what he says the Stoics say.

^b Apparently a mistake. Delos and Anaphe are different islands.

^c The anacoluthic *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ* is read by all three editors (though *γὰρ* is omitted by some mss.). Cf. § 75.

PHILO

“ Χαῖρ’, ὦ θεοδμάτα, λιπαροπλοκάμου
παίδεσσι Λατοῦς ἱμεροέστατον ἔρνος,
πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας,
ἄν τε βροτοὶ
Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ’ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον.”

122 θυγατέρα γὰρ πόντου τὴν Δῆλον εἶρηκε τὸ λεχθὲν
[511] αἰνιττόμενος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεγάλων | πελαγῶν
μεγάλους κόλπους καὶ βαθεῖς ἀναξηρανθέντας ἡπει-
ρῶσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς παρακειμένης χώρας
μοῖραν οὐ λυπρὰν σπειρομένους καὶ φ τευομένους,
οἷς σημεῖ’ ἄττα¹ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐναπολελείφθαι θαλατ-
τώσεως ψηφιδᾶς τε καὶ κόγχας καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα
123 πρὸς αἰγιαλοὺς εἶωθεν ἀποβράττεσθαι. εἰ δὴ μει-
οῦται ἢ θάλαττα, μειωθήσεται μὲν καὶ ἡ γῆ,
μακραις δ’ ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκά-
τερον στοιχεῖον ἀναλωθήσεται, δαπανηθήσεται δὲ
καὶ ὁ σύμπας ἀῆρ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐλαττού-
μενος, ἀποκριθήσεται δὲ τὰ πάντα εἰς μίαν οὐσίαν
τὴν πυρός.

124 XXIV. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ τρίτου κεφαλαίου κατα-
σκευὴν χρῶνται² λόγῳ τοιῷδε· φθείρεται πάντως
ἐκεῖνο, οὐ πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ
κόσμου πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, φθαρτὸς ἄρα
125 ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν. ὁ δ’ ὑπερεθέμεθα, νῦν ἐπι-

¹ MSS. σημεία τὰ.

² Bernays χρήται with some ms. authority. Cf. § 117.

^a The idea is supposed to be that earth seems dark-blue to the gods, as heaven seems to us, and that Delos shines like a
270

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 121-125

Hail, island built by gods,
Thou scion best beloved by those
Whom lustrous-haired Latona bore,
Daughter of Ocean, marvel of broad earth,
Whose base no power can shake.
Delos we mortals name thee, but on high,
Where dwell the blessed ones, they call thee Star
Seen in the distance of the azure earth.^a

By calling Delos the daughter of the sea he suggests what has been said above. In addition to this they 122 point out that belonging to great tracts of sea there are deep and great bays which have dried up and turned into mainland and become a part of the adjoining cō^untry, by no means barren but sown and planted, yet have left in them some signs that they once were sea—pebbles and shells and all things of the same sort which are so often thrown up upon the seashore. Now if the sea diminishes 123 the earth will diminish also and after many a long cycle of years both elements will be utterly exhausted. So, too, will the whole air be gradually lessened and waste away and all things will be drafted off into one single substance, namely, fire.

XXIV. To establish their third point they employ 124 an argument of this sort. Anything, the parts of which are all perishable, necessarily perishes itself. All the parts of the world are perishable, therefore, the world itself is perishable.^b This point which we 125 reserved for future argument ^c must now be examined.

star in it. See Sandys's note on Pindar, fr. 87 (Loeb translation). Asteria was another name of Delos.

^b This argument is stated by Diog. Laert. vii. 141 in almost the same words as here, but the reason given there for believing that the parts are perishable is that they change into each other.

^c Or simply "assumed in this syllogism," cf. § 56.

σκεπτέον. ποῖον μέρος τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀρξώμεθα, μείζον ἢ ἔλαττον, οὐ χρόνῳ διαλύεται; λίθων οἱ κραταιότατοι ἄρ' οὐ μυδῶσι καὶ σήπονται <καὶ> κατὰ τὴν ἕξεως ἀσθένειαν—ἡ δ' ἐστὶ πνευματικὸς τόνος, δεσμὸς οὐκ ἄρρηκτος ἀλλὰ μόνον δυσδιάλυτος—θρυπτόμενοι καὶ ῥέοντες εἰς λεπτὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἀναλύονται κόνιν, εἴθ' ὕστερον δαπανηθέντες ἐξαναλοῦνται;¹ τί δ', εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνέμων ῥιπίζοιτο τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀκίνητον ἑαθὲν οὐχ ὑφ' ἡσυχίας νεκροῦται; μεταβάλλει γοῦν καὶ δυσωδέστατον γίνε-
 126 νεται, οἷα ψυχὴν ἀφηρημένον ζῶν. ἡ γε μὴν ἀέρος φθορὰ παντὶ τῷ δῆλον· νοσεῖν γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τί ἂν τις μὴ στοχασάμενος ὀνομάτων εὐπρεπείας ἀλλὰ τάλη-
 127 θοῦς εἴποι λοιμὸν εἶναι πλὴν ἀέρος θάνατον τὸ οἰκεῖον πάθος ἀναχέοντος ἐπὶ φθορᾷ πάντων ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται; τί χρή μακρηγορεῖν περὶ πυρός; ἀτροφῆσαν γὰρ αὐτίκα σβέννυται, χλωόν,
 [512] | ἡ φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, γεγονὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διὸ σκηριπτόμενον² ὀρθοῦται κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναφθείσης
 128 ὕλης μονήν,³ ἐξαναλωθείσης δ' ἀφανίζεται. τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δράκοντάς φασι πάσχειν· ἀνέρποντας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ

¹ MSS. ἐξαναλύονται.

² Cumont reads *χλωός Ἡφαιστος . . . γεγονώς ἐξ αὐτοῦ*
 Διὸς σκηριπτόμενος. See App. p. 529. ³ Cumont νομῇν.

^a See on § 86.

^b The lameness of Hephaestus (*cf. Il. xviii. 397*) was interpreted by the allegorists as the inability of the earthly fire (in contrast to the heavenly) to go on without the support of fuel. See App. p. 529.

^c This story, which is found also in Pliny and Aelian, seems very inappropriate. The fire consumes the fuel and
 272

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 125-128

To begin with earth. What part of it, great or small, is there which is not dissolved by the action of time? Do not the strongest stones become dank and decay through the weakness of their cohesiveness, that current of spirit force,^a that bond which is not unbreakable but merely difficult to loose? They break in pieces and first disintegrate into a stream of fine dust and afterwards waste away till there is nothing left of them. Again if water is not whipped by the wind but left unmoved, does it not become like a dead thing through its inactivity? It certainly changes and becomes very malodorous like an animal bereft of its vital force. As for the air, its destruction 126 is evident to everybody, for sickness and decay and what may be called death is natural to it. How, indeed, could anyone, who aimed at truth rather than elegance of language, describe a pestilence save as a death of the air which diffuses its own distemper to destroy all things to which the life force has been given? We need not spend many words on fire, for 127 when it has lost its sustenance it is extinguished at once, in itself lame as the poets say.^b While with a support it stands erect because the kindled fuel is still there; when that is used up it is seen no more. Much the same is said to happen with the snakes in 128 India.^c They creep up to those hugest of animals, then perishes. The snakes suck the blood and then perish also; but not because they can get no blood, though Philo seems to suggest this by *μηκέτ' ἔχοντες τροφήν*, but because the fallen elephants stifle them. We may suppose that the story interested him so much that he brought it in without considering whether it really illustrated his point. Cumont aptly quotes the account in *De Ebr.* 174 of the elk, which camouflages its colours to illustrate the different impressions which an object makes on different people, and the same may be said of the polypus and chameleon in the same context.

- μέγιστα τῶν ζώων, ἐλέφαντας, περὶ νῶτα καὶ νηδὺν ἅπασαν εἰλεῖσθαι, φλέβα δ' ἦν ἂν τύχη διελόντας ἐμπίνειν τοῦ αἵματος, ἀπλήστως ἐπισπωμένους βιαίῳ πνεύματι καὶ συντόνῳ ροίῳ, μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ἐξαναλουμένους ἐκείνους ἀντέχειν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας ἀνασκιρτῶντας καὶ τῇ προνομαίᾳ τὴν πλευρὰν τύπτοντας. ὡς καθιζομένους τῶν δρακόντων, εἶτα αἰὲν κενουμένου τοῦ ζωτικοῦ, πηδᾶν μὲν μηκέτι δύνασθαι, κραδαιομένους δ' ἐστάναι, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἐξασθενησάντων, κατασεισθέντας ὑπὸ λιφαιμίας ἀποψύχειν, πεσόντας δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ θανάτου
- 129 συναπολλύναι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· μηκέτ' ἔχοντες τροφήν οἱ δράκοντες ὃν περιέθεσαν δεσμὸν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐκλύειν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἥδη ποθοῦντες, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐλεφάντων θλιβόμενοι πιέζονται, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὰν τύχη στέριφον καὶ λιθῶδες τὸ ἔδαφος· ἰλυσπώμενοι γὰρ καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες εἰς διάλυσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πῖεσαντος βίας πεδηθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς πολυτρόπως ἐν ἀμηχάνοις καὶ ἀπόροις γυμνάσαντες ἐξασθενοῦσι <καὶ> καθάπερ οἱ καταλευσθέντες ἢ τείχους αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθέντος προκαταληφθέντες, οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνακύψαι δυνάμενοι, πνιγῇ τελευτῶσιν. εἰ δὴ τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον τοῦ κόσμου φθορὰν ὑπομένει, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν παγεὶς κόσμος ἄφθαρτος οὐκ ἔσται.
- 130 Τὸν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον ἀκριβωτέον ὦδε, φασίν· εἰ ὁ κόσμος αἰδῖος ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ τὰ ζῶα αἰδία καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὅσω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀψίγονον φανῆναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐρευνᾶν τὰ

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 128-130

the elephants, and wind themselves round their backs and the whole of their belly. Then making an incision in a vein, as chance directs, they imbibe the blood, sucking it in greedily with violent inhalations and continuous hissing. For a time the elephants hold out, leaping about in their helplessness, and beating their sides with the trunk to try and reach the snakes, then as their life-power is continually being drained, they can leap no more but stand still quivering. Soon afterwards when their legs have lost all strength they drop down through lack of blood and expire. But in their fall they involve the authors of their death in the same fate. The way of it is as follows : the snakes no longer getting their 129 nourishment try to loosen the bond which they have drawn round their victims, as they now desire release, but being squeezed and pressed down by the weight of the elephants, most especially when the ground happens to be hard and stony, they wriggle about and do everything they can to free themselves but are fettered by the force of the weight upon them. In their helpless straits, their manifold exertions only exhaust them, and like people stoned to death or caught by the sudden fall of a wall, unable even to free their heads^a they are stifled and die. Now if each part of the world suffers destruction, clearly the world compacted from them will not be indestructible.

The fourth and last proposition must, they tell us, 130 be argued out as follows. If the world was everlasting, the animals in it would be everlasting also, and most especially the human race inasmuch as it is superior to the rest. But man also is seen to be of late origin by those who wish to search into the

^a See App. p. 530.

φύσεως· εἰκὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις
 συνυπάρξαι τὰς τέχνας ὡς ἂν ἰσῆλικας, οὐ μόνον
 ὅτι λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἐμμέθοδον οἰκεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 131 ὅτι ζῆν ἀνευ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν. ἴδωμεν οὖν τοὺς
 ἐκάστων χρόνους ἀλογήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτραγωδου-
 μένων θεοῖς μύθων * * * εἰ <δὲ> μὴ αἰδῖος ἀνθρω-
 πος, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ζῶον, ὥστ' οὐδ' αἱ δεδεγμέναι
 ταῦτα χῶραι, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ· ἐξ ὧν τὸ
 φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δῆλόν ἐστιν.

132 XXV. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην εὐρε-
 σιλογίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, μή τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων
 ἐνδοὺς ὑπαχθῇ· καὶ ἀρκτέον γε τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως
 [513] ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης | οἱ σοφισταί. τὰς ἀνω-
 μαλίας οὐκέτ' ἐχρῆν εἶναι τῆς γῆς, εἴπερ αἰδῖος
 ἦν ὁ κόσμος; διὰ τί, ὦ γενναῖοι; φήσουσι γὰρ
 ἕτεροι παρελθόντες, ὅτι δένδρων οὐδὲν αἱ φύσεις
 τῶν ὀρῶν διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐκείνα καιροῖς
 μὲν τισι φυλλορροεῖ καιροῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀνηβᾶ—διὸ
 καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εὖ εἴρηται

“ φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ
 θ' ὕλη

τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη ”—,

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἀπο-
 133 θραύεται μέρη, τὰ δὲ προσφύεται. μακροῖς δὲ
 χρόνοις ἢ πρόσφυσις καθίσταται γνῶριμος, διότι

^a Presumably some words followed showing that the arts were invented by particular men who lived at one particular time and not by the gods, as Hermes is said to have invented the lyre and Hephaestus and Pallas artistic work (cf. *Od.* vi. 233). Bernays' suggestion that no such passage ever
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facts of nature. For it is probable or rather necessary that the existence of the arts should coincide with that of man, that they are in fact coeval, not only because system and method are natural to a rational being but also because it is impossible to live without them. Let us observe then the dates ¹³¹ of each of the arts, disregarding the myths palmed off on the gods by the play-wrights.^a . . . But if man is not from everlasting, so neither is any other living creature, therefore neither the regions which have given them a habitat, earth and water and air. This shows clearly that the world is destructible.

XXV. All this special pleading must be en- ¹³² countered lest any of the less proficient should yield to its authority. And the refutation must begin with that with which the sophistical speakers also opened their delusive argument. "The unevennesses of the earth would no longer exist if the world was from everlasting." Why so, my dear sirs? For others will come forward to say that trees and mountains differ not in nature. The trees shed their leaves at some seasons and then bloom again at others. And so there is truth in the poet's lines which tell us that

Driven by the wind the leaves pour down to earth,
But others come when spring returns and brings
Fresh life into the forest.^b

In the same way the mountains, too, have parts broken off but others come as accretions. But the ¹³³ accretions take long periods of time to become re-

appeared in this treatise and that though it was in his source the author left it because the details were too much for him, depreciates the "Compiler," as he calls him, far too much.

^b *Il.* vi. 147 f.

- τὰ μὲν δένδρα ὠκυτέρα χρώμενα τῇ φύσει θάπτον καταλαμβανομένην ἔχει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, τὰ δ' ὄρη βραδυτέρα,¹ διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκφύσεις αὐτῶν αἰσθητὰς ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ μακρῷ μόλις εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.
- 134 εἰοίκασί γε τὸν τρόπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἴσως αἰδεσθέντες ἡσύχασαν. φθόνος δ' οὐδεὶς ἀναδιδάσκειν· ἔστι δ' οὔτε νέον τὸ λεγόμενον οὔτε ῥήμαθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην
- 135 ἀναγκαίων ἀπολέλειπται. ὅταν τὸ κατακεκλεισμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ πυρῶδες ἄνω τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλαύνηται φυσικῇ δυνάμει, πρὸς τὸν οἰκείον τόπον στείχει, καὶ τινος λάβηται βραχείας ἀναπνοῆς, ἄνω μὲν συνανασπᾷ πολλὴν τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας, ὅσῃν ἂν οἶόν τε ᾖ, ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεται βραδυτέρον,² [ἢ] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συμπαρελθεῖν βιασθεῖσα, πρὸς μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα ὕψος, στέλλεται κορυφουμένη καὶ πρὸς ὀξείαν ἀποτελευντᾷ κορυφήν
- 136 τὸ πυρὸς σχῆμα μιμουμένη. γίνεται γὰρ τοῦ κουφοτάτου καὶ βαρυτάτου τότε, τῶν φύσει ἀντιπάλων, ἀναγκαῖα συρραξάντων διαμάχῃ, πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκατέρου χώραν ἐπειγομένου καὶ <πρὸς> τὸ βιαζόμενον ἀντιτείνοντος· τὸ μὲν δὴ πῦρ συνανέλκον γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν νευστικοῦ βρίθειν ἀναγκάζεται, ἡ δὲ γῆ κατωτάτω ταλαντεύουσα τῷ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνωφοίτῳ συνεπελαφρισθεῖσα μετέωρος ἐξαίρεται καὶ κρατηθεῖσα μόλις ὑπὸ δυνατω-

¹ MSS. βραχύτερα.

² MSS. ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεσθαι βραχύτερον. Cohn pronounces ἐπιγενόμενον to be corrupt, but does not suggest any

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 133-136

cognizable, because as the process of growth in trees is more rapid their advance is apprehended more quickly, while in mountains that process is slower, and, therefore, their after-growths become just perceptible only after a long time. These people seem 134 to have no knowledge of the way in which mountains come to be, otherwise they would probably have held their tongues for shame. But we shall not grudge giving them instruction, for the tale is nothing new, nor are the words ours, but old-time sayings of wise men, who left nothing uninvestigated that was necessary for knowledge. When the fiery element 135 enclosed in the earth is driven upward by the natural force of fire, it travels towards its proper place, and if it gets a little breathing space, it pulls up with it a large quantity of earthy stuff, as much as it can, but with this outside and on it it moves more slowly. This earthy substance forced to travel with it for a long distance, rises to a great height and contracts and tapers, and passes finally into a pointed peak with the shape of fire for its pattern. For there is 136 necessarily then a conflict when the natural antagonists, the heaviest and the lightest, clash. Each presses on to its proper location and resists the force applied by the other. The fire which is dragging the earth with it is necessarily weighted by the counter-pull which the earth exerts upon it, while the earth though gravitating ever downwards lightened by the upward tendency of the fire rises aloft, and, compelled at last to yield to the stronger power which

emendation; nor does Cumont, who also retains it. Bernays ἡ δ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιγενομένη. The translation I have given supposes ἐπιγενομένης (sc. οὐσίας) and ἡ or ἣ δὲ for the ἡ expunged by Cohn.

τέρας τῆς ἐπικουφιζούσης ἰσχύος ἄνω πρὸς τὴν
 137 τοῦ πυρὸς ἔδραν ὠθεῖται καὶ ἴσταται.¹ τί οὖν
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄρη ταῖς τῶν ὑετῶν φοραῖς
 ἐξανήλωται, τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὰ δυνάμεως, ὑφ'
 ἧς καὶ διανίσταται, μάλα παγίως καὶ κραταιῶς
 ἐνειλημμένης; λυθέντος γὰρ δεσμοῦ τοῦ συν-
 έχοντος, εἰκὸς ἦν διαλυθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ὕδατος
 σκεδασθῆναι, δυνάμει δὲ σφιγγόμενα τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς
 στεγανώτερον πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν φορὰς ἀντέχει.

[514] XXVI. | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν λελέχθω περὶ τοῦ τὴν
 ἄνωμαλίαν τῆς γῆς πίστιν οὐκ εἶναι γενέσεως καὶ
 φθορᾶς κόσμου.

138 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μειώσεως τῆς θαλάττης
 ἐπιχειρηθὲν ἐκεῖνο δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο· μὴ τὰς
 ἀνασχούσας νήσους αὐτὸ μόνον αἰετὶς μὴδ' εἴ τινες
 ἀποτομαὶ κατακλυζόμεναι τὸ πάλαι χρόνοις αὐθις
 ἡπειρώθησαν σκοπεῖτε—φυσιολογίας γὰρ ἀντί-
 παλον φιλονεικία τριπόθητον ἡγουμένης ἀλήθειαν
 ἰχνηλατεῖν—, ἀλλὰ πολυπραγμονεῖτε² καὶ τούναν-
 τίον, ὅσαι μὲν ἐν ἡπείροις οὐ παράλιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μεσόγειοι μοῖραι κατεπόθησαν, ὅση δὲ χέρσος
 139 θαλαττωθεῖσα μυριοφόροις ναυσὶν ἐμπλεῖται. <ἦ>
 τὴν περὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν ἄδο-
 μένην ἱστορίαν ἀγνοεῖτε; <ἦν μὲν γὰρ> τὸ

¹ So MSS., to which I can see no objection. Cohn and Cumont κἀνίσταται.

² MSS. πολυπραγμονεῖται or πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔτι.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 136-139

buoys it up, is pushed up into the seat of fire and takes its stand there. Why should we wonder then 137 that the mountains are not destroyed by the onrush of the rain,^a since the power which holds them together, which also makes them rise as they do, embraces them so firmly and stoutly? For if the bond which held them together were loosened, they might naturally be dissolved and dispersed by the water. As it is, kept tight by the force of fire they hold their own and show themselves weather-proof in face of the onrush of the rains. XXVI. This is what we have to say to show that the unevennesses of the earth are no proof that the world is created and will be destroyed.

To the proof which they attempt to draw from 138 the diminution of the sea, the following answer may justly be given. Do not perpetually fix your eyes merely on the islands which have emerged or any segments which were submerged long ago and in the course of time have been rejoined to the mainland. For contentiousness is a foe to the nature study which holds the investigation of truth to be profoundly desirable. Busy yourselves also with the converse of this, namely, all the parts of the mainland, not only on the sea-coast but in the centre, which have been swallowed up, and all the dry land which has been turned into sea and is the sailing ground of ships of considerable tonnage. Do you 139 not know the celebrated story of the sacred Sicilian

theory here stated to account for the permanence of mountains from that in § 132. Philo might reply that the two reasons though different are not inconsistent. The fire prevents them from being destroyed just as the trunk stands when the leaves go, but does not prevent the breaking-off of pieces, which are replaced by new accretions.

PHILO

παλαιὸν ἡπείρω Ἰταλία Σικελία συνάπτουσα, μεγάλων δὲ τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα πελαγῶν βιαίους πνεύμασιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιδραμόντων, ἡ μεθόριος ἐπεκλύσθη καὶ ἀνερράγη, παρ' ἣν καὶ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τοῦ πάθους Ῥήγιον κτισθεῖσα ὠνομάσθη. καὶ τοῦναντίον οὗ προσεδόκησεν ἂν τις ἀπέβη· συνεζεύχθη μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέως διεστῶτα πελάγη κατὰ τὴν σύρρυσιν ἐνωθέντα, ἡ δὲ ἡνωμένη γῆ τῷ μεθορίῳ πορθμῷ διεζεύχθη, παρ' ὃν ἡπειρος οὖσα

140 Σικελία νήσος ἐβιάσθη γενέσθαι. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας λόγος τῆς θαλάττης ὑπερσχοῦσης ἠφανίσθαι πόλεις καταποθείσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ Πελοπόννησόν φασι τρεῖς

“ Αἴγειραν Βοῦράν τε καὶ ὑψηλὴν Ἑλίκειαν, τείχεσιν ἢ τάχ' ἔμελλε περὶ βρύα μυρία φύσειν,”

εὐδαίμονας τὸ πάλαι γενομένας πολλῇ τοῦ πελάγους

141 ἐπικλυσθῆναι φορᾶ. ἡ δὲ Ἀτλαντὶς νήσος, “ ἅμα Λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μείζων,” ἢ φησιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων, ἡμέρα μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ “ σεισμῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ κατακλυσμῶν γενομένων δῦσα κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξαίφνης ἠφανίσθη,” γενομένη πέλαγος, οὐ

^a This belief including the derivation of the name Rhegium is mentioned by Diodorus, Strabo, Seneca and Pliny.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 139-141

straits? In old days Sicily joined on to the mainland of Italy but under the assault on either side of great seas driven by violent winds from opposite directions, the land between them was inundated and broken up and at its side a city was founded, whose name of Rhegium records what happened to it. The result was the opposite of what one would have expected. The seas which were hitherto divided joined together through their confluence, while the land once united was divided by the intervening straits, by which Sicily, which had been mainland, was forced to become an island.^a Many other cities also are stated 140 to have been swallowed up and to have disappeared overwhelmed by the sea. And so too in Peloponnese they say that the three,

Aegira, Bura, lofty Heliceia,
Whose walls would soon be clad with thick sea-moss,^b

which were most flourishing in old times were inundated by a great inroad of the sea. And the 141 island of Atlantis "greater than Libya and Asia put together," as Plato says in the *Timaeus*, "in a single day and night through extraordinary earthquakes and floods sank below the sea and suddenly disappeared," turning into a sea which was not navigable but full

Strabo's notice, vi. 6, shows that it was also mentioned by Aeschylus, from whom he quotes the line ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Πήγμιον κυκλήσκειται.

^b The source of these lines is unknown. In themselves they do not imply the submersion of any except Heliceia, and nothing is said elsewhere of that of Aegira. Bura (Buris) and Heliceia (Helice) are mentioned as submerged by later writers, including Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* vi. 23. 4 and vii. 5. 3), where he gives Callisthenes as his authority, as well as an unknown treatise of Aristotle.

PHILO

- 142 πλωτόν, ἀλλὰ βαραθρῶδες. οὐδὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φθεί-
 ρεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἢ πλασθεῖσα τῷ λόγῳ μείωσις
 τῆς θαλάττης συνεργεῖ· φαίνεται γὰρ ὧν μὲν ἐξ-
 αναχωροῦσα, τὰ δ' ἐπικλύζουσα. ἐχρῆν δὲ μὴ
 θάτερον τῶν γινομένων ἀλλὰ συνάμφῳ θεωροῦντας
 ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ βίον ἀμφισβητήμασιν
 [515] | ὁ νόμιμος δικαστής, πρὶν [παρὰ] τῶν ἀντιδίκων
 ἀκοῦσαι, γνώμην οὐκ ἀποφανεῖται.
- 143 XXVII. Καὶ μὴν ὁ τρίτος λόγος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
 διελέγχεται, μὴ ὑγιῶς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθὺς
 ἐν ἀρχῇ φάσεως. οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν οὐ πάντα τὰ
 μέρη φθίρεται φθαρτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ' οὐ
 πάντα τὰ μέρη ἅμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ <καὶ> ἀθρόα
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄκρον ἀποκοπεῖς
 τις δάκτυλον ζῆν οὐ κεκώλυται, εἰ δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν
 τῶν μερῶν καὶ μελῶν πᾶσαν, αὐτίκα τελευτήσει.
- 144 τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, εἰ μὲν συλλήβδην ἀπαξ-
 ἅπαντα τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἠφανίζετο,
 φάσκειν ἐνδέχεσθαι τὸν κόσμον φθορὰν ἦν ἀναγ-
 καῖον· εἰ δ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γείτονος

^a Taken partly verbatim from *Timaeus* 24 E and 25 C-D. The meaning of βαραθρῶδης is doubtful. Philo is paraphrasing Plato's ἄπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον . . . πηλοῦ κάρτα βραχέος (v.l. βαθέος) ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, ὃν ἡ νῆσος ἰζομένη παρ-έσχετο. L. & S. (revised) give (for this passage) "dangerous." Bernays has "mit Untiefen besäete Wasserfläche."

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 142-144

of abysses.^a So then the fiction which they propound 142 that the sea is diminished contributes nothing to show that the world is destroyed, for it is clear that the sea withdraws from some places and inundates others. And judgement should not be given on observation of one of the phenomena but of both together, just as also in the disputes of ordinary life the law-abiding judge will not declare his decision until he has heard both litigants.

XXVII. Further, their third argument stands self- 143 convicted as an unsound proposition ^b from the very terms of the enunciation with which it begins. For the truth surely is not that a thing is destructible if all its parts are destroyed, but if all its parts are destroyed together and simultaneously, just as one who has had the tip of his finger cut away is not prevented from living, but if the whole system of his parts and limbs is cut away, he will die at once. In the same way, if the elements one and all were 144 put out of existence at one and the same time, it would be necessary to admit that the world is liable to destruction. But if each of them separately is

Dr. Rouse suggests that he may mean hidden reefs, which he thinks of as sunken ravines. Stephanus quoting this passage says "fortasse coenosus," and cites *De Agr.* 144 *θολερῶ δὲ καὶ βαρυσπύρρῳ βίῳ*. There Mangey's correction to *βορβορῶδει* has been generally accepted. Is it possible that the same correction should be made here?

^b This use of *ἐρωτάω* = "to state a proposition or syllogism not in the form of a question," is described as a late usage by L. & S. (revised), who cite Galen v. 327. Stephanus speaks of it as a known usage, but after giving some examples of *συνερωτάω*, gives one example of the simple verb, Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* iii. 13 *οἱ κατὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἠρωτημένοι λόγοι*. Our passage seems to be a clear example, and cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 53, though that may only apply to the question asked by Zeno. See also App. p. 530.

μεταβάλλει φύσιν, ἀθανατίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ φθείρεται
κατὰ τὸ φιλοσοφηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραγικοῦ

“ θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.”

- 145 Παντελής γε μὴν εὐήθεια τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὸν
λόγον ἀτοπία τις ἀκολουθήσας νέον τὸν κόσμον
ἀποφανεῖ κομιδῇ μόλις πρὸ χιλίων παγέντα ἐνιαυ-
τῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὓς παρειλήφμεν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν
εὐρετὰς τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ
146 ὑπερβάλλουσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λεκτέον τὰς τέχνας
ισήλικας ἀνθρώπων γένει, μεθ’ ἱστορίας φυσικῆς
ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθύμως λεκτέον. ἡ
δ’ ἱστορία τίς; φθοραὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐκ
ἀθρόων ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων, δυσὶ ταῖς
μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ἀνατίθενται, πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος
ἀλέκτοις φοραῖς· κατασκήπτειν δ’ ἑκατέραν ἐν
μέρει φασὶν ἐν πάνυ μακραῖς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις.
147 ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἔμπρησις καταλαμβάνῃ, ῥεύμα αἰθε-

^a See on § 30. The citation of these three lines for the third time must be regarded as a piece of careless composition.

^b With this sentence begins the answer to the fourth argument. It is abruptly introduced and very imperfectly carried through. The fourth argument was (1) that as men could not exist without the arts and the arts are known to have been invented by definite persons at definite times, man could not have existed from everlasting and therefore (2) neither the inferior animals, (3) nor their habitats. The answer to the first point is given at length and it might be said that, with the refutation of this, that of the second and third follows at once, but we should have expected Philo to indicate it.

^c Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 96 A σοφίαν, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 144-147

changed into the nature of its neighbour, it is not destroyed but rather rendered immortal, as says the tragic poet philosophizing

Nothing that is born can die,
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take another form.^a

Finally it is the height of folly to take the arts as ¹⁴⁵ the standard of measurement for mankind.^b Anyone who follows this topsy-turvey line of reasoning will make out that the world is quite new, framed hardly a thousand years ago, since those who tradition tells us were the inventors of the sciences do not go back farther than that number of years. And if they must ¹⁴⁶ say that the arts are coeval with the human race, they must do so not carelessly and perfunctorily but with the aid of natural history.^c And what does natural history tell us? ^a Destructions of things on earth, destructions not of all at once but of a very large number, are attributed by it to two principal causes, to tremendous onslaughts of fire and water. These two visitations, we are told, descend in turns after very long cycles of years. When the agent is ¹⁴⁷

ἰστορίαν. The phrase covers both the research as here and the result obtained as in the next sentence.

^a The substance of the next four sections is drawn from Plato, *Laws* iii. 676, 677, and *Timaeus* 22 A f. In the former we have the periodical destruction of mankind by deluge and other causes, and the consequent extinction of the arts, and also the remark that the traditional discoveries of the arts as we have them go back at most to a thousand or two thousand years. In the *Timaeus* nothing is said about the arts (though it is noted that the records and traditions of a nation perish in the destruction), but we have a more specific account of the destruction by fire and deluge, and the different ways in which the two affect the inhabitants of the highlands and the lowlands. See also App. p. 530.

ρίου πυρὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκχεόμενον πολλαχῇ σκεδάν-
 νυσθαι, μεγάλα κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτρέχον·
 ὅταν δὲ κατακλυσμός, ἅπασαν τὴν ὕδατος [κατομ-
 βρίαν] κατασύρειν¹ φύσιν, αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων
 ποταμῶν οὐ πλημμυρούντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 καθεστὸς προσυπερβαλλόντων τῆς ἐπιβάσεως καὶ
 τὰς ὄχθας ἢ τῇ βίᾳ παραρρηγνύντων ἢ ὑπερ-
 πηδῶντων ἀναβάσει τῇ πρὸς μήκιστον ὕψος· ὅθεν
 ὑπερβλύσαντας εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην ἀναχεῖσθαι
 πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς μεγάλας λίμνας
 διανέμεσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κοιλότερα αἰεὶ τοῦ ὕδατος
 συνίζοντος, αὐθις δ' ἐπιρρέοντος καὶ τοὺς μεθορίους
 [516] ἰσθμοὺς | κατακλύζοντος, οἷς διεκρίνοντο αἱ λίμναι,
 εἰς μέγεθος ἄχανοὺς πελάγους κατὰ τὴν πολλῶν
 148 ἔνωσιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ μαχομένων δυνά-
 μειν ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἰκοῦντας
 τόποις ἀπόλλυσθαι, πυρὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ
 γεωλόφοις καὶ δυσύδροις χωρίοις, αἳ οὐκ ἔχοντας
 φύσει² πυρὸς ἀμυντήριον ἀφθονον ὕδωρ, ἔμπαλιν δ'
 ὕδατι τοὺς παρὰ ποταμοῖς ἢ λίμναις ἢ θαλάττῃ·
 γειτόνων γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι φιλεῖ τὰ κακὰ πρῶτων ἢ
 149 καὶ μόνων.³ κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λεχθέντας τρόπους δίχα
 μυρίων ἄλλων βραχυτέρων φθειρομένου τοῦ πλεί-
 στου μέρους ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλείπειν⁴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ
 τὰς τέχνας· δίχα γὰρ τοῦ μεθοδεύοντος οὐκ εἶναι
 καθ' αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν ἐπιστήμην. ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἱ μὲν
 κοιναὶ νόσοι χαλάσωσιν, ἄρξῃται δὲ ἀνηβᾶν καὶ
 βλαστάνειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν μὴ προκαταληφθέντων

¹ MSS. κατασύρει (-η).

² MSS. φησὶ which Bernays retains.

³ MSS. ἡγεμόνων or ἡγουμένων

⁴ MSS. ἐπιλιπεῖν.

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the conflagration, a stream of heaven-sent fire pours out from above and spreads over many places and over-runs great regions of the inhabited earth. When it is the deluge, it sweeps along in every form which water takes. The rivers, either spring fed or winter torrents, not only flow with a full volume but exceed the usual level to which they rise and either break down their banks by force or over-leap them mounting to a very great height. Then streaming over they are diffused into the adjoining lowland, which is at first divided into great lakes as the water always subsides into the deeper hollows, then again as it flows on and submerges the intervening isthmuses which divide the lakes, making many into one, is converted into a great expanse of boundless sea. Through these contending powers the inhabitants of 148 contrasted regions have perished alternately. Fire is fatal to the dwellers in the mountains and hills and places ill-supplied with water, as they do not possess the abundance of water which is the natural instrument of defence against fire. Water, on the other hand, destroys those who live near rivers, or lakes, or the sea, for it is a way that evils have, that those who live close to them are the first if not the only ones to feel their power. Since the chief part 149 of mankind perish in the way here mentioned apart from numberless minor ways^a the arts, too, necessarily fail. Science in itself is lost to sight, without someone to put it in practice. But when the epidemics of evil have abated and from those who have not fallen victims to their overwhelming terrors a new race begins to bloom again and grow, the arts

^a So *Timaeus* 22 c φθοραὶ . . . πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγιστα, μυρίοις δὲ ἄλλοις ἕτεραι βραχύτεραι.

PHILO

τοῖς ἐπιβρίασαι δεινοῖς, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας
πάλιν συνίστασθαι, οὐ τότε¹ πρῶτον γενομένης, ἀλλὰ
τῇ μειώσει τῶν ἐχόντων ὑποσπανισθείσας.

150 Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου παρειλή-
φαμεν, εἴρηται κατὰ δύναμιν. τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστον
ἐναντιώσεις ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα δηλωτέον.

¹ MSS. οὔτε.

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also, which are not then born for the first time but have sunk into insignificance through the diminution of persons possessing them, establish themselves once more.

We have described to the best of our abilities the 150 arguments transmitted to us to maintain the indestructibility of the world. In what follows we have to expound the answers given in opposition to each point.^a

^a See Introduction, p. 177 note *a*.