PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

F. H. COLSON, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AND

THE REV. G. H. WHITAKER, M.A.
LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXXXI
American ISBN 0-674-99249-0
British ISBN 0 434 99226 7

First printed 1929

Printed in Great Britain
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PREFACE TO VOLS. I. AND II.

The number of persons who have read or will read Philo's works from beginning to end is probably very small, but there are many more who may wish to refer to them occasionally and in both these classes there is always likely to be a large proportion who will welcome a translation. And if this be granted, it will hardly be disputed that the time has come for a new version. The only English version known to us is that of C. D. Yonge (1854), and this is out of print and copies appear to be scarce. Yonge's work has considerable merits, but there is much that requires correction, and he had before him a less trustworthy text than that which is available at the present day. Moreover, his way of reproducing Philo's long and involved sentences in the exact form of the Greek seems to us to make the treatises duller and heavier than they need be. We have adopted a somewhat different method, without, we hope, sacrificing faithfulness to the original.

We must not, however, omit to mention the German translation by various hands, edited till his death by Cohn, which is still in progress. We have found this useful in many ways, but our chief debt is to the notes and the references which they give to Plato and the later Greek philosophers. Though a translation is not a commentary, the reader of Philo is not fairly dealt with, if his attention is not called to the fact that the author is constantly quoting or adapting Plato and
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the Stoic writers. Our account of these quotations and adaptations is probably very incomplete, but it would have been far more so without the help which the German translators have given us.

The publication of the great edition of Cohn and Wendland (1896–1914), which has now superseded that of Mangey, has left us little difficulty with regard to the text. Generally speaking, we have both of us adopted the readings of this edition, even when we have felt some hesitation, though where that hesitation has amounted to something like conviction, we have occasionally with the aid of the very complete apparatus criticus supplied by the editors adopted readings which they had rejected, and in such cases our text is often nearer to the mss. than theirs. We have also introduced a few emendations of our own, all of which are indicated in the footnotes.

It should be understood that our translation is not a collaboration in the fullest sense of the word. Each of us has carefully read and criticized the work of the other, and many of these criticisms have been accepted as improvements or corrections. But on the whole each of us remains responsible for his own work both in text and translation and not for that of his colleague. In Volume I. the whole of the translation is by Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Colson's contribution, apart from the criticisms and suggestions just mentioned, is confined to the General Introduction, a share in the Tables of Reference and a considerable part of the notes in the Appendices. In Volume II. the three treatises De Cherubim, De Sacrificiis and De Gigantibus are translated by Mr. Colson and the other two by Mr. Whitaker.

F. H. C.

G. H. W.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It has probably seldom happened that the characteristics of a man’s home and birthplace have been so faithfully reflected in his writings as they are in the writings of Philo of Alexandria. A citizen of the place which was at once the chief home of the Jewish Dispersion and the chief centre of Hellenistic culture, he owes his position in the history of religious thought mainly to that remarkable fusion of Hellenism and Judaism which we find in his voluminous writings. He has many other claims on our consideration—he is one of the most spiritually-minded of thinkers—but this is the first and most obvious.

It is not necessary to discuss the little that is known of Philo’s life. It will be enough to say that he came of a rich and influential Jewish family and was trained in Greek as well as Jewish learning. The one public event in his life was his taking part in an embassy sent by the Jews of Alexandria to Caligula to complain of the persecutions which they had been suffering. This is dated A.D. 39-40, and as Philo in writing his account of the mission at some time later speaks of himself as an old man, it has been generally held that he was born about 20 B.C. The date of his death is uncertain, but it will be seen that his lifetime

\[a \text{ Leg. ad Gaium 31; cf. ibid. 182.}\]
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covers the lifetimes of Jesus Christ and John Baptist, and much of that of St. Paul. There is no intimation that he knew anything of their life or work.

The present introduction is intended to serve mainly for the first three of the six volumes of Cohn's text. These three volumes containing twenty-two treatises will probably occupy five volumes of this translation. These treatises, which are fairly homogeneous, do not aim at any continuous or systematic body of thought. They are expositions of what Philo conceives to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis. So far his method is consistent enough. Unfortunately, perhaps—though it is a fault which is rather lovable—he is an inveterate rambler. This word does not mean that the thoughts are disconnected. In fact it is the mark of the true rambler that his points are always connected, and that he is unable to restrain

* But it may be well to indicate the contents of the remaining three volumes of Cohn:

(a) Biographical treatises, viz., On Abraham. On Joseph. Two books on the Life of Moses (vol. iv.).

(b) Treatises on the Mosaic Legislation, viz., On the Decalogue (vol. iv.). Four books on the Special Laws (vol. v.).

(c) Philosophical treatises, viz., On the Virtues. On Rewards, Punishments and Curses (in vol. v.). On “Goodness is Freedom” (“Quod omnis probus liber sit”). On the Contemplative Life (a work largely on the Therapeutae, which has given rise to much controversy). On the Eternity of the World (sometimes regarded as spurious). The last two make up vol. vi., together with the following:

(d) Political treatises, viz., Against Flaccus. On the Embassy to Gaius.

[Besides these there are “On Providence” and “Questions on Genesis and Exodus.” As these only survive in the Armenian and are only known through the Latin translation by Aucher, they will not form part of this translation.]
himself from following up each connexion as it occurs. Philo takes his text and expounds its philosophical meaning and proceeds to illustrate it from some other text, in which he discerns the same idea. But this second text generally contains some other words in which he finds some other idea, too valuable to be passed over. The process might, of course, go on indefinitely, but even Philo feels that there must be some limit to it and ultimately returns to his main subject.

It may be well to illustrate this characteristic by a single specimen, neither worse nor better than hundreds of others. Let the reader turn to p. 409 of this volume, *i.e. Leg. All. iii. lv. § 161*, where Philo has arrived at the words of the Lord to the serpent, interpreted as the evil principle of pleasure, "earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." That Philo should pass at once to the implied contrast between the lower and the higher food of the soul is natural enough, and thus we are at once switched off to the Manna story of Ex. xvi. All the details of this are worked out; for instance, how the command to the wanderers to gather only the day’s portion for the day suggests that humanity cannot receive God’s gifts all at once, but only in due measure and proportion, and other thoughts which the reader may observe for himself. But then let him note how in 169, taking the text "this is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat; this is the word which the Lord prescribed," Philo at once identifies the "word" with the "bread" and extracts a new set of thoughts about the "word." So far, though the primary "serpent" has been forgotten, the secondary "manna" has on the whole held the field. But in
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177 we are again switched off by the thought of the "word" or "logos" to one of Philo's more mystical ideas, that God Himself is greater than His Word, and this is supported by the prayer of Jacob where the phrase "God who feeds me" coupled with "the Angel who delivers me from evils" teaches us that health, bodily and spiritual, is God's direct gift, while rescue from evil comes to us indirectly. Then in 179, another transition, Jacob's prayer acknowledges God and is in contrast with the words of that inferior character Joseph, "I will nourish thee (Jacob)." And so too Joseph's mother Rachel erred when she said to Jacob "give me children," and thus what has begun as an exposition of "earth shalt thou eat" ends with one of Philo's favourite ideas that God is the parent of virtue in the soul, though, unlike earthly parents, He begets not for Himself, but for us.

The above may serve to illustrate, not only Philo's method, but the nature and value of his deductions from Scripture. Their ingenuity is undeniable; so also is their fancifulness and even perversity, when measured by the canons of sound exegesis; and the estimates of readers will vary according as they are attracted by the first or repelled by the second. But if we would appreciate Philo fully we must remember that he combines the strongest possible belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures with the freest possible criticism. Every word of the Scriptures, particularly

* Philo's constant depreciation of Joseph and Rachel in favour of Judah and Leah is a curious feature and shows us how little consciousness he had of the charm which we feel in the story of the former pair. Was there some national or tribal prejudice at the bottom of it?
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those which he attributes to the "all-wise" Moses,* is to him inspired, and quite as much in the God-guided translation of the Seventy as in the original Hebrew, which he knew but little, if at all. This belief is part of his very nature, and his patriotic instincts served to confirm it. But at the same time he is profoundly conscious that the sacred words, when taken in their literal sense, are occasionally incredible, and not infrequently trivial, or at any rate inadequate, and therefore must conceal some "underlying thought," b which patient meditation, aided by God's grace, cannot fail to extract.

It follows that the statements of fact in these inspired narratives need not be literally true. Creation cannot, he says, have taken place in six natural days, for days are measured by the sun's course and the sun is but a portion of creation.c The literal story of Adam's rib being made into Eve he flatly calls "mythical." d Sometimes perhaps he is over-critical. The account of Joseph being sent by his father to visit his brethren is incredible, for why should a great chief like Jacob send his favourite son on such an errand instead of one of his numerous servants? e If we ask whether in a broad sense he accepted the historicity of the narratives, the answer is that he probably did. Certainly his treatment of the lives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses in the books which deal with them biographically, books in which he shows that the lives have a lesson for

* A glance at the table of references to the O.T. on pp. xxviii-xxxiv will show how vast is the preponderance of quotations from the Pentateuch over those from the other books.

b ἐννοια. 

c μυθώδες, Leg. All. ii. 19. 

d Quod Det. 13.
edification apart from allegory, indicates that he took them as historical, though it is suspicious to find elsewhere the statement that "perhaps a there has been an actual man, Samuel, but we understand by him a mind devoted to God’s service.” On the whole, a still better answer is that he did not much care about the matter. But while in his eyes it is permissible to doubt the literal, if we accept the spiritual truth, to deny both is a deadly sin, and he records with some triumph how one such scoffer was shortly by God’s judgement driven to suicide.\(^b\) Further, though the law is allegorical, its literal injunctions must not be disobeyed. Sabbath and circumcision have their inner meaning, but the actual rites are to that inner meaning as body to soul, and the body demands our care as the dwelling of the soul.\(^c\)

If we realize this and also make due allowance for the unfamiliarity of the Platonic and Stoical dress in which his thoughts are clothed, we shall find in them not a little richness and substance. The rambling\(^d\) sermon, half-analysed above, would be better described as a mosaic of sermonettes, some eight or ten in number. When set forth in such a brief analysis as is here given, they may, perhaps, appear poor things. But if studied in full they will be found, each of them, to contain an idea or ideas, which to some minds will appear fanciful, to others profound,

\(a\) Or “ probably ” (tow̆), De Ebr. 144.
\(b\) De Mut. Nom. 62.
\(c\) De Mig. 82 f.
\(d\) Though in justice it should be said that these expositions in spite of their kaleidoscopic character often have some motif which does not exactly run through them, but always tends to re-appear. Thus in the one noticed the idea of "feeding" is never long absent.
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but to hardly any, trivial. And these ideas will be none the worse for their exegetical setting. The profoundest thoughts, when stated in the abstract, are apt to seem bald and dull. They are seen at their best when set in beautiful verse as Wordsworth's, or failing this when they are brought into association with some familiar and venerated saying, which we had not suspected of bearing any such meaning. Few forms of eloquence are more effective than that in which "a mere mustard-seed of a text grows into a many-branched discourse." And it may perhaps be said that much of Philo's exegesis is of a kind which a modern preacher might easily adapt, not indeed as expressing the intention of the original, but as showing how "fresh truth and light may break out of the Word."

Philo is, as is here suggested, quite independently of his merits as a thinker, interesting from the mere fact that he interprets the Old Testament in terms of Greek philosophy and thus makes a link between Judaism and Hellenism. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this was his purpose. His purpose was the same as Bunyan had in *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Holy War*, and Dante to some extent in his *Divine Comedy*, namely, to set forth an allegory of the history of the human soul and its relations to God. But while Scripture to Bunyan and mediaeval eschatology to Dante were merely foundations on which they could rear the fabric which their own imagination

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b The oft-quoted words of Pastor John Robinson's farewell address to the Pilgrim Fathers, "I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light yet to brake out of His Holy Word," would have pleased Philo well.
created, Philo, entirely devoid of creative genius, could never get away from the rôle of interpreter. The fact that he clothed these interpretations in the language of Greek philosophy is merely incidental. The educational ideas, the logic, physics, psychology and ethics of his day were part of his mental make-up, and he necessarily expressed himself in their terms. But incidental as they are, it is necessary to understand them, if we are to understand Philo at all.

Underlying Philo's philosophy is the conviction of the value of general education as a stepping-stone to higher things. He accepts without question the ordinary course of education of his time, commonly called the Encyclopaedia, consisting of literature, rhetoric, mathematics, music and logic. He enlarges several times on its value as mental training. The Encyclopaedia are the ornaments of the soul conceived of as the house which is being fitted to receive the Divine Lodger, the saplings which must be planted in young minds, the milk which must precede the meat, the source of that spiritual strength, the "much substance" which Israel must take for its sustenance, as it journeys out of the spiritual Egypt. But above all the Encyclopaedia are symbolized by Hagar,

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a When he attempts an allegory of his own, as in De Sac. 20-44, it is poor stuff. b De Cher. 101 f.

c De Agr. 18. d ibid. 9. e Quis Rer. 272.

f e.g. De Cher. 5 f. It is noteworthy that this comparison has a close parallel in one of the Homeric allegories, which were common in the philosophical schools. Some philosopher (the name is variously given) said that those who dwelt too long over the Encyclopaedia were like the suitors of Penelope, who, when unable to win the mistress, contented themselves with the maids. How far such allegorizing of Homer influenced Philo in his treatment of the Old Testament is an interesting problem.
for as Abraham, when Sarah bore him no child, took the handmaiden, so the young soul as yet unable to mate with philosophy must have union with the school subjects, the lower or secular education. True, this is only useful as a stepping-stone to philosophy. If it is persisted in too long or misused, as it well may be, particularly the rhetorical branch, it breeds the sophist Ishmael and must be cast out, as he and his mother were. But in its proper place it is valuable, and Philo’s insistence on this makes him one of our chief authorities on the educational ideas of his time.

In philosophy proper Philo is an eclectic, drawing from nearly all the schools. His insistence on the significance of particular numbers, 4, 7, 6, 10 and others, which to our minds is the most fantastic part of his system, is an inheritance from the Pythagoreans. He owes something to Aristotle, notably the fourfold nature of causation, and the doctrine of the virtues as means between extremes. His profound sense of human ignorance and weakness make him not

\[ \text{μέση παιδεία}. \] The translators have had considerable doubt as to how to render this important phrase. In strict Stoic usage \[ \text{μέσα} = \text{αδιάφορα}, \text{ i.e. things which are neither good nor bad}. \] Still sometimes the word seems to acquire the rather different force of things midway between good and bad and therefore having a definite value, though not the highest. Philo seems to use it in this way. To translate \[ \text{μέση παιδεία} \] by “intermediate” or “secondary” education would be clearly impossible in view of the modern professional use of these words.

We need not conclude from this (though some have done so) that his philosophy is a mere chaos taking at random from the different schools. His position is rather that Moses is the primary source of philosophy, and that the “little systems” of the schools are but “broken lights” of him.

\[ \text{De Cher. 125.} \]  \[ \text{e.g. Quod Deus 162.} \]
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disinclined to borrow from the Sceptics. Plato is a more important element. The most famous of all Plato’s doctrines, the theory of Ideas, is an essential part of Philo’s cosmology, and like many others he was greatly fascinated by the mysterious theories of the Timaeus. Above all it was chiefly from Plato that he learned to think of the body as the tomb or prison-house of the soul, and the putting off of material things as the true freedom. There is also a vast amount of Stoicism in Philo, though whether the Stoic outweighs the Platonist would be a difficult question to decide. To take a few instances out of many, the doctrines of the four passions, of the sevenfold division of bodily functions, of the fourfold classification of material things, of sense, "presentation" and "impulse" as the three sources of consciousness and activity in living beings and of the manner in which they work, are all Stoic. So too he recognizes the value of freedom from passion (απαξία), of "living according to nature," and of the "indifference" of neutral things (αδιάφορα). He accepts as a worthy expression of his ideal of virtue the Stoic phraseology that "the morally beautiful" (τὸ καλὸν) is the only good. But on the whole he is opposed to the Stoic materialism, and in what is perhaps the kernel of Stoic ethics he is profoundly anti-Stoical. Though he adapts the famous para-

* See particularly De Ebr. 154 f.
* Grief, fear, desire, pleasure. Cf. Leg. All. ii. 99, "passion is four-legged."
* Five senses, speech and reproductive power. See Leg. All. i. 11.
* Inorganic matter, plants, animal, reasoning. See Leg. All. ii. 22 f.
* ibid. 23.  
* See particularly De Post. 133.
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doxes of the wise man as the truly free man, the truly rich, the true king and true citizen, he will have none of the Stoic apotheosis of the Sage. The creed which proclaims that "man is master of his fate and captain of his soul," which pictures the just and firm-willed man as standing unmoved among the ruins of the universe, which Lucan expressed by declaring that Pompey's cause had as much moral support as Caesar's because, while the latter had heaven on his side, the former had the true Stoic Cato—that creed had no attraction for Philo, or rather it was blasphemy. For there is nothing on which he harps more than on the sinfulness of ascribing any faculty or virtue to ourselves instead of to God.

In fact when Philo once begins to speak of the nature of God and our relations to Him—and seldom is there a chapter without some such meditation—the Hellene gives way almost entirely to the Hebrew, and what there is of Hellenic is much more Platonic than Stoic. His more mystical side, his absorption in the thought of the Divine and our union with it, are matters on which one can hardly enlarge here. But the ruling idea of his theology is that while God is absolutely removed from us, incomprehensible and only known as absolute being, He is also infinitely close to us, in fact at once transcendent and immanent. As is well known, Philo solved this antinomy by postulating, as intermediaries between the uncreated and the created, the Logos or Divine Reason, and also "Powers" or "Potencies," the two chief of which are goodness and sovereignty represented in the Old Testament by the names of "God" and

\[a\] De Sobr. 56 f.  \[b\] Hor. Odes, iii. 3. 1-8.  
\[c\] Phars. i. 128, "Victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni."
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“Lord” respectively. Of these intermediaries, the Logos has attracted more attention than any other Philonic question, mainly, no doubt, because of the similarity—and dissimilarity—of Philo’s conception to that of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Whether either the Logos or the Potencies are thought of as distinct personalities, or as emanations or attributes, cannot be discussed here.

If Philo is a link between Judaism and Hellenism, he is also a link between Judaism and Christianity, and that in two different ways. In the first place, quite apart from the relation of his Logos to the Johannine there is a certain affinity between Philonism and the New Testament, which will at once attract and disappoint the student. Philo’s conceptions of Conscience as the inward Judge, of the Spirit, of Faith, of Sonship, of Immortality, and many other conceptions of the same kind, are sufficiently like the uses of the same terms in the Epistles to make comparison fruitful. But except perhaps in the case of the first-named, where his attitude shows a great advance above his Stoic predecessors and a remarkable approximation to the Christian view, there are differences which to many will seem to outweigh the likeness. The same may be said of the comparatively few cases where Old Testament incidents are treated allegorically in both. The same again of the far more numerous cases, where a word or phrase or an incidental thought seem to find an echo in the New Testament. So far the connexion between Philo

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For a discussion of these conceptions see H. A. A. Kennedy, Philo’s Contribution to Religion (Hodder and Stoughton).

* e.g., the Brazen Serpent, Manna, the Rock, Melchisedek.

¢ e.g., “hungering and thirsting after excellence” (De
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and Christian thought is one that springs from their common heritage and atmosphere, and their common ideals and temperament. There is no direct contact or conscious borrowing. But when the first century or so of Christianity is passed we find something more. Philo becomes something of a power in the Church. It is true that the Christian mind eager to find in the Old Testament figures and types of Christ could not altogether welcome his kind of exegesis, and indeed Augustine, while acknowledging his acuteness, deplores this deficiency. Still otherwise his treatment of the books made a great impression on some of the Fathers, and his Logos doctrine was, superficially at least, sufficiently like that of the Fourth Gospel to suggest that his was an "anima naturaliter Christiana." His influence is probably to be seen in Justin, and is obvious in the two great liberal Christians of Alexandria, Clement and Origen. Among the Latin Fathers, Ambrose uses him very considerably. Doubtless this feeling of his affinity to Christianity helped to preserve his works, when

Fuga 139 with Matt. v. 6); "to call the things that are not into being" (Spec. Leg. iv. 187 with 1 Cor. i. 28); "the true wealth is stored up in heaven" (De Praem. 104 with Matt. vi. 20); "God swears by no other than Himself, for there is nothing greater than Him" (Leg. All. iii. 203 with Heb. vi. 13); the epithet "cutter" (τομεύς) applied to the Word or Reason (Quis Rer. Div. 130 with Heb. iv. 12 where the word is sharper (τομωτέρα) than any sword); the bridled or unbridled tongue (Som. ii. 275 with James i. 26); the sadness of the thought that the same tongue utters good and evil (De Dec. 93 with James iii. 10). These resemblances are particularly common in the Epistle of James, Mayor's edition gives over seventy such. A collection of parallels of this kind to the New Testament as a whole is given in Siegfried’s Philo von Alexandria, pp. 303-330.

* Contra Faustum, xii. 39.
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so much of the post-Aristotelian philosophy has perished.

Philo, as a writer, has many faults besides those which have been already mentioned. He is sometimes painfully pedantic. He has an annoying way of piling up examples in support of a platitude, and the rhetorical speeches, which particularly in the biographical treatises he puts into the mouths of his personages, are stilted and frigid to the point of absurdity. Yet, even when he is most pedantic, we have glimpses of a fine spiritual mind, and scattered throughout the books are passages of much beauty and eloquence. The translators hope that if they are spared to complete this version it may serve to win him some admirers among those to whom hitherto he has been little more than a name.

As an example of the first we may take the examples of truth or falsehood in Leg. All. iii. 121; of the second the address of Joseph to Potiphar's wife in De Jos. 41 ff. The former of these might almost remind one of the discourse of the Rev. Mr. Chadband in Bleak House on "What is terewth." Of the latter Edersheim remarks that "it would have extinguished the most ardent passion."

The translators think that an apology is due to one section of their prospective readers. They have not felt themselves capable of indicating in any way how far and where Philo shows dependence on the Palestinian tradition, which in its two different aspects is known as the Haggada and Halacha. Even if their combined knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish lore was much greater than it is, the absence of any written record of this tradition till a long time after Philo puts his dependence on these sources on a totally different footing from his dependence on the Greek philosophers, for which we can so often give chapter and verse. The Jewish scholar to whom this subject will naturally be of considerable interest will find some discussion of it in the article on Philo in the Jewish Encyclopaedia and a fuller treatment in Siegfried's Philo von Alexandria, pp. 142-159.
TABLES OF REFERENCE

The student of Philo constantly finds that the treatment of some Old Testament personage or text recalls a similar treatment in some earlier book or some earlier part of the same book. But the author's rambling method renders it anything but easy to trace these earlier handlings. Accordingly, since it may be a long time before the translators are in a position to give a general index to the whole of Philo, they have compiled the subjoined tables from the indexes added by Leisigang as a seventh volume to Cohn and Wendland's text. It should be carefully noted that as these tables are intended for purposes of comparison merely, they do not contain any names or texts which only occur once. Furthermore this principle has been extended to cases where, though the name or text is repeated, the repetition belongs to the same context or treatment. Thus the sections numbered are merely those in which such treatment begins, and to make a proper comparison the student will constantly have to read several sections beyond those referred to.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Aet. = De Aeternitate Mundi.  Conf. = De Confusione Lin-
Agr. = De Agricultura.  guarum.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED (continued)

Cong. = De Congressu Eruptionis gratia.
Cont. = De Vita Contemplativa.
Decal. = De Decalogo.
Det. = Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet.
Deus = Quod Deus sit Immutabilis.
Ebr. = De Ebrietate.
Exs. = De Exsecrationibus.
Fug. = De Fuga et Inventione.
Gig. = De Gigantibus.
Her. = Quis rerum divinarum heres sit.
Jos. = De Josepho.
L.A. i. ii. iii. = Legum Allegoriarum.
Mig. = De Migratione Abrahami.
Mos. i. ii. = De Vita Mosis i. ii.
Mut. = De Mutatione Nominum.
Plant. = De Plantatione.
Post. = De Posteritate Caini.
Praem. = De Praemiis et Poenis.
Prob. = Quod omnis probus liber.
Sac. = De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini.
Sob. = De Sobrietate.
Som. i. ii. = De Somniis i. ii.
Spec. = De Specialibus Legibus.
Virt. = De Virtutibus.

NOTE.—Explanatory words in italics in the following list give Philo's etymology of the name.

Aaron generally = uttered thought, also "mountainous" and therefore "lofty." L.A. iii. 45, 103, 125, Det. 132, Ebr. 128, Mig. 78, 169, Mut. 208.
Abel = the mind which "refers all to God." Sac. and Det. passim, Mig. 74.
Abram or Abraham. Besides a great number of references to him as "the wise," "the faithful," etc., illustrated by many texts and incidents, note particularly the interpretation of Abrav = the uplifted father, Abraham = the elect father of sound, and for Philo's explanation of these phrases, L.A. iii. 83, Cher. 4, Gig. 62, Mut. 66, 71, Abr. 82. Abraham also stands for "virtue gained by instruction." Cong. 35, Mut. 12, Som. i. 160, 168, Abr. 52, Mos. i. 76.
Adam = the (earthly) mind contrasted with Eve = sense-perception. Op. 165, L.A. i. 25, ii. 13, iii. 50, 246, Cher. 10, 57, Plant. 46, Her. 52, Som. ii. 70. See also Eve.

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Amalek = people licking up. L.A. iii. 186, Mig. 143.
Asher = material wealth. Mig. 95, Som. ii. 35.
Baal-Peor = solid hide. Conf. 55, Mut. 107.
Balaam = foolish people. Cher. 32, Det. 71, Deus 181, Conf. 64, 159, Mig. 115.
Benjamin = son of days. Mut. 92, Som. ii. 36.
Bezalel = in God’s shadow. L.A. iii. 95, Plant. 26, Som. i. 206.
Bilhah = swallowing. L.A. ii. 96, iii. 146, Cong. 30.
Cain = possession, and thus the self-asserting principle. Cher. from 40 to end, Sac. and Det. passim, Post. 33, Conf. 122.
Canaan = tossing—land of. Sac. 90, Cong. 83. The son of Ham. L.A. ii. 62, Sob. 44.
Cherubim. Cher. 1-40 passim, Fug. 100.
Dan = judgement. L.A. ii. 94, Agr. 95, Som. ii. 35.
Dinah = judgement. Mig. 223, Mut. 194.
Dothan = thorough quitting. Det. 28, Fug. 128.
Eden = delight. L.A. i. 64, Cher. 12, Post. 32, Plant. 32.
Edom = earthly. Deus 144, Mig. 146.
Egypt and Egyptians = the body, passim. For “the king of Egypt” see Pharaoh.
Enoch = thy gift. Post. 35, Conf. 122, Abr. 17.
Ephraim and Manasseh = memory (fruit-bearing) and recollection respectively. L.A. iii. 90, Sob. 28, Mig. 205, Cong. 40, Mut. 98.
Er = leathern. L.A. iii. 69, Post. 180.
Esau, a type of folly in general, nearly always in contrast to Jacob. L.A. iii. 2, 88, Sac. 17, 120, 135, Det. 45, Ebr. 9, Sob. 26, Mig. 153, Her. 252, Cong. 61, 175, Fug. 39.
Euphrates = (fruitfulness), justice. L.A. i. 72, Som. ii. 255.
Eve (often called “the woman”) = sense-perception. Op. 165, L.A. ii. 38, 70, iii. 50, 200, Cher. 57. = life. Agr. 95, Her. 52. (Other passages where “mind” is regarded as male, “sense” as female, without specified reference to Adam and Eve.)
Hagar = the lower education or learning of the schools (see General Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii). L.A. iii. 244. Cher. 3, Sac. 43, Post. 130, Cong. 12 and passim, Fug. 202, Mut. 255.
Hannah = her (i.e. Wisdom's) grace. Deus 5, Ebr. 145, Mut. 143, Som. i. 254.
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Haran = hole, and thus the place of outward sense. Mig. 188, Fug. 45, Som. i. 41, Abr. 72.
Hebron = companion, and so the body. Det. 15, Post. 61.
Isaac = laughter, joy, happiness. L.A. i. 82, Cher. 7, 106, Det. 46, 124, Plant. 168, Mut. 131, 157, Abr. 201, Praem. 31. As the self-taught = virtue given by nature, or taught by God or Virtue's self, very frequent, see particularly Cong. 36, Abr. 52.
Ishmael = the sophist. Cher. 8, Sob. 8. = hearing (as lower than seeing). Fug. 208, Mut. 201.
Israel = seeing God, whether of the man or the nation, very frequent. Often "He who sees" without the name.
Issachar = reward, and thus worker. L.A. i. 80, Plant. 134, Ebr. 94, Som. ii. 34.
Jacob—particularly = the supplanter; or the Practiser; very common. Often by either of these titles without the name.
Jethro = the uneven or worldling. Sac. 50 (see Note), Ebr. 36, Mut. 103.
Joseph = political, generally indicating a plane of life lower than the philosophical and sometimes even materialistic. L.A. iii. 179, 237, Cher. 128, Det. 5, Deus 119, Conf. 71, Mig. 203, Her. 256, Mut. 89, 215, Som. i. 78, 219, ii. 1-109 passim, Jos. passim.
Judah = he who confesses (and praises) God. L.A. i. 80, ii. 95, iii. 26, 146, Plant. 134, Cong. 125, Mut. 136, Som. ii. 34.
Laban = white, the lover of transient brightness. L.A. iii. 16, Cher. 67, Det. 4, Agr. 42, Ebr. 47, Mig. 28, 213, Her. 43, Fug. 9, 44, Som. i. 225.
Leah = toiling virtue. L.A. iii. 180, Cher. 41 (see Note), Post. 135, Sob. 12, Mig. 145, Cong. 25, Mut. 254.
Lot = turning away: (his daughters = Counsel and Assent). Post. 175, Ebr. 164, Mig. 13, 148, 175.
Manasseh, see Ephraim.
Midian = (from) judgement. L.A. iii. 12, Conf. 55, Mut. 106.
Miriam = sense. L.A. ii. 66, iii. 103, Agr. 80.
Moses—passim. (Cohn's index gives nearly 300 references.) Nadab and Abihu (whose destruction for presumption Philo strangely construes as an exaltation). L.A. ii. 57, Mig. 168, Her. 309, Fug. 59, Som. ii. 67.
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ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN BY MOSES
(De Opificio Mundi)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

A Book of Laws, says Philo, is fitly prefaced by a Cosmogony. The theme dealt with by a Cosmogony is, indeed, too lofty for adequate treatment. In Moses' treatment of it, two salient points at once meet the eye. The world's origin is ascribed to a Maker, who is Himself unoriginate, and who cares for what He has made.

By "six days" Moses does not indicate a space of time in which the world was made, but the principles of order and productivity which governed its making.

Before the emergence of the material world there existed, in the Divine Word or Reason, the incorporeal world, as the design of a city exists in the brain of the designer.

The efficient cause of the universe (we must remember) is Goodness; and Goodness, to be attained by it as its capacity permits, is its final cause.

The incorporeal world may be described as "the Word of God engaged in the act of creating." And the Word is the Image of God. In that, man (the part), and therefore the universe (the whole) was created.

"In the beginning" means for Philo the precedence of the incorporeal heaven and invisible earth. The pre-eminence of Life-breath and Light are shown,
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he says, by the one being called "the Spirit of God," and the other pronounced "good" or "beautiful." He sees darkness severed from light by the barrier of twilight; and the birth of Time on "Day One." Philo strangely infers that a whole day was devoted to the creation of the visible heaven from the mention of a "second day" after that creation. Land and sea are then formed by the briny water being withdrawn from the sponge-like earth and the fresh water left in it; and the land is bidden to bring forth trees and plants. It is bidden to do so before sun and moon are made, that men may not attribute its fruitfulness to these.

Coming now to the work of the fourth day, Philo brings out the significance of the number 4, and points to the boons conferred on body and mind by Light, which has given rise to philosophy by drawing man's vision upward to the heavenly bodies. He sees the purposes of these in their giving light, foreshowing coming events, marking the seasons, and measuring time.

The fifth day is fitly given to the creation of creatures endowed with five senses.

In connexion with the creation of man, Philo points out (a) the beauty of the sequence, ascending (in living things) from lowest to highest; (b) the reference, not to body, but to mind, in the words "after our image"; (c) the implication of exactness in the addition "after our likeness"; (d) the co-operation of other agents implied in "let us make," such co-operation accounting (so Philo suggests) for the possibility of sin; (e) four reasons for man coming last, viz.—

(1) that he might find all ready for him;
(2) that he might use God's gifts as such;
(3) that Man, a miniature Heaven, might correspond to the Heaven whose creation came first;
(4) that his sudden appearance might over-awe the beasts.

His place in the series is no sign of inferiority.

Turning to the Seventh Day, Philo notes its dignity, and enlarges on the properties of the number 7, (a) in things incorporeal (89-100); (b) in the material creation: (α) the heavenly bodies (101 f.); (β) the stages of man's growth (103-105); (γ) as 3 + 4 (106); (δ) in the progressions (107-110); (ε) in all visible existence (111-116); (ζ) in man, and all that he sees (117-121) and experiences (121-125); (η) in grammar and music (126 f.).

After speaking of the honour paid by Moses to the number 7, Philo, treating Gen. ii. 4 f. as a concluding summary, claims it as a proof that Gen. i. records a creation of incorporeal ideas. After a disquisition on the subject of fresh water, to which he is led by Gen. ii. 6, he goes on to deal with the earth-born man (Gen. ii. 7), whom he distinguishes from the man made after God's image. The being of the former is composite, earthly substance and Divine Breath. Proofs and an illustration are given of his surpassing excellence. The title of "the only world-citizen" is claimed for him, and its significance brought out. His physical excellence can be guessed from the faint traces of it found in his posterity. It is to call out his intelligence that he is required to name the animals. Woman is the occasion of his deterioration.

The Garden, the Serpent, the Fall and its con-
ON THE CREATION

sequences are dealt with in §§ 153-169. The Garden, we are told, represents the dominant power of the soul, and the Serpent represents Pleasure, and is eminently fitted to do so. His use of a human voice is considered. The praise of the “snake-fighter” in Lev. xi. 22 is referred to. Stress is laid on the fact that Pleasure assails the man through the woman. The effects of the Fall on the woman and on the man are traced.

The treatise ends with a short summary of the lessons of the Cosmogony. These are:

(1) the eternal existence of God (as against atheism);
(2) the unity of God (as against polytheism);
(3) the non-eternity of the world;
(4) the unity of the world;
(5) the Providence of God.
ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΩΥΣΕΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΠΟΙΙΑΣ

[1. 1] 1 Των ἄλλων νομοθετῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ νομισθέντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι δίκαια διετάξαντο, οἱ δὲ πολὺν ὄγκον τοῖς νοήμασι προσπεριβαλόντες, ἐξετύφωσαν τὰ πλήθη, μυθικοῖς πλάσμασι τὴν ἁλήθειαν ἐπικρύψαντες. Μωυσῆς δ’, ἐκάτερον ὑπερβάς, τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀσκεπτὸν καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον, τὸ δ’ ὡς κατεφευσμενὸν καὶ μεστὸν γοητείας, παγκάλην καὶ σεμνοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τῶν νόμων, μὴν εὐθύς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἢ τού νοιατίων ὑπειπῶν μὴ’, ἐπειδὴ προτυπώσαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν χρησμομένων τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαίον ἦν, μύθους πλασάμενος ἢ συναινεσάς τοῖς ὑφ’ ἐτέρων συντεθείσιν. ἡ δ’ ἁρχὴ, καθάπερ ἐφὴν, ἐστὶ θαυμασιστάτη, κοσμοποιών περιέχοσα, ως καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνάδοντος, καὶ τοῦ νομίμου ἄνδρος εὐθύς οὖντος κοσμοπολίτου, πρὸς τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος, καθ’ ἦν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται.

α “World” means, of course, the “Universe” or “Kosmos.” See App. p. 475.
ON THE ACCOUNT OF THE WORLD'S CREATION GIVEN BY MOSES

I. While among other lawgivers some have nakedly and without embellishment drawn up a code of the things held to be right among their people, and others, dressing up their ideas in much irrelevant and cumbersome matter, have befogged the masses and hidden the truth under their fictions, Moses, disdaining either course, the one as devoid of the philosopher’s painstaking effort to explore his subject thoroughly, the other as full of falsehood and imposition, introduced his laws with an admirable and most impressive exordium. He refrained, on the one hand, from stating abruptly what should be practised or avoided, and on the other hand, in face of the necessity of preparing the minds of those who were to live under the laws for their reception, he refrained from inventing myths himself or acquiescing in those composed by others. His exordium, as I have said, is one that excites our admiration in the highest degree. It consists of an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observes the law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world, regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself also is administered.
τὸ μὲν οὖν κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων τῆς κοσμοποίας ουδείς, οὕτε ποιητής οὕτε λογογράφος, ἀξίως ἂν δύναιτο* καὶ γάρ λόγον καὶ ἀκοήν ὑπερβάλλει, μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα οὖν ἢ ὃς θνητοῦ τινος ὀργάνους ἐναρμοσθῆναι. οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦθ' ἰσχυραστέον, ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ θεοφιλούς καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτολμητέον λέγειν, οἰκοθεν μὲν οὐδέν, ὀλγά δ' ἀντὶ πολλῶν, ἐφ' ἂ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην διάνοιαν φθάνειν εἰκὸς ἔρωτι καὶ πόθω σοφίας κατεσχημένην. ὡς γὰρ τῶν κολοσσιαίων μεγεθῶν τὰς ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἡ βραχυτάτη σφραγίς τυπωθεῖσα δέχεται, οὕτως τάχα που καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναγραφέας ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κοσμοποίας ὑπερβάλλοντα κάλλη, καὶ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαίς τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ψυχὰς ἑπισκιάζοντα, βραχυτέροις παραδηλωθῆσεται χαρακτήρισιν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖνο μηνυθη πρῶτερον, ἀνεπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀποσιωπήσαι.

Τινές γάρ, τὸν κόσμον μάλλον ἢ τὸν κοσμοποιὸν θαυμάσαντες, τὸν μὲν ἀγένητόν τε καὶ άίδιον ἀπεφήναντο, του δὲ θεοῦ πολλήν ἀπραξίαν κατεφεύσαντο, δέον εμπαλιν, τοῦ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρός καταπλα^τ^αι, τον δὲ μὴ πλέον ἀποσεμνύναι τοῦ μετρίου. Μωυσῆς δὲ, καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτῆν φθάσας ἀκρότητα, καὶ χρησιμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικῶτα τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναδίδαχθεῖς, ἐγνω δὴ ὅτι ἀναγκαιοτάτον ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς οὗτοι τὸ μὲν εἶναι δραστήριον αὐτίου,
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Now it is true that no writer in verse or prose could possibly do justice to the beauty of the ideas embodied in this account of the creation of the kosmos. For they transcend our capacity of speech and of hearing, being too great and august to be adjusted to the tongue or ear of any mortal. Nevertheless they must not on this account be passed over in silence. Nay, for the sake of the God-beloved author we must be venturesome even beyond our power. We shall fetch nothing from our own store, but, with a great array of points before us, we shall mention only a few, such as we may believe to be within reach of the human mind when possessed by love and longing for wisdom. The minutest seal takes in under the graver’s hand the contours of colossal figures. So perchance shall the beauties of the world’s creation recorded in the Laws, transcendent as they are and dazzling as they do by their bright gleams the souls of readers, be indicated by delineations minute and slight. But first we must draw attention to a matter which ought not to be passed over in silence.

II. There are some people who, having the world in admiration rather than the Maker of the world, pronounce it to be without beginning and everlasting, while with impious falsehood they postulate in God a vast inactivity; whereas we ought on the contrary to be astonished at His powers as Maker and Father, and not to assign to the world a disproportionate majesty. Moses, both because he had attained the very summit of philosophy, and because he had been divinely instructed in the greater and most essential part of Nature’s lore, could not fail to recognize that the universal must consist of two parts, one part
τὸ δὲ παθητὸν· καὶ ὁτι τὸ μὲν δραστήριον ὁ τῶν ὄλων νοῦς ἐστὶν εἰλικρινότατος καὶ ἀκραυγφνέστατος, κρείττων ἢ ἀρετῆ, καὶ κρείττων ἢ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ κρείττων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν·
9 τὸ δὲ παθητὸν, ἁψυχον καὶ ἀκάκητον ἢ ἐαυτοῦ, κυνηθὲν δὲ καὶ σχηματισθέν καὶ ψυχωθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, μετέβαλεν εἰς τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· ὅν οἱ φάσκοντες ὡς ἐστὶν ἁγένητος λελήθαι τὸ ωφελιμώτατον καὶ ἀναγκαίοτατον τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, τὴν πρόνοιαν.
10 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γεγονότος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν αἱρεὶ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐκγόνων καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν δημιουργηθέντων στοχάζεται τῆς διαμορφῆς, καὶ ὡς μὲν ἐπιζήμια καὶ βλαβερὰ μηχανῆ πάση διωθεῖται, τὰ δὲ ὁσα ὠφέλιμα καὶ λυσιτελῆ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπορίζειν ἐπιποθεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγονός οἰκείωσις οὐδεμία τῷ μὴ πεποιηκότι· ἀπερμαχήτου δὲ δόγμα καὶ ἀνωφελίς, ἀναρχόν ὡς ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζον τῷς τῶν κόσμω, τὸν ἐφορον ή δικαστὴν ή ἄγενητον πάντα λύοντι, ὥδε ὡς πάντα ὑποκοινωνεῖσθαι καὶ πρωτον ἐπιποθεῖ· γὰρ μὲν γε μέγας Μωυσῆς ἀλλοτριώτατον τοῦ ὁρατοῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὸ ἁγένητον· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητὸν, ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολαίς, οὐθεποτε κατὰ ταύτα ὁν—τῷ μὲν ἀοράτῳ καὶ νοητῷ προσένεμεν ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενέσ
active Cause and the other passive object; and that the active Cause is the perfectly pure and unsullied Mind of the universe, transcending virtue, transcending knowledge, transcending the good itself and the beautiful itself; while the passive part is in itself incapable of life and motion, but, when set in motion and shaped and quickened by Mind, changes into the most perfect masterpiece, namely this world. Those who assert that this world is unoriginate unconsciously eliminate that which of all incentives to piety is the most beneficial and the most indispensable, namely providence. For it stands to reason that what has been brought into existence should be cared for by its Father and Maker. For, as we know, it is a father's aim in regard of his offspring and an artificer's in regard of his handiwork to preserve them, and by every means to fend off from them aught that may entail loss or harm. He keenly desires to provide for them in every way all that is beneficial and to their advantage: but between that which has never been brought into being and one who is not its Maker no such tie is formed. It is a worthless and baleful doctrine, setting up anarchy in the well-ordered realm of the world, leaving it without protector, arbitrator, or judge, without anyone whose office it is to administer and direct all its affairs. Not so Moses. That great master, holding the unoriginate to be of a different order from that which is visible, since everything that is an object of sensible perception is subject to becoming and to constant change, never abiding in the same state, assigned to that which is invisible and an object of intellectual apprehension the infinite and undefinable as united with it by closest tie; but on that which
Ἀιδιότητα, τῷ δ’ αἰσθητῷ γένεσιν οἰκεῖον ὄνομα ἐπεφήμισεν. ἔπει οὖν ὁρατός τε καὶ αἰσθητός ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, ἀναγκαῖος ἂν εἶη καὶ γεννήτως. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοῦ, μάλα σεμνῶς θεολογήσας.

13 III. Ἐξ δὲ ἡμέραις δημιουργηθῆναι φησι τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἐπειδή προσεδεῖτο χρόνων μῆκος ὁ ποιῶν—ἄμα γὰρ πάντα δράν εἰκὸς θεόν, οὐ προστάττοντα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ διανοούμενον—, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῖς γινομένοις ἔδει τάξεως. τάξει δὲ ἀριθμὸς οἰκεῖον, ἀριθμῶν δὲ, φύσεως νόμοις, γεννητικῶτατος ὃ ἐξ· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος πρῶτος τέλειος ἑστιν, ὑσούμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι καὶ συμπληρούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἡμίσους μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἐκτοῦ δὲ μονάδος, καὶ ὡς ἔπος ἐἴπειν ἁρρην τε καὶ θῆλυ εἶναι πέφυκε, κάκ τῆς ἐκατέρου δυνάμεως ἡμοσταί' ἁρρεν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὐσί τὸ περιττοῦ, τὸ δ’ ἀρτίων θῆλυ· περιττῶν μὲν οὖν ἁριθμῶν ἀρχὴ τριάς, δυὰς δ’ ἀρτίων, ἢ δ’ 14 ἀμφοῖν δύναμις ἐξάς. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κόσμον, τελείοτατον μὲν οὖν τῶν γεγονότων, κατ’ ἀριθμὸν τέλειον παγηθαι τὸν ἐξ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δ’ ἔχειν μέλλοντα τὰς ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενέσεις, πρὸς μικτὸν ἁριθμὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρτιοπέριττον τυπωθῆναι,

*a Cf. Plato, Republic viii. 546 b, St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, bk. xi. ch. 30.*
is an object of the senses he bestowed "genesis," "becoming," as its appropriate name.

Seeing then that this world is both visible and perceived by the senses, it follows that it must also have had an origin. Whence it was entirely to the point that he put on record that origin, setting forth in its true grandeur the work of God.

III. He says that in six days the world was created, not that its Maker required a length of time for His work, for we must think of God as doing all things simultaneously, remembering that "all" includes with the commands which He issues the thought behind them. Six days are mentioned because for the things coming into existence there was need of order. Order involves number, and among numbers by the laws of nature the most suitable to productivity is 6, for if we start with 1 it is the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors (i.e. $1 \times 2 \times 3$), as well as made up of the sum of them (i.e. $1 + 2 + 3$), its half being 3, its third part 2, its sixth part 1. We may say that it is in its nature both male and female, and is a result of the distinctive power of either. For among things that are it is the odd that is male, and the even female. Now of odd numbers 3 is the starting-point, and of even numbers 2, and the product of these two is 6. For it was requisite that the world, being most perfect of all things that have come into existence, should be constituted in accordance with a perfect number, namely six; and, inasmuch as it was to have in itself beings that sprang from a coupling together, should receive the impress of a mixed number, namely the first in which odd and even
περιέξοντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ σπείροντος ἀρρένος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου τὰς γονὰς θήλεος, ἰδέαν.

15 Ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπένειμεν ἕνα τῶν τοῦ παντὸς τμημάτων, τὴν πρώτην ὑπεξελόμενος, ἢν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ πρῶτην, ἵνα μὴ ταῖς ἄλλαις συγκαταρθημένης, καλεῖ, μιᾶν δ' ὀνομάσας ὄνοματι εὐθυβόλω προσαγορεῖ, τὴν μονάδος φύσιν καὶ πρόσρησιν ἐνιδών τε καὶ ἐπιφημίσας αὐτῇ.

IV. λεκτέον δὲ ὅσα οἶδον τέ ἐστι τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων, ἐπειδὴ πάντα ἀμήχανον· περιέχει γὰρ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἐξαίρετον, ὡς ο περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος μηνύει. προλαβῶν γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀτεθεός, οτι μίμημα καλὸν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δίχα καλοῦν παραδείγματος, οὐδὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀνυπαίτιον, δ' ἂν πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον καὶ νοητὴν ἴδεαν ἀπεικόνισθη, βουληθεὶς τὸν ὄρατον κόσμον τοῦτον δημιουργῆσαι, προεξετύπου τὸν νοητὸν, ἵνα, χρώμενος ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ θεοειδεστάτῳ παραδείγματι, τὸν σωματικὸν ἀπεικόνισθαι, πρεσβυτέρου νεώτερον ἀπεικόνισμα, τοσαῦτα περιέχοντα αἰσθητὰ γένη οσαπερ έν έκείνῳ νοητα.

17 γένη ὄσαπερ ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητᾷ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ λέγειν ἢ ὑπονοεῖν οὐ θεμιτὸν· ἢ δὲ συνέστηκεν εἰσόμεθα, παρακολουθήσαντες εἰκόνι τινὶ τῶν παρ' ἦμιν. ἐπειδὰν πόλις κτίζηται, κατὰ πολλὴν φιλοτιμίαν βασιλέως ἢ τινὸς ἡγεμόνος, αὐτοκρατοὺς

a Gen. i. 5: “And there was evening and there was morning, one day.”
were combined, one that should contain the essential principle both of the male that sows and of the female that receives the seed.

Now to each of the days He assigned some of the portions of the whole, not including, however, the first day, which He does not even call "first," lest it should be reckoned with the others, but naming it "one" a He designates it by a name which precisely hits the mark, for He discerned in it and expressed by the title which He gives it the nature and appellation of the unit, or the "one."

IV. We must recount as many as we can of the elements embraced in it. To recount them all would be impossible. Its pre-eminent element is the intelligible world, as is shown in the treatise dealing with the "One." For God, being God, assumed that a beautiful copy would never be produced apart from a beautiful pattern, and that no object of perception would be faultless which was not made in the likeness of an original discerned only by the intellect. So when He willed to create this visible world He first fully formed the intelligible world, in order that He might have the use of a pattern wholly God-like and incorporeal in producing the material world, as a later creation, the very image of an earlier, to embrace in itself objects of perception of as many kinds as the other contained objects of intelligence.

To speak of or conceive that world which consists of ideas as being in some place is illegitimate; how it consists (of them) we shall know if we carefully attend to some image supplied by the things of our world. When a city is being founded to satisfy the soaring ambition of some king or governor, who lays claim to despotic power and
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εξουσίας μεταποιουμένου καὶ ἂμα τὸ φρόνημα λαμπροῦ, τὴν εὐτυχίαν συνεπικοσμοῦντος, παρέλθων ἐστὶν ὅτε τις τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν καὶ εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου θεασάμενος, διαγράφει πρῶτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποτελέσθαι πόλεως μέρη σχεδὸν ἀπαντά, ἔρα, γυμνάσια, πρυτανεία, ἀγορᾶς, λιμένος, νεωσοίκους, στενωπούς, τειχῶν κατασκευᾶς, ἵδρυσεις οἰκίων καὶ δημοσίων ἄλλων οἰκο- 

dομημάτων. εἰθ', ὡσπερ ἐν κηρῷ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῇ τοὺς ἐκάστων δεξάμενος τύπους, ἀγαλματοφορεῖ νοητὴν πόλιν, ἢς ἀνακωνήσας τὰ εἴδωλα μνήμη τῇ συμφύτῳ καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐνσφραγισάμενος, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός, ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα, τὴν ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἀρχεῖ τόπου κατασκευᾶσθαι, ἐκάστη τῶν ἀ- 


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dομημάτων ἔνας έκ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ τόπος έτερος, 


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tὰ παραπλῆσια δὴ καὶ περὶ θεοῦ δοξαστέον, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κτίζειν διανοηθεῖς ἐνενόησε πρότερον τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν, κόσμον νοητὸν συνηθισάμενος, ἀπετέλει καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν, παραδείγματι χρώμενος ἐκεῖνος. 


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V. καθάπερ οὖν ἦ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιατυπωθεῖσα πόλις χώραν ἐκτὸς οὐκ εἰχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεσφράγιστο τῇ τοῦ τεχνίτου ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἀν ἐχοι τόπον ἢ τὸν θείον λόγον τὸν ταύτα διακοσμησάντα· ἐπεὶ τὸς ἦν ἐν τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ τόπος έτερος, 


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being magnificent in his ideas would fain add a fresh lustre to his good fortune, there comes forward now and again some trained architect who, observing the favourable climate and convenient position of the site, first sketches in his own mind wellnigh all the parts of the city that is to be wrought out, temples, gymnasias, town-halls, market-places, harbours, docks, streets, walls to be built, dwelling-houses as well as public buildings to be set up. Thus after having received in his own soul, as it were in wax, the figures of these objects severally, he carries about the image of a city which is the creation of his mind. Then by his innate power of memory, he recalls the images of the various parts of this city, and imprints their types yet more distinctly in it: and like a good craftsman he begins to build the city of stones and timber, keeping his eye upon his pattern and making the visible and tangible objects correspond in each case to the incorporeal ideas. Just such must be our thoughts about God. We must suppose that, when He was minded to found the one great city, He conceived beforehand the models of its parts, and that out of these He constituted and brought to completion a world discernible only by the mind, and then, with that for a pattern, the world which our senses can perceive. V. As, then, the city which was fashioned beforehand within the mind of the architect held no place in the outer world, but had been engraved in the soul of the artificer as by a seal; even so the universe that consisted of ideas would have no other location than the Divine Reason, which was the Author of this ordered frame. For what other place could there be for His powers sufficient to receive and
δό γένοιτ' ἁν ικανός, οὐ λέγω πάσας ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἀκρατον ἵπτινων δέξασθαί τε καὶ χωρήσαι; δύναμις δὲ καὶ ἡ κοσμοποιητική, πηγὴν ἔχουσα | τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν. εἰ γάρ τις ἐθελήσει τὴν αἰτίαν ἡ ἔνεκα τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐδη- μιουργεῖτο διερευνᾶσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι μὴ διαμαρτεῖν σκοτοῦ φάμενος, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἴπε τις, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν· οὐ χάριν τῆς ἀρίστης αὐτοῦ φύσεως οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν οὐσία, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑχοῦση καλὸν, δυναμένη δὲ πάντα γίνεσθαι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀτακτός, ἀποικός, ἀΨυχος, ἄνόμοιος>, ἐπεριότητος, ἀναρμοστίας, ἀσυμφωνίας μεστή· τροπὴν δὲ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐδέχετο τὴν εἰς τάναντία καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, τάξιν, ποιήτητα, ἐμψυχίαν, ὁμοιότητα, ταυτότητα, τὸ εὐάρμοστον, τὸ σύμφωνων, πᾶν ὅσον τῆς κρειτ- τονος ιδέας.

23 VI. Οὔδενι δὲ παρακλήτῳ—τὶς γὰρ ἦν ἐπερεῖ: —μόνῳ δὲ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος, ὁ θεὸς ἐγνώ δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν, ἀταμεύτους καὶ πλουσίας χάρισι, τὴν ἄνευ δωρεᾶς θείας φύσιν οὐδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ δυναμένην ἐπιλαχεῖν ἐξ έαυτῆς. ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εὐεργετεῖ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χαρίτων—ἀπερίγραφοι γὰρ αὐταὶ γε καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι—, πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν εὐεργετουμένων δυνάμεις· οὐ γὰρ ὡς πέφυκεν ὁ θεὸς εὖ ποιεῖν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ γυνόμενον εὐ πάσχειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱ δυνάμεις ὑπερβάλλουσιν, τὸ δ', ἀσθενέστερον ὁν ἦ ὡστε δέξασθαι τὸ μέγεθος

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*a Plato, Timaeus 29 E.
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contain, I say not all but, any one of them whatever uncompounded and untempered? Now just such a power is that by which the universe was made, one that has as its source nothing less than true goodness. For should one conceive a wish to search for the cause, for the sake of which this whole was created, it seems to me that he would not be wrong in saying, what indeed one of the men of old did say, that the Father and Maker of all is good; and because of this He grudged not a share in his own excellent nature to an existence which has of itself nothing fair and lovely, while it is capable of becoming all things. For of itself it was without order, without quality, without soul, (without likeness); it was full of inconsistency, ill-adjustment, disharmony: but it was capable of turning and undergoing a complete change to the best, the very contrary of all these, to order, quality, life, correspondence, identity, likeness, perfect adjustment, to harmony, to all that is characteristic of the more excellent model.⁴

VI. Now God, with no counsellor to help Him (who was there beside Him?) determined that it was meet to confer rich and unrestricted benefits upon that nature which apart from Divine bounty could obtain of itself no good thing. But not in proportion to the greatest of His own bounties does He confer benefits—for these are without end or limit—but in proportion to the capacities of the recipients. For it is not the nature of creation to receive good treatment in like manner as it is the nature of God to bestow it, seeing that the powers of God are overwhelmingly vast, whereas creation, being too feeble to entertain their abundance, would
αὐτῶν, ἀπεῖπεν ἃν, εἴ μὴ διεμετρήσατο σταθμησάμενος εὐαρμόστως ἐκάστῃ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. 24 εἴ δὲ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνοτέροις χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὁνόμασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτερον ἐηποι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἡ θεοῦ λόγον ἢ ὅθη κόσμοποιοῦντος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἐτερόν τί ἐστιν ἢ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς ἢ δὴ τὴν [νοητὴν] 25 πόλιν κτίζειν διανοούμενον. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο Μουσέως ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἔμον· τὴν γοῦν ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν ἀναγράφων ἐν τοῖς ἐπειτει διαρρήδην ὑμολογεῖ, ὃς ἀρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ διετυπώθη (Gen. i. 27). εἴ δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκών εἰκόνος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὅλον· εἴ δ' ὁ σύμπασι αἰσθητὸς οὕτως κόσμος, δ' μείζον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστίν, μίμημα θείας εἰκόνος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς, δ'ν φαμεν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἂν εἶη [τὸ παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν] ὁ θεοῦ λόγος.

26 VII. Φησὶ δ' ὡς „ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν,” τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνων, [6] οὐχ ὡς οὐονταί τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἢ κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἢ μετ' αὐτὸν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος, προτέρα δὲ τοῦ κινούμενου κίνησις οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίον αὐτὴν ἢ ύστερον ἢ ἁμα συνιστασθαι, ἀναγκαίον ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἰσήλικα κόσμου γεγονέναι ἢ νεότερον ἐκείνου· πρεσβύτερον δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι 27 τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον. εἴ δ' ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται

a See App. p. 475.
have broken down under the effort to do so, had not God with appropriate adjustment dealt out to each his due portion. Should a man desire to use words in a more simple and direct way, he would say that the world discerned only by the intellect is nothing else than the Word of God when He was already engaged in the act of creation. For (to revert to our illustration) the city discernible by the intellect alone is nothing else than the reasoning faculty of the architect in the act of planning to found the city. It is Moses who lays down this, not I. Witness his express acknowledgement in the sequel, when setting on record the creation of man, that he was moulded after the image of God (Gen. i. 27). Now if the part is an image of an image, it is manifest that the whole is so too, and if the whole creation, this entire world perceived by our senses (seeing that it is greater than any human image) is a copy of the Divine image, it is manifest that the archetypal seal also, which we aver to be the world descried by the mind, would be the very Word of God.

VII. Then he says that “in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth,” taking “beginning” not, as some think, in a chronological sense, for time there was not before there was a world. Time began either simultaneously with the world or after it. For since time is a measured space determined by the world’s movement, and since movement could not be prior to the object moving, but must of necessity arise either after it or simultaneously with it, it follows of necessity that time also is either coeval with or later born than the world. To venture to affirm that it is elder born would be to do violence to philosophic sense. And since the word “beginning”
τανύν ἡ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἂν εἶη μηνύσθαι τὴν κατ’ ἄριθμόν, ὡς τὸ “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν” ἵσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ γὰρ εὐλογον τῷ ὄντι πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἀριστόν τε ὅντα τῶν γεγονότων κἀκ τοῦ καθαρω- τάτου τῆς οὐσίας παγέντα, διότι θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἔμελλεν οἶκος ἔσεσθαι ἱερώτατος.

28 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνθ’ ἀμα ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίη, τάξιν οὐδὲν ἔττον εἶχε τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· καλὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἀταξίᾳ. τάξις δ’ ἀκολουθίᾳ καὶ εἰρμός ἐστὶ προηγομενῶν τινῶν καὶ ἐπομένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταῖς τῶν τεκταινομένων ἐπινοιαῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλον ἦκριβώσθαι τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσύγχυτοι.

29 Πρῶτον ὁ δ’ ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον, καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν, καὶ κενοῦ· ὅν τὸ μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπεὶ ἡ μέλας ὁ ἄηρ τῇ φύσει, την δ’ ἄβυσσον, πολύβυθον γὰρ τὸ γε κενὸν καὶ ἄχανές· εἴθ’ ὁδότοις ἀσώματος οὐσίαν, καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν ἐβδόμου φωτός, ὁ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλίου παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντων ὅσα φωσφόρα ἀστέρα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμελλε συνιστάσθαι. VIII. προνομίας δὲ τὸ τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φῶς ἥξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωμασε θεοῦ, διότι ἐτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεοῦ.
ON THE CREATION, 27–30

is not here taken as the chronological beginning, it would seem likely that the numerical order is indicated, so that “in the beginning He made” is equivalent to “He made the heaven first”: for it is indeed reasonable that it should come into existence first, being both best of created things and made from the purest of all that is, seeing that it was destined to be the most holy dwelling-place of manifest and visible gods. For, even if the Maker made all things simultaneously, order was none the less an attribute of all that came into existence in fair beauty, for beauty is absent where there is disorder. Now order is a series of things going on before and following after, in due sequence, a sequence which, though not seen in the finished productions, yet exists in the designs of the contrivers; for only so could these things be fashioned with perfect accuracy, and work without leaving their path or clashing with each other.

First, then, the Maker made an incorporeal heaven, and an invisible earth, and the essential form of air and void. To the one he gave the name of “Darkness,” since the air when left to itself, is black. The other he named “abyss,” for the void is a region of immensity and vast depths. Next (He made) the incorporeal essence of water and of life-breath and, to crown all, of light. This again, the seventh in order, was an incorporeal pattern, discernible only by the mind, of the sun and of all luminaries which were to come into existence throughout heaven. VIII. Special distinction is accorded by Moses to life-breath and to light. The one he entitles the “breath” of God, because breath is most life-giving, and of life God is the author, while
αὕτιος, τὸ δὲ φῶς <φησιν> ὅτι ύπερβαλλόντως καλὸν (Gen. i. 4). τοσούτω γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ ὥρατοῦ λαμπρότερὸν τε καὶ αὐγοειδέστερον, ὀσωπερ ἡλιος, οὕτω, σκότους, καὶ ἡμέρα νυκτός, καὶ [τὰ κριτήρια] νοῦς, ὁ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡγεμῶν, ὀφθαλμῶν σώματος. τὸ δὲ ἄορατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς [7] ἐκείνο θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ | διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐστὶν ύπερουράνιος ἀστήρ, πηγή τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων. ἦν οὖκ ἄν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καλέσειν ἄν τις παναύγειαν· ἄφ' ἂς ἡλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλάνητες τε καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀρύτονται, καθ' οὕσον ἐκάστω δύναμις, τὰ πρέποντα φέγγη· τῆς ἁμιγούς καὶ καθαρᾶς αὑγῆς ἐκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης, ὅταν ἀρξηται τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητόν μεταβολήν· εἰλικρινές γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

32 IX. Εὔμεντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι ὅτι “σκότος ἦν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου” (Gen. i. 2). τρόπον γὰρ τυα ὅ ἄρ τὸ λέγει ὑπὲρ τὸ κενόν ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ πάσαν τὴν ἀχανή καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ κενήν χώραν ἐπιβάλει τοῦτον, καὶ διετείχοντος ἀπὸ ἡλιος καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ἀνέπελήρωκεν, ὅση πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ σελήνην καθήκει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἀνάλαμψιν, ὁ πρὸ ἡλιος γέγονεν, ὑπεχύρω ὅ τοῦτον σκότος, διατείχοντος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ καὶ διωστάντος θεοῦ, τοῦ τὰς ἐναντιώσεις ἐν εἰδότος καὶ τὴν ἐκ φύσεως αὐτῶν διαμάχην. ἣν οὖν μὴ ἀιεὶ συμφερόμεναι στασιάζωσι καὶ πόλεμος ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἐπικρατῆ, τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἐν κόσμῳ τιθεῖς, οὐ μόνον ἐχώρισε φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅρους ἐν μέσους ἔθετο διαστήμασιν, οἰς
ON THE CREATION, 30–33

of light he says that it is beautiful pre-eminently (Gen. i. 4): for the intelligible as far surpasses the visible in the brilliancy of its radiance, as sunlight assuredly surpasses darkness and day night, and mind, the ruler of the entire soul, the bodily eyes. Now that invisible light perceptible only by mind has come into being as an image of the Divine Word Who brought it within our ken: it is a supercelestial constellation, fount of the constellations obvious to sense. It would not be amiss to term it "all-brightness," to signify that from which sun and moon, as well as fixed stars and planets draw, in proportion to their several capacity, the light befitting each of them: for that pure and undiluted radiance is be-dimmed so soon as it begins to undergo the change that is entailed by the passage from the intelligible to the sensibly discerned, for no object of sense is free from dimness.

IX. Right too is his statement that "darkness was above the abyss" (Gen. i. 2). For in a sense the air is over the void, inasmuch as it has spread over and completely filled the immensity and desolation of the void, of all that reaches from the zone of the moon to us. After the kindling of the intelligible light, which preceded the sun's creation, darkness its adversary withdrew: for God, in His perfect knowledge of their mutual contrariety and natural conflict, parted them one from another by a wall of separation. In order, therefore, to keep them from the discord arising from perpetual clash, to prevent war in place of peace prevailing and setting up disorder in an ordered universe, He not only separated light and darkness, but also placed in the intervening spaces boundary-marks, by which He held back each
άνειρξε τῶν ἄκρων ἐκάτερον· ἔμελλε γὰρ γειτνιώντα σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι, τῷ περὶ δυναστείας ἁγῶνι κατὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἀπαυστὸν φιλονεικίαν ἐπαποδυόμενα, εἰ μὴ μέσοι παγέντες ὅροι διέξευξαν καὶ διέλυσαν τὴν ἀντεπίθεσιν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐσπέρα τε καὶ πρωία, ὅπερ ἡ μὲν προευαγγελιζεται μέλλοντα ἠλιον ἀνίσχειν, ἠρέμα τὸ σκότος ἀνείργουσα, ἡ δ' ἐσπέρα καταδύτων ἐπιγίνεται ἕλιω, τὴν ἀθρόαν τὸν σκότους φορὰν πρᾶσων ἐκδεχομένη. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, πρωίαν λέγω καὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοητῶν θετέον· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἰδέαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες, εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀσώματα σωμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς μὲν ἐγένετο. σκότος δ' ὑπεξέστη καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὅροι δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ διαστήμασιν ἐπάγησαν ἐσπέρα καὶ πρωία, κατὰ τάναγκαιον τοῦ χρόνου μέτρον ἀπετελεῖτο εὐθὺς, δ' καὶ ἠμέραν ὅ ποιῶν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἠμέραν οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἡ λελεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἐχοντος φύσιν. μέν οὖν ασώματος κόσμος ἦδη πέρας εἰχεν ἱδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ, ὅ δ' αἰσθητὸς πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο. καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν τῶν μερῶν, δ' ἡ καὶ πάντων ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανόν ὁ δημιουργός, ἵνα ἐτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευσεν ἀτε σωματικὸν ὄντα· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα φύσει στερεοῦ, ὃτιπερ καὶ τριχῇ διαστάτων. στερεοῦ δὲ καὶ σώματος ἐννοια
of their extremities: for, had they been actual neighbours, they were sure to produce confusion by engaging with intense and never-ceasing rivalry in the struggle for mastery. As it was, their assault on one another was broken and kept back by barriers set up between them. These barriers are evening and dawn. The latter, gently restraining the darkness, anticipates the sunrise with the glad tidings of its approach; while evening, supervening upon sunset, gives a gentle welcome to the oncoming mass of darkness. We must, however, place these, dawn and evening I mean, in the category of the incorporeal and intelligible: for there is in these nothing whatever patent to the senses, but they are simply models and measuring-rules and patterns and seals, all of these being incorporeal and serving for the creation of other bodies. When light had come into being, and darkness had moved out of its way and retired, and evening and dawn had been fixed as barriers in the intervals between them, as a necessary consequence a measure of time was forthwith brought about, which its Maker called Day, and not "first" day but "one," an expression due to the uniqueness of the intelligible world, and to its having therefore a natural kinship to the number "One."

X. The incorporeal world, then, was now finished and firmly settled in the Divine Reason, and the world patent to sense was ripe for birth after the pattern of the incorporeal. And first of its parts, best of them all, the Creator proceeded to make the Heaven, which with strict truth he entitled firmament, as being corporeal: for the body is naturally solid, seeing that it has a threefold dimension. What else
τίς ἐτέρα πλήν τὸ πάντη διεστηκός; εἰκότως οὐν ἀντιθείς τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ τὸν οἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματοειδῆ τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν. εἶτε εὐθέως οὐρανὸν προσεύχετο αὐτὸν, εὐθυβόλως καὶ πάνω κυρίως, ἵττο διότι πάντων ὁρὸς ἢ διότι πρῶτος τῶν ὀρατῶν ἐγένετο. ὄνομάζει δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας διάστημα καὶ μέτρον ἀνατιθεὶς οὐρανῷ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αἰσθητοῖς ἁξίωσιν τε καὶ τιμήν.

XI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ’, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ εἰς ἀπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀνεκέχυτο, καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς ἐπεφοιτήκει τῶν μερῶν, οἰα σπογγιας ἀναπικυρίας ἱκμάδα, ὡς εἶναι τέλματα καὶ βαθὺν πηλὸν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων ἀναδεδευμένων καὶ συγκεχυμένων τρόπων φυράματας εἰς μίαν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ σωματειώδεις οὐρανῷ, προστάτην ὁ θεός τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ, ὅσον ἀλμυρόν καὶ ἀγονίας αἵτινες ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι σπαρτοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν, ἐπισυναχθήναι συννυχὶ τῶν τῆς ἀπάσης γῆς ἀραιωμάτων, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀναφανῶσα, τῆς τοῦ γλυκεος νοτίων ἐναπολειφθείσης εἰς διαμονήν—κόλλα γὰρ τὸ στὸ ἡ μεμετρημένη γλυκεῖα νοτίων τῶν διεστηκότων—καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφανθείσιν αὐτὴν ἅγιον καὶ στείραν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ὁι μήτηρ μὴ μόνον θάτερον εἴδος τροφῆς βρῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον ὡς ἐν ἐκγόνοις βρῶσιν τε

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*a ὑφανῶς = “heaven,” ὁρὸς = “boundary,” ὄραν = “see.”*
ON THE CREATION, 36–38

indeed do we conceive a solid object and a body to be, but that which extends in each direction? Fitly then, in contradistinction to the incorporeal and purely intelligible, did He call this body-like heaven perceived by our senses “the solid firmament.” After so designating it He went on forthwith to speak of it as “heaven.” He did so with unerring propriety, either because it is the “boundary” of all things, or because it came into being first of things “visible.” When the heaven had been created he names a second day, thus assigning to heaven the whole space and interval of a day. He does this by reason of the position of dignity which heaven occupies among the objects of sense.

XI. At this stage, then, water in all its volume had been poured forth over all the earth, and had found its way through all its parts, as through a sponge saturated with moisture. It had produced swamps and deep mud, earth and water being mingled together and kneaded, like a mass of dough, into a single element without shape or distinction of its parts. So God next bids all the briny water, which would have been the cause of barrenness to crops and trees, to be gathered together by flowing to the same point from the pores of the whole earth, and the dry land to appear. The moisture of the fresh sweet part was left behind to secure its permanence, since, when supplied in fit quantity, this sweet moisture served as a cohesive to the separate parts. This was to prevent it from being entirely dried up, and so becoming unproductive and barren, and enable it like a mother to provide, as for offspring, not one only of the two kinds of nourishment, namely solid food, but both kinds, food and
καὶ πόσιν, παρέχῃ· διὸ φλέβας μαστοῖς ἐοικύλας ἐπλημμύρει, αἱ στομωθεῖσαι ποταμοῦ καὶ πηγᾶς 39 ἐμέλλον ἀναχεῖν. οὔδεν δὲ ἦττον καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς ἐνίκους διαφύσεις εἰς ἀπασαν τὴν ἀρετῶσαν καὶ βαθύγειον ἀπέτεινε πρὸς εὐφορίαν ἀφθονωτάτην καρτῶν· ταῦτα διαταξάμενος, ὁνόματ' αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, τὴν μὲν ἔηραν καλῶν γῆν, τὸ δ' ἀποκριθέν 40 ὕδωρ ἀναλασσαν. XII. εἶτα διακοσμεῖν ἄρχεται τὴν γῆν· κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν χλοηφορεῖν καὶ στα- χηφορεῖν, παντοίας βοτάνας ἀνωείσαν καὶ πεδία εὐχορτά· καὶ πάνθ' ὡς χιλὸς μὲν κτήμεσιν ἄνθρωποις δ' ἐμελλὲν ἔσεσθαι τροφῆ. προσέτι μέντοι καὶ τὰς δένδρων ἰδέας ἀπάσας ἀνέφυεν, οὔδεν, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας, οὔτε τῶν τῆς ἡμέρου λεγομένης ὤλης, παρεῖς. ἐβεβρίθει δὲ πάντα καρποὶ [9] εὕθυς ἀμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει, κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον 41 τρόπον ἡ τὸν νυνί καθεστῶτα. νυνί μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέρει γίγνεται τὰ γιγνόμενα χρόνοις διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθρόα καρπῷ· τῆς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι πρώτων μὲν ἔστι σπορὰ καὶ φυτεία, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυτευθέντων αὐξήσις, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάτω ῥίζας ἀποτείνουσα οἶνει θεμελίως, ἡ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄνω πρὸς ύψος αὐρομέδων καὶ στελεχουμένων; ἐπειτ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι καρποῦ φορά· καὶ πάλιν καρπὸς οὐ τέλειος, ἀλλ' ἔχων παντοίας μεταβολάς, κατὰ τῇ ἐν μεγέθει ποσότητα, καὶ τὰς ἐν πολυμόρφοις ἰδέαις ποιότητας· ἀποτίκτεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς ἐοικῶς ἀμερέσι ψήγμασιν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος μόλις ὁρατοῖς, ἀπερ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ θαῖν τις ἀν εἶναι πρῶτα αἰσθητᾶ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὅλον, ἐκ τῇ ἐποχετευομένης τροφῆ, ἢ ἀρδεύ τὸ
drink. Wherefore the earth had abounding veins like breasts. These when opened would pour forth rivers and springs. No less did He cause the hidden courses of moisture also to penetrate to the rich deep loam with a view to unstinted fertility. Having thus ordered these elements He gave them names. The dry land he called "earth," and the water separated from it "sea." XII. He next begins to put the earth in order: for he bids it bear grass and corn, and send forth herbs of all kinds, and rich pastures, and whatsoever would be provender for cattle and food for men. Beside these he caused all kinds of trees to grow, leaving out no tree at all, whether of wild growth or what we call garden trees. And, after a fashion quite contrary to the present order of Nature, all were laden with fruit as soon as ever they came into existence. For now the processes take place in turn, one at one time, one at another, not all of them simultaneously at one season. For everyone knows that sowing and planting come first, the growth of the things sown and planted second, the former causing roots to reach downwards like foundations, the latter taking place as they rise upwards, grow tall, and develop trunks and stems. After this come sproutings and puttings forth of leaves, and then to crown all, bearing of fruit; and here again fruit not full grown, but subject to all manner of changes both in quantity and quality, that is to say, in the matter of size and of ever varying character. For the first shape it takes is that of indivisible flakes so small that they can scarcely be seen, which a man would not be wrong in describing as "first perceptibles." After this as the result of gradual growth and as the result of nourishment conveyed
δένδρον, κάκ τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν πνευμάτων, ἄψυχραίς ἀμα καὶ μαλακωτέραις αὕραις ἐνιπτοῦται καὶ τιθηνεῖται, συναύξεται πρὸς ὅγκον ἐπιδιδοὺς τελειώτατον· σὺν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τὰς ποιότητας ἀλλάττει, καθάπερ ὑπὸ γραφικῆς ἐπιστήμης χρώμασι διαφόροις ποικιλλόμενοι.

42 XIII. 'Εν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν ὅλων, καθάπερ ἐφην, ὁ θεὸς ἀπασαν τὴν τῶν φυτῶν ύλην ἐκ γῆς ἀνεύδω τελείαν, καρποὺς ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀτελεῖς ἀλλ’ ἀκμάζοντας, εἰς ἑτοιμότατην καὶ ἀνυπέρθετην χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ζώων τῶν ἀυτίκα γενησομένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ προστάττει τῇ γῇ ταύτα γεννῆσαι· ἡ δ’, ὡσπερ ἐκ πολλοῦ κυνοφοροῦσα καὶ ωδίνουσα, τίκτει πάσας μὲν τὰς σπαρτῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς δένδρων, ἔτι δὲ καρπῶν ἀμυθῆτους ἱδέας. ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἦσαν οἱ καρποὶ τροφαὶ ζώους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅμοίων ἀπὸ γένεσιν, τὰς σπερματικὰς οὐσίας περιέχοντες, ἐν αἷς ἄδηλοι καὶ ἀφανεῖς οἱ λόγοι τῶν ὅλων εἰσὶ, δὴ λοί καὶ φανεροὶ γινόμενοι καὶ ρῶν περιόδοις. ἐβουλήθη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δολιχεύειν τὴν φύσιν, ἀπαθανατίζων τὰ γένη, καὶ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀδιότητος· οὐ χάριν καὶ ἀρχὴν πρὸς τέλος ἤγε καὶ ἐπέσπευδε, καὶ τέλος ἐπ’ ἀρχὴν ἀνακάμπτειν ἐποίει· ἐκ τε γὰρ φυτῶν ὁ καρπὸς, ὃς ἂν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τέλος, καὶ ἐκ καρποῦ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάλιν τὸ φυτὸν, ὃς ἂν ἐκ τέλους ἀρχὴ.

32 See App. p. 475.
by irrigation, which waters the tree, and as the result of the well-tempered breezes which are quickened by cold and softened by milder temperature, it develops towards its complete size: and as it becomes larger, it becomes different in appearance as well, as though it were being ever made to take varied hues by a painter's cunning hand.

XIII. Now in the original creation of all things, as I have said already, God caused all shrubs and plants to spring out of the earth perfect, having fruits not unripe but at their prime, to be perfectly ready for the immediate use and enjoyment of the animals that were forthwith to come into being. God then enjoins the earth to give birth to all these, and the earth, as though it had been long pregnant and in travail, brings forth all kinds of things sown, all kinds of trees, and countless kinds of fruits besides. But not only were the several fruits nourishment for animals, but also a provision for the perpetual reproduction of their kind, containing within them the seed-substances. Hidden and imperceptible in these substances are the principles or nuclei of all things. As the seasons go round these become open and manifest. For God willed that Nature should run a course that brings it back to its starting-point, endowing the species with immortality, and making them sharers of eternal existence. For the sake of this He both led on the beginning speedily towards the end, and made the end to retrace its way to the beginning. For it is the case both that the fruit comes out of the plants, as an end out of a beginning, and that out of the fruit again, containing as it does the seed in itself, there comes the plant, a beginning out of an end.
Τή δέ τετάρτη ήμερα μετά τήν γῆν τούν οὐρανον ἐποίκιλλε διακοσμῶν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τούτον ἐν ύστερῳ γῆς ἔταττε, τῇ μὲν ἐλάττων φύσει προνομίαν διδούς, τὴν δὲ κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν δευτερεύων ἄξιων· ἀλλ' εἰς ἐνδειξίν ἐναργεστάτην κράτους ἀρχής. προλαβὼν γὰρ περὶ τῶν οὕτων γεγονότων ἄνθρωπων, οἱ τὰς γνώμας ἔσονται, στοχασταὶ τῶν εἰκότων καὶ πιθανῶν, ἐν οἷς πολὺ τὸ εὐλογοῦν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς ἀκραίφνοις ἀληθείαις· καὶ ὅτι πιστεύσουσι μάλλον τοῖς φαινομένοις ἢ θεῶ, σοφιστεῖαν πρὸ σοφίας θαυμάσαντες· κατα- ἱδόντες τε αὕθις τὰς ἥλιους καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, δι' ἄνθρωπος και άρειος καὶ μετοπώρου τροπαὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος φυομένων καὶ γυνομένων ἀπάντων αἰτίαις ὑπολήψονται τὰς τῶν κατ' οὐρανον ἀστέρων περιπολήσεις· ἵνα μηδενὶ γενητῷ τὰς πρώτας ἀνατιθέναι τινες τολμώσιν, ἢ διὰ θράσος ἀναίσχυντον, ἢ δι' ἀμαθίαν ὑπερβάλ- λουσαν, "ἀναδραμέτωσαν," φησὶ, "ταῖς διανοίασ ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν, ὅτε πρὸ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης παντοῖα ἐν φυτά, παντοῖος ἐκποιήσας ἣνεγκεν ἡ γῆ· καὶ, θεασάμενοι ταῖς διανοίασ, ἐλπίζετωσαν ὅτι καὶ αὕθις οἴσει κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ πατρός, οὕτως δὲ καταπολεμήσας, οὐδὲν τοὺς ἤλεγκεν οὐκ ἐν κατὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην ἐκαστα, μηδενὸς.
ON THE CREATION, 45–46

XIV. On the fourth day, the earth being now finished, he ordered the heaven in varied beauty. Not that He put the heaven in a lower rank than the earth, giving precedence to the inferior creation, and accounting the higher and more divine worthy only of the second place; but to make clear beyond all doubt the mighty sway of His sovereign power. For being aware beforehand of the ways of thinking that would mark the men of future ages, how they would be intent on what looked probable and plausible, with much in it that could be supported by argument, but would not aim at sheer truth; and how they would trust phenomena rather than God, admiring sophistry more than wisdom; and how they would observe in time to come the circuits of sun and moon, on which depend summer and winter and the changes of spring and autumn, and would suppose that the regular movements of the heavenly bodies are the causes of all things that year by year come forth and are produced out of the earth; that there might be none who owing either to shameless audacity or to overwhelming ignorance should venture to ascribe the first place to any created thing, 'let them,' said He, 'go back in thought to the original creation of the universe, when, before sun or moon existed, the earth bore plants of all sorts and fruits of all sorts; and having contemplated this let them form in their minds the expectation that hereafter too shall it bear these at the Father's bidding, whenever it may please Him.' For He has no need of His heavenly offspring on which He bestowed powers but not independence: for, like a charioteer grasping the reins or a pilot the tiller, He guides all things in what direction He pleases as law and right demand,
προσδεόμενος ἄλλου· πάντα γὰρ θεῷ δυνατά.

47 Χ' ἡδ' ἐστών αὐτία δι' ἣν προτέρα μὲν ἐβλάστησε καὶ ἐχλοφόρησεν ἡ γῆ. ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς διεκοσμεῖτο αὕθις ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ, τετράδι, ἢν δεκάδος τῆς παντελείας οὐκ ἂν δι- αμάρτοι τις ἀφορμὴν εἶναι λέγων καὶ πηγῆν· ὁ γὰρ ἑντελεχείᾳ δεκάς, τοῦτο τετράς, ὡς ἔοικε, δυνάμει· εἶ γοῦν οἱ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀχρὶ τετράδος ἔξης συνεθείον ἀριθμοί, δεκάδα γεννήσουσιν, ήτοι ὁρὸς τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐστι, περὶ ὁν ὃς καμπτήρα εἶλονται καὶ ἀνακάμπτουσι.


Χ'VI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δύναμις ἄλλη τετράδος, λεχθῆναι τε καὶ νοηθῆναι θαυμασιωτάτη. πρώτῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν ἔδειξε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς ἀριθμῶν τοῖς ἀσωμάτους ἀνακειμένων· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τάττεσαι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ σημεῖον, κατὰ δὲ τὰ δύο γραμμῆ, διότι ρύσει μὲν ἐνὸς δύος, ρύσει δὲ σημείου συνιστάται γραμ- μῆ· γραμμῆ δ' ἐστὶ μῆκος ἀπλάτες· πλάτους δὲ προσγενομένου γίνεται ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ τέτακται κατὰ 36
standing in need of no one besides: for all things are possible to God.

XV. This is the reason why the earth put forth plants and bore herbs before the heaven was furnished. But the heaven was afterwards duly decked in a perfect number, namely four. This number it would be no error to call the base and source of 10, the complete number; for what 10 is actually, this, as is evident, 4 is potentially; that is to say that, if the numbers from 1 to 4 be added together, they will produce 10, and this is the limit set to the otherwise unlimited succession of numbers; round this as a turning-point they wheel and retrace their steps.

4 also contains the ratios of the musical consonances, that produced by an interval of four notes, and that produced by an interval of five, and the octave and double octave as well. And it is out of these that the most perfect concord is produced. Of that produced by an interval of four notes the ratio is \(\frac{3}{2}\); of that produced by an interval of five \(\frac{8}{5}\), of the octave 2, of the double octave 4. All these the number 4 embraces in itself, \(\frac{3}{2}\) in the ratio 4 : 3; \(\frac{8}{5}\) in the ratio 6 : 4; 2 in the ratio 4 : 2; 4 in the ratio 4 : 1.

XVI. There is also another property of the number 4 very marvellous to state and to contemplate with the mind. For this number was the first to show the nature of the solid, the numbers before it referring to things without actual substance. For under the head of 1 what is called in geometry a point falls, under that of 2 a line. For if 1 extend itself, 2 is formed, and if a point extend itself, a line is formed: and a line is length without breadth; if breadth be added, there results a surface, which comes under the category of 3: to
τριάδα: ἐπιφανείᾳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσων ἕνος δὲ τοῦ βάθους, ὁ προστεθὲν τριάδι γίνεται τετράς. οὖθεν καὶ μέγα χρῆμα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτον, ὅσ ἐκ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ νοητῆς οὐσίας ἦγαγεν εἰς ἐννοιαν ἡμᾶς τρική διαστατοῦ σώματος, τοῦ φύσει πρῶτον αἰσθητοῦ.

50 ὁ δὲ μὴ συνεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἐκ τινος παιδίας εἰσεῖται πάνυ συνήθους. οἱ καρυατίζοντες εἰώθασι τρία ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κάρυα προτιθέντες ἐπιφέρειν ἐν, σχῆμα πυραμοειδὲς ἄπογεννώντες τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ τρίγωνον ἵσταται μέχρι τριάδος, τὸ δ' ἐπιτεθὲν τετράδα μὲν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἐν δὲ σχῆμασι

51 πυραμίδα γεννᾶ, στερεὸν ἡδη σῶμα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοητέον, ὅτι πρῶτος ἁριθμῷ ὁ τέτταρα τετράγωνος ἐστὶν ἡσύχος ἵσος, μέτρου δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἱσότητος, καὶ ὅτι μόνος ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ συνθέσει καὶ δυνάμει πέφυκε γεννᾶσθαι, συνθέσει μὲν ἐκ δυνῶν καὶ δυνῶν, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ διὸς δύο, πάγκαλον τι συμφωνίας εἶδος ἐπι- δεικνύμενος, ὁ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριθμῶν συμ- βέβηκεν· αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ ἐξ, συντιθέμενος ἐκ δυοῖν τριάδων, οὐκέτι γεννᾶται πολυπλασιασθεισῶν, ἀλλ' 52 ἑτερος, ὁ ἐννέα.

πολλαίς δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις κέχρηται δυνάμεις τετράς, ἄς ἀκριβέστερον καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς ἱδίῳ λόγῳ προσυποδεικτέον. ἀπόχρη δὲ κάκεινο προσθεῖναι, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου γενέσει γέγονεν ἀρχή· τὰ γὰρ τέτταρα στοιχεία, ἐξ ὅν τὸ πάν
ON THE CREATION, 49–52

bring it to a solid surface needs one thing, depth, and the addition of this to 3 produces 4. The result of all this is that this number is a thing of vast importance. It was this number that has led us out of the realm of incorporeal existence patent only to the intellect, and has introduced us to the conception of a body of three dimensions, which by its nature first comes within the range of our senses. Anyone who does not understand what I am saying will catch my meaning if he calls to mind a very familiar game. Players with nuts are in the habit of setting out three nuts all on one level and of adding one to these, thus forming a pyramidal figure. The figure of the triangle on the level only reaches the number 3; the added nut produces, in numbers 4, but in figures a pyramid, a body rendered solid by its accession. In addition to these points we must remember also that first among numbers 4 is a square, made up of equal factors multiplying into one another, a measure of rightness and equality, and that alone among them it is such as to be produced from the same factors whether added or multiplied together, by addition out of 2 and 2, and by multiplication again out of twice 2, thus exhibiting a right fair form of consonance, such as has fallen to none of the other numbers; for example—6, sum as it is of two 3's, is not (as in the case of 4) produced by their being multiplied together, but a different number, 9, results.

There are several other powers of which 4 has the command, which we shall have to point out in fuller detail in the special treatise devoted to it. Suffice it to add just this, that 4 was made the starting-point of the creation of heaven and the world; for the four elements, out of which
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έδημιουργήθη, καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐρρύη τῆς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τετράδος· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ἔτησιοι ὤραι τέτταρες αἱ ἦγοι καὶ φυτῶν αἴτιαι γενέσεως, τετραχή τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ διανεμηθέντος εἰς χειμῶνα καὶ ἔαρ καὶ θέρος καὶ μετόπωρον.

53 XVII. Τοσαύτης οὖν ἀξιωθέντος ἐν τῇ φύσει προνομίας τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὁ ποιητής διεκόσμει τὸν οὐρανὸν τετράδι, παγκάλω καὶ θεοειδεστάτω κόσμῳ, τοῖς φωσφόροις ἀστροίς· εἰδὼς τε ὅτι τῶν ὄντων ἀριστον [12] τὸ φῶς ἐστιν, ὁ ὄργανον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄρασεως ἀπέφανεν· ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' ὀφθαλμός ἐν σώματι· βλέπει γὰρ ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν τὰ νοητά, ὁ δὲ τὰ αἰσθητά· χρείος δὲ ὁ μὲν νοῦς ἐπιστήμης εἰς τὸ γνωρίζει τὰ ἀσώματα, ὀφθαλμός δὲ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀντίληψιν, ὁ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις, διαφερόντως δὲ τοῦ 54 μεγίστου, φιλοσοφίας. ὑπὸ γὰρ φωτὸς ἂνω παραπεμφθείσα ἡ ὄρασις, καὶ κατιδούσα φύσιν ἀστέρων καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶν ἐναρμόνων, ἀπλανών τε καὶ πλανήτων εἰς διατεταγμένας περιφοράς, τῶν μὲν κατὰ ταύτα καὶ ὀσαύτως περιπολοῦντων, τῶν δ' ἀνομώυς τε καὶ ὑπονατίως διττάς περίοδοις χρωμένων, χορείας τε πάντων ἐμμελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς μουσικῆς τελείας διακεκοσμημένας, ἀλεκτον ἐμπαρείχε τῇ ψυχῇ τέρψιν τε καὶ ἠδονήν· ὁ δ' ἐστιμενὴ θεαμάτων ἐπαλλήλων, εὖ ἐτέρων γὰρ ἦν ἐτέρα, πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν εἶχε.

See App. p. 475.
ON THE CREATION, 52-54

this universe was fashioned, issued, as it were from a fountain, from the numeral 4; and, beside this, so also did the four seasons of the year, which are responsible for the coming into being of animals and plants, the year having a fourfold division into winter and spring and summer and autumn.

XVII. The aforesaid numeral, then, having been deemed worthy of such high privilege in nature, it was a matter of course that its Maker arrayed the heaven on the fourth day with a most divine adornment of perfect beauty, namely the light-giving heavenly bodies; and, knowing that of all things light is best, He made it the indispensable means of sight, the best of the senses; for what the intellect is in the soul, this the eye is in the body; for each of them sees, one the things of the mind, the other the things of sense; and they have need, the mind of knowledge, that it may become cognisant of incorporeal objects, the eye of light, for the apprehending of bodily forms. Light has proved itself the source of many other boons to mankind, but pre-eminently of philosophy, the greatest boon of all. For man's faculty of vision, led upwards by light, discerned the nature of the heavenly bodies and their harmonious movement. He saw the well-ordered circuits of fixed stars and planets, how the former moved in unchanging orbit and all alike, while the latter sped round in two revolutions out of harmony with each other. He marked the rhythmic dances of all these, how they were marshalled by the laws of a perfect music, and the sight produced in his soul an ineffable delight and pleasure. Banqueting on sights displayed to it one after another, his soul was insatiate in beholding.
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tοῦ θεωρεῖν εἰθ’, οἷα φιλεῖ, προσπεριειργάζετο, τίς ἢ τῶν ὄρατων δὴ τούτων οὐσία, καὶ εἰ ἀγένητοι
πεφύκασιν ἢ γενέσεως ἐλαβον ἄρχην, καὶ τίς ὁ
τρόπος τῆς κινήσεως, καὶ τίνες αἰ αἰτίαι δὲ ὄν
ἐκαστὰ οἰκονομεῖται· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ζητῆσεως
tὸ φιλοσοφίας συνέστη γένος, οὗ τελειότερον ἀγαθὸν
55 οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπιν βίον. XVIII. πρὸς
δὴ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἱδέαν ἐκείνην ἐκείνην ἀπιδῶν,
ἡ λέξει κατὰ τὸν ἀσώματον κόσμον, ἐδημιοῦργη
tοὺς ἀϊδηθεῖς ἀστέρας, ἀγάλματα θεία
cαι περικαλλέστατα, οὓς ώσπερ ἐν ιερῷ καθαρ
ρωτάτω τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας ἱδρυε τῷ οὐρανῷ,
pολλῶν χάριν· ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ φωσφορεῖν, ἐτέρου δὲ
σημείων, εἴτε καίρων τῶν περὶ τὸς ἐγκυοιος
ὡρασ, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν ἡμερῶν, μηνῶν, ἐνιαυτῶν, ὃ
δὴ καὶ μέτρα χρόνου γέγονε καὶ τὴν ἀριθμοῦ
56 φύσιν ἐγέννησεν. οἴαν δὲ ἐκαστὸν παρέχεται τῶν
eἰρημένων χρείαν τε καὶ χώρησεν, δὴ λέον ἐκ
τῆς ἐναργείας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν
οὐκ ἄτομον ἐγένοντες καὶ λόγῳ τάληθες ἰχνηλατήσαι.

tοῦ δὴ σύμπαντος χρόνου διανεμηθέντος εἰς δύο
tμήματα, ἢμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα,
te μὲν ἡμέρας τὸ κράτος ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεδίδου τῷ
ἥλιῳ, οἷα μεγάλω καὶ υπερβολῇ, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς σέληνη
57 καὶ τῶ πλήθει τῶν ἀλλων ἀστέρων. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος
tῆς περὶ τῶν ἥλιων ἐνόμισες καὶ ἄρχης ἐμφανε
στάτην πιστών ἔχει τὴν λεχθείσαν ἦδη· εἰς γὰρ ὃν
καὶ μόνον, ὅδε καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἡμιου τοῦ
[13] σύμπαντος χρόνου | κεκλήρωται τὴν ἡμέραν, οἱ δ’
And then, as usually happens, it went on to busy itself with questionings, asking What is the essence of these visible objects? Are they in nature unoriginate, or had they a beginning of existence? What is the method of their movement? And what are the principles by which each is governed? It was out of the investigation of these problems that philosophy grew, than which no more perfect good has come into the life of mankind. XVIII. It was with a view to that original intellectual light, which I have mentioned as belonging to the order of the incorporeal world, that He created the heavenly bodies of which our senses are aware. These are images divine and exceeding fair, which He established in heaven as in the purest temple belonging to corporeal being. This He did that they might serve many purposes. One purpose was to give light; another to be signs; a third duly to fix seasons of the year; and lastly for the sake of days, months, years, which (as we all know) have served as measures of time and given birth to number. The kind of useful service rendered by each of the bodies mentioned is self-evident; yet that the truth may be more precisely apprehended it may not be out of place to follow it step by step in a reasoned account. All time having been divided into two portions, day and night, the Father assigned the sovereignty of the day to the sun, as to a great king, and that of the night to the moon and the host of the other stars. The greatness of the sway and government pertaining to the sun finds its clearest proof in what has been already mentioned: one and alone it has by itself separately had day apportioned to it, half of the whole of time; while all the rest with the moon have
άλλοι πάντες μετὰ σελήνης θάτερον δ' κέκληται νύξ: καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνατείλαντος, αἰ φαντασία τῶν τοσούτων ἀστέρων οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφανίζονται τῇ τοῦ φέγγου ἀναχύσει, καταδύντος δὲ, τὰς ἴδιας ἐρχονται διαφαίνειν ἀθρόοι 58 ποιότητας. XIX. γεγόνασι δ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς εἶπεν ὅτι μὸνον ἵνα φῶς ἐκπέμπωσιν ἐπὶ γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως σημεῖα μελλόντων προφαίνωσιν· ἣ γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς αὐτῶν, ἡ δύσευς, ἡ ἐκλείψεως, ἡ πάλιν ἐπιτολαῖς ἡ ἀποκρύψεως, ἡ ταῖς ἄλλαις περὶ τὰς κινήσεις διαφοράς, ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἀποβησόμενα στοχάζονται, καρπῶν φορᾶς καὶ ἀφορίας, ζῴων τε γενέσεις καὶ φθοράς, αἰθρίας καὶ νεφώσεις, νηνεμίας καὶ βιῶν πνευμάτων, ποταμῶν πλημμύρας καὶ κενώσεις, θαλάττης. ἠρεμίαν καὶ κλύδωνα, ὦρων τῶν ἔτης ὑπαλλαγάς, ἡ θέρους χειμαίνοντος, ἡ χειμώνος φλέγοντος, ἡ έαρός μετοπώριζοντος, ἡ μετοπόρωρον ἕαριζοντος· 59 ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ κλόνων καὶ σεισμὸν γῆς ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν κινήσεων στοχασμῶς προεσημεύμαν τινες, καὶ μυρία ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀθεστερών, ὡς αἰσθητά τάς ετησίους ὑπείληφεν εἴναι, καὶ μήποτε ἐννοια γὰρ καιροῦ τίς ἄν εἶπ η πλήν χρόνος κατορθώσεως; αἱ δ' ὦραι πάντα τελεσφοροῦσι κατορθοῦσι, σπορᾶς, καὶ φυτείας καρπῶν, καὶ ζῴων γενέσεις τε καὶ 60 αὐξήσεις. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ πρὸς μέτρα

a Or "Moses himself declared."
had allotted to them the other half, which has received the name of night. And when the sun has risen, all that multitude of stars which were visible but now is not merely dimmed but becomes actually invisible through the pouring forth of its light; and upon its setting they begin all of them to shine out in their own true characters.

XIX. The purpose of their existence is, as the Lord Himself pronounced, not only to send forth light upon the earth, but also to give timely signs of coming events. For either by their risings or settings or eclipses, or again by the seasons of their appearance or disappearance, or by other alterations in their movements, men conjecture future issues, good harvests and bad, increase and decay of animal life, fair weather and foul, gales and calms, floodings and shrinkings of rivers, seas smooth and rough, irregularities of the seasons, either wintry summers, or scorching winters, or springs like autumn, or autumns like spring. Indeed it has happened that, by conjecture based on the movements of the heavenly bodies, men have notified in advance a disturbance and shaking of the earth, and countless other unusual occurrences, proving the complete truth of the words, "the stars were made for signs." It is added, moreover, "and for appointed times" (Gen. i. 14). By "appointed times" Moses understood the four seasons of the year, and surely with good reason. For what idea does "appointed time" convey but "time of achievement"? Now the four seasons of the year bring about achievement by bringing all things to perfection, all sowing and planting of crops, and the birth and growth of animals. The heavenly bodies were

ON THE CREATION, 57–60
χρόνων· ἥλιον γὰρ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἰμέραι καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἕναντοι συνέστησαν. εὐθὺς τε τὸ χρησιμώτατον, ἡ ἄριθμον φύσις, ἐδείχθη, χρόνον παραφήναντος αὐτήν· ἐκ γὰρ μᾶς ἰμέρας τὸ ἐν, καὶ ἐκ δυοῖν τὰ δύο, καὶ ἐκ τριῶν τὰ τρία, καὶ ἐκ μηνός τὰ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐκ ἕναντοι τὸ ἰσάριθμον ταῖς ἐκ δώδεκα μηνῶν ἰμέραις πλήθος, καὶ ἐξ ἀπείρου χρόνου ὁ ἀπείρος ἄριθμός. εἰς τοσαῦτας καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαίας διατείνουσιν ὑφελείας αἱ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν φύσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀστέρων· εἰς πόσα δ’ ἄλλα φαίην ἂν ἐγώγη τῶν ἴμων μὲν ἀδηλουμένων—οὐ γὰρ πάντα τῷ θνητῷ γένει γνώριμα—πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὀλοῦ συνεργούντων διαμονήν, ἢ θεσμοῖς καὶ νόμοις, οὕς ἵρισεν ὁ θεός ἄκινήτους ἐν τῷ παντὶ, συμβαίνει πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ἐπιτελείσθαι.

61 ἦμερα | πέμπτη, νομίζας οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐτερον ἐτέρῳ συγγενεῖς ὡς ζωοειδεῖς πεντάδα. διαφέρει γὰρ ἐμφύσια ἁψύχων οὐδεὶς μᾶλλον ἡ αἰσθήσει· πενταχῇ δὲ τιμητὸν αἰσθήσει, εἰς ὅρασιν, εἰς ἀκοήν, εἰς γεύσιν, εἰς ὄσφρησιν, εἰς ἀφήν. εἰς ἀφήν· ἐκάστη μὲντοι προσένειμεν ὁ ποιῶν καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ὑλας καὶ κριτήριον ὦδιον, ὃ δικάσει τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα.
created also to furnish measures of time: for it is by regular revolutions of sun, moon, and the other bodies that days and months and years were constituted. This in itself involved the showing of their most useful service of all; I mean number as part of the world's order, time by its mere lapse indicating it. For out of one day came "one," out of two "two," out of three "three," out of a month "thirty," out of a year the number equivalent to the days made up of twelve months, and out of infinite time came (the conception of) infinite number. So many and so essential are the benefits within the scope of the constitutions and movements of the heavenly bodies. To how vast a number of other operations of nature, methinks, do they extend! Operations obscure to us—for all things are not within the ken of mortals—yet working together for the permanence of the whole; operations which are invariably carried out under ordinances and laws which God laid down in His universe as unalterable.

XX. Earth and heaven having been equipped with the array appropriate to either—earth on the third day, heaven, as has been recounted, on the fourth—the Creator took in hand to form the races of mortal creatures, beginning with aquatic creatures on the fifth day, deeming that there is no kinship so close as that between animals and the number 5. For living creatures differ from those without life in nothing more than in ability to apprehend by the senses; and sense has a fivefold division, into sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; and to each of these their Maker assigned special aspects of matter, and an individual faculty of testing it, with which to assay objects coming under its notice. Colours are tested by
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χρώματα μὲν [ἡ] ὤρασις, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοή, χυλὸς
dὲ γεύσις, καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁρμῶς, μαλακότητας δὲ
καὶ σκληρότητας καὶ ὁσα θερμὰ ἢ ψυχρὰ λειώ-

63 τητάς τε καὶ τραχύτητας ἀφῇ. παντοῖα
οὖν ἰχθύων γένη καὶ κητῶν κελεύει συνιστασθαι,
κατὰ τόπους διαφέροντα, καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ
ταῖς ποιότησιν. ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις πελάγεσιν,
ἐστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ ταύτα· πλῆν οὐ πανταχοῦ πάντα
dιεπλάττετο, καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως. χαίρει γὰρ ἡ
tά μὲν τυι τεναγώδει καὶ οὐ πάνυ βαθεία θαλάττη,
tά δ’ ὑποδρόμους καὶ λιμέσι, μήτ’ ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνέρπεν
μήτε πόρρω γῆς ἐπινήχεσθαι δυνάμενα, τά δὲ
kατὰ μέσον καὶ βαθὺ πέλαγος διαιτώμενα τάς
προκεχυμένας ἀκρας η νήσους η πέτρας ἐκτρέπεται.
καὶ τά μὲν εὐθὺς καὶ γαλήνη σφριγά, τά δὲ ἐπὶ
κυματώσει ταῖς γάρ συνεχέσι πληγαῖς γυμνα-

64 XXI. Ἡ δὲ τά γένη τῶν πτηνῶν ἐδημιοῦργει ὡς
ἀδελφὰ τῶν καθ ὑδατός καὶ ἀπειλήφθεντα
τῶν φυτῶν ζώων καθαρό τινα κλῆρον οἰκεῖον,
ἀπειληφότων, πάλιν ἐκάλει τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν τοῦ
ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους γένεσιν—ὑπολέιπτο δὲ
μετὰ τὰ φυτὰ γῆς τὰ χερσαία—καὶ φησι—

η γῇ κτήνη καὶ θηρία καὶ ἔρπετα
καθ’ ἐκαστὸν γένος (Gen. i. 24). ἡ δὲ τὰ προσ-
ταχθέντα αὐτίκα ἀνίησι, τῇ τε κατασκευῇ δια-
φέροντα, καὶ ταῖς ρώμαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐνυπαρχο-
σαις βλαπτικαῖς ἢ ὕφελητικαῖς δυνάμεσιν.
sight, sounds by hearing, savours by taste, perfumes by smell, while touch assays the softness and hardness of various substances, their smoothness and roughness, and recognizes things hot or cold.

So then he bids all kinds of fish and sea-monsters to take shape, creatures differing in their habitats and their sizes and qualities; for different seas produce to some extent different fish; not everywhere were all kinds formed. This is as we should have expected, for some kinds delight in a lagoon and not in a really deep sea, some in harbours and roadsteads. These can neither crawl up on to the land, nor swim far out from the land; and those that haunt the depths of the open seas avoid jutting headlands or islands or rocks. Some thrive in calm unruffled waters, others in those that are stormy and broken by waves; for, through the exercise of bearing their constant blows and of thrusting back their onset by sheer force, they put on flesh and grow lusty.

Directly after these He made all kinds of birds, as sister kinds to those in the waters, both being things that float. And He left incomplete no form of creature that travels in air.

XXI. Water and air having now duly received as a sort of lot of their own the living creatures appropriate to them, He again called upon the earth for the production of the portion that had been left out. When the plants had been created the land-animals had been wanting. So He saith "Let the earth bring forth cattle and wild beasts and creeping things after each kind" (Gen. i. 24). The earth forthwith puts forth, as it was bidden, creatures all differing in build and in the varying strength and capacity to hurt or to serve that was inherent in them.
65 ἐπὶ δὲ πάσιν ἐποιεῖ τῶν ἄνθρωπων· δὲν δὲ τρόπον, μικρὸν ὑστερὸν ἔρω, πρότερον ἐκεῖνο δηλώσας, ὡς παγκάλω τῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμῷ κέχρηται, καθ᾽ ἂν ψηφισάτο ζωογονίαν. ψυχῆς γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀργοτάτη καὶ ἦκιστα τετυπωμένη τῷ γένει τῶν ἱχθυῶν προσκεκλήρωται, ἡ δ᾽ ἀκριβεστάτη καὶ κακὰ πάντα ἁρίστη τῷ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, ἡ δ᾽ ἁμφὸν μεθόριον τῷ τῶν χερσαίων καὶ ἀεροπόρων· αὕτη γὰρ αἰσθητικωτέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν ἱχθύσιν, ἀμυδροτέρα δὲ τῆς ἐν ἄνθρωποις. διό τὶ τῶν ἐμ-ψύχων πρῶτοι εγέννησεν ἱχθύας, πλέον μετέχοντας σωματικῆς ἡ ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, τρόπον τινὰ ἔσπερ καὶ οὔ ἔσπερ, κινητὰ ἁψα, πρὸς αὐτὸ μόνον τὴν τῶν σωμάτων διαμονὴν παρασκευασμένος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ψυχοειδοῦς, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς ἀλας τοὺς κρέασιν, ἵνα μὴ βάσιμος φθείρω. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἱχθύας τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ χερσαία· ἢδη γὰρ ταῦτα αἰσθητικωτέρα, καὶ διὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐμφαιόντα τρανοτέρας τᾶς τῆς ψυχῶσεως ἱδιώτητας· ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃ νοῦν ἐξαιρέτου ἐδωρεῖτο, ψυχῆς τινα ψυχὴν καθάπερ κόρην ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβεστόρον ἐρευνῶντες ὀφθαλμοῦ λέγοντο ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι.

66 [15] XXII. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἁμα πάντα συνίστατο. συνισταμένων δ᾽ ὡμοί πάντων, ἡ τάξις ἀναγκαῖος
ON THE CREATION, 65-67

To crown all he made man, in what way I will say presently, when I have first pointed out the exceeding beauty of the chain of sequence which Moses has employed in setting forth the bringing in of life. For of the forms of animal life, the least elaborately wrought has been allotted to the race of fish; that worked out in greatest detail and best in all respects to mankind; that which lies between these two to creatures that tread the earth and travel in the air. For the principle of life in these is endowed with perceptions keener than that in fishes, but less keen than that in men. Wherefore, of the creatures that have life, fishes were the first which he brought into being, creatures in whose being the body predominates over the soul or life-principle. They are in a way animals and not animals; lifeless beings with the power of movement. The seed of the principle of life has been sown in them adventitiously, with a view only to the perpetuation of their bodies, just as salt (we are told) is added to flesh that it may not easily decay. After the fishes He made the birds and land-creatures; for, when we come to these, we find them with keener senses and manifesting by their structure far more clearly all the qualities proper to beings endowed with the life-principle. To crown all, as we have said before, He made man, and bestowed on him mind par excellence, life-principle of the life-principle itself, like the pupil in the eye: for of this too those who investigate more closely than others the nature of things say that it is the eye of the eye.

XXII. At that time, indeed, all things took shape simultaneously. But, though all things took shape together, the fact that living organisms were after-
λόγω ὑπεγράφετο, διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην αὖθις ἐξ ἄλληλων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος γυνομένοις τάξις ἦδ᾽ ἔστιν, ἀρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τὴν φύσιν, λήγειν δ᾽ εἰς τὸ πάντων ἀριστον· τί δὲ τοῦτ’ ἔστι, δηλωτέον. τὸ σπέρμα τῶν ζῴων γενέσεως ἀρχήν εἶναι συμβεβηκε· τοῦθ᾽ ὡς ἐστὶ φαυλότατον έουκός ἀφρῷ, θεωρεῖται· ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν εἰς τὴν μήτραν καταβληθένν στηρίση, κίνησιν εὐθὺς λαβόν εἰς φύσιν τρέπεται· φύσις δὲ βέλτιον σπέρματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ κίνησις ἱρμίας ἐν γενητοῖς· ἡ δ᾽ οία τεχνίτης, ἡ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτος τέχνη, ζῳοπλαστεῖ, τὴν μὲν γυράν οὐσίαν εἰς τὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη καὶ μέρη διανέμουσα, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, τὴν τε θερητικὴν καὶ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ ταῦτα ὑπερθετεόν, διὰ τοὺς φάσκοντας θύραθεν αὐτὸν ἐπευσιέναι, θεῖον καὶ ὁμέιον ὁντα. οὐκοῦν ἦρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ σπέρματος εὐτελοῦς ἡ φύσις, ἔληξε δ᾽ εἰς τὸ τιμώτατον, τὴν ζῴου καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν. ταύτο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως συμβεβηκεν· ἴνικα γὰρ ζῴα διαπλάττειν ἔδοξε τῷ δημιουργῷ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῇ τάξει φαυλότερά πως ἦν, ἵχθυες, τὰ δ᾽ ὑστατα ἀριστα, ἀνθρωποι, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα μέσα τῶν ἄκρων, ἀμείνω μὲν τῶν
wards to come into existence one out of another rendered necessary an adumbration of the principle of order in the narrative. Now in particular creatures the order we find is this, that they begin at what is lowest in its nature, and end in the best of all; what this best of all is we must go on to show. Now seed is the original starting-point of living creatures. That this is a substance of a very low order, resembling foam, is evident to the eye. But when it has been deposited in the womb and become solid, it acquires movement, and at once enters upon natural growth. But growth is better than seed, since in created things movement is better than quiescence. But nature, or growth, like an artificer, or (to speak more properly) like a consummate art, forms living creatures, by distributing the moist substance to the limbs and different parts of the body, the substance of life-breath to the faculties of the soul, affording them nourishment and endowing them with perception. We must defer for the present the faculty of reasoning, out of consideration for those who maintain that it comes in from without, and is divine and eternal.

Well, then, natural-growth started from so poor a thing as seed, but it ended in that which is of greatest worth, the formation of the living creature and of man. Now we find that this selfsame thing has occurred in the case of the creation of the universe also. For when the Creator determined to form living creatures, those first in order were inferior, if we may so speak, namely fishes, while those that came last in order were best, namely men; and coming between the two extremes, better than those

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*a* See App. p. 480, note on *L.A.* ii. 22.

*b* Or "air."
προτέρων, χείρω δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων, χερσαία καὶ πτηνά.

69 XXIII. Μετὰ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη, τὸν ἄνθρωπόν φησι γεγενῆσθαι, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ’ ὀμοίωσιν (Gen. i. 26). πάνυ καλῶς, ἐμφερέστερον γὰρ οὕδεν γηγενὲς ἄνθρωπον θεῷ. τὴν δ’ ἐμφέρειν μηδεὶς εἰκαζέτω σώματος χαρακτηρί· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνθρωπόμορφος ὁ θεός, οὔτε [16] θεοεἰδεῖς τὸ ἄνθρωπειον | σῶμα. η δὲ εἰκών λέ· λεκταί κατὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμόνα νοῦν· πρὸς γὰρ ἔνα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐκείνου ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπον, ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπεικονίσθη, τρόπον τινὰ θεοῦ ὡν τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἀγαλματοφοροῦντος αὐτόν· δὲ γὰρ ἔχει λόγον ὁ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἀπαντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τοῦτον ὡς οὐκέ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρω· πινος νοῦς ἐν ἄνθρωπω· ἀδιάφορος τε γὰρ ἐστιν, αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ὅρων, καὶ ἀδηλικὸν ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, τὰς τῶν ἀλλῶν καταλαμβάνων· καὶ τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις πολυσχιδεῖς ἀνατέμνων δόξας, λεω· φόρον ἀπάσας, διὰ γῆς ἔρχεται καὶ θαλάττης, 70 τὰ ἐν ἐκατέρα φύσει διερευνῶμενος· καὶ πάλιν πτηνὸς ἄρης· καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰ τούτων παθήματα κατασκεφάμενος, ἀνωτέρω φέρεται πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοὺ περιόδους, πλανήτων τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν χορείας συμπεριπολθεῖς κατὰ τοὺς μουσικῆς τελείας νόμους, ἐπόμενος ἔρωτι σοφίας ποδηγετοῦντι, πᾶσαν τὴν αἰσθητήν οὐσίαν ὑπερ· 71 κύψας, ἐνταῦθα ἐφέτα τῆς νοητῆς· καὶ ὁν εἶδεν
that preceded them, but inferior to the others, were the rest, namely land creatures and birds of the air.

XXIII. After all the rest, as I have said, Moses tells us that man was created after the image of God and after His likeness (Gen. i. 26). Right well does he say this, for nothing earth-born is more like God than man. Let no one represent the likeness as one to a bodily form; for neither is God in human form, nor is the human body God-like. No, it is in respect of the Mind, the sovereign element of the soul, that the word "image" is used; for after the pattern of a single Mind, even the Mind of the Universe as an archetype, the mind in each of those who successively came into being was moulded. It is in a fashion a god to him who carries and enshrines it as an object of reverence; for the human mind evidently occupies a position in men precisely answering to that which the great Ruler occupies in all the world. It is invisible while itself seeing all things, and while comprehending the substances of others, it is as to its own substance unperceived; and while it opens by arts and sciences roads branching in many directions, all of them great highways, it comes through land and sea investigating what either element contains. Again, when on soaring wing it has contemplated the atmosphere and all its phases, it is borne yet higher to the ether and the circuit of heaven, and is whirled round with the dances of planets and fixed stars, in accordance with the laws of perfect music, following that love of wisdom which guides its steps. And so, carrying its gaze beyond the confines of all substance discernible by sense, it comes to a point at which it reaches out after the intelligible world, and on descrying in that world
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ἐνταῦθα αἰσθητῶν ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ
tὰς ἰδέας θεασάμενος, ύπερβάλλοντα κάλλη, μέθη
νηφαλίως κατασχεθεὶς ὡσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες
ἐνθουσίως, ἐτέρου γεμισθεὶς ἰμέρου καὶ πόθου
βελτίωνος, ύφ' ὁδ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ θαρτάοειγματα καὶ
τὰς ιδέας θεασάμενος, υπερβάλλοντα καρα
πεμφθεὶς τῶν νοητῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤναι δοκεῖ τὸν
μέγαν βασιλέα· γλυχομένου δ' ἰδεῖν, ἀθρόου φωτὸς
ἀκρατοὶ καὶ ἀμιγείς αὐγαὶ χειμάρρου τρόπον
ἐκχέονται, ὡς ταῖς μαμαρμαραῖς τὸ τῆς διανοίας
ὀμμα σκοτοδινίαν.

ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ σύμπασα
εἰκὼν ἐμφερὴς ἀρχετύπῳ παραδείγματι, πολλαί
δ' εἰσάγον γνώσῃ, προσεπεσημήνατο ἐπειπών τῷ
κατ' εἰκόνα τὸ καθ' ὀμοίωσιν, εἰς ἐμφασιν ἀκριβοὺς
ἐκμαγείον τρανὸν τύπων ἔχοντος.

72 XXIV. Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ,
tῇ δῆποτε τὴν ἀνθρώπου μόνου γένεσιν οὐχ ἐνi
dημουργῷ καθάπερ τὰλλα ἀνέθηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀσανεί
πλείοσιν· εἰςάγει γὰρ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ταυτί
λέγοντα· "ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπὸν κατ' εἰκόνα
ήμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὀμοίωσιν." μὴ γὰρ χρείος
ἐστιν, εἴπομεν ᾧ ὁμοίωσιν, ὥσαν εἶ οἰκεῖν
τῇ τὰν θάλατταν, οὔτεν ἐδείχεν οὐτὸς ἀφ
τῆν θάλατταν, οὐδὲνος ἐδείχεν τοὺς συνεργήσοντος,
ἀνθρωπὸν δὲ βραχὺ ζῷων οὕτως καὶ ἐπίκηρον οὐχ
ὁδ' τῇ διήν συμπραξεῖς ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἀφ
ἐαυτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι; τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀλή−
θεστάτην αἰτίαν θεὸν ἀνάγκη μόνων εἰδέναι, τὴν
73 δ' εἰκότι στοχασμῷ πιθανὴν καὶ εὐλογον εἰναι
δοκοῦσαι οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον. ἦστι δ' ἰδε. 

[17]

1 Conji. Wendland for εἰπὼν.

a See App. p. 475.
ON THE CREATION, 71–73

sights of surpassing loveliness, even the patterns and the originals of the things of sense which it saw here, it is seized by a sober intoxication, like those filled with Corybantic frenzy, and is inspired, possessed by a longing far other than theirs and a nobler desire. Wafted by this to the topmost arch of the things perceptible to mind, it seems to be on its way to the Great King Himself; but, amid its longing to see Him, pure and untempered rays of concentrated light stream forth like a torrent, so that by its gleams the eye of the understanding is dazzled. And, since images do not always correspond to their archetype and pattern, but are in many instances unlike it, the writer further brought out his meaning by adding "after the likeness" to the words "after the image," thus showing that an accurate cast, bearing a clear impression, was intended.

XXIV. One may not unfitly raise the question what reason there could be for his ascribing the creation in the case of man only not to one Creator as in the case of the rest but, as the words would suggest, to several. For he represents the Father of the universe as speaking thus, "Let us make man after our image and likeness." 'Can it be,' I would ask, 'that He to whom all things are subject, is in need of anyone whatever? Or can it be that when He made the heaven and the earth and the seas, he required no one to be his fellow-worker, yet was unable apart from the co-operation of others by His own unaided power to fashion a creature so puny and perishable as man?' The full truth about the cause of this it must needs be that God alone knows, but the cause which by probable conjecture seems plausible and reasonable we must not conceal. It
οντών τὰ μὲν οὐτ' ἀρετῆς οὔτε κακίας μετέχει, ὡσπερ φυτὰ καὶ ζῴα ἄλογα, τὰ μὲν ὦτι ἀψυχά τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀφαντάστω φύσει διοικεῖται, τὰ δ' ὦτι νοῦν καὶ λόγον ἑκτέμηται: κακίας δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς ὡς ἄν οἶκος νοῦς καὶ λόγος, ὦ πεφύκασιν ἐνδιαιτασθαί· τὰ δ' αὖ μόνης κεκοινώνηκεν ἀρετῆς ἀμέτοχα πάσης ὄντα κακίας, ὡσπερ οἱ ἀστέρες· οὕτως γὰρ ζώα τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ ζώα νοερά, μάλλον δὲ νοῦς αὐτὸς ἐκαστός, ὦλος δ' ὦλων σπουδαῖος καὶ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτος κακοῦ· τὰ δὲ τῆς μικτῆς ἐστὶ φύσεως, ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπος, δὲ ἐπιδείχεται τάναντια, φρόνησιν καὶ ἀφροσύνην, σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀκολάσιαν, ἀνδρείαν καὶ δειλίαν, δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν, καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, 74 καὶ λακαὶ καὶ αἰσχρὰ, ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. τῷ δὲ πάντων πατρὶ θεῷ τὰ μὲν σπουδαῖα δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου ποιεῖν οἰκεῖοτατον ἢ ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν συγγενείας, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα οὐκ ἄλλοτριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτα τῆς ἐχθρᾶς αὐτῷ κακιάς ἀμοιρεῖ, τὰ δὲ μικτὰ τῇ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῇ δ' ἀνοίκειοι, οἰκεῖον μὲν ἔνεκα τῆς ἀνακεκραμένης βελτίων ἰδέας, 75 ἀνοίκειοι δὲ ἔνεκα τῆς ἐναντίας καὶ χείρονοι. διὰ τούτ' ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως φήσω ὅτι εἰπεν ὁ θεὸς "ποιήσωμεν," ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει συμπαράληψιν ἔτερων ὦς ἄν συνεργῶν, ἵνα ταῖς μὲν ἀνεπιλήπτοις βουλαῖς τε καὶ πράξεις ἀν-
is this. Among existences some partake neither of virtue nor of vice, like plants and animals devoid of reason; the one sort because they are without animal life and furnished with a nature incapable of consciously receiving impressions; the other sort because from them mind and reason have been eliminated: for mind and reason are as it were the dwelling-place of vice and virtue, which are by nature constituted to make their abode in them. Others again have partnership with virtue only, and have no part or lot in vice. Such are the heavenly bodies; for these are said to be not only living creatures but living creatures endowed with mind, or rather each of them a mind in itself, excellent through and through and unsusceptible of any evil. Others are of mixed nature, as man, who is liable to contraries, wisdom and folly, self-mastery and licentiousness, courage and cowardice, justice and injustice, and (in a word) to things good and evil, fair and foul, to virtue and vice. Now it was most proper to God the universal Father to make those excellent things by Himself alone, because of their kinship to Him. To make those which are neither good nor bad was not alien to Him, since those too are free from vice which is hateful to Him. To make those of mixed nature was in one respect proper to Him, in another not so; proper, so far as the better principle which forms an ingredient in them is concerned, alien, in virtue of the contrary and worse principle. So we see why it is only in the instance of man's creation that we are told by Moses that God said "Let us make," an expression which plainly shows the taking with Him of others as fellow-workers. It is to the end that, when man orders his course aright, when his thoughts
θρώπου κατόρθοῦντος ἐπιγράφηται θεὸς ὁ πάντων ἠγεμόν, ταῖς δὲ ἐναντίαις ἔτεροι τῶν ὑπηκόων· ἔδει γὰρ ἀναίτιον εἶναι κακοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς ἐκγόνοις· κακὸν δὲ ἡ κακία καὶ αἱ κατὰ κακίαν ἐνέργειαι.

πάνυ δὲ καλῶς, τὸ γένος ἀνθρωπος εἰπὼν, διέκρινε τὰ εἴδη φήσας ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ δεδημιουργήθαι, μήτω τῶν ἐν μέρει μορφήν λαβόντων, ἐπειδή τὰ προσεχέστατα τῶν εἴδων ἐνυπάρχει τῷ γένει, καὶ ὅσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ διαφαίνεται τοῖς ὑφ' καθοράν δυναμένοις.

XXV. Ἐπιζητήσει δ' αὖ τιν τῆς αἰτίαν, δι' ἂν ὑστατόν ἐστίν ἀνθρώπως τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως· ἐφ' ἀπασὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ, ὅσπερ αἱ ιεραι γραφαὶ μηνύουσιν, εἰργάσατο. λέγουσιν οὖν οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμβαθύναντες, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν κάθετα μετὰ πάσης ἔξετάσεως ἀκριβοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας μεταδοῦσιν ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρῶπῳ τῆς λογικῆς, ἡτὶς ἀρίστη δωρεῶν ἢ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτῳ καὶ φιλτάτῳ ζῷω τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πάντα προητομάσατο, βουλθεῖς γενόμενος αὐτὸν μηδενὸς ἀπορῆσαι τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἔντον καὶ τὸ ἔν σοι· ὑπὲρ τὸ μὲν παρασκευάζουσιν αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ ἀφθονίαι τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ ἡ θεωρία τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν, ἂφ' ἂς πληκτεῖς ὁ νους ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἐσχε τῆς τούτων ἐπιστήμης· οἶθεν τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος, ὕφ' οὗ καίτοι θνητὸς ὃν ἀνθρωπὸς ἀπαθανατι-
and deeds are blameless, God the universal Ruler may be owned as their Source; while others from the number of His subordinates are held responsible for thoughts and deeds of a contrary sort: for it could not be that the Father should be the cause of an evil thing to His offspring: and vice and vicious activities are an evil thing. And when Moses had called the genus "man," quite admirably did he distinguish its species, adding that it had been created "male and female," and this though its individual members had not yet taken shape. For the primary species are in the genus to begin with, and reveal themselves as in a mirror to those who have the faculty of keen vision.

XXV. It is obvious to inquire why man comes last in the world's creation; for, as the sacred writings show, he was the last whom the Father and Maker fashioned. Those, then, who have studied more deeply than others the laws of Moses and who examine their contents with all possible minuteness, maintain that God, when He made man partaker of kinship with Himself in mind and reason best of all gifts, did not begrudge him the other gifts either, but made ready for him beforehand all things in the world, as for a living being dearest and closest to Himself, since it was His will that when man came into existence he should be at a loss for none of the means of living and of living well. The means of living are provided by the lavish supplies of all that makes for enjoyment; the means of living well by the contemplation of the heavenly existences, for smitten by their contemplation the mind conceives a love and longing for the knowledge of them. And from this philosophy took its rise, by which man, mortal though he be, is
78 ζεταί. καθάπερ οὖν οἱ ἐστιάτορες οὐ πρῶτοι ἔτι δεῖπνον καλοῦσιν, ἢ τὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν πάντα εὐτρεπίσαι, καὶ οἱ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγώνας καὶ σκηνικοὺς τιθέντες, πρὶν συναγαγεῖν τοὺς θεατὰς εἰς τε τὰ θέατρα καὶ τὰ στάδια, εὐτρεπίζουσιν ἀγωνιστῶν καὶ θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων πλήθος· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἢγεμόνων, οἷς τῷ ἁλοθέτης καὶ ἐστιάτωρ, ἀνθρωπον καλεῖν μέλλων ἔπι τε εὐωχίαν καὶ θεωρίαν, τὰ εἰς ἐκάτερον εἴδος προετρεπίσατο. ὑ’ ἐν τὸν κόσμον εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς εὐρη καὶ συμπόσιον καὶ θέατρον ἐσπώτατον, τὸ μὲν ἀπάντων πλῆρες ὡσ τῇ καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ θάλατα καὶ ἄρη φέρουσιν εἰς χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ παντων θεαμάτων, ἀ καταπληκτικωτάτας μὲν ἔχει τὰς οὐσίας, καταπληκτικωτάτας δὲ τὰς ποιήσεις καὶ χορείας, ἐν τάξεσιν ἐρωταται καὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔκτερον εἴδος εἰς τὸν κόσμον εὐρή καὶ συμπόσιον ἀριστέρωτον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐν κάθε ποταμῶν καὶ θάλατα καὶ ἄρη φέρουσιν εἰς χρήσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, τὸ δὲ παντων θεαμάτων, ἀ καταπληκτικωτάτας μὲν ἔχει τὰς οὐσίας, καταπληκτικωτάτας δὲ τὰς ποιήσεις καὶ χορείας, ἐν τάξεσιν ἐρωταται καὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔκτερον εἴδος εἰς τὸν κόσμον εὐρή καὶ συμπόσιον ἀριστέρωτον, παρέδοσαν.

79 XXVI. "Ηδὲ μὲν αὐτὰ πρώτη, δι’ ἣν ἀνθρώπως ἐφ’ ἄπασι γεγενήθωσιν δοκεῖ· δευτέραν δ’ οὖν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ λεκτέον. ἀμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τὰς εἰς τὸ ζῆν παρασκευὰς ἁπάσας εἴδον ἀνθρώπως, εἰς διδασκαλίαν τῶν ἐπειτα, μόνον οὖν ἀντικρυ βοῶσης τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι, μιμοῦμενοι τὸν ἀρχηγότην τοῦ γένους, ἀπόνως καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως ἐν
rendered immortal. Just as givers of a banquet, then, do not send out the summonses to supper till they have put everything in readiness for the feast; and those who provide gymnastic and scenic contests, before they gather the spectators into the theatre or the stadium, have in readiness a number of combatants and performers to charm both eye and ear; exactly in the same way the Ruler of all things, like some provider of contests or of a banquet, when about to invite man to the enjoyment of a feast and a great spectacle, made ready beforehand the material for both. He desired that on coming into the world man might at once find both a banquet and a most sacred display, the one full of all things that earth and rivers and sea and air bring forth for use and for enjoyment, the other of all sorts of spectacles, most impressive in their substance, most impressive in their qualities, and circling with most wondrous movements, in an order fitly determined always in accordance with proportion of numbers and harmony of revolutions. In all these one might rightly say that there was the real music, the original and model of all other, from which the men of subsequent ages, when they had painted the images in their own souls, handed down an art most vital and beneficial to human life.

XXVI. Such is the first reason for which apparently man was created after all things: but we must mention a second that is not improbable. Directly he came into existence man found there all provisions for life. This was for the instruction of future generations. Nature seemed almost to cry aloud in so many words that like the first father of the race they were to spend their days without toil or trouble sur-
άφθονωτάτη τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορία διάξουσιν.

[19] τούτι δὲ συμβηστεί, ἣν μῆτε αἱ ἄλογοι ἥδοναι ψυχῆς δυναστεύσωσι, γαστριμαργίαν καὶ λαγνείαν ἐπιτείχίσωσι, μῆτε αἱ δόξης ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίαι τὸ τοῦ βίου κράτος ἀνάψωσι, μῆτε στείλωσι καὶ κάμψωσι διάνοιαν αἱ λύπαι, μῆθ' ὁ κακὸς σύμβουλος φόβος τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ σπουδαία τῶν ἔργων ὀρμάς ἀναχαιτίσῃ, μῆτ' ἀφροσύνη καὶ δειλία καὶ ἀδικία καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἀμήχανον

πλῆθος ἐπιθῆται. νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ πάντων ὅσα λέγεσθαι παρενθημερησάντων, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέδην ἐκκεχυμένων εἰς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς ἀκράτος καὶ ὑπαιτίας ὅσον οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν θέμις ὀρέξεις, ἀπαιτᾶται δίκη προσήκουσα τιμωρός ἀσεβῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων; ἐστὶ δ' ἡ δίκη τὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δυσπόριστον μόλις γὰρ ἀνατέμνοντες τὴν πεδιάδα, καὶ πηγῶν ἑύθνα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐποχετεύοντες, σπειροῦσα τε καὶ φυτεύοντες, καὶ τὸν γεωπόνων κάματον μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀτρύτως ἐκδεχόμενοι δι' ἐτούς, συγκομίζουσι τὰ ἐπιτηδεία, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅτε λυπρὰ καὶ οὐ πάνω διαρκῆ διὰ πολλὰς βλαβέντα αἰτίας; ἡ γὰρ ὀμβρώς ἐπιλήθηναν φοραὶ κατέσυραν, ἡ χαλάζης βάρος ἐπενεχθέσθησεν, ἡ χιών περιέφυξεν, ἡ βία πνευμάτων θάξαις αὐταῖς ἀνέτρεψε. πολλὰ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀὴρ εἰς ἄγονίαν καρπῶν νεωτερίζουσι. 81 εἰ δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐξευμαρισθεῖν αἱ ἀμετροὶ τῶν παθῶν ὀρμαῖ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ αἱ περὶ τάδικεῖν σπουδαὶ τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαι, καὶ, συνελόντι φράσαι, ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἀρετὰς ἐνεργείαις αἱ

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* See App. pp. 475, 476.
rounded by lavish abundance of all that they needed. And this will be so if irrational pleasures do not get control of the soul, making their assaults upon it through greediness and lust, nor the desires for glory or wealth or power arrogate to themselves the control of the life, nor sorrows lower and depress the mind; and if fear, that evil counsellor, do not dispel high impulses to noble deeds, nor folly and cowardice and injustice and the countless host of other vices assail him. For in sooth as things now are, when all these evils which have been recounted have won the day, and men have flung themselves unrestrainedly into the indulgence of their passions and left uncontrolled their guilty cravings, cravings which it were sinful even to name, a fitting penalty is incurred, due punishment of impious courses. That penalty is difficulty in obtaining the necessaries of life. For men plough the prairie and irrigate it from spring and river; they sow and plant; and through the livelong year a unweariedly take up by day and night the ever renewed toil of the tiller of the earth; and yet they are hard put to it to gather in their requisite supplies, and these at times of poor quality and barely sufficient, having suffered injury from many causes: either they were ravaged by recurring rainfalls, or beaten down in masses by the weight of hail that fell on them, or half frozen by snow, or torn up roots and all by violent winds; for water and air can in many ways change the fruitfulness of crops into barrenness. But if the unmeasured impulses of men's passions were calmed and ailed by self-mastery, and their earnestness and eager striving after the infliction of wrongs were checked by righteousness; if, in a word, the vices and the fruitless
κακίαι καὶ αἱ καὶ κατ’ αὐτὰς ἀνήνυτοι πράξεις, ἀνηρμένου μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν, ὃς ἄψευδώς ἐστὶ πολέμων ἀργαλεώτατος καὶ βαρύτατος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐπισχούσης, καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεις εὐνομίαν παρασκευαζούσης ἥσυχή τε καὶ πράξεις, ἐλπὶς ἄν ἦν τὸν θεόν, ὃτε φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προσέτι φιλάνθρωπον, τἀγαθά αὐτόματα παράσχειν εἶς ἐτοίμον τῷ γένει. δὴν γὰρ ὡς εὐμαρέστερον παράγειν τὸ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις αστεροειδεῖς ἀγαλματίσασας, τεχνὲς καὶ εἰσερημέναις καὶ τοῖς ἀρετῶσις θεωρήμασιν εἰπείς γὰρ ἐναντίον τὸ τε ἀφθαρτὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν ἡμῖν ἐν τῶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ αὐτὸτοίς ἀγαθῶσιν, τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

82 ΧΧVII. Δευτέρα μὲν αἱτία ἦδε λελέχθω, τρίτη δὲ ἐστὶν τοιάδε. ἄρχην καὶ τέλος τῶν γεγονότων ὁ θεὸς ἀρμόσασθαι διανοηθείς ὡς αναγκαία καὶ φύλτατα, ἄρχην μὲν οὐρανὸν ἔποιεῖ, τέλος δὲ ἀνθρώπον, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήτοις ἀφθαρτῶν τελειώτατον, τὸν δὲ τῶν γηγενῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν ἀριστόν, βραχύν, εἰ δὲ τάληθές εἶπείν, οὐρανόν, πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῷ φύσεως ἀστεροειδεῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦντα, τεχναῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν ἀοιδίμως θεωρήμασιν ἐπείδη γὰρ ἐναντία φύσει τὸ τοῖς φθαρτῶν καὶ τῷ ἀφθαρτῶν, εἰδοὺς ἐκατέρου τὸ κάλλιστον ἄρχη καὶ τέλει προσένεμεν, ἄρχη μὲν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τέλει δὲ ἀνθρώπον.

83 ΧΧVIII. Ἐπὶ πᾶσιν μὲντοι κακεῖνο λέγεται πρὸς ἀπόδοσιν αἱτίας ἀναγκαίας· ἐδει, πάντων γεγο-
practices to which they prompt were to give place to the virtues and their corresponding activities, the warfare in the soul, of all wars veritably the most dire and most grievous, would have been abolished, and peace would prevail and would in quiet and gentle ways provide good order for the exercise of our faculties, and there would be hope that God, being the Lover of virtue and the Lover of what is good and beautiful and also the Lover of man, would provide for our race good things all coming forth spontaneously and all in readiness. For it is clear that it is easier without calling in the husbandman’s art to supply in abundance the yield of growths already existing than to bring into being things that were non-existent.

XXVII. Let what has been said suffice for an account of the second reason. A third is this. God, being minded to unite in intimate and loving fellowship the beginning and end of created things, made heaven the beginning and man the end, the one the most perfect of imperishable objects of sense, the other the noblest of things earthborn and perishable, being, in very truth, a miniature heaven. He bears about within himself, like holy images, endowments of nature that correspond to the constellations. He has capacities for science and art, for knowledge, and for the noble lore of the several virtues. For since the corruptible and the incorruptible are by nature contrary the one to the other, God assigned the fairest of each sort to the beginning and the end, heaven (as I have said) to the beginning, and man to the end.

XXVIII. Finally, this is suggested as a cogent reason. Man was bound to arise after all created
νότων, ὑστατον φύναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα τελευταῖος ἐξαποιναίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴωις ἐπιφανείς ἐμποιήσῃ κατάπληξιν. ἐμελλε γὰρ ἱδόντα πρῶτον τεθητεύαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς ἄν ἤγεμόνα φύσι καὶ δεσπότην· διὸ καὶ θεσάμενα πάντα διὰ πάντων ἦμερώθη, καὶ ὅσα τὰς φύσεις ἀγριώτατα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς πρόσοψιν ἐγίνετο χειροτείνητα, τὰς μὲν ἀτιθάσους λύττας ἐπεϊδεικνύμενα κατ' ἄλληλων, 84 εἰς δὲ μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιθασενόμενα. παρ’ ἦν αὐτίαν καὶ γεννήσας αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἤγεμονικὸν φύσει ζῷον, οὐκ ἐργὼ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῇ διὰ λόγου χειροτονίας καθίστη τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀπάντων βασιλεά χερσαίως καὶ ἐνύδρων καὶ ἀεροπόρων· ὅσα γὰρ θυγατέρα ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, γη, ὕδατι, ἀέρι, πάντα ὑπέταττεν αὐτῷ, τὰ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ὑπεξελόμενος, ἅτε θειότερος μούρας ἐπιλαχόντα. πίστις δὲ τῆς ἀρχής ἐναργεστάτη τὰ φαινόμενα· θρεμμάτων ἐστιν ὅτε πλήθη μυρία πρὸς ἄνδρός ἐνὸς ἀγεταί τοῦ τυχόντος, οὐθ’ ὑποφοροῦντος εὐπλωτεύεται καὶ σίδηρον οὔτε τῶν ἀμυντήρων ἐπιφερομένου, διφθέραι δ’ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐχοντος σκεπαστήριον καὶ βακτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ διασημῆναι τε 85 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕδοιπορίαις εἰ κάμοι στηρίζασθαι· τὰς γοῦν πολυζώους ἄγελας προβάτων, αἰγῶν, βοῶν, ἂνεί πομην αἱπόλος βουκόλος, ἄνθρωποι μηδ’ ἄνθρωποι μηδὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ σφυγὼν, ὡς ἐνεκα γοῦν εὐεξίας ἐμποιήσαι τοῖς ἱδονίναι κατάπληξιν· καὶ αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν τοσοῦτων ἕλκαι τε καὶ δυνάμεις εὐπλούντων—ἐχουσι γὰρ τὰς ἐκ φύσεως 68
things, in order that coming last and suddenly appearing to the other animals he might produce consternation in them; for they were sure, as soon as they saw him, to be amazed and do homage to him as to a born ruler or master: and so on beholding him they were all tamed through all their kinds, those who were most savage in their natures at the first sight of him becoming at once most manageable, displaying their untamed pugnacity one against another, but to man and man alone showing gentleness and docility. On this account too the Father, when he had brought him into existence as a living being naturally adapted for sovereignty, not only in fact but by express mandate appointed him king of all creatures under the moon, those that move on land and swim in the sea and fly in the air. For all things mortal in the three elements of land and water and air did He make subject to men, but exempted the heavenly beings as having obtained a portion more divine. The clearest proof of man's rule is afforded by what goes on before our eyes. Sometimes vast numbers of cattle are led by one quite ordinary man neither wearing armour nor carrying an iron weapon nor anything with which to defend himself, with nothing but a sheepskin to cover him and a staff wherewith to show them which way to go and to lean on should he grow weary on his journeys. See, there is a shepherd, a goatherd, a cowherd leading flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of kine. They are men not even strong and lusty in body, unlikely, so far as healthy vigour goes, to create consternation in those who see them. And all the prowess and strength of all those well-armed animals, who possess the equipment which nature provides
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παρασκευάς αἰς ἀμύνονται—καθάπερ δούλοι δεσπότην κατεπτήχασιν, καὶ τὰ προστατόμενα δρῶσιν ταῦτα μὲν καταζεύγνυνται πρὸς ἀροτόν γῆς, καὶ βαθείας αὐλακας ἀνατέμνουντες δι' ἡμέρας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἡ νυκτὸς, μακρὸν δόλιχον ἀποτείνουσι, γεωπόνου τινὸς εὐφημετὰς κρίοι δὲ βρίθοντες βαθεῖς μαλλῶς, ὑπόποκοι κατὰ τὴν ἔδραν ὡραν, ὑπὸ πομένος κελευσθέντες ἔστανται μετ' ἡρεμίας, ἤ καὶ ἡσυχὴ κατακλινέντες ἐμπαρέχουσιν ἀποκείρασθαι, τὸ ἔριον ἐθιζόμενοι καθάπερ αἰ πόλεις τὸν ἔτησιον ἀποδίδοναι | δασμὸν τῷ φύσει βασιλεί.

καὶ μὴν τὸ γε θυμικῶτατον ζῷον ὕποποι βασίλεις [ἀγεται] χαλιναγωγηθεῖσιν, ἵνα μὴ σκιρτῶν ἀφριναξίης, καὶ, τὰ νῦτα κοιλάνας εὑ μάλα πρὸς τὸ εὐεδρόν, δέχεται τὸν ἐπικόν, καὶ μετέωρον ἀναβαστάσας ὃξυταθεὶς σπονδάζων, εἰς οὐδὲν ἐν ἐπείγηται γίνεσθαι τόπους ἐκεῖνος, ἀφικνεῦσθαι καὶ διακομίζεων. ὃ δ' ἐφιδρυμένος ἀνευροτάτων ἑπεδρισθέντος ἀνευροτάτων κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχαίαν ἐποχον, ἄντων σώματι καὶ ποσὶν ἀνύτειν ἐκεῖνον δρόμον.

XXIX. Πολλὰ δ' ἂν ἔχοι τις λέγειν ἐτέρα, βουλόμενος ἀπομηκύνειν, εἰς ἐνδείζην τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπελευθεριάζειν ὑπεξηρημένον τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἠγεμονίας. δείγματος ἐνεκα καὶ τὰ ῥήθηντα ἀρκεῖ. χρὴ μὲντοι μηδ' ἐκεῖνο ἄγοντα ὅτι οὐ παρ' ὅσον ὕστατον γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν τὰξιν ἡλάτ[21] τῶν μάρτυρες δ' ἦνίοχοι καὶ κυρευταί. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ῥήτερειζοντες τῶν ὑποσχεόν τῶν ἀντιπρόσωπων καὶ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐξεταζόμενοι, ἤ ἂν ἐθέλοντα αὐτὰ ἄγονοι, τῶν ἤνισθον ἐνειλημμένοι, καὶ τοτε μὲν ἐφιέντες πρὸς
and use it in self-defence, cower before him like slaves before a master, and do his bidding. Bulls are harnessed to plough the land, and cutting deep furrows all day long, sometimes all night as well, accomplish a long bout with some farm-hand to direct them: rams laden with thick fleeces of wool, when spring-time comes, stand peacefully or even lie down quietly at the shepherd's bidding, and offer their wool to the shears, growing accustomed, just as cities do, to render their yearly tribute to him whom nature has given them for king. Nay, even the horse, most spirited of all animals, is easily controlled by the bit to prevent his growing restive and running away. He hollows his back, making it a convenient seat, takes his rider on it and bearing him aloft gallops at a great pace intent on bringing himself and his rider to the destination which the latter is eager to reach. As for his rider, firmly seated on him, without trouble and in much composure, he gets through his journey using the body and feet of another.

XXIX. Anyone who wished to enlarge on the subject would have plenty more to say tending to prove that nothing whatever has been emancipated and withdrawn from the domination of men: this is sufficiently indicated by what has been said. There is a point, however, as to which ignorance must be avoided. The fact of having been the last to come into existence does not involve an inferiority corresponding to his place in the series. Drivers and pilots are evidence of this. The former, though they come after their team and have their appointed place behind them, keep hold of the reins and drive them just as they wish, now letting them fall into a
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δ' οξύν δρόμον, τοτε δ' ἀναχαιτίζοντες, εἰ φορᾶ τοῦ δέοντος πλείονι θεοι· οἱ δ' αὐ κυβερνήται, πρὸς τὸ τῆς νεῶς ἐσχατον χωρίον πρύμναν παρελθόντες, πάντων ὡς ἔποις εἰπεῖν εἰςιν ἄριστοι τῶν ἐμπλεόντων, ἀτε τῆς νεῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐν χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐχοντες. ἥνιοχον δὴ τινα καὶ κυβερνήτην ἐφ ἀπασιν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδημούργησε τὸν ἀνθρωπον, ἵνα ἥνιοχῆ καὶ κυβερνᾶ τὰ περίγεια, χώρων καὶ φυτῶν λαβῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἶα τις ὑπαρχος τοῦ πρῶτον καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

89 XXX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐτελειώθη κατὰ τὴν ἐξάδος ἀριθμοῦ τελείου φύσιν, τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐβδόμην ἐσεμννεν ὁ πατὴρ, ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἁγίαν προσειπών εορτὴ γάρ ον μιᾶς πόλεως ἡ χώρας ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, ἡν κυρίως ἄξιον καὶ μόνην πάνδημον ὀνομάζειν καὶ τοῦ κόσμου γενεθλιον. τὴν δ' ἐβδομάδος φύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τις ἰκανῶς ἂν ὑμνήσαι δύνατο, παντὸς οὖσαν λόγου κρείττονα· οὐ μὴν ὅτι θαυμασιωτέρα τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένων ἐστι, διὰ τούθ' ἕσυχαστέον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμητέον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα μηδὲ τὰ κυριώτατα οἶν τε, τὰ γοῦν ταῖς ἡμετέραις δια- 90 νοίαις ἐφικτὰ δηλῶσαι. διεχῶς ἐβδομᾶς λέγεται, ἡ μὲν ἐντὸς δεκάδος, ἦτις ἐπτάκις μονάδι μόνῃ μετρεῖται, συνεστώσα ἐκ μονάδων ἐπτά· ἡ δ' ἐκτὸς δεκάδος, ἀριθμὸς οὗ πάντως ἀρχῇ μονάς, κατὰ τοὺς διπλασίους ἢ τριπλασίους ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-
sharp trot, now pulling them up should they go with more speed than is necessary. Pilots again, taking their way to the stern, the hindmost place in the ship, are, one may say, superior to all on board, for they hold in their hands the safety of the ship and those on board it. So the Creator made man after all things, as a sort of driver and pilot, to drive and steer the things on earth, and charged him with the care of animals and plants, like a governor subordinate to the chief and great King.

XXX. Now when the whole world had been brought to completion in accordance with the properties of six, a perfect number, the Father invested with dignity the seventh day which comes next, extolling it and pronouncing it holy; for it is the festival, not of a single city or country, but of the universe, and it alone strictly deserves to be called “public” as belonging to all people and the birthday of the world. I doubt whether anyone could adequately celebrate the properties of the number 7, for they are beyond all words. Yet the fact that it is more wondrous than all that is said about it is no reason for maintaining silence regarding it. Nay, we must make a brave attempt to bring out at least all that is within the compass of our understandings, even if it be impossible to bring out all or even the most essential points. Now, 7 or 7th is a term used in two different senses. There is the 7 inside the number 10. This consists of 7 units, and is determined by the sevenfold repetition of the unit. There is the 7 outside the number 10. This is a number starting throughout from the number 1 and formed by doubling it and going on doubling (7 times) or trebling, or multiplying by any other number in regular pro-
λογούντας ἀριθμούς, ὡς ἔχει ὁ ἐξηκοντατέσσαρα.
[22] καὶ ὁ ἐπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ
μονάδας διπλάσιον παραυξηθεῖς, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸν
τριπλάσιον. ἔκατερον δὲ εἴδος οὐ παρέργῳς ἐ̄πι-
σκεπτέον. τὸ μὲν δὴ δεύτερον ἐμφανεστάτην ἔχει
προνομίαν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδας συντιθεμένος
ἐν διπλασίοις ἢ τριπλασίοις ἢ συνόλως ἀνα-
λογούσιν ἐβδομος ἀριθμὸς κύβος τε καὶ τετράγωνος
ἔστιν, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἐν δη περιέχον τῆς τὲ ἀσωμάτων
καὶ σωματικῆς οὐσίας, τῆς μὲν ἀσωμάτων κατὰ
τὴν ἐπίπεδιον ἢν ἀποτελοῦσι τετράγωνοι, τῆς δὲ
σωματικῆς κατὰ τὴν στερεὰν ἢν ἀποτελοῦσι κύβοι.
92 σαφεστάτη δ' οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοί πίστις· αὐτίκα
ὁ ἀπὸ μονάδας ἐν διπλασίοις λόγω παραυξηθεῖς
ἐβδομος, ὁ τέσσαρος καὶ ἕξηκοντα, τετράγωνος μὲν
ἔστιν ὀκτάκις ὀκτὼ πολυπλασιασθέντων, κύβος δὲ
τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρα τετράκις· καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐν
τριπλασίοις λόγω παραυξηθεῖς ἀπὸ μονάδας ἐβ-
δομος, ὁ ἐπτακόσια εἰκοσιεννέα, τετράγωνοι μὲν
πολυπλασιασθέντος ἐφ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπτα καὶ εἴκοσι,
93 κύβος δὲ τοῦ ἐννέα ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἐννάκις. καὶ ἂν,
tὸν ἐβδομον ποιούμενος τις ἀντὶ μονάδας ἄρχὴν,
καὶ παραυξών κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν ἄχρις
ἐβδομάδος, εὑρήσει πάντως τὸν παραυξηθέντα
κύβον τε καὶ τετράγωνον· ἀπὸ γοῦν τὸν ἐξηκοντα-
tέσσαρα ὁ συντεθεὶς ἐν διπλασίοις λόγω γεννῆσει
ἐβδομον τὸν τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἐνεγκονταέξ, τετρά-
γωνον ὀμοῦ καὶ κύβον, τετράγωνον μὲν αὐτὸν
πλευράν ἔχοντα τὸν ἐξηκοντατέσσαρα, κύβον δὲ
τὸν ἐκκαίδεκα.
94 ΧΧΧΙ. Μεταβατέον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θάτερον ἐβδο-
μάδοις εἴδος τὸ περιεχόμενον ἐν δεκάδι, θαυμαστὴν
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gression; as, for example, the number 64 is the product of doubling from 1 onwards, and the number 729 that of trebling. Each of these forms claims more than casual notice. The second form, clearly has a very manifest superiority. For invariably the 7th term of any regular progression, starting from unity and with a ratio of 2, 3, or any other number, is both a cube and a square, embracing both forms, that of the incorporeal and that of the corporeal substance, the form of the incorporeal answering to the surface which is formed by squares, that of the corporeal answering to the solid which is formed by cubes. The plainest evidence of this are the numbers already mentioned: for instance, the 7th from 1 reached by going on doubling, i.e. 64, is a square, being 8 times 8, and a cube, being 4 times 4, again multiplied by 4: and again the 7th from 1 reached by progressive trebling, 729, is a square, being the product of 27 multiplied by itself, and the cube of 9, i.e. 9 times 9, again multiplied by 9. And invariably if one takes the 7th number for his starting-point instead of the unit, and multiplies in corresponding fashion up to a (fresh) 7th, he is sure to find the product both a cube and a square: for instance starting from 64 the number formed by continuous doubling will give us seventh 4096. This is at once a square and a cube—a square with 64 as its side and a cube with 16.

XXXI. We must pass on to the other kind of 7th, that which is contained within the decade. It
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ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττονα τοῦ προτέρου φύσιν. αὐτίκα συνέστηκε τὰ ἐπτὰ ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ δυοῖν καὶ τεττάρων ἔχοντων δύο λόγους ἀρμονικωτάτους, τὸν τε διπλάσιον καὶ τετραπλάσιον, τὸν μὲν τὴν διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν, τὸν δὲ τετραπλάσιον τὴν διὰ πασῶν ἀποτελοῦντα. περιέχει δὲ καὶ διαρέσεις ἄλλας, ξυγάδην τρόπον τινὰ συνεστώσας, ἐβδομᾶς διαμείνεται γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς μονάδα καὶ ἔξαδα, ἑπετα ὑπὸ δυάδα καὶ πεντάδα, καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τριάδα καὶ τετράδα.

96 μουσικωτάτη δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀναλογία τῶν ἀριθμῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ πρὸς ἐν ἔχει λόγον ἐξαπλάσιον, ὁ δὲ ἐξαπλάσιος λόγος τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι ποιεῖ διάστημα, ὡ διέστηκε τὸ διὰ πασῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρυτάτου, καθάπερ ἀποδείξομεν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριθμῶν μετέλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν ἀρμονίας λόγον· τὰ δὲ πέντε πρὸς δύο πλείστην ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυται, σχεδὸν ἐνάμιλλον τῇ διὰ πασῶν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ θεωρίᾳ σαφέστατα.

[23] παρίσταται τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα πρὸς τρία | τὴν πρώτῃ ἀρμονίαν ἀποτελεῖ, τὴν ἐπίτριτον, ὡτις ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν. XXXII. ἐπιδείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐτερον κάλλος αὐτής ἐβδομᾶς ιερῶτατον νοηθήναι. συνεστῶσα γὰρ ἐκ τριάδος καὶ τετράδος, τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐσι ἄκλινες καὶ ὀρθὸν φύσει παρέχεται· ὅπερ δὲ τρόπον, δηλωτέον. τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχή ποιητήτων, ἐξ ἀριθμῶν συνέστηκε τοῦ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· τὰ δὲ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα, ἀπερ ἐστὶν ἐβδομάδος οὐσία, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν ἀποτελεί· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλεία καὶ ὄξεια τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἀτακτον καὶ ἀνισον ἐμφαίνουσιν· ἀμβλυτέρα γὰρ καὶ ὄξυτέρα γίνεται ἐτέρα ἐτέρας· 76
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exhibits a marvellous nature, not at all inferior to that of the former kind. For instance 7 consists of 1 and 2 and 4, which have two relations making specially for harmony, the twofold and the fourfold, the one producing the diapason harmony, while the fourfold relation produces double diapason. 7 admits of other divisions besides these, in pairs like animals under a yoke. It is divided first into 1 and 6, then into 2 and 5, and last of all into 3 and 4. Most musical is the proportion of these numbers also: for 6 to 1 is a sixfold proportion, but the sixfold proportion makes the greatest distance that there is (in music), the distance from the highest to the lowest note, as we shall prove, when we pass from numbers to the proportion in harmonies. 5 : 2 exhibits the fullest power in harmonies, all but rivalling the diapason, a fact which is most clearly established in theoretical music. 4 : 3 yields the first harmony, the sesquitertian or diatessaron. XXXII. 7 (or "7th") exhibits yet another beauty belonging to it, a most sacred object for our mind to ponder. Being made up as it is of 3 and 4 it is a presentation of all that is naturally steadfast and upright in the universe. How it is this, we must point out. The right-angled triangle, the starting-point of figures of a definite shape, is made up of certain numbers, namely 3 and 4 and 5 : 3 and 4, the constituent parts of 7, produce the right angle: for the obtuse and acute angle are manifestations of irregularity and disorder and inequality: for one such angle can be more obtuse or more acute than another: whereas one right angle

*See Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, article "Musica."*
ορθή δ' οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται σύγκρισιν, οὔτ' ὀρθοτέρα γίνεται παρ' ἑτέραν, ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίω μένει, τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν οὐποτ' ἀλλάττουσα. εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὀρθόγωνον τρίγωνον σχήματων καὶ ποιοτήτων ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τούτω δὲ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, τὴν ὀρθὴν γνωσίαν, ἡ οὐσία τῆς ἐβδομάδος παρέχεται, τριάς ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράς, νομίζει οὖν ἐκκότως ἢ δὲ πηγή παντὸς σχήματος καὶ πάσης ποιότητος. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς εἰρημένους κάκεινο λέγοι' ἃν δεόντως, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τρία ἐπιπέδου σχήματὸς ἐστὶν ἀριθμός—ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον μὲν κατὰ μονάδα, γραμμὴ δὲ κατὰ δύαδα, ἐπίπεδον δὲ κατὰ τριάδα τετακταί—to δὲ τέσσαρα στερεοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς πρόσθεσιν, βάθους ἐπιπέδω προστεθέντος· ἕξ οὖ δὴλὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἐβδομάδος οὐσία γεωμετρίας καὶ στερεομετρίας ἀρχή καὶ, συνελόντι φράσι, ἀσωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ σωμάτων.

XXXIII. Τοσοῦτο δ' ἐν ἐβδομάδι πέφυκεν εἶναι τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς, ὡστ' ἔξαίρετον ἐχει λόγον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν δεκάδι πάντας αρίθμούς· ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ μὲν γεννώσιν οὐ γεννώμενοι, οἱ δὲ γεννώνται μὲν, οὐ γεννῶσι δὲ, οἱ δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ γεννᾶται· μόνη δ' ἐβδομάδας ἐν οὐδενὶ μέρει θεωρεῖται. τὴν δ' ὑπόσχεσιν ἀποδείξει βεβαιώτερον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν γεννᾶ τοὺς ἐχῆς ἀπαντας ἀριθμοὺς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς γεννώμενον τὸ παράπαν· τὰ δ' ὁκτὼ γενᾶται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ δις τέσσαρα, γεννᾶ δ' οὐδένα τῶν ἐν δεκάδι. ὥστε δ' αὖ τέσσαρα τὴν ἀμφοῖν καὶ γονέων καὶ ἐγκύων ἔχει τάξιν· γεννᾶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὁκτὸ δις γενῶμενος, γενᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δις 100 δύο. μόνος δ' ὡς ἔφην ὃ ἐπτὰ οὔτε γεννᾶν [24] πέφυκεν οὔτε γεννᾶσθαι. δι' ἦν | αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν 78
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does not admit of comparison with another, nor can it be more "right" than another, but remains as it is, never changing its proper nature. Now if the right-angled triangle is the starting-point of figures of a definite kind, and the essential factor in this triangle, namely the right angle, is supplied by the numbers which constitute 7, namely 3 and 4 together, 7 would reasonably be regarded as the fountain-head of every figure and every definite shape.

In addition to what we have already said we are bound to mention this further point, namely that 3 is the number belonging to a superficies—for a point falls under the head of 1, a line under that of 2, and a superficies of 3—while 4 belongs to a solid, by means of the addition of 1, depth being added to superficies. From this it is manifest that 7 is so constituted as to be the starting-point of all plane and solid geometry, or (to put it concisely) alike of things corporeal and incorporeal.

XXXIII. So august is the dignity inherent by nature in the number 7, that it has a unique relation distinguishing it from all the other numbers within the decade: for of these some beget without being begotten, some are begotten but do not beget, some do both these, both beget and are begotten: 7 alone is found in no such category. We must establish this assertion by giving proof of it. Well then, 1 begets all the subsequent numbers while it is begotten by none whatever: 8 is begotten by twice 4, but begets no number within the decade: 4 again holds the place of both, both of parents and of offspring; for it begets 8 by being doubled, and is begotten by twice 2. It is the nature of 7 alone, as I have said, neither to beget nor to be begotten. For this reason
άλλοι φιλόσοφοι τῶν ἀριθμῶν τούτων ἐξομοιούσι τῇ ἀμήτῳ Νίκη καὶ Παρθένω, ἂν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναφαίνησι λόγος ἔχει, οὐ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· τὸ γὰρ μήτε γεννῶν μήτε γεννώμενον ἀκίνητον μένει· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ ἢ γένεσις, ἐπεῖ (καὶ τὸ γεννῶν) καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον οὐκ ἀνεύ κινήσεως, τὸ μὲν ἵνα γεννηθῇ, τὸ δὲ ἵνα γεννηθῆ· μόνον δ' οὕτε κινοῦν οὕτε κινούμενον ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἁρχων καὶ ἡγεμών, οὗ λέγοιτ' ἂν προσηκόντως εἰκὼν ἐβδομάς. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Φιλόλαος ἐν τούτοις· "'Εστι γὰρ, φησίν, ἡγεμών καὶ ἁρχων ἁπάντων θεὸς εἰς ἄει ὑπ' ἱερών, μόνιμος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὁμοίος, ἐτερος τῶν ἄλλων.'

101 XXXIV. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀπαιθεῖς ἐπιδεικνυται ἐβδομάς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς μεγάλην καὶ συνεκτικωτάτην δύναμιν, * * * οἷς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα πέφυκε βελτιώσθαι, σελήνης τε περιόδοις. ὁ δὲ τρόπος, ἐπισκεπτέουν. ἀπὸ μονάδος συντεθεὶς ἐξῆς ο ἐπτὰ ἀριθμὸς γεννᾶ τὸν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλειον καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσομενον· ο δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἀποκαταστατικὸς ἐστὶ σελήνης, ἂφ' οὐ ἡρξατο σχῆματος λαμβάνειν αὔξησιν αἰσθητῶς, εἰς εκεῖνο κατὰ μείωσιν ἀνακαμπτοῦσης· αὔξεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης μηνοειδοῦς ἐπιλάμψεως ἄχρι διχοτόμου ἡμέρας ἐπτά, εἴθ' ἐτέρας τοσαύταις πλησιφαίς γίνεται, καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει διαυλοδρομοῦσα τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδόν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πλησιφαίος

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*a Or “Sovereign of the Universe.” Observe the sequel.
*b A Pythagorean philosopher of the 5th century B.C.
*c See App. p. 476.
other philosophers liken this number to the motherless and virgin Nikē, who is said to have appeared out of the head of Zeus, while the Pythagoreans liken it to the chief of all things: for that which neither begets nor is begotten remains motionless; for creation takes place in movement, since there is movement both in that which begets and in that which is begotten, in the one that it may beget, in the other that it may be begotten. There is only one thing that neither causes motion nor experiences it, the original Ruler and Sovereign. Of Him may be fitly said to be a symbol. Evidence of what I say is supplied by Philolaus in these words: "There is, he says, a supreme Ruler of all things, God, ever One, abiding, without motion, Himself (alone) like unto Himself, different from all others.”

XXXIV. In the region, then, of things discerned by the intellect only, 7 exhibits that which is exempt from movement and from passion; but in that of sensible things a most essential force [in the movements of the planets] from which all earthly things derive advantage, and in the circuits of the moon. How this is we must consider. Begin at 1 and add each number up to 7 and it produces 28. This is a perfect number and equal to the sum of its own factors. And the number produced is the number which brings the moon back to her original form, as she retraces her course by lessening till she reaches the shape from which she began to make perceptible increase; for she increases from her first shining as a crescent till she becomes a half-moon in seven days, then in as many more she becomes full-moon, and again returns the same way like a runner in the double race-course, from the
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ἐπὶ τὴν διχότομον ἐπτὰ πάλιν ἡμέρας, εἶτ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν μηνοείδη ταῖς ἱσοῖς· ἐξ ἃν ὁ λεχθεὶς ἀριθμὸς συμπεπλήρωται.

102 Καλεῖται δ' ἡ ἐβδομάς ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι καὶ τελεσφόρος, ἐπειδὴ ταύτη τελεσφορεῖται τὰ σύμπαντα. τεκμηριώσαιτο δ' ἃν τις ἐκ τοῦ πάν σώμα ὀργανικῶν τρισὶ μὲν κεχρησθαί διαστάσεσι, μήκει πλάτει καὶ βάθει, τέταρτοι δὲ πέρασι, σημεῖω καὶ γραμμῇ καὶ ἑπταφαίρει καὶ στερεῷ, δι' ὧν συντεθέντων ἀποτελεῖται ἐβδομάς. ἀμήχανον δ' ἢν τὰ σώματα ἐβδομάδι μετρεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐκ διαστάσεων τριῶν καὶ περατῶν τεττάρων σύνθεσιν, τοῦ τεσσάρων συμπεπλήρωται.

103 Ἡ ἐβδομάς καὶ ταῦτῃ δέ τρεῖς· πρώτῃ μὲν διάστασις, ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τὰ δύο, δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν δυοῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τρία, τρίτῃ δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα. ΧΑΙ δὲ τῶν εἰσχύμων ἐναργεστάτα παριστάται τὴν τελεσφόρον δύναμιν ἐβδομάδος καὶ αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι γήρως ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίας μετρούμεναι ταύτῃ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἐπταςτὶν ἐκφύσις ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· τοῦ δύνασθαι προίεσθαι σπέρμα γόνιμον· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῖσιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τετάρτῃ πρὸς ἱσοῖς ἐπίδοσις· πέμπτῃ δ' αὐτῶν ἡ ἐβδομάδος· ἐκτῇ δὲ συνέσεως ἀκμῇ· τῇ δὲ ἐβδομάδος· ἐκτῇ δὲ συνείσεως· τῇ δὲ ἐβδομάδος· ἐκτῇ δὲ συνείσεως· τῇ δὲ ἐβδομάδος·
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full to the half-moon in seven days as before, then from the half to the crescent in an equal number of days: these four sets of days complete the aforesaid number.

Now by those who are in the habit of giving words their proper force seven is called also "perfection-bringing," because by this all things in the material universe are brought to perfection. Proof of this may be derived from the circumstance that every organic body has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth, and four limits, point, line, surface, and solid; by adding which together we get seven. It would have been impossible that bodies should be measured by seven in accordance with their formation out of the three dimensions and the four limits, had it not been that the forms of the first numbers (1, 2, 3, and 4), the foundation of 10, already contained the nature of 7, for the numbers named have three intervals, that from 1 to 2, that from 2 to 3, and that from 3 to 4; and the four limits between which these intervals lie, 1, 2, 3, and 4.

XXXV. Beside the proofs already mentioned, the perfecting power of the number 7 is also shown by the stages of men's growth, measured from infancy to old age in the following manner: during the first period of seven years the growth of the teeth begins; during the second the capacity for emitting seed; in the third the growing of the beard; and in the fourth increase of strength; in the fifth again ripeness for marriage; in the sixth the understanding reaches its bloom; in the seventh progressive improvement and development of mind and reason; in the eighth the perfecting of both these; during the

\[a \text{ See App. p. 476.}\]
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ἔπειείκεια καὶ πραότης τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἡμερωθέντων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην τοῦ βίου τὸ εὐκταῖον τέλος, ἐτι τῶν ὀργανικῶν μελῶν συνεστηκότων· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ μακρὸν γῆρας ἔκαστον ύποσκελίζειν καὶ παραιρεῖσθαι· τὰς ἡλικίας ταύτας ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σόλων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νόμοθετης ἐλεγεία ποιῆσαι τάδε·

Παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἐών ἐτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἐπτ' ἔτεσιν· τοὺς δ' ἐτέρους ὁτε δὴ τελέσῃ τεδὸς ἐπτ' ἐνιαυτούς, ἦβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα γυνομένης· τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεξομένων ἐτὶ γνών λαχνοῦται, χροῆς ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶσ τις ἐν ἐβδομάδ' ἐστὶν ἄριστος ἱσχύν, ἢν τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς· πέμπτῃ δ' ὠριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι καὶ παῖδων ἦστείν ἐξοπίσω γενεῆν· τῇ δ' ἐκτῇ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἄνδρός, οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἐθ' ὡς ἐργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει· ἐπτ' δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλώσσαν ἐν ἐβδομάσιν μέγ' ἀριστός ὁκτὼ τ', ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη· τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἐτὶ μήν δύναται, μαλακώτερα δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν γλώσσα τε καὶ σοφία· τὴν δεκάτην δ' εἰ τις τελέσας κατὰ μέτρον ἱκοίτω, οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος εἰ ἐών μοῖραν ἐχοι θανάτων.

XXXVI. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Σόλων ἐβδομάσι δέκα ταῖς εἰρημέναις καταριθμεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπων βίον. ὁ δ' Ιατρὸς Ἰπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἐπτὰ εἰναι φησι, [26] παιδίου, παιδός, μειρακίου, νεανίσκου, ἄνδρός, πρεβύτου, γέροντος, ταύτας δὲ μετρεῖσθαι μὲν 84
ninth forbearance and gentleness emerge, owing to
the more complete taming of the passions; during
the tenth comes the desirable end of life, while the
bodily organs are still compact and firm; for pro­
longed old age is wont to abate and break down the
force of each of them. These ages of men’s life were
described by Solon the lawgiver of the Athenians
among others in the following lines:

In seven years the Boy, an infant yet unfledged,
Both grows and sheds the teeth with which his tongue is
hedged.
When heaven has made complete a second week of years,
Of coming prime of youth full many a sign appears.
In life’s third term, while still his limbs grow big apace,
His chin shows down; its early bloom now quits his face.
In the fourth heptad each one full of strength doth seem—
Strength, which of manly worth best earnest all men deem.
Let him in his fifth week of years a bride bespeak,
Offspring to bear his name hereafter let him seek.
The sixth beholds the man good sense all round attain;
Not now can reckless deeds as once his fancy gain.
Now see him seventh and eighth, fresh heptads, duly reach
In insight strongest now, strongest in power of speech.
In his ninth week of years, strong still but softer far
For high achievement’s venture speech and wisdom are.
Then should the man, ten bouts complete, attain life’s end
Fate, no untimely gift, death’s call may fitly send.

XXXVI. Solon, then, reckons the life of man by
the aforesaid ten weeks of years. And Hippocrates
the physician, says that there are seven ages, those
of the little boy, the boy, the lad, the young man, the
man, the elderly man, the old man, and that these
έβδομάςων, οὐ μὴν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ έξῆς. λέγει δ᾿ οὖτως. "Εν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἐπτά εἰσιν ὁδαί, ἄς ἡλικίας καλέουσιν, παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, ἀνήρ, πρεσβύτης, γέρων. καὶ παιδίον μὲν ἐστὶν ἄχρις ἐπτά ἐτῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς. παῖς δ᾿ ἄχρι γονής ἐκφύσιος, ἐς τὰ δὶς ἐπτά· μειράκιον δ᾿ ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσιος, ἐς τὰ τρίς ἐπτά· νεανίσκος δ᾿ ἄχρι αυξήσιος ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐς τὰ τεττάρικα ἐπτά· ἀνήρ δ᾿ ἄχρι ἐνὸς δέοντος ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα, ἐς τὰ ἐπτάκις ἐπτά· πρεσβύτης δ᾿ ἄχρι πεντήκοντα ἐξ, ἐς τὰ ἐπτάκις ὀκτώ· τὸ δ᾿ ἐντεύθεν γέρων."

Δέχεται δὲ κάκειν πρὸς διασύστασιν ἔβδομάδος ὡς θαυμαστὴν ἔχούσης ἐν τῇ φύσει τάξιν. ἐπεὶ συνέστηκεν ἐκ τριών καὶ τεττάρων· τὸν μὲν τρίτον ἀπὸ μονάδος, εἰ διπλασιάζοι τις, εὑρῆσε τετράγωνον, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον κύβον, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄμφοι ἔβδομον κύβον ὅμοι καὶ τετράγωνον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μονάδος τρίτος ἐν διπλασίον λόγω, <τέτταρα>, τετράγωνος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος, ὀκτώ, κύβος, ὁ δὲ ἔβδομος, τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα, κύβος ὅμοι καὶ τετράγωνος· ὡς εἶναι τελεσφόρον ὄντως τὸν ἔβδομον ἀριθμόν, ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ισότητας καταγγέλλοντα τὴν τ’ ἐπίπεδον διὰ τετράγωνον κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τριάδα συγγένειαν, καὶ τὴν στερεὰν διὰ κύβου κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τετράδα οἰκειότητα. ἐκ τριάδος δὲ καὶ τετράδος ἔβδομάς.

Εστὶ δὲ οὐ τελεσφόρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καί, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, ἀρμονικωτάτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πηγὴ τοῦ καλλίστου διαγράμματος, ὁ πᾶσας μὲν τὰς ἀρμονίας, τὴν διὰ τεττάρων, τὴν διὰ 86
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ages are measured by multiples of seven though not in regular succession. His words are: "In man's life there are seven seasons, which they call ages, little boy, boy, lad, young man, man, elderly man, old man. He is a little boy until he reaches seven years, the time of the shedding of his teeth; a boy until he reaches puberty, i.e. up to twice seven years; a lad until his chin grows downy, i.e. up to thrice seven years; a young man until his whole body has grown, till four times seven; a man till forty-nine, till seven times seven; an elderly man till fifty-six, up to seven times eight; after that an old man."

The following is also mentioned to commend the number 7 as occupying a wonderful place in nature, since it consists of $3 + 4$: if we multiply by 2, we shall find that the third number, counted from 1, is a square, and the fourth a cube, while the seventh (and 7 is made up of 3 and 4), is at once a square and a cube: for the third number in this multiplication by 2, namely 4, is a square, the fourth, 8, is a cube; the seventh, 64, is at once a cube and a square. Thus the seventh number does indeed bring with it perfection, claiming both correspondences, that with the superficies by means of the square, in virtue of its kinship with 3, and that with the solid body by means of the cube, in virtue of its relationship with 4; and 3 and 4 make 7.

XXXVII. It is however not only a bringer of perfection, but, one may say, absolutely harmonious, and in a certain sense the source of the most beautiful scale, which contains all the harmonies, that yielded by the interval of four, by the interval of five, by
πέντε, τὴν διὰ πασῶν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀναλογίας, τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν, τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀρμονικὴν περιέχει. τὸ δὲ πλυθίον συνέστηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀριθμῶν, εἰς ὅκτω ἐννέα δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν ὅκτω πρὸς εξ ἐν ἐπιτρίτω λόγῳ, καθ' ὃν ἥ διὰ τεττάρων ἀρμονία ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἐννέα πρὸς εξ ἐν ἠμιλώ, καθ' ὃν ἥ διὰ πέντε· ὁ δὲ δώδεκα πρὸς εξ ἐν διπλασίω, καθ' ὃν ἥ διὰ πασῶν.

108 ἔχει δὲ ὃς ἐλεγον καὶ τὰς ἀναλογίας πάσας· ἀριθμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν εξ καὶ ἐννέα καὶ δώδεκα· οἷς γὰρ ὑπέρεχει ὁ μέσος τοῦ πρῶτου τρισίν, τούτους ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου· γεωμετρικὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων· δὴ γὰρ λόγον ἔχει·

[27] τὰ ὅκτω πρὸς εξ, τοῦτον τὰ δώδεκα πρὸς ἐννέα· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπίτριτος· ἀρμονικὴν δὲ ἐκ τριών, τοῦ εξ καὶ ὅκτω καὶ δώδεκα. ἀρμονικής δ' ἀναλογίας διττῆς κρίσις· μία μὲν, ὅταν ὃν λόγον ἔχει ὁ ἐσχάτος πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τοῦτον ἔχει ἡ ὑπεροχή ἢ ὑπερέχει ὁ ἐσχάτος τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχήν ἢ ὑπερέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσου ὁ πρῶτος· ἐν-αργεστάτην δὲ πίστιν λάβοι τις ἃν ἐκ τῶν προ-κειμένων ἀριθμῶν, τοῦ εξ καὶ ὅκτω καὶ δώδεκα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τελευταίος τοῦ πρῶτου διπλάσιος, ἡ δ' ὑπεροχή πάλιν διπλάσια· τὰ μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα τῶν ὅκτω τέτταρσιν ὑπερέχει, τὰ δὲ ὅκτω τῶν εξ δυοί· τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα τῶν δυοί διπλάσια.

109 ἔτερα δὲ βάσανος τῆς ἀρμονικῆς ἀναλογίας, ὅταν ὁ μέσος τῶν ἄκρων ὅσοι μορίῳ <καὶ> ὑπερέχη καὶ ὑπερέχεται· ὁ γὰρ ὄγδοος μέσος ὃν ὑπερέχει μὲν τοῦ πρῶτου τρίτῳ μορίῳ· ύφαιρεθέντων γὰρ τῶν εξ, τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τριτον ἐστὶ τοῦ πρῶτου· ὑπερ-έχεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου τῷ ὅσῳ· εἰ γὰρ
the octave; and all the progressions, the arithmetic, the geometric, and the harmonic as well. The scheme is formed out of the following numbers: 6, 8, 9, 12. 8 stands to 6 in the proportion 4:3, which regulates the harmony of 4; 9 stands to 6 in the proportion 3:2, which regulates the harmony of 5; 12 stands to 6 in the proportion 2:1, which regulates the octave. And, as I said, it contains also all the progressions, the arithmetic made up of 6 and 9 and 12—for as the middle number exceeds the first by 3, so it in its turn is exceeded to the same amount by the last; the geometric, made up of the four numbers (6, 8, 9, 12); for 12 bears the same proportion to 9 that 8 does to 6, and the proportion is 4:3; the harmonic, made up of three numbers (6, 8, and 12). There are two modes of testing harmonic progression. One is this. (Harmonic progression is present) whenever the relation in which the last term stands to the first is identical with that in which the excess of the last over the middle term stands to the excess of the middle term over the first. A very clear proof may be obtained from the numbers before us, 6 and 8 and 12: for the last is double the first, and the difference or excess is also double; for 12 exceeds 8 by 4, and 8 exceeds 6 by 2, and 4 is twice 2. Another way of detecting the presence of harmonic proportion is this. (It is present) whenever the middle term exceeds the one extreme and is itself exceeded by the other by the same fraction; for 8 being the middle term exceeds the first by one-third of the latter, for when we subtract 6 (from 8) the remainder, 2, is one-third of the first number, and 8 is exceeded by the last number by

\[ \text{See note on 95.} \]
PHILO

υφαίρεθείη τῶν δώδεκα τὰ ὁκτώ, τὰ λοιπὰ τέσσαρα γίνεται τοῦ τελευταίου τρίτον.

111 XXXVIII. Ταύτα μὲν ἀναγκαίως περὶ σεμνότητος, ἂν ἔχει τὸ διάγραμμα, ἡ πλινθίον, ἡ ὁ τι χρή καλεῖν, προειρήσθω· τοσαύτα ἰδέας καὶ ἐτὶ πλείους ἐβδομάδας ἐν ἁσωμάτωσι καὶ νοητοῖς ἐπι- δείκνυται. διατείνει δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρατην ἀπασαν οὐσίαν, οὐράνον καὶ γῆν, τὰ πέρατα τοῦ παντός, φθάσασα. τί γὰρ οὐ φιλ- ἐβδομον τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μέρος, ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ δαμασθέν ἐβδομάδος; αὐτίκα τὸν οὐρανόν φασίν ἐπτὰ διεξώσθαι κύκλους, ὃν ὁνόματα εἶναι τάδε· ἀρκτικόν, ἀνταρκτικόν, θερινόν τροπικόν, χειμερινόν τροπικόν, ισημερινόν, ζωδιακόν, καὶ προσ- ἐτι γαλαξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ορίζων πάθος ἐστὶν ἡμέτερον, ὡς ἄν ὄξυνπιάς ἐχῇ τις ἡ τούναντιών, ἀποτεμνο- μένης τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττω τοτὲ δὲ

112 δαμασθέν ἐβδομάδος; αὐτίκα τὸν οὐρανόν φασίν ἐπτὰ διεξώσθαι κύκλους, ὃν ὁνόματα εἶναι τάδε· ἀρκτικόν, ἀνταρκτικόν, θερινόν τροπικόν, χειμερινόν τροπικόν, ισημερινόν, ζωδιακόν, καὶ προσ- ἐτι γαλαξίαν· ὁ γὰρ ορίζων πάθος ἐστὶν ἡμέτερον, ὡς ἄν ὄξυνπιάς ἐχῇ τις ἡ τούναντιών, ἀποτεμνο- μένης τῆς αἰσθήσεως τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττω τοτὲ δὲ

113 μείζω περιγραφήν. οὐ γε μὴν πλάνητες, ἡ ἀντίροπος στρατιά τῇ τῶν ἀπλάνων, ἐπτὰ διακοσμοῦνται τάξεις, πλειστην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι συμ- πάθειαν πρὸς ἀέρα καὶ γῆν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἐτησίους ἐπικαλομένας ώρας τρέπουσι καὶ μετα- βάλλουσι, καθ' ἐκάστην μυρίας ὅσα ἐμποιοῦντες μεταβολὰς, νηνεμίας, αἰθρίας, νεφώσει, βιαίων ἐξαισίων πνευμάτων· πάλιν τε ποταμοὺς πλημ- μυροῦσι καὶ μειοῦσι, καὶ πεδία λυμνάζουσι, καὶ τούναντιόν ἀφανίσουσι· καὶ πελάγων ἐργάζονται τροπάς ἐξαναχωροῦντων ἡ παλιρροίας χρωμένων· εὔρείς γὰρ ἔστω ὅτε κόλποι θαλάσσης ὑποσυρείς ἀμπιώτες, βαθὺς ἐξαίφνης αἰγιαλός εἰς, καὶ μικρὸν ύστερον ἀναχυθείσης, πελάγη βαθύτατα,

α See App. p. 475, note on 54.
the same fraction, for if 8 be subtracted from 12, the remainder 4 is one-third of the last number.

XXXVIII. Let what has been said suffice as a bare outline of the dignity pertaining to the figure or scheme or whatever we ought to call it: all these qualities and more still does 7 discover in the incorporeal and intellectual sphere. But its nature reaches further, extending to all visible existence, to heaven and earth, to the utmost bounds of the universe. For what part of the world’s contents is not a lover of seven, overcome by passion and desire for it? Let us give some instances. They tell us that heaven is girdled by seven zones, whose names are these: arctic, antarctic, that of the summer solstice, that of the winter solstice, equinox, zodiac, and beside these the milky way. The horizon is not one of these, for it is a thing of subjective observation, our eyesight, as it is keen or the reverse, cutting off, now a smaller, now a larger, circumference. Moreover, the planets, the heavenly host that moves counter to the fixed stars, are marshalled in seven ranks, and manifest large sympathy with air and earth. The one (the air) they turn and shift for the so-called annual seasons, producing in each of these seasons a thousand changes by times of calm, or fair weather, of cloudy skies, of unusually violent storms: they flood rivers and shrink them; they turn plains into marshes, and dry them up again: they produce tides in the sea, as it ebbs and flows: for at times broad gulfs, through the sea’s being withdrawn by ebbing, suddenly become a far-reaching stretch of sand, and a little later, as it is poured back, they become deep seas navigable not merely by small
οὐ βραχείας ἀλλὰ μυριοφόροις νυσιν εἰμπλεόμενα· καὶ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα, ζῷα τε αὖ καὶ φυτὰ καρποὺς γεννῶντα, αὔξουσι καὶ τελεσφοροῦσι τὴν ἐν ἐκάστους φύσιν ὀδηγεύειν παραπεσόντες, ὡς νέα παλαιὸς ἐπανθεὶν καὶ ἐπακμάζων πρὸς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τῶν δομέων.

XXXIX. "Ἀρκτος γε μὴν, ἢν φασὶ πλωτήρων εἶναι προπομπὸν, ἐξ ἐπτὰ ἀστέρων συνέστηκεν· εἰς ἣν ἀφορώντες κυβερνήται τὰς ἐν θαλάττῃ μυρίας ὄδους ἀνέτεμον, ἀπίστω πράγματι καὶ μείζον ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπῖνην ἐπιθέμενοι. στοχασμῷ γὰρ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀστέρων τὰς πρὶν ἀδηλομένας χώρας ἀνέβρεν, νήσους μὲν οἶ τὴν ἄπειρον οἰκοῦντες, νησιώται δὲ ἡπείροις· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου τῆς οὐσίας οὐρανοῦ καὶ θαλάττης ἄναδείχθηναι τοὺς μυχοὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ὅ τῶν πλειάδων χορῶς ἀστέρων ἐβδομάδι συμπεπλήρωται, ὥν αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἀποκρύψεις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἵτια γίνονται πᾶσιν δυνομένων μὲν γὰρ αὐλακὲς ἀνατείμυνται πρὸς σπόρον· ἡνίκα δ’ ἢν μέλλοσιν ἐπιτέλλειν, ἀμητὸν εὐαγγελίζονται, καὶ ἐπιτείλασαι χαίροντας γεωπόνον πρὸς συγκομιδὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγείρουσιν· οἱ δ’ ἀσμένοι τὰς τροφὰς ἀποτίθενται πρὸς τὴν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χρῆσιν. ὦ τε μέγας ἡγεμῶν ἡμέρας ἦλιος διττὰς καθ’ ἐκατον ἐναυτὸν ἀποτελῶν ἦμερας, ἐαρὶ καὶ μετοπῶρῳ, τῇ μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἐν κριὼ, τῇ δὲ μετοπωρίω ἐν ζυγῷ, ἐναργεστάτην παρέχεται πίστιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐβδομήν θεοπρεποῦς· ἐκατέρα γὰρ τῶν ἱση-
barges but by ships of many tons burden. Yes, and the planets cause all things on earth, living creatures and fruit-yielding plants, to grow and come to perfection, enabling, as they do, the natural power in each of them to run its full round, new fruits blossoming and ripening on old trees, to supply abundantly those who need them. 

XXXIX. The Great Bear, moreover, which is called the mariners' escort, consists of seven stars. Fixing their eyes on this, pilots cut those countless paths in the sea, undertaking an enterprise surpassing belief and human powers. For by keeping their eyes on the stars we have named they discovered countries hitherto unknown, dwellers on the continents discovering islands, and islanders continents. For it was meet that by heaven, purest of all things existing, should be revealed to the living creature best loved by God, even the human race, the secret recesses both of land and sea. Beside the cases already mentioned, the full tale of the band of Pleiades is made up of seven stars, whose appearances and disappearances are fraught with vast benefits to all men: for when they are setting, furrows are opened for sowing, and when they are about to rise, they announce reaping-time; and when they have risen, they make glad the workers on the land and rouse them to gather in the crops that meet their needs; and they blithely store up their food for daily use. The sun, too, the great lord of day, bringing about two equinoxes each year, in Spring and Autumn, the Spring equinox in the constellation of the Ram, and the Autumn equinox in that of the Scales, supplies very clear evidence of the sacred dignity of the 7th number, for each of the equinoxes occurs in a 7th
μεριών ἐβδόμω γίνεται μην, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἑορτάζειν διείρηται νόμῳ τὰς μεγάςτας καὶ δημοτελεστάτας ἑορτάς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ὁσα ἐκ γῆς τελειογονεῖται, ἐαρὶ μὲν ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁσα σπαρτά, μετοπώρῳ δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείστων ἀκροδρύων.

117 XL. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τὰ ἐπίγεια ἠρτη-
ται κατά τινα φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν, ὃ τῆς ἐβδο-
mάδος λόγος ἀνωθεν ἀρξάμενος κατέβη καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῖς θυντοῖς γένεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσας. αὐτίκα τῆς ἁμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἐπταχῇ σχίζεται, εἰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον· ἄ
dὴ πάντα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ νευροσπαστοῦμενα, τοτὲ μὲν ἡρεμεῖ
tοτὲ δὲ κινεῖται τὰς ἀρμοττούσας σχέσεις καὶ

118 κινήσεις ἐκαστοῦ. ὅμωσι δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος εἰ
tὸς ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσεις τά τ' ἐκτός καὶ ἑντός
μέρη, καθ' ἐκάτερον ἐπτα ἐνθήσει· τά μὲν ὁν ἐν
φανερῷ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ· κεφαλὴ, στέρνα, γαστήρ,
[29] διτταί χείρες, διτταί βάσεις· τὰ δ' ἑντός λεγόμενα
σπλάγχνα στόμαχος, καρδία, πνεύμων, σπλήν,

119 ἡπαρ, νεφρὸι δύο. παλίν δ' ἂν τὸ ἡγεμονικώ-
taton ἐν ἥπω κεφαλὴ τοῖς ἀναγκαιότατοι ἐπτὰ
χρήται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀκοαῖς ὑσιαὶ, ἀυλοῖς
μυκτήροις δυσὶν, ἐβδόμῳ στόματι, δι' οὗ γίνεται
θνητῶν μὲν, ὡς ἐφῃ Πλάτων, εἴσοδος, ἔξοδος δ' ἀφθαρτων· ἐπεισέρχεται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συτία καὶ
ποτά, φθαρτοῦ σώματος φθαρτά τροφᾶι, λόγοι δ' ἐξιάσων ἄθανάτου ψυχῆς ἄθανατοι νόμοι, δι' ὃν ὁ
λογικός βίος κυβερνᾶται.

Philo seems to have shared the belief of the later Jews.
month, and during them there is enjoined by law the keeping of the greatest national festivals, since at both of them all fruits of the earth ripen, in the Spring the wheat and all else that is sown, and in Autumn the fruit of the vine and most of the other fruit-trees.

XL. As, however, in accordance with a certain natural sympathy the things of the earth depend on the things of heaven, the principle of the number 7, after having begun from above, descended also to us and visited the races of mortals. For instance, if we leave the understanding out of sight, the remainder of our soul is divided into seven parts, namely five senses, the faculty of speech, last that of generation. All these, as in marionette shows, are drawn with strings by the understanding, now resting, now moving, each in the attitudes and with the movements appropriate to it. In like manner, should a man go on to examine the outer and inner parts of the body, he will find seven under each head. The visible parts are head, breast, belly, two hands, two feet. The inward parts, called entrails, are stomach, heart, lung, spleen, liver, two kidneys. Once more, the head, the most princely part in an animal, employs seven most essential parts, two eyes, as many ears, two nostrils, seventhly a mouth. Through this, as Plato says, mortal things have their entrance, immortal their exit; for foods and drinks enter it, perishable nourishment of a perishable body, but words issue from it, undying laws of an undying soul, by means of which the life of reason is guided. that their sacred year began in the spring, and their civil year in the autumn.

a See App. p. 476.

b Plato's contrast, however, is between ἀναγκαῖα and ἄριστα.

c Timaeus 75 ν. Plato's contrast, however, is between ἀναγκαῖα and ἄριστα.
XLI. That which according to kind is the noblest of the objects of sight, 
the number is involved in its nature—seven, for example, is the 
perception of the body, the numerical type, the form, the size, 
the color, the motion, the rest, and nothing else, has taken 
place, and all the changes of sound, seven are, the sensation, 
the weight, the perished, and the fourth a thick sound, the thin 
fifth, and the long sixth, and short seventh. 

Moreover, seven are, the upper, the lower, the right, the left, 
the front, the back, the one in the circle, and the one in the 
most of the objects of sight, he says, are of seven kinds.

a Literally, “according to kind.” The objects of sight, he means, are of seven kinds.
ON THE CREATION, 120–124

XLI. The objects which are distinguished by sight, the noblest of the senses, participate in the number of which we are speaking, if classified by their kinds: for the kinds which are seen are seven—body, extension, shape, size, colour, movement, quiescence, and beside these there is no other. The varieties of the voice too are seven in all, the acute, the grave, the circumflex, and fourthly the rough (or "aspirated"), and fifthly the thin (or "unaspirated") utterance, and sixthly the long, and seventhly the short sound. Likewise there are seven movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward, in a circle. These come out most distinctly in an exhibition of dancing. The discharges from the body also (it has been pointed out) are limited to the number named: for through the eyes tears pour out, through the nostrils purgings from the head, through the mouth expectorations of phlegm: there are also two receptacles for excretion of superfluities, one in front, one behind; and in the sixth place there is perspiration exuding through the whole body, and in the seventh place the natural normal emission of seed through the genital organs. Further Hippocrates, that expert in the processes of nature, says that in seven days both the solidifying of the seed and the formation of the embryo take place. Once again, for women the duration of the monthly cleansing is at the most seven days. Moreover the fruit of the womb is brought by nature to full ripeness in seven months, with a most strange result, namely that seven months' children come

\[ b \text{ i.e., "of how many dimensions."} \text{ The word may, perhaps, mean "distance" or "separation," i.e. from other bodies.} \]
PHILO

ἐπτάμηνα γόνιμα, τῶν ὀκτώμηνιαίων ὡς ἐπίπαν
125 ζωογονεῖσθαι µὴ δυναµένων. αἳ τε βαρεῖαι νόσοι
σωµάτων, καὶ µάλιστ' ὅταν ἐκ δυσκρασίας τῶν
ἐν ἑµῖν δυνάµεων πυρετοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπισκήψωσιν,
ἔβδοµη µάλιστα πως ἡµέρα διακρίνονται. δικάζει
γὰρ ἁγώνα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, τοῖς µὲν σωτηρίαν
ψηφιζοµένη, τοῖς δὲ θάνατον.

126 XLII. Ἡ δὲ δύναµις αὐτῆς οὐ µόνον τοῖς
eἰρηµένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις τῶν ἐπιστηµῶν
ἐπισκηνοῦσι, γραµµατικὴ τε καὶ µουσικὴ. λύρα
µὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐπτάχορδος, ἀναλογοῦσα τῇ τῶν πλα-
νήτων χορείᾳ, τὰς ἐλλογίµους ἀρµονίας ἀποτελεῖ,
σχεδὸν τι τῆς κατὰ µουσικὴν ὀργανοποιίας ἀπάσης
[30] ἠγεµονίας οὐσα. στοιχείων τε τῶν ἐν γραµµατικῇ
τὰ λεγόµενα φωνὴντα ἐτύµως ἐπτά ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐοικε φωνεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις
συνταττόµενα φωνὰς ἐνάρθρους ἀποτελεῖν· τῶν
µὲν γὰρ ἡµιφώνων ἀναπληροῖ τὸ ἐνδέον ὅλο-
κλῆρον κατασκευάζοντα τοὺς φθόγγος, τῶν δὲ
ἀφώνων τρέπει καὶ µεταβάλλει τὰς φύσεις ἐµ-
πνέοντα τῆς ἱδίας δυνάµεως, ἵνα γένηται τὰ
127 ἀρρητὰ ρήτα. διὸ µοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ὀνόµατα
τοῖς πράγµασιν ἐξ ἁρχῆς ἐπιφηµίσαντες ἀτε σοφοὶ
cαλέσαι τὸν ἀριθµὸν ἐπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν
σεβασµοῦ καὶ τῆς προσούσης σεµνότητος. Ὁ ὥ-
µαιοὶ δὲ καὶ προστιθέντες τὸ ἐλλειψθὲν ύφ' Ἐλ-
λήνων στοιχείον τὸ Σ τρανοῦσιν ἐτὶ µᾶλλον τὴν
ἐµφασιν, ἐτυµστερον σέπτεµ προσαγορεύοντες ἀπὸ
τοῦ σεµνοῦ, καθάπερ ἑλέχθη, καὶ σεβασµοῦ.

α ἐπτά is Greek for “seven.”
to the birth, whereas eight months' children as a rule fail to do so alive. Severe bodily sicknesses too, especially persistent attacks of fever due to internal disorder, generally reach the crisis on the seventh day; for this day decides the struggle for life, bringing to some recovery, to others death.

XLII. The number 7 exerts its influence not only in the spheres that have been mentioned, but also in those noblest of sciences, grammar and music. For the seven-stringed lyre, corresponding to the choir of the Planets, produces the notable melodies, and it is not going too far to say that the lyre is the rule to which the making of all musical instruments conforms. And among the letters in grammar there are seven properly called vowels or "vocals," since as is obvious they can be sounded by themselves, and when joined with the others can produce articulate sounds; for on the one hand they fill up what is lacking to the "semi-vowels," rendering the sounds full and complete, and on the other hand they change the nature of the "voiceless" (the consonants) by breathing into them something of their own power, that it may now be possible to pronounce letters before incapable of pronunciation. On these grounds I hold that those who originally fitted names to things, being wise men, called this number "seven" because of the "reverence" (σεβασμός) which it deserves, and the heavenly "dignity" (σεμνότης) pertaining to it. The Romans, who add the letter σ left out by the Greeks, make this appear still more clearly, since they, with greater accuracy, call the number septem, owing to its derivation, as I have said, from σεμνός (reverend) and σεβασμός ("reverence").
XLIII. Ταύτα καὶ ἕτι πλεῖον λέγεται καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται περὶ ἐβδομάδος, ὃν ἐνεκα τιμᾶς μὲν ἔλαχεν ἐν τῇ φύσει τὰς ἀνωτάτους, τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, οἵ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἐπιστήμην διαπνοοῦσιν, ἐκτετίμηται δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλαρέτου Μωυσέως, ὅς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀνέγραφεν ἐν ταῖς ἱερωτάταις τοῦ νόμου στήλαις, ταῖς δὲ διανοίασις τῶν υφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐνεχάραξε, δι᾽ ἐξ ἡμερῶν κελεύσας ἄγειν ἐφάνε ἐβδόμην, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχονται ἔργων, ὡσα κατὰ ἕτησιν βίου καὶ πορισμοῦ, εἰς μόνῳ σχολάζοντας τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν εἰς βελτίωσιν ἠθῶν καὶ τὸν τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλέγχον, ὡς ἐνιδρυμένοι τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ δικαστὴς ἐπιπλήττων οὐ δυσωπεῖται, τὰ μὲν σφραγίσας ἀπειλαῖς τὰ δὲ καὶ μετριωτέραις νουθεσίαις χρώμενοι, περὶ μὲν ὃν ἐδοξεν ἐκ προνοίας ἀδίκειν ἀπειλαῖς, περὶ δ᾽ ὃν ἀκούσια, διὰ τὸ ἀποροφάτως ἔχειν, νουθεσίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέθ᾽ ὀμοίως ὀλισθεῖν.

XLIV. Ἐπιλογιζόμενος δὲ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν κεφαλαιώδει τύπω φησίν. "Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πᾶν χλωρόν ἄγρον πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἄγρον πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). ἀρ᾽ οὖν ἐμφανῶς τὰς ἁσωμάτους καὶ νοητὰς ἱδέας παρίστησιν, ὡς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σφραγίδας εἶναι συμβέβηκε; πρὶν γὰρ 100
XLIII. These and yet more than these are the statements and reflections of men on the number 7, showing the reasons for the very high honour which that number has attained in Nature, the honour in which it is held by the most approved investigators of the science of Mathematics and Astronomy among Greeks and other peoples, and the special honour accorded to it by that lover of virtue, Moses. He inscribed its beauty on the most holy tables of the Law, and impressed it on the minds of all who were set under him, by bidding them at intervals of six days to keep a seventh day holy, abstaining from other work that has to do with seeking and gaining a livelihood, and giving their time to the one sole object of philosophy with a view to the improvement of character and submission to the scrutiny of conscience. Conscience, established in the soul like a judge, is never abashed in administering reproofs, sometimes employing sharper threats, sometimes gentler admonitions; threats, where the wrongdoing appeared to be deliberate; admonitions, to guard against a like lapse in the future, when the misconduct seemed unintentional and the result of want of caution.

XLIV. In his concluding summary of the story of creation he says: "This is the book of the genesis of heaven and earth, when they came into being, in the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every herb of the field before it appeared upon the earth, and all grass of the field before it sprang up" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Is he not manifestly describing the incorporeal ideas present only to the mind, by which, as by seals, the finished objects that meet our senses were moulded? For before the earth put forth its
Χλοήσαι τήν γῆν, αυτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων χλόη, φησίν, ἢν, καὶ πρὶν ἀνατείλαι 130 χόρτον ἐν ἀγρῷ, χόρτος ἢν οὐχ ὀρατός. ὑπονοητέων δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἄλλων ἡ δικά-
[31] ξουσιν αἰσθήσεις τὰ πρεσβύτερα | εἴδη καὶ μέτρα, οἷς εἰδοποιεῖται καὶ μετρεῖται τὰ γινόμενα, προὔπ-
ήρχε· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἄλλῳ πάντα διεξελήλυθε φροντίζων εἰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος βραχυλογίας, οὔδὲν ἢπτον τὰ ῥηθέντα ὁλίγα δείγ-
ματα τῆς τῶν συμπάντων ἑστὶ φύσεως, ἦτις ἄνευ ἀσωμάτου παραδείγματος οὐδὲν τελεσιούργει τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

131 XLV. Τῆς δ' ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὸν εἴρμον τῶν ἐπομένων πρὸς τὰ ἡγούμενα διατηρῶν ἐξῆς λέγει· “πηγὴ δ' ἀνέβαινεν εκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐποτίζε πάν τῷ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς” (Gen. ii. 6). οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι τὸ σύμπαν ύδωρ εἰν χτεΐον εἴναι φασί τῶν τεττάρων, ἐξ ὅν ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργήθη. Μωυσῆς δ', ἡξυωπεστεροὶ ὁμμασὶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ εἰσθώς εῦ μάλα θεωρεῖν καὶ κατα-
λαμβάνειν, στοιχεῖον μὲν οἶεται εἶναι τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν, μοῖραν τετάρτην τῶν συμπάντων, ἣν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν Ὄμεικαν προσαγορεύοντες τὰ παρ' ἦμῖν πλωτὰ πελάγη λιμένων ἐχεῖν μεγέθη νομί-
ζουσι, τὸ δὲ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον ύδωρ διέκρινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου, προσκατατάξας αὐτὸ τῇ γῇ καὶ μέρος ταύτης ὑπολαβῶν, οὐκ ἐκείνου, διὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν πρὸτερον, ἵν' ὡς ἃν υπὸ δεσμοῦ συνέχηται γλυκεία ποιότητι κόλλης τρόπον ἐνούσης· ἐνρὰ γὰρ ἀπολειφθείσα, μὴ παραδυνομένης νοτίδος
young green shoots, young verdure was present, he tells us, in the nature of things without material shape, and before grass sprang up in the field, there was in existence an invisible grass. We must suppose that in the case of all other objects also, on which the senses pronounce judgement, the original forms and measures, to which all things that come into being owe shape and size, subsisted before them; for even if he has not dealt with everything in detail but in the mass, aiming as he does at brevity in a high degree, nevertheless what he does say gives us a few indications of universal Nature, which brings forth no finished product in the world of sense without using an incorporeal pattern.

XLV. Keeping to the sequence of the creation and carefully observing the connexion between what follows and what has gone before, he next says: "and a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Other philosophers say that all water is one of the four elements out of which the world was made. But Moses, wont as he is with keener vision to observe and apprehend amazingly well even distant objects, does indeed regard the great sea as an element, a fourth part of the whole, which his successors, reckoning the seas we sail to be in size mere harbours compared to it, call Ocean; but he distinguished sweet drinkable water from the salt water, assigning the former to the land and looking on it as part of this, not of the sea. It is such a part, for the purpose already mentioned, that by the sweet quality of the water as by a uniting glue the earth may be bound and held together: for had it been left dry, with no moisture making its way in and spreading by many...
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dia tōn áraiomátωn polυσχιδώs épipfoitwósis, kān dielelūto. sunechetai de kai diámēnei tā mēn pnevúmatos ēnwtikou dunamei, tā de tēs votídos ouk ēwōsis āfanaivnoménēn kata trúphi mikrā kai 132 megalā thrůttesthai. mia mēn aitía ēde, lektéon de kai etérān stoχaζoménēn òster skopou tēs ālηtheias. ouðēn tōn γγενων āneu ὕγρασ ouσiās suneistasci péfυke. μηνύουs i de i katabolai tōn sperrmátωn, āper ἤ ὕγρα ēstīn, ὲσ tā tōn ξωων, ἤ ouk āneu ὕγροτηtatos blαstάnei, tοuαnta de tā tōn futων ēstīn. ēz ou dēlou ɔtī ānāγkη tēn lechθēsan ὕγραν ouσiān méros ēnai γῆs tēs pánta tiktouσh, kathāper tais γυναιξί tēn φorān tōn kataμηνίωn. légetai γαρ οūn kai ταυτa πρōs āndrωn φυσικων ouσiā sωματικη βρεφωn ēnai. 133 tōn de eiρηmēnōn ouk āpάidei kai tō mellōn légesθai. pásē μηtri kathāper αnαγκαιότατον méros ἡ φύσις πηgάζοntas ānedwke maσtouσ προ-eυτρεπισαμένη τροφάς τῷ γεννησομένω. μήtηr de ὲσ ἐοικε και ἡ γη, παρό και τοῖσ πρῶτοι ἐδοξεν αὐτὴν Δήμητραν καλέσαι τὸ μητρὸς καὶ γῆs ὧνομα συνθείσων. ou | γαρ γῆ γυναίκα, ὡς εἶπε Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆn meμίμηται, ἢν ἐτύμωs τὸ ποιητικὸν γένος παμμήτηρα καὶ καρποφόρον καὶ πανδώραν εἰώθεν ὄνομάζεν, ἐπειδὴ πάντων αἰτία γενέσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ζώων ὰμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ēstīn. εἰκότωs ouν καὶ γῆ τῇ πρεβυτάτῃ καὶ γονημωτάτῃ μητέρων ἀνέδωκεν ἡ φύσις οἶδα μα- στοὺς ποταμῶν ρεῖθρα καὶ πηγῶν, ἴνα καὶ tā 104
channels through the pores, it would have actually fallen to pieces. It is held together and lasts, partly by virtue of the life-breath that makes it one, partly because it is saved from drying up and breaking off in small or big bits by the moisture. This is one reason, and I must mention another which is a guess at the truth. It is of the nature of nothing earth-born to take form apart from wet substance. This is shown by the depositing of seeds, which either are moist, as those of animals, or do not grow without moisture: such are those of plants. From this it is clear that the wet substance we have mentioned must be a part of the earth which gives birth to all things, just as with women the running of the monthly cleansings; for these too are, so physical scientists tell us, the bodily substance of the *fetus*. And what I am about to say is in perfect agreement with what has been said already. Nature has bestowed on every mother as a most essential endowment teeming breasts, thus preparing in advance food for the child that is to be born. The earth also, as we all know, is a mother, for which reason the earliest men thought fit to call her ‘Demeter,’ combining the name of ‘mother’ with that of ‘earth’; for, as Plato says, earth does not imitate woman, but woman earth. Poets quite rightly are in the habit of calling earth ‘All-mother,’ and ‘Fruit-bearer’ and ‘Pandora’ or ‘Give-all,’ inasmuch as she is the originating cause of existence and continuance in existence to all animals and plants alike. Fitly therefore on earth also, most ancient and most fertile of mothers, did Nature bestow, by way of breasts, streams of rivers and springs, to the end that both the plants might be

\[a\] *Menexenus* 238 ά.

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ϕυτὰ ἄρδευτο καὶ ποτὸν ἀφθονον ἕχοι πάντα τὰ ζῶα.

XLVI. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φησιν ὅτι "ἐπλάσεν ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς" (Gen. ii. 7). ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου παρώντων ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἄνθρωπου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον· ὃ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητὸς ἁπάντων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ φυχῆς συνεστῶς, ἀνὴρ ἡ γυνὴ, φύσει θυητός· ὃ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑδέω τις ἡ γένος ἡ σφαγία, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὐτ’ ἄρρεν οὐτ’ ἁφθαρτος.

XLVII. Ἐκείνος δ’ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὁ
ON THE CREATION, 133–136

watered and all animals might have abundance to drink.

XLVI. After this he says that "God formed man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7). By this also he shows very clearly that there is a vast difference between the man thus formed and the man that came into existence earlier after the image of God: for the man so formed is an object of sense-perception, partaking already of such or such quality, consisting of body and soul, man or woman, by nature mortal; while he that was after the (Divine) image was an idea or type or seal, an object of thought (only), incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible. It says, however, that the formation of the individual man, the object of sense, is a composite one made up of earthly substance and of Divine breath: for it says that the body was made through the Artificer taking clay and moulding out of it a human form, but that the soul was originated from nothing created whatever, but from the Father and Ruler of all: for that which He breathed in was nothing else than a Divine breath that migrated hither from that blissful and happy existence for the benefit of our race, to the end that, even if it is mortal in respect of its visible part, it may in respect of the part that is invisible be rendered immortal. Hence it may with propriety be said that man is the borderland between mortal and immortal nature, partaking of each so far as is needful, and that he was created at once mortal and immortal, mortal in respect of the body, but in respect of the mind immortal.

XLVII. That first man, earth-born, ancestor of
γηγενής, ὁ παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγέτης, ἐκάτερον ἄριστος ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα γεγενηθεὶς μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μακρῷ τινι τοὺς ἐπειτα διενεγκεῖν κατὰ τὰς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ύπερβολὰς· ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείας καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐτὸς ὄντως ἦν. τεκμηριώσατο δ' ἂν τις τὴν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐυμορφίαν ἐκ τριῶν, ὃν ἄρτι πρῶτον τὸδε ἀρτι τῆς γῆς [33] νεοκτίστου φανείσης κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ | ύδατος διάκρισιν, ὁ προσερρῆθη θάλαττα, τὴν ὕλην συνέβαινε τῶν γυνομένων ἀμιγὴ καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καθαρὰν ἐτι δ' ὅλκον καὶ εὔεργὸν εἶναι, ἐξ ἂς τὰ ἀπο-137 τελούμενα εἰκότως ἢν ἀνυπαίτια. δεύτερον δὲ, οὖκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος μέρους τῆς γῆς έοικεν ὁ θεὸς χοῦν λαβὼν τὸν ἀνθρωποειδῆ τοῦτον ἀνδριάντα πλάττειν έθελήσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτως σπουδῆς, ἄλλα διακρίνας εξ ἀπάσης τὸ βέλτιστον, ἐκ καθαρᾶς υλῆς τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ διηθημένων ἄκρως, ὁ πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν μάλιστα ἡμοζευσίων γάρ τις τῆς νεώς ἔρος ἔτεκταινετο ψυχῆς λογικῆς, ὃν ἐμελλεν ἀγαλματοφόρησειν ἀγαλ-138 μάτων τὸ θεοεἰδέστατον. τρίτον δὲ, ὁ μηδὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, ὁ δημιουργὸς ἄγαθός ἦν τὰ τε ἀλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὃς ἔκαστον τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν καὶ ἵδια καθ' αὐτὸ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας ἐχεῖν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου κοινωνίαν εὐαρμόστως ἀπηκριβῶσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ εὐσαρκίαν προσανέπλαττε καὶ εὐχροιαν ἡθογράφει βουλόμενος, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα, κάλλιστον οφθήναι τὸν πρῶτον ἀν-139 θρωπον. XLVIII. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος

a “Beautiful and good” meant to a Greek “perfect,” “as it should be.”
ON THE CREATION, 136–139

our whole race, was made, as it appears to me, most excellent in each part of his being, in both soul and body, and greatly excelling those who came after him in the transcendent qualities of both alike: for this man really was the one truly "beautiful and good." a The fair form of his body may be gathered from three proofs. The first is this. When, at the severing of the great mass of water, which received the name of "sea," the newly formed earth appeared, the material of the things to come into existence was, as a result, pure and free from mixture or alloy, and also supple and easy to work, and the things wrought out of it naturally flawless.

Secondly, God is not likely to have taken the clay from any part of the earth that might offer, or to have chosen as rapidly as possible to mould this figure in the shape of a man, but selecting the best from it all, out of pure material taking the purest and most subtly refined, such as was best suited for his structure; for a sacred dwelling-place or shrine was being fashioned for the reasonable soul, which man was to carry as a holy image, of all images the most Godlike.

The third proof, incomparably stronger than the two that have been given, is this, that the Creator excelled, as well as in all else, in skill to bring it about that each of the bodily parts should have in itself individually its due proportions, and should also be fitted with the most perfect accuracy for the part it was to take in the whole. And together with this symmetry (of the parts) He bestowed on the body goodly flesh, and adorned it with a rich complexion, desiring the first man to be as fair as could be to behold. XLVIII. That in soul also he was most excellent is manifest;
Ην, φανερόν· ουδὲν γάρ ἔτερῳ παραδείγματι τῶν ἐν γενέσει πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῆς έοικε χρήσασθαι, μόνω δ᾽ ὡς ἐπον τῷ ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ. διὸ φησιν ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα γεγενήσθαι τούτοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐμπνευσθέντα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος, ἀις τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐψύχωσεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λογισμὸν ἐνυδρυσάμενος τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ παρέδωκε δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς χρωμάτων καὶ φωνῶν χυλῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἀντιλήψεις, ὅσ᾽ ἀνευ αἰσθήσεως δ᾽ αὐτοῦ μόνου καταλαβεῖν οὐχ ὁδὸν τῇ ἴν. ἀνάγκη δὲ παγκάλου παραδείγματος πάγκαλου εἶναι τὸ μίμημα. θεοῦ δὲ λόγος καὶ αὐτοῦ κάλλους, ὅπερ ἐστίν ἐν τῇ φύσει κάλλος, ἀμείνων, οὐ κοσμούμενος κάλλει, κόσμος δ᾽ αὐτός, εἰ δεῖ τάλθες εἰπεῖν, εὔπρεπε· στατος ἐκεῖνον.

140 XLIX. Τοιούτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος κατά τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν γεγενήσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, τοὺς τε νῦν ὅντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν διενεκῶν ἀπαντασ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρα γένεσις εἰς ἄνθρωπον, τὸν δὲ θεὸς ἐκδημιουργήσεν· ἐφ᾽ ὅσον δὲ κρείττων ὁ ποιῶν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ γυνόμενον ἀμείνων· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἀκμάζον αἰεὶ τοῦ παρηθηκότος βελτίων ἐστὶν, εἰτε ζῷων εἰτε φυτῶν εἰτε καρπῶς εἰτ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τυγχάνοι, οὕτως ἐσκεῖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος διαπλασθεὶς ἄνθρωπος ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἡμετέρου παντὸς ὑπάρξει γένους, οἱ δ᾽ ἔπειτα μηκέτθ᾽ ὀμοίως ἐπακμάσαι, τῶν κατὰ γενεάν ἀμαυροτέρας ἀεὶ τάς 141 τε μορφὰς καὶ τᾶς δύναμεις· λαμβανόντων· ὅπερ [34] εἶτε τῇ πλαστικής καὶ ψυχραφίας γυνόμενον εἰδον· ἀποδεὶ γὰρ τὰ μιμήματα τῶν ἀρχετύπων, τὰ δ᾽
ON THE CREATION, 139-141

for the Creator, we know, employed for its making no pattern taken from among created things, but solely, as I have said, His own Word (or Reason). It is on this account that he says that man was made a likeness and imitation of the Word, when the Divine Breath was breathed into his face. The face is the seat of the senses. By the senses the Creator endowed the body with soul. To the senses, when He had installed the sovereign Reason in the princely part of man’s being, He delivered it to be by them escorted to the apprehension of colours and sounds, as well as of flavours and scents and the like. The Reason, apart from perception by the senses, was unable by itself alone to apprehend these. Now the copy of a perfectly beautiful pattern must needs be of perfect beauty. But the Word of God surpasses beauty itself; beauty, that is, as it exists in Nature. He is not only adorned with beauty, but is Himself in very truth beauty’s fairest adornment.

XLIX. Such was the first man created, as I think, in body and soul, surpassing all the men that now are, and all that have been before us. For our beginning is from men, whereas God created him, and the more eminent the maker is, so much the better is the work. For as that which is in bloom is always better than that whose bloom is past, be it animal or plant or fruit or aught else in nature, so the man first fashioned was clearly the bloom of our entire race, and never have his descendants attained the like bloom, forms and faculties ever feeblest having been bestowed on each succeeding generation. I have observed the same thing happening in the case of sculpture and painting: the copies are inferior to the originals, and what is painted or moulded
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απὸ τῶν μυμημάτων γραφόμενα καὶ πλαττόμενα πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀτε μακρὰν ἀφεστῶτα τῆς ἀρχῆς· παραπλήσιον δὲ πάθος καὶ ἡ μαγνήτις λίθος ἐπιδεικνυται· τῶν γὰρ σιδηρῶν δακτυλίων ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ψαύσας βιαοτάτα κρατεῖται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ψαύσαντος ἦττον, ἐκκρέμαται δὲ καὶ τρίτος δευτέρου, καὶ τέταρτος τρίτου, καὶ πέμπτος τετάρτου, καὶ ἐτέρων ἐτεροί, κατὰ μακρὸν στοῖχον, ὑπὸ μᾶς ὁλκοῦ δυνάμεως συνεχόμενοι, πλὴν ὦ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρρῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπρητημένοι χαλῶνται, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὅλην ἀνίεσθαι μηκέθ' ὁμοίως σφίγγειν δυναμένην. ὁμοίων δὲ τι πεπονθέναι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἄνθρώπων φαινεται, καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν ἀμφοτέρας λαμβανόντων τὰς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις καὶ ποιότητας.

142 Τὸν δ' ἀρχηγότην ἐκεῖνον οὐ μόνον πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνον κοσμοπολίτην λέγονται ἀφευδέστατα ἔροῦμεν· ὢν γὰρ οἶκος αὐτῶ καὶ πόλις ὁ κόσμος, μηδεμᾶς χειροποιητοῦ κατασκευῆς δεδημιουργημένης ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἕλεσθαι, ὡς καθάπερ ἐν πατρίδι μετὰ πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἐνδικητάτο, φόβου μὲν ἐκτός ὦν, ἀτε τῆς τῶν περιγείων ἡγεμονίας θαυμασθείς, καὶ πάντων ὡς θυμῆτα κατεπτηχθῶν καὶ ὑπακούειν ὡς δεσπότη δεδιδαγμένων ἡ βιασθέντων, ἐν εὐπαθείαις δὲ ταῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπολέμω ὑπὸ ἀνεπιλήπτως.

143 Λ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσα πόλις εὔνομος ἔχει πολιτείαν, ἀναγκαίως συνεβαίνει τῷ κοσμοπολίτῃ χρησθαι πολιτεία ἢ καὶ σύμπαις ὁ κόσμος· αὕτη δὲ ἔστων ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὁρθὸς λόγος, ὃς κυριωτέρα κλήσει προσονομάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θείος ὦν, καθ'
from the copies still more so, owing to their long distance from the original. Much the same appears in the case of the magnet: for the iron ring which touches it is held most forcibly, but that which touches this one less so. A third hangs on to the second, and a fourth on to the third, and a fifth on to the fourth, and so on in a long series, all held together by one attracting force, only not all alike, for those removed from the starting-point get looser all the time, owing to the attraction being relaxed and losing its power to grip as it did before. Man-kind has evidently undergone something of the same kind. As generation follows generation the powers and qualities of body and soul which men receive are feebler.

If we call that original forefather of our race not only the first man but also the only citizen of the world we shall be speaking with perfect truth. For the world was his city and dwelling-place. No building made by hand had been wrought out of the material of stones and timbers. The world was his mother country where he dwelt far removed from fear, inasmuch as he had been held worthy of the rule of the denizens of the earth, and all things mortal trembled before him, and had been taught or compelled to obey him as their master. So he lived exposed to no attack amid the comforts of peace unbroken by war. L. Now since every well-ordered State has a constitution, the citizen of the world enjoyed of necessity the same constitution as did the whole world: and this constitution is nature's right relation, more properly called an "ordinance," or "dispensation," seeing it is a divine law, in accordance with which there was duly appor-
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δὲν τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα ἐκάστους ἀπ- 
ενεμῆθη. ταύτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας έδει 
tινὰς εἶναι πρὸ ἀνθρώπων πολίτας, οἱ λέγουντ’ ἂν 
ἐνδίκως μεγαλοποιήται, τὸν μέγιστον περίβολον 
οίκειν λαχόντες, καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ τελειοτάτῳ 
πολιτεύματι ἐγγραφέντες. οὔτοι δὲ τίνες ἂν εἶε 
ὅτι μὴ λογικά καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις, αἱ μὲν ἀσώμαται 
καὶ νοηταί, αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ σωμάτων, ὁποίους συμ-
βέβηκεν εἶναι τοὺς ἀστέρας; οἳ προσομιλῶν καὶ 
συνδιαιτώμενοι εἰκότως ἐν ἀκράτῳ διετριβεῖν εὐ-
δαιμονία· συγγενής τε καὶ ἀγχίστορος ὁν τοῦ ἡγε-
μόνος, ἅτε δὴ πολλῷ βιέντως εἰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου 
pνεύματος, πάντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν έσπού-

dαξεν εἰς ἀρεσκείαν τοῦ πατρός καὶ βασιλέως, 

[35] ἔπόμενος κατ’ ἱχνος αὐτῷ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὅδοῖς, 

διὸτι μόναις φυχαῖς θέμις 

προσέρχεσθαι τέλος ήγουμέναις τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεν-

νήσαντα θεον εξομοίωσιν.

145 Λ. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν πρώτου φύντος ἀνθρώπου τὸ 

καθ’ ἐκάτερον ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα κάλλος, εἰ καὶ 

πολλῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλαττον, ἄλλ’ οὖν κατὰ τὴν 

ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὡς οἶν τὸν εἰρηταί. τοὺς δ’ 

ἀπογόνους τῆς ἑκείνου μετέχοντας ἰδέας ἀναγκαῖον 

eἰ καὶ ἀμυδροὺς ἄλλ’ οὖν ἐτί σώζειν τοὺς τύπους 

τῆς πρὸς τὸν προπάτορα συγγενείας. ἢ δὲ συγ-

146 γένεια τῖς; τὰς ἀνθρώπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν 

ζήκεισαι λόγῳ θείω, τῆς μακρίας φύσεως ἐκ-

μαγείαν ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονός, κατὰ 

dὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἀπαντὶ τῷ 

κόσμῳ. συγκέκραται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ 

ὑδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοι-

χείων εἰςενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκ-
ON THE CREATION, 143–146

tioned to all existences that which rightly falls to
them severally. This State and polity must have
had citizens before man. These might justly be
termed people of the Great City, having had allotted
to them as their dwelling-place the greatest compass,
and having been enrolled in the greatest and most
perfect commonwealth. And who should these be
but spiritual and divine natures, some incorporeal
and visible to mind only, some not without bodies,
such as are the stars? Conversing and consortling
with these man could not but live in unalloyed bliss,
and being of near kin to the Ruler, since the divine
Spirit had flowed into him in full current, he earnestly
endeavoured in all his words and actions to please
the Father and King, following Him step by step in
the highways cut out by virtues, since only for souls
who regard it as their goal to be fully conformed to
God who begat them is it lawful to draw nigh to
Him.

LI. Of the beauty of the first-made man in each
part of his being, in soul and body, we have now said
what falls perhaps far short of the reality but yet
what for our powers was possible. It could not but
be that his descendants, partaking as they did in
the original form in which he was formed, should
preserve marks, though faint ones, of their kinship
with their first father. Now what is this kinship?
Every man, in respect of his mind, is allied to the
divine Reason, having come into being as a copy or
fragment or ray of that blessed nature, but in the
structure of his body he is allied to all the world,
for he is compounded of the same things, earth,
water, air, and fire, each of the elements having
contributed the share that falls to each, to complete

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πλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὑλής, ἢν ἐδει λαβεῖν τὸν
dημομυγόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύως τῆν ὁρατὴν ταύτην
eἰκόνα. καὶ προσέτι πᾶσι τοῖς λεχθεῖ-
σιν ὡς οἰκειοτάτοις καὶ συγγενεστάτοις χω-
ρίοις ἐνδιατάται, τόπους ἁμείβων καὶ ἄλλοτε
ἀλλοις ἐπιφοιτῶν, ὡς κυριώτατα φάναι τὸν ἀν-
θρωπον πάντα εἶναι, χερσαῖον, ἐνυδρον, πτηνόν,
ουράνον. ἢ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεὶ καὶ βέβηκεν ἐπὶ γῆς,
χερσαῖον ζωὸν ἑστιν, ἢ δὲ δύτεται καὶ νῆχεται καὶ
πλεὶ πολλάκις, ἐνυδρο—ἐμποροι καὶ ναύπληροι
καὶ πορφυρεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τήν ἑπ' ὀστρέους καὶ ἱχθύ-
σιν ἀγραν μετάσι τοῦ λεχθέντος εἰσο σαφεστάτη
πίστις—ἡ δὲ μετέωρον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνώφοιτον
ἐξήρται τὸ σώμα, λέγοι τὸν ἐνδίκως ἀερόπορον
εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐράνον, διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικω-
τάτης τῶν αἴσθησεων ὁφέως καὶ σελήνη καὶ
ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν
συνεγγύζων.

147 LII. Παγκάλως δὲ καὶ τήν θέσιν τῶν ὄνομάτων
ἀνήψε τῷ πρώτῳ (Gen. ii. 19): σοφίας γὰρ καὶ
βασιλείας τὸ ἔργον, σοφὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτομαθῆς
καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος, χερσι θείαις γενόμενος, καὶ
προσέτι βασιλεύς: ἐμπρεπές δ' ἡγεμόν προσ-
αγορεύειν ἐκαστον τῶν ὑπηκόων. οπερβάλλοσα δ'
[36] ὃς εἰκὸς | δύναμις ἀρχής ἢν περὶ τῶν πρῶτων
ἐκεῖνον ἀνθρωπον, ὅν σπουδῇ διαπλάσας ὁ θεὸς
ἡξίον δευτερεῖων, ὑπαρχον μὲν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα τυθείς, ὅποτε καὶ οἱ
tοσαύταις γενεαῖς υστερον φύντε, ἢδ' τοῦ γένους
diὰ μακρὰς χρόνων περιόδους ἐξιτήλου ὄντος,
οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐτὶ δεσπόζουσι τῶν ἀλόγων, καθάπερ

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a material absolutely sufficient in itself for the Creator to take in order to fashion this visible image. Moreover, man is at home in all the elements named, as in places fully congenial and akin to him, ever changing his sphere and haunting now one, now another of them. Thus we can say with strict propriety that man is all four, as being of land and water and air and sky. For in so far as he dwells and moves upon the ground, he is a land-animal; so far as he often dives and swims and often sails, he is a water-creature—merchants and shipmasters and fishers for purple-fish and oyster-dredgers and fishermen generally are the clearest evidence of what I have said—; so far as his body ascends and is raised aloft from the earth, he would justly be said to be an air-walker. He may besides be said to be heavenly, for by means of sight, the most dominant of his senses, he draws near to sun and moon and each of the other planets and fixed stars.

LII. Quite excellently does Moses ascribe the bestowal of names also to the first man (Gen. ii. 19): for this is the business of wisdom and royalty, and the first man was wise with a wisdom learned from and taught by Wisdom's own lips, for he was made by divine hands; he was, moreover, a king, and it befits a ruler to bestow titles on his several subordinates. And we may guess that the sovereignty with which that first man was invested was a most lofty one, seeing that God had fashioned him with the utmost care and deemed him worthy of the second place, making him His own viceroy and lord of all others. For men born many generations later, when, owing to the lapse of ages, the race had lost its vigour, are none the less still masters of the creatures that are
λαμπάδιον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου
149 διαδοθέν φυλάττοντες. φησιν οὖν ὅτι
πάντα τὰ ζώα ἐγαγέν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἄδαμ,
ἵδειν βουλόμενος τῖνας θήσεται προσρήσεις ἑκά-
στοις, οὐχ ὅτι ἐνεδοίαζεν—ἀγνωστον γὰρ οὐδὲν
θεώ—ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἦδει τὴν λογικὴν ἐν θνητῷ φύσιν
κατεσκευακὼς αὐτοκύνητον, ὅπως ἁμέτοχος αὐτὸς
ἡ κακίας. ἀπεπειράτο δ’ ὅσ σφηγητῆς γνωρίμου,
τὴν ἐνδιάθέτον ἐξιν ἀνακινῶν καὶ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
τῶν οἰκείων ἀνακαλῶν ἔργων, ἐὰν ἀπαυμοματίσῃ
τὰς θέσεις μῆτ’ ἁνοικείους μῆτ’ ἀναρμόστους, ἀλλ’
ἐμφαινοῦσας εὐ μᾶλα τὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἰδιό-
150 τητας. ἀκράτου γὰρ ἐτί τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ὑπ-
αρχοῦσης ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἀρρωστήματος ἡ
νοσήματος ἡ πάθους παρεισεληνυθότος, τὰς φαν-
τασίας τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ἀκραφυ-
στάτας λαμβάνων, εὐθυβόλους ἐποιεῖτο τὰς κλῆσεις,
εὖ μᾶλα στοχαζόμενος τῶν δηλουμένων, ὥσ ἀμα
λεχθῆναι τε καὶ νοηθῆναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν.
οὕτως μὲν ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς καλοῖς διέφερεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ
τὸ πέρας φθάνων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας.
151 LIII. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν γενέσει βέβαιον,
τροπὰς δὲ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίως τὰ θνητὰ
dέχεται, ἔχρην καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπολαύ-
σαι τῶν κακοπραγίας. ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ὑπατίου
ζωῆς αὐτῶ γίνεται γυνῆ. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἡν,
ὀμοιοῦτο κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν κόσμῳ καὶ θεῷ,
καὶ τῆς ἐκατέρου φύσεως ἐναπεμάττετο τῇ ψυχῇ

a See App. p. 476.
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without reason, keeping safe a torch—a (as it were) of sovereignty and dominion passed down from the first man. So Moses says that God brought all the animals to Adam, wishing to see what appellations he would assign to them severally. Not that he was in any doubt—for to God nothing is unknown—but because He knew that He had formed in mortal man the natural ability to reason of his own motion, that so He Himself might have no share in faulty action. No, He was putting man to the test, as a teacher does a pupil, kindling his innate capacity, and calling on him to put forth some faculty of his own, that by his own ability man might confer titles in no wise incongruous or unsuitable, but bringing out clearly the traits of the creatures who bore them. For the native reasoning power in the soul being still unalloyed, and no infirmity or disease or evil affection having intruded itself, he received the impressions made by bodies and objects in their sheer reality, and the titles he gave were fully apposite, for right well did he divine the character of the creatures he was describing, with the result that their natures were apprehended as soon as their names were uttered. So greatly did he excel in all noble traits, thus attaining the very limit of human happiness.

LIII. But since no created thing is constant, and things mortal are necessarily liable to changes and reverses, it could not but be that the first man too should experience some ill fortune. And woman becomes for him the beginning of blameworthy life. For so long as he was by himself, as accorded with such solitude, he went on growing like to the world and like God, and receiving in his soul the impres-
τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὐ πάντας ἰδί’ ὅσους χωρήσαι δυνατὸν θητὴν σύστασιν· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπλάσθη καὶ γυνὴ, θεασάμενος ἄδελφον εἴδος καὶ συγγενῆ μορφὴν ἤσμενισε τῇ θεᾶ καὶ προσώπων ἡσπάζετο. 152 ἡ δ’ οὐδὲν ἐκείνου προσβλέπουσα ζώων ἐμφε- ρέστερον ἐαυτῇ γάνυται τε καὶ ἀντιπροσβάλεται μετ’ αἴδους· ἐρως δ’ ἐπιγενόμενος καθάπερ εἶνος ζώου διττὰ τμῆμα διεστηκότα συναγαγῶν εἰς ταυτὸν ἄρμόττεται, πόθον ἐνδυρσάμενος ἐκατέρω τῆς πρὸς θάτερον κοινωνίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου γένεσιν· ὁ δὲ πόθος οὗτος καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἦδον ἐγέννησε, ἦτις ἐστὶν ἄδικημάτων καὶ [37] παρανομημάτων ἐρχή, δι’ ἧν ὑπαλλάττονται τὸν θητὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βίον ἀντ’ ἀθανάτου καὶ εὐδαίμονος. 153 LIV. Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μονήρη βίον ζῶντος, μήπω διαπλασθείσης τῆς γυναικὸς, φυτεύθηναι λόγος ἔχει παράδεισον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τοῖς παρ’ ἦμῖν οὐδὲν προσεοικότα (Gen. ii. 8 f.). τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἑστὶν ἄψυχος ἡ ύλη, παντοῖον δένδρων κατάπλεως, τῶν μὲν άειθαλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἄψευσιν ἀδιάστατον ἦδον, τῶν δὲ ταῖς έαριναΐς ὑβραίς ἤβωντων καὶ βλαστανόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἢμερον καρπὸν ἀνθρώπους φερόντων, οὐ πρὸς ἀναγκαίαι μόνον χρήσιν τροφῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περίττην ἀπόλαυσιν ἄβροδιαίτου βίου, τῶν δ’ οὐχ ἢμοιον, δε ἀναγκαίως θερίως ἀπενεμήθη· κατὰ δὲ τὸν θεῖον παράδεισον ἐμφυχα καὶ λογικά φυτὰ πάντ’ εἶναι συμβέβηκε, καρπὸν φέροντα τὰς ἄρετας καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἀδιάφθορον σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν, ἃς γνωρίζεται τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ, ζωῆν τ’ ἀνοσον καὶ
sions made by the nature of each, not all of these, but as many as one of mortal composition can find room for. But when woman too had been made, beholding a figure like his own and a kindred form, he was gladdened by the sight, and approached and greeted her. She, seeing no living thing more like herself than he, is filled with glee and shamefastly returns his greeting. Love supervenes, brings together and fits into one the divided halves, as it were, of a single living creature, and sets up in each of them a desire for fellowship with the other with a view to the production of their like. And this desire begat likewise bodily pleasure, that pleasure which is the beginning of wrongs and violation of law, the pleasure for the sake of which men bring on themselves the life of mortality and wretchedness in lieu of that of immortality and bliss.

LIV. While the man was still leading a life of solitude, the woman not having been yet formed, a park or pleasance, we are told, was planted by God, quite unlike the pleasures with which we are familiar (Gen. ii. 8 f.): for in them the wood is soulless; they are full of trees of all sorts, some ever-blooming to give uninterrupted joy to the eye, some bursting forth with young life every spring: some again bearing cultivated fruit for man, not only for use by way of necessary nourishment, but also for his superfluities, for the enjoyment of a life of luxury; while others yield a different kind of fruit, supplied to the wild beasts to satisfy their actual needs. But in the divine park or pleasance all plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit, and beside these insight and discernment that never fail, by which things fair and ugly are recog-
PHILO

άφθαρσιαν καὶ πᾶν εἰ τι τούτους ὁμοιότροπον.

ταῦτα δὲ μοι δοκεῖ συμβολικῶς μᾶλ-

λον ἡ κυρίως φιλοσοφεῖσθαι: δένδρα γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς

οὔτε πέφηνε πτω πρότερον οὐτ’ αὖθις εἰκὸς φανεῖ-

σθαι ζωῆς ἡ συνέσεως· ἀλλ’ ὡς έοικεν αἰνίττεται
diā μὲν τοῦ παραδείγματος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικὸν,

ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατάπληκτον ὅλα φυτῶν μυρίων οὐσιῶν
dοξῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δένδρου τῆς ζωῆς τὴν μεγίστην

τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσέβειαν, δι’ ἢ ἄθανατίζεται ἡ

ψυχή, διὰ δὲ τοῦ καλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν γνωριστικοῦ

φρόνησιν τῆν μέσην, ἢ διακρίνεται ταναντία

155 φύσει. Λ. V. θέμενος δὲ τούτους τοὺς

ὀροὺς ἐν ψυχῇ καθάπερ δικαστής ἐσκόπει, πρὸς

πότερον ἐπικλίνως ἔξει. ὡς δὲ εἴδε ἔπουσαν

μὲν ἐπὶ πανουργίαν, εὐσεβείας δὲ καὶ ὀσιότητος

ὁλιγωροῦσαν, ἔξ ὃν ἡ ἄθανατος ζωὴ περιγίνεται,

προβάλετο κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ

τοῦ παραδείγματος, μηδ’ ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰσαθῆς ἐπανόδου

dυσίατα καὶ ἀθεράπευτα πλημμέλησι παρὰ

ψυχῆς παρασκών, ἔπει καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀπάτης πρόφασις

ἐπίηστος ἦν οὔ μετρίως, ἦν οὔκ άξιον παρα-

156 σωπῆσαι. Λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἱοβόλον καὶ

γηγενὲς ἐρπετὸν [ὄφις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προτεσθαί,

καὶ ποτὲ προσελθόν τῇ τοῦ πρῶτον φύντος

ἀνδρὸς γυναικὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἄγαν

εὐλαβείας ὀνειδίσαι, διότι μέλλει καὶ ὑπερτίθεται

πάγκαλον ὀφθήναι καὶ ἡδιστὸν ἀπολαυσθὴνα

καρπόν δρέπεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον,

ὡ δυνήσεται γνωρίζειν ἀγαθὰ τε αὕτῃ καὶ κακά·

* Or "the cause of their deception," i.e. the serpent, Pleasure.

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nized, and life free from disease, and incorruption, and all that is of a like nature. This description is, I think, intended symbolically rather than literally; for never yet have trees of life or of understanding appeared on earth, nor is it likely that they will appear hereafter. No, Moses evidently signifies by the pleasance the ruling power of the soul which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants; and by the tree of life he signifies reverence toward God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good and evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other.

LV. Having set up these standards in the soul, He watched, as a judge might, to see to which it would tend. And when He saw it inclining to wickedness, and making light of holiness and godly fear, out of which comes the winning of immortal life, He cast it forth, as we might expect, and drove it from the pleasance, giving the soul which committed offences that defy the healer’s skill, no hope of a subsequent return, inasmuch as the reason given for their deception was in a high degree blameworthy. This we must not leave unexplained. It is said that in olden time the venomous earthborn crawling thing could send forth a man’s voice, and that one day it approached the wife of the first man and upbraided her for her irresoluteness and excessive scrupulosity in delaying and hesitating to pluck a fruit most beauteous to behold and most luscious to taste, and most useful into the bargain, since by its means she would have power to recognize
τὴν δὲ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀβεβαιοῦ καὶ ἀνιδρύτου συναινεσάσια, ἐμφαγεῖν τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μεταδοῦναι—καὶ τούτ’ ἐξαπίνασι ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἀκακίας καὶ ἀπλότητος ήθῶν εἰς πανουργίαν μετέβαλεν—· ἐφ’ ὃ τὸν πατέρα χαλεπήναντα—ἡ γὰρ πράξεις ὀργῆς ἀξίω, ἐπεὶ παρελθόντες τῷ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτῶν, τὴν ἀρετῆς παντελείαν, ὦ ὅς μακραίων καὶ εὐδαιμονία βίων ἐδύναντο καρποῦσθαι, τὸν ἐφήμερον καὶ θνητὸν οὐ βίων ἀλλὰ χρόνον κακοδαιμονίας μεστὸν εἰλοντο—κολάσεις ὁρίσαι κατ’ αὐτῶν τὰς προσηκοῦσας. 157 LVI. "Εστι δὲ ταύτα οὐ μῦθον πλάσματα, οἷς τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ σοφιστικὸν χαίρει γένος, ἀλλὰ δείγματα τύπων ἐπ’ ἀληθομένοις παρακαλοῦντα κατὰ τὰς δι’ ὑπονοιών ἀποδόσεις. ἔπομενος δὲ τις εἰκότι στοχασμῷ φήσει προσηκοῦντως τὸν εἰρημένον ὁφιν ἡδονῆς εἶναι σύμβολον, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ζώον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ καὶ ἀληθομένου συμβολοῦ ἐπὶ γαστέρα, δεύτερον δ’ ὃτι γῆς βωλῶν σιτίω χρήται, τριτον δ’ ὃτι τὸν ἰὸν ἐπιφέρεται τοῖς ἀναφίταις, ὃ τοὺς δηχθέντας ἀναιρεῖν πέφυκεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ὁ φιλήδονος ἀμοιρεῖ· μόλις τε γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρει βαρυνόμενος καὶ καθελκόμενος, ἐκτραχηλιζομένης καὶ ὑποσκελιζομένη τῆς ἀκρασίας· σιτεῖται τε οὐκ ὑπόνοιον προφήτην, ἤν ὄρεγε τοῖς φιλοθεάμοις διὰ λόγων καὶ δογμάτων σοφία, τὴν δ’ ἀναδιδομένην ἐκ γῆς κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας, ἐξ ὃς οίνοφλυγίαι καὶ ὕψοφαγίαι

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things good and evil. It is said that she, without looking into the suggestion, prompted by a mind devoid of steadfastness and firm foundation, gave her consent and ate of the fruit, and gave some of it to her husband; this instantly brought them out of a state of simplicity and innocence into one of wickedness: whereat the Father in anger appointed for them the punishments that were fitting. For their conduct well merited wrath, inasmuch as they had passed by the tree of life immortal, the consummation of virtue, from which they could have gathered an existence long and happy. Yet they chose that fleeting and mortal existence which is not an existence but a period of time full of misery.

LVI. Now these are no mythical fictions, such as poets and sophists delight in, but modes of making ideas visible, bidding us resort to allegorical interpretation guided in our renderings by what lies beneath the surface. Following a probable conjecture one would say that the serpent spoken of is a fit symbol of pleasure, because in the first place he is an animal without feet sunk prone upon his belly; secondly because he takes clods of earth as food; thirdly because he carries in his teeth the venom with which it is his nature to destroy those whom he has bitten. The lover of pleasure is exempt from none of these traits, for he is so weighted and dragged downwards that it is with difficulty that he lifts up his head, thrown down and tripped up by intemperance: he feeds not on heavenly nourishment, which wisdom by discourses and doctrines proffers to lovers of contemplation, but on that which comes up out of the earth with the revolving seasons, and which produces drunkenness, daintiness, and greedi-
καὶ λαμαργίαι, <αἴ> τάς γαστρός ἐπιθυμίας προσαναρρηγνύσαι καὶ ἀναρρητίζουσι [καὶ ἀνδρι-ποδίζουσι.] πρὸς γαστριμαργίας συναιξίουσι καὶ ἀναρρηγνύσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπογαστρίους οἰστρων· σιτοπόνων τε γάρ καὶ ὅφαρτων κάματον ἐπι-λιχνεύει, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων κνίσης ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιάγων μεταλαμβάνειν [τῆς εἰδεχθείας] ὀρέγεται, καὶ ὅποτε πολυτελὴ τράπεζαν θεάσατο, καταβαλόν αὐτὸν ὅλον ἐπὶ τὰ εὐτρεπιθέντα ἐκχειται, πάντων ἄθροων σπου- δάζων ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τέλος οὐ κόρον ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπολείπεσθαι τῶν εὐτρεπιθέντων ποιομένοις. ὃθεν ἦγε τὸν ὅφεως ἐν τοῖς ὀδούσι ἐνπεφέρεται 159 τοῦ ἰὸν· ὅτοι γὰρ εἰσὶν ἀπληστίας ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπουργοί, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πρὸς ἑδωδὴν τέμνοντες τε καὶ λεαῖνοντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γλώττῃ παρα- δίδοντες τῇ χυλοῦς δικαζούσῃ πρὸς ἐπίκρισιν, [39] ἐπειτὰ δὲ φάρυγγι| σιτίων δὲ ἀμετρία θανατῶδες φύσει καὶ ἱοβόλαν, ἀτε πέμψ ὕμη ἐνδεχομένων διὰ τὴν τῶν ἑπεισώντων φοράν, ἡ γίνεται πρὶν 160 ἐξικμασθῆναι τὰ πρότερα. φωνὴν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ὅφις λέγεται προείσθαι, διότι μυρίους ὑπερμάχοις καὶ προαγωνισταῖς ἠδονὴ χρήται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν αὐτῆς ἀνεληφόσιν, οἱ τολμῶσιν ἀναιδιάσκειν ὁτι πάντων τὸ κράτος ἀνήπται μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, οὐδενός ὑπεξηρημένον τὸ παράπαν. LVII. ἀλλ᾽ αἳ τε πρῶτα τοῦ ἀρρενος πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ σύνῳδοι ἕξεναγὸν ἕχουσιν ἠδονὴν, αἳ τε σποραὶ καὶ γενέσεις διὰ ταῦτης συνίστανται, τὰ τε γεννάμενα οὐδενὶ πρῶτον

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a Cf. De Somniis i. 49 ἐν κύκλῳ <κινών> περιάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν.

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NESS. THESE, CAUSING THE CRAVINGS OF THE BELLY TO BURST OUT AND FANNING THEM INTO FLAME, MAKE THE MAN A GLUTON, WHILE THEY ALSO STIMULATE AND STIR UP THE STINGS OF HIS SEXUAL LUSTS. FOR HE LICKS HIS LIPS OVER THE LABOUR OF CATERERS AND CONFECTIONERS, AND TWISTING HIS HEAD ABOUT ALL ROUND STRAINS TO CATCH SOME OF THE STEAM AND SAVER OF THE DELICACIES. WHENEVER HE BEHOLDS A RICHLY SPREAD TABLE, HE FLINGS DOWN HIS WHOLE PERSON AND TUMBLIES UPON THE DISHES SET OUT, EAGER TO DEVOUR ALL AT ONCE. HIS AIM IS NOT TO SATE HIS HUNGER, BUT TO LEAVE NOTHING THAT HAS BEEN SET BEFORE HIM UNDEVOURED. HENCE WE SEE THAT NO LESS THAN THE SERPENT HE CARRIES HIS POISON IN HIS TEETH. THESE ARE THE AGENTS AND MINISTERS OF EXCESS, CUTTING AND CHEWING ALL EATABLES, HANDING THEM OVER FIRST TO THE TONGUE, THE JUDGE OF SAVOURS, FOR ITS DECISION, THEN TO THE GULLET. IMMORATE EATING IS BY ITS NATURE DEADLY AND POISONOUS, FOR WHAT IS EATEN HAS NO CHANCE OF BEING ASSIMILATED, Owing to the rush of the fresh viands which takes place before those already swallowed have been digested. AGAIN THE SERPENT IS SAID TO EMIT A HUMAN VOICE. THIS IS因为 PLEASURE EMPLOYS TEN THOUSAND CHAMPIONS AND DEFENDERS, WHO HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO LOOK AFTER HER AND STAND UP FOR HER, AND WHO DARE TO SPREAD THE DOCTRINE THAT SHE HAS ASSUMED UNIVERSAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER SMALL AND GREAT, AND THAT NO ONE WHATEVER IS EXEMPT THEREFROM.

LVII. AND CERTAINLY THE FIRST APPROACHES OF THE MALE TO THE FEMALE HAVE PLEASURE TO GUIDE AND CONDUCT THEM, AND IT IS THROUGH PLEASURE THAT BEGETTING AND THE COMING OF LIFE IS BROUGHT ABOUT, AND THE OFFSPRING IS

\[b\] \text{SEE APP. P. 476.}\]
οἰκειοῦσθαι πέφυκεν ἡ ταύτη, χαίροντα μὲν ἡδονῇ, τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν ἀλγηδόνα δυσχεραίνοντα· παρό καὶ ἀνακλαίεται τὸ βρέφος ἀποκυνθέν, ἀλγήσαν ὡς εἰκὸς τῇ περιψύξει· ἐκ γὰρ θερμοτάτου καὶ πυρωδεστάτου χωρίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν μήτραν, οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδητήθη, προελθοῦν ἐξαπιναίως εἰς ἀέρα, ψυχρὸν καὶ ἀσυνήθη τόπον, ἐπιλήθη καὶ τῆς οδύνης καὶ τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλγηδόνι τὰ κλαύματα δείγμα παρέσχεν ἐναργεστάτων. οπεύδει τε, φασί, πᾶν ζώον ὡς ἐπ' ἀναγκαίοτατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον τέλος ἡδονῆν καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπός· τὰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ γεύσεως μόνον καὶ τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐφίεται ταύτης, ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπός καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεως, ὥσα θεάματα ἡ ἀκούσματα τέρψιν δύναται παρασχεῖν ὠσι καὶ οὐθαλμοῖς μεταδιώκων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παμπληθή πρὸς ἐπαίνων τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὡς ἐστὶν οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ συγγενεστάτους ζώοις. LVIII. ἀπόχρη δὲ δείγματος ένεκα καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, ὅν χάριν ἀνθρωπίνην φωνὴν ἐδοξέων ὁ ὀφις προέσθη. διὸ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος νόμοις, ὅτι περὶ ζώων ἔγραψεν ἀ τεχνή προσφέρεσθαι καὶ τούναντίον, ἐπανέσθαι μάλιστα τὸν ὀφιομάχην ἐπικαλούμενον (Lev. xi. 22) —ἐρπετὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἔχον ἄνωτέρω σκέλη τῶν ποδῶν, οἷς ἀπὸ γῆς πέφυκε πηδᾶν καὶ μετέωρον αἰρεθαι καθάπερ τὸ τῶν ἀκρίδων γένος—. ὁ γὰρ ὀφιομάχης οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἡ συμβολικός ἐγκράτεια εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, μάχην ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ πόλεμον ἀσπονδοὺν ἐκφέρουσα πρὸς ἀκρασίαν καὶ ἡδονήν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐτελείαν καὶ ὀλιγοδείαν καὶ ὅσον ἀναγκαίον φιλαυστήρω καὶ σεμνῷ βίῳ διαφερόντως
naturally at home with nothing sooner than pleasure, delighting in it and feeling distress at pain its contrary. This is why the infant when born actually weeps aloud, chilled most likely by the cold all round it; for when, leaving a place of fiery warmth in the womb, which for a long time it has tenanted, it suddenly issues into the air, a cold and unaccustomed place, it is taken aback and utters cries, a most clear sign of its pain and its annoyance at suffering. And they tell us that every living creature hastens after pleasure as its most necessary and essential end, and man above all: for while other creatures seek pleasure only through taste and the organs of reproduction, man does so through the other senses as well, pursuing with ears and eyes all such sights and sounds as can afford delight. A very great deal more is said in praise of pleasure, and of the great closeness of its connexion and kinship with living creatures. LVIII. But what has now been said is enough to show why the serpent seemed to utter a human voice. It is for this reason, I think, that even in the detailed laws, where the lawgiver writes about animals, laying down which may be eaten and which may not, he especially praises the "snake-fighter" as it is called (Lev. xi. 22). This is a reptile with legs above its feet, with which it springs from the ground and lifts itself into the air like a grasshopper. For the snake-fighter is, I think, nothing but a symbolic representation of self-control, waging a fight that never ends and a truceless war against intemperance and pleasure. Self-control welcomes beyond measure simplicity and abstemiousness and so much as is requisite for a severe and lofty mode of life;
PHILO

ασπάζεται, ἡ δὲ περιεργίαι καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ἡ χλιδῆς καὶ θρύψεως αἴτια γίνεται ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, δι’ ὅν τὴν ὑπαίτιον καὶ θανάτου χαλεπώτεραν ζωήν παρὰ τοῖς εὔ φρονοῦσι συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι.

165 LIX. Τὰς δὲ γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτας αὐτῆς ἱδονῆς τῶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐ τολμᾶ προσφέρειν, τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐκεῖνω, πάνυ προσφυώς καὶ εὐθυβόλως. ἐν ἥμιν γὰρ ἄνδρὸς μὲν ἔχει λόγον ὁ νοῦς, γυναικὸς δ’ αἰσθησις. ἱδονὴ δὲ προτέραις ἐντυγχάνει καὶ ἐνομιλεῖ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, δι’ ὅν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενακίζει. ἔπειδὰν γὰρ ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὸις φίλτροις αὐτῆς ὑπαχθῆ, χαίρουσα τοῖς προτεινομένοις, ἐπὶ χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποικιλίαις ὤψις, ἐπὶ δὲ φωνῶν ἐμμελείαις ἁκοή, ἐν δὲ χυλῶν ἡδύτησι γεῦσις, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων ἀτμῶν εὐωδίαις ὀσφρήσις, δεξάμεναι τὰ δύσρα θεραπαινίδων τρόπων προσφέρουσιν οἷα δεσπότη τῷ λόγισμῷ, παράκλητον ἐπαγόμεναι πειθῶ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπώσασθαι τὸ παράπαν· ὁ δ’ αὐτίκα δελεάσθη τὰς ὑπήκοους καὶ δοῦλος ἀντὶ δεσπότου καὶ ἀντὶ πολίτου φυγάς καὶ θνητὸς ἀντὶ ἀθανάτου γίνεται. συνόλως γὰρ οὐκ ἄγνοιτέον ὅτι, οὐδ’ ἑταιρίς καὶ μαλχᾶς οὖσα, ἱδονὴ γλίχεται τυχεῖν ἐραστοῦ καὶ μαστροπούς ἀναζητεῖ· δι’ ὅν τοῦτον ἀγκιστρεύσεται· μαστροπεύουσι δ’ αὐτή καὶ προζενοῦσι τὸν ἑρώντα αἰσθήσεις, ἄσ δελεάσασα ἐραστοῦ ὑπηγάγετο τὸν νοῦν, ὡ τὰ φανάραι ἐκτὸς εἴσι κομίζουσι διαγγέλλουσι καὶ ἐπιδείκνυνται, τοὺς τύπους ἐκάστων ἐνσφραγιζόμεναι, καὶ τὸ ὀμοιόν ἐνεργαζόμεναι πάθος.
intemperance gives a like welcome to superfluity and extravagance, which induce softness and voluptuousness in soul and body, and these result in the culpable life, the life that in the view of right-minded people is worse than death.

LIX. Pleasure does not venture to bring her wiles and deceptions to bear on the man, but on the woman, and by her means on him. This is a telling and well-made point: for in us mind corresponds to man, the senses to woman; and pleasure encounters and holds parley with the senses first, and through them cheats with her quackeries the sovereign mind itself: for when each sense has been subjugated to her sorceries, delighting in what she proffers, the sense of sight in variegated colours and shapes, that of hearing in harmonious sounds, that of taste in delicate savours, and that of scent in the fragrance of perfumes which it inhales, then all of them receive the gifts and offer them like handmaids to the Reason as to a master, bringing with them Persuasion to plead that it reject nothing whatever. Reason is forthwith ensnared and becomes a subject instead of a ruler, a slave instead of a master, an alien instead of a citizen, and a mortal instead of an immortal. In a word we must never lose sight of the fact that Pleasure, being a courtesan and a wanton, eagerly desires to meet with a lover, and searches for panders, by whose means she shall get one on her hook. It is the senses that act as panders for her and procure the lover. When she has ensnared these she easily brings the Mind under her control. To it, dwelling within us, the senses convey the things seen without, reporting them fully and making them manifest, impressing on it the forms of the several objects, and producing in it
κηρώ γὰρ ἐοικὼς δέχεται τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φαντασίας, ἀις τὰ σώματα καταλαμβάνει δι’ αὐτοῦ μὴ δυνάμενος, καθάπερ εἶπον ἥδη.

167 LX. Τὰ δ’ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἡδονῆς εὐθὺς εὐραντο οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι δοῦλοι χαλεποῦ καὶ δυσιάτου πάθους· ἢ μὲν γυνὴ σφοδρὰς ἀνίας ἐνδεξαμένη τὰς ἐν ὠδίσι, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον βίον λύπας ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ἐπὶ τέκνους γεννωμένους καὶ τρεφομένους καὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ γυμνοῦσι καὶ εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσι, εἰτ’ ἀφαίρεσι ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόντος ἀνδρὸς δεσποτείαν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πειθαρχεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· ὁ δ’ ἀνήρ ἐν μέρει πόνους καὶ ταλαιπωρίας καὶ συνεχεῖς ἱδρώτας ἕνεκα πορισμοῦ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ στέρησιν μὲν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν, ἀπερ ἐδιδάχθη φέρειν ἡ γῆ δίχα γεωργικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἀτρύτων δὲ μετουσίαν καμάτων εἰς ζήτησιν βιου καὶ τροφῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λιμῷ παραπολέσθαι.

168 οὕμαι γὰρ ἄν ὠσπερ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἀεὶ φωσφορεῖν ἀπαξ κελευσθέντας ἀμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὸ θεῖον πρόσταγμα διατηρεῖν [41] οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου χάρων ἢ ὅτι τῶν ὅρων οὐρανοῦ μακρὰν κακία πεφυγάδευται· τῶν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς βαθείαν καὶ καρποφόρον, ἀνευ τέχνης καὶ συμπράξεως γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν, φέρειν ἄν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας. νυνὶ δὲ αἱ ἄνειαι πηγαὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων ἐπεσχέθησαν, ὅτε ἦρξατο κακία τὰς ἀρετὰς
the corresponding affection. For it resembles wax, and receives the images that reach it through the senses, by which it apprehends material substances, being incapable, as I have said before, of doing this by itself.

LX. Those who were the first to become slaves to a passion grievous and hard to heal at once had experience of the wages paid by Pleasure. The woman incurred the violent woes of travail-pangs, and the griefs which come one after another all through the remainder of life. Chief among them are all those that have to do with children at birth and in their bringing up, in sickness and in health, in good fortune and evil fortune. In the next place she tasted deprivation of liberty, and the authority of the husband at her side, whose commands she must perforce obey. The man, in his turn, incurred labours and distress in the unceasing sweat of his brow to gain the necessaries of life. He was without those good things which the earth had been taught to bear of itself independently of all skill in the husbandman. His life was spent in unbroken toils in the pursuit of food and livelihood to save him from perishing by famine. For I imagine that, just as sun and moon always give their light after once for all being bidden to do so when the universe was first created, and continue to keep the divine ordinance for no other reason than that evil has been sent into exile far away from heaven’s frontiers; even so would earth’s deep and fertile soil, unaided by the skill of agricultural labourers, bear rich abundance as the seasons come round. As it is, when evil began to get the better of the virtues, the ever-flowing springs of the bounties of God were closed, that they might not
παρευπηρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀναξίοις χορηγῶσιν. 169 ἕδει μὲν οὖν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ἐμελλε δίκην ὑπομένειν, ἡφανίσθαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐνεργῆτην καὶ σωτῆρα θεον ἀχαριστιαν' ὁ δ', ἀτε τὴν φύσιν ἑλεως, οἷκτον λαβὼν ἐμετρίασε τὴν τιμωρίαν, τὸ μὲν γένος ἐάσος διαμένειν, τὰς δὲ τροφὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐξ ἐτούμων παρασχὼν, ἵνα μὴ δυσὶ κακοῖς, ἀργίας καὶ κόρω, χρώμενοι πλημμελώσι καὶ ὑβρίζωσι.

170 LXI. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἀκακία καὶ ἀπλότητι χρωμένων, αὖθις δὲ κακίαν ἁντ' ἄρετῆς προτιμώντων.

Διὰ δὲ τῆς λεχθείσης κοσμοποιίας πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκει, πέντε δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πάντων ἀριστα. πρώτον μὲν ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ὑπάρχει, διὰ τοὺς ἄθεους, ὅν οἱ μὲν ἐνεδοίασαν ἔπαμφοτερίσαντες περὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ τολμηροτέροι καὶ κατερασύναντες φάμενοι μηδ' ἄλως εἶναι, λέγεσθαι δ' αὐτὸ μόνον πρὸς ἀνθρώπων πλάσμασι μυθικοῖς ἐπισκιασάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν'. δεύτερον δ' ὅτι θεός εἰς ἐστὶ, διὰ τοὺς εἰςηγητὰς τῆς πολυθέου δόξης, οἱ οὐκ ἐρυθρώσι τὴν φαυλοτάτην τῶν κακοπολιτειῶν ὀχλοκράτιαν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν μετοικίζοντες. τρίτον δ' ὅσ' ἦδη λέλεκται ὃτι γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος, διὰ τοὺς οἰομένους αὐτὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αἵδιον εἶναι, οἱ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀπονέμουσι θεών. τέταρτον δ' ὅτι καὶ εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἰς ὁ δημοσιωργὸς <ὁ> ἔξομοιώσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν τὸ ἔργον,
bring supplies to those felt to be undeserving of them. If the human race had had to undergo the fitting penalty, it must needs have been wiped out by reason of its ingratitude to God its benefactor and preserver. But He being merciful took pity on it and moderated the punishment, suffering the race to continue, but no longer as before supplying it with food ready to its hand, that men might not, by indulging the twin evils of idleness and satiety, wax insolent in wrongdoing. LXI. Such is the life of those who at the outset are in enjoyment of innocence and simplicity of character, but later on prefer vice to virtue.

By his account of the creation of the world of which we have spoken Moses teaches us among many other things five that are fairest and best of all. Firstly that the Deity is and has been from eternity. This with a view to atheists, some of whom have hesitated and have been of two minds about His eternal existence, while the bolder sort have carried their audacity to the point of declaring that the Deity does not exist at all, but that it is a mere assertion of men obscuring the truth with myth and fiction. Secondly, that God is one. This with a view to the propounders of polytheism, who do not blush to transfer from earth to heaven mob-rule, that worst of evil polities. Thirdly, as I have said already, that the world came into being. This because of those who think that it is without beginning and eternal, who thus assign to God no superiority at all. Fourthly, that the world too is one as well as its Maker, who made His work like Himself in its uniqueness, who
δς ἀπάση κατεχρήσατο τῇ ὑλῇ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὦλου γένεσιν. ὦλον γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἢν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὦλων ἐπάγη καὶ συνέστη τῶν μερῶν. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πλεῖοι ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι κόσμους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπείρους, ἀπεἱροι καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντες ὅν καλὸν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν· πέμπτον δὲ ὅτι καὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ θεός· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ πεποιηκὸς 172 τοῦ γενομένου φύσεως νόμοι καὶ θεσμοῖς ἀναγιμένοι προμηθοῦνται.

ὁ δὴ ταύτα μὴ ἀκοῆ μᾶλλον ἡ διανοία προμαθῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ ψυχῇ σφραγισάμενος θαυμάσια καὶ περιμάχηται εἶδη, καὶ ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπάρχει θεὸς καὶ ὅτι εἰς ὅ ὅν ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι πεποίηκε τὸν κόσμον καὶ πεποίηκεν ἕνα, ὡς ἐλέχθη, κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν ἐξομοιώσας ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὅτι ἀεὶ προνοεῖ τοῦ γεγονότος, μακαρίαν καὶ εὑδαίμονα ὑπὸν βιώσεται, δόγμασιν εὐσεβείας καὶ ὀσιότητος χαρακτεῖς.

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α See App. p. 476.
used up for the creation of the whole all the material that exists; for it would not have been a whole had it not been formed and consisted of parts that were wholes. For there are those who suppose that there are more worlds than one, while some think that they are infinite in number. Such men are themselves in very deed infinitely lacking in knowledge of things which it is right good to know.\(^a\) Fifthly, that God also exercises forethought on the world's behalf. For that the Maker should care for the thing made is required by the laws and ordinances of Nature, and it is in accordance with these that parents take thought beforehand for children.

He that has begun by learning these things with his understanding rather than with his hearing, and has stamped on his soul impressions of truths so marvellous and priceless, both that God is and is from eternity, and that He that really is is One, and that He has made the world and has made it one world, unique as Himself is unique, and that He ever exercises forethought for His creation, will lead a life of bliss and blessedness, because he has a character moulded by the truths that piety and holiness enforce.
ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS II., III.
(LEGUM ALLEGORIA)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I.

In 1-18 Philo deals with Gen. ii. 1-3, which tells first of the completion of Heaven and Earth. He takes these to mean the originals of Mind and Sense-perception, and bases on the Greek version a contrast between the numbers 6 and 7, making the former represent things earthly, and the latter things heavenly.

In Gen. ii. 2 he finds the origin of Mind and Sense-perception ascribed first to a Book and then to a Day, both Book and Day signifying the Mind or Reason of God. (19-21.)

In the repetition of the word “field” in Gen. ii. 5, he sees two fields yielding, respectively, what is intellectually and what is sensibly perceptible: in the rain the power given to the senses of apprehending objects presented to them, a power not needed when material objects did not exist, and in whose absence the Mind is without employment. (22-27.)

Gen. ii. 6 tells how Mind, the “spring,” waters the senses, “the face of the earth,” and shows the interdependence of Mind, Sense-perception, and object of sense, and the dependence of Mind on God; as well as the superiority of the living creature in being able to take in and go out to external object. (28-30.)
ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I.

Going on to Gen. ii. 7, he contrasts the earthy man, moulded of clay by the Divine Artificer, with the heavenly Man, stamped with the image of God, and dwells on the change wrought in the former by the inbreathing of Life. He then answers four questions.

To the question why the Divine Breath is given, not to the heavenly, but to the earthy Man, he answers (a) that God loves to give, even to the imperfect; (b) that the inbreathing is on a par with the enjoining of a "positive" duty, which is a duty only because it is enjoined.

To the question as to the meaning of "inbreathed" he answers that it is a pregnant term for "inspired," and that its aim is to enable us to conceive of God.

To the question why the inbreathing is "into the face," he answers (a) that the face is the part where the senses are chiefly situated; (b) that the face represents the mind, which acts as God's deputy in inspiring organs and senses. Such was Moses to Pharaoh. He is thus led to speak of God's use of agents. Lastly, he says that πνεῦμα intimates a less powerful gift than would have been intimated by πνευμά. (31-42.)

We now come to Gen. ii. 8. God planting a Garden shows earthly wisdom to be a copy of heavenly wisdom, for it means God causing excellence to strike root on earth. The "Garden" is Virtue. "Eden" tells of its luxuriant yield of happiness. It is "toward the sunrising," for right reason or virtue ever rises to dispel darkness. Man is placed in the Garden "to tend it," i.e. to give his whole mind to virtue.
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God planting does not justify man in planting a grove by the altar, which is forbidden in Deut. xvi. 21, for (a) man cannot, like God, plant virtues in the soul; (b) a grove contains some wild trees; (c) what is prohibited is planting “to ourselves” (cf. 2nd Commandment).

It is somewhat startling to be told that the Man placed in the Garden in Gen. ii. 15 is not the Man of Gen. ii. 8, but the Man of Gen. i. 27. Only the latter can till and guard the virtues. The former sees them only to be driven from them. The one is “made,” the other is “moulded.” The Man of ii. 8 has but facility in apprehending (as is signified by the words “placed in the Garden”). The Man of ii. 15 has also persistence in doing (“to till it”), and tenacity in keeping (“to guard it”). (43-55.)

Gen. ii. 9 tells of the Trees, which are particular virtues, and their activities. Theoretical virtue is denoted by “fair to behold”; practical virtue by “good for food.” The Tree of Life is goodness, virtue, not (as physicians might suppose) the heart. It is “in the midst of the Garden.” Where “the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil” is, we are not told. Actually it is in the Garden, virtually outside it, for our dominant part is actually in God’s Garden through receiving the impress of goodness, virtually outside by receiving that of wickedness. Just so, my body can be here, my mind elsewhere. (56-62.)

The theme of Gen. ii. 10-14 is the Rivers. The four Rivers are the particular Virtues, effluxes of generic Virtue, the River that issues from “Eden,” which is the Wisdom or Reason of God. “Heads” implies the sovereignty of the Virtues: “separated”;
their limited, defining, action. "Pheison" is Prudence, God's fairest treasure, gleaming like gold, and encircling "Evilat" or Graciousness. "Geon" is Courage, beleaguering Ethiopia, which is Lowness or Cowardice. "Tigris" is Self-mastery, set against "Assyria," the directing force claimed by Desire. Prudence, Courage, and Self-mastery occupy places in the soul corresponding to their spheres of action in the body, head, breast, and abdomen, the seats of Reason, High Spirit, and Lust. "Euphrates" (= fruitfulness) is Justice, or the harmony of the three parts of the soul.

We are then shown another way of reaching the same truth about the four Rivers. "Pheison" signifies "change of mouth," i.e. transformation of speech into action, the true sign of Prudence. "Evilat" signifies "in travail," as Folly in its futility always is. (63-76.)

The next eight sections (Gen. ii. 12) are a Note on the Gold and Precious Stones. Prudence, the gold, is still God's, Philo taking "where" (οὗ) as "whose". "The gold of that land" is universal, as distinguished from particular, Prudence, and to it belongs the epithet "good." The "ruby" and the "emerald" represent respectively having and exercising good sense. Or the two stones are, perhaps, Judah and Issachar, representing, the one, thankfulness, the other, noble deeds. So in the High-priestly robes, the ruby must, from its position, have borne the name of Judah, and the sapphire that of Issachar. "Stone" is not added after "ruby," because praise and thanksgiving lift a man out of himself and all that is of earth. Red befits Judah, green Issachar. (77-84.)
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Now comes a short Note on Compassing (Gen. ii. 11 and 13). "Pheison" and "Geon" are said to "compass" countries, for Prudence and Courage enclose and capture Folly and Cowardice. "Tigris" is said to be "over against the Assyrians," for Self-mastery can but face and fight Pleasure. "Euphrates," or Justice, neither encircles nor withstands but makes awards. (85-87).

In 88 ff. we see the heavenly Man, the Man whom God had "made" not "moulded," placed in the garden. This pure and less material Mind is set amid the Virtues ("plants") to practise ("till") and remember ("guard") them.

The remainder of the treatise deals with the injunction to "Adam" in Gen. ii. 16 ff.

Since "Adam," a name not self-imposed, signifies "earth," probably the "moulded, earthy man" is meant. Moreover the heavenly Man needs no injunction to till and guard; still less does he need prohibition or exhortation.

The command is given by "the Lord God." Obedience to the "Lord" or 'Master' prepares us for boons from "God" the 'Benefactor.' So in Gen. iii. 23 punishment is inflicted by "the Lord God" in kind severity.

"Every tree" signifies all virtues. The addition of "feedingly" to "eat" signifies spiritual mastication. Eating represents perfunctory obedience: "feeding on," thoughtful, hearty obedience.

Anent the position of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, illustrations of actual and virtual presence are given in 100.

The fact that the prohibition is addressed to more than one is explained by saying that (a) inferior men
ALLEGROICAL INTERPRETATION, I.

are very numerous; (b) the inferior man devoid of concentration is not a unity.

The treatise ends with the drawing of a distinction between the death which all die and the death of the soul.
ΝΟΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΣ
ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

1 Ι. "Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανός καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν" (Gen. ii. 1). νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως γένεσιν εἰπὼν πάλαι, νῦν δὴ ἀμφοτέρων τελείωσιν διασυνίστησιν. οὐτε δὲ νοῦν τὸν ἄτομον οὐτε αἰσθήσιν τὴν ἐν μέρει πέρας εἰληφέναι φησίν, ἀλλ’ ἱδέας, τὴν μὲν νοῦ, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσεως· συμβολικῶς μὲν γὰρ τὸν νοῦν οὗρανόν, ἐπειδὴ αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐν οὐρανῶ, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσιν καλεῖ γῆν, ὅτι σύστασιν σωματοειδῆ καὶ γεωδεστέραν ἔλαχεν αἰσθήσις· κόσμος δὲ νοῦ μὲν τὰ ἀσώματα καὶ νοητὰ πάντα, αἰσθήσεως δὲ τὰ ἐνσώματα καὶ ὁσα συνόλως αἰσθητά.

2 Π. "Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ο θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐκτῇ τὰ | ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀ ἐποίησεν" (Gen. ii. 2). εὐθεῖας πάνυ τὸ οἰεσθαί εξ ἡμέρας ἡ καθόλου χρόνως γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον· διὰ τὶς; ὅτι πᾶς χρόνος ἡμερών καὶ νυκτῶν ἐστὶ σύστημα, ταῦτα δὲ ἡλίου κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν ἱόντος εξ

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\[a\] κόσμος = “order” or “world.” Philo takes it in the latter sense. E.V. “host.”

\[b\] 6th. So lxx. E.V. 7th.

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ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION
OF GENESIS II., III.

BOOK I

I. "And the heaven and the earth and all their world were completed" (Gen. ii. 1). He had already told of the creation of mind and sense-perception; he now fully sets forth the consummation of both. He does not say that either the individual mind or the particular sense-perception have reached completion, but that the originals have done so, that of mind and that of sense-perception. For using symbolical language he calls the mind heaven, since heaven is the abode of natures discerned only by mind, but sense-perception he calls earth, because sense-perception possesses a composition of a more earthly and body-like sort. "World," in the case of mind, means all incorporeal things, things discerned by mind alone: in the case of sense-perception it denotes things in bodily form and generally whatever sense perceives.

II. "And God finished on the sixth day His works which He had made" (Gen. ii. 2). It is quite foolish to think that the world was created in six days or in a space of time at all. Why? Because every period of time is a series of days and nights, and these can only be made such by the movement of the sun as it goes over and under the earth: but
ἀνάγκης ἀποτελεῖ· ἦλιος δὲ μέρος οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ὥστε χρόνον ἀνομλογεῖσθαι νεώτερον κόσμου. λέγοιτ’ ἂν οὗν ὀρθῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γέγονε κόσμος, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόσμου συνέστη χρόνος· ἢ γὰρ

3 οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνον φύσιν ἐδειξεν. ὅταν οὖν λέγη “συνετέλεσεν ἐκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἔργα,” νοητέον ὅτι οὗ πλῆθος ἠμερῶν παραλαμβάνει, τέλειοι δὲ ἀριθμοὶ τὸν ἔξ, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἵσος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἡμίσει καὶ τρίτῳ καὶ ἐκτὼ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔτερομήκους συνίσταται τοῦ δις τρία· διὰς μέντοι καὶ τριάς ἐκβεβηκε τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἀσωματότητα, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ύλης ἐστὶν εἰκών, διαιρομένη καὶ τεμνομένη καθάπερ ἐκείνη, τριάς δὲ στερεοῦ

4 σώματος, ὅτι πρὸς τριχῆ τὸ στερεὸν διαρρέον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενής ἐστὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργανικῶν ζώων κινήσεων· ἔξαρξι γὰρ τὸ ὀργανικὸν σῶμα πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι, πρόσω καὶ κατόπιν, ἄνω καὶ κάτω, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. βούλεται οὖν τὰ τε θνητὰ γένη καὶ πάλιν ἐν τὰ ἀφθαρτα κατὰ τοὺς οίκειους ἐπιδείξει συστάσειν ἀριθμοῦς, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ ὡς ἐφὴν παραμέτρων ἔξαδι, τὰ δὲ

5 μακάρια καὶ εὐδαιμόνα ἐβδομάδι. πρῶτον οὖν ἐβδόμη ἡμέρᾳ καταπύμας τὴν τῶν θυγτῶν σύστασιν ἀρχεται ἐτέρων θειοτέρων διατυπώσεως· III. παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ ὦδιν τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτως καὶ θεοὶ τὸ ποιεῖν· καὶ πολὺ γε

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a See App. p. 477.
b Aristotle, Ethics iii. 1. 6, and Grant’s note.
the sun is a part of heaven, so that time is confessedly more recent than the world. It would therefore be correct to say that the world was not made in time, but that time was formed by means of the world, for it was heaven's movement that was the index of the nature of time. When, then, Moses says, "He finished His work on the sixth day," we must understand him to be adducing not a quantity of days, but a perfect number, namely six, since it is the first that is equal to the sum of its own fractions $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3},$ and $\frac{1}{6},$ and is produced by the multiplication of two unequal factors, $2 \times 3;$ and see, the numbers 2 and 3 have left behind the incorporeal character that belongs to 1, 2 being an image of matter, and being parted and divided as that is, while 3 is the image of a solid body, for the solid is patient of a threefold division. Nay more, the number 6 is akin to the movements of animals provided with instrumental limbs, for the body equipped with such instruments is so constituted by nature that it can move in six directions, forwards and backwards, upwards and downwards, to the right and to the left. Moses' wish, therefore, is to exhibit alike the things created of mortal kind and those that are incorruptible as having been formed in a way corresponding to their proper numbers. As I have just said, he makes mortal things parallel with the number six, the happy and blessed things with the number seven. First of all, then, on the seventh day the Creator, having brought to an end the formation of mortal things, begins the shaping of others more divine. III. For God never leaves off making, but even as it is the property of fire to burn and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make: nay more so
μάλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασω ἀρχή τοῦ
dράν ἔστιν. εὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ φάναι "κατέπαυσεν,"
οὐχὶ "ἐπαύσατο"· παύει μὲν γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα
ποιεῖν ὧν ἐνεργοῦντα, οὐ παύεται δὲ ποιῶν αὐτῶς.
διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει "κατέπαυσεν ὃν ἠρξατο"· ὅσα
μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἠμέταρας τέχναις δημιουργεῖται,
tελειωθέντα ἵσταται καὶ μένει, ὅσα δὲ ἐπιστήμη
θεοῦ, περατωθέντα πάλιν κινεῖται· τὰ γὰρ τέλη
αὐτῶν ἔτερων εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ, οἷον ἠμέρας τέλος
νυκτὸς ἀρχῆς, καὶ μὴν δὲ καὶ ἐναιστών ἐνισταμένους
πέρατα δὲ ἐπανυκτούντων ὑποληπτέον·
τὰ γένεσις τε αὐθειρομένων ἔτερων καὶ φθορὰ γεννωμένων
ἀλλων ἀποτελείται, ὡστε ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ
λεγόμενον ὃτι

θησίκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ' ἀλλο πρὸς ἀλλο
μορφὴν ἔτεραν ἀπέδειξεν.

8 IV. Χαίρει δὲ ἡ φύσις ἐβδομάδι· πλάνητες τε
γὰρ ἔττα γεγόνασιν, ἀντιρροποὶ τῇ κατὰ ταῦτα
καὶ ὄσα τὰ ἠχοῦση φορὰ· καὶ ἀρκτὸς ἕπτα
ἀστροὺς συμπληροῦται, κοινωνίας καὶ ἐνώσεως
ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐπιμελώς αὐτὸ μόνον, οὐσα αἰτία·
καὶ τροπαι δὲ σελήνης ἐβδομάσι γίνονται, συμ-
παθεστάτου πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀστροῦ, καὶ ἀς κατὰ
tὸν ἄερα μεταβολὰς ἔργαζεται, μάλιστα τοῖς
καθ' ἐβδομάδα σχηματισμοῖς ἀποτελεῖ. τὰ γε μὴν

a Eurip. fr. 839.
by far, inasmuch as He is to all besides the source of action. Excellently, moreover, does Moses say "caused to rest" not "rested"; for He causes to rest that which, though actually not in operation, is apparently making, but He Himself never ceases making. For this reason Moses adds after "He caused to rest" the words "from what He had begun." For whereas things produced by human arts when finished stand still and remain as they are, the products of divine skill, when completed, begin again to move; for their endings are the beginnings of other things, as the end of day is the beginning of night, and the openings of a month and of a year must naturally be regarded as limits which close those which have elapsed: birth again is accomplished through other things decaying, and decay through fresh births, showing the truth of the saying:

Naught that is born doth ever die,
Its severed parts together fly,
And yield another shape.\(^a\)

IV. \(^b\) Nature takes delight in the number seven. Thus there are seven planets, the counterpoise to the uniform movement of the fixed stars. It is in seven stars that the bear reaches completeness, and gives rise not to commerce only but to fellowship and unity among men. The changes of the moon, again, occur by sevens: this is the luminary most sympathetic to earthly matters. And such changes as Nature produces in the atmosphere, she effects mainly by the influence of figures dominated by seven.\(^c\) Indeed,

\(^a\) The reference is to the Planets (De Op. 113), to the Pleiades (115), whose settings and risings rule sowing and reaping, and to the Equinoxes (116). The subject of \(\varepsilon \rho \gamma \alpha \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota\) is \(\eta \varphi \sigma \iota \varsigma\) at the opening of the section.
ΦΙΛΟ

θνητά, σπάσαντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θείαν ἀρχήν, καθ' ἐβδομάδα σωτηρίως κινεῖται· τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶเดν, ὅτι τῶν βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπτάμηνα γόνυμα, τὰ δὲ πλείω χρόνον προσλαβόντα, ὡς ὁκτὼ μῆνας ἐνδιαι-τηθῆναι γαστρὶ, κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἄγονα; λογικὸν τέ φασιν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν γίνεσθαι, ὅτε ἡ ῥήμη παρὰ τῶν βρεφῶν τῶν τῆς πρώτης ἑπταετίας εἶναι τῶν συνήθων ὄνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, τὴν λογικὴν ἕξων περιπεποιημένον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἑπταετίαν ἀκρως τελειοῦσθαι· τελείωσις δὲ ἐστὶ δύναμις τῆς τοῦ ὁμοίου σπορᾶς. περὶ γὰρ τὴν τετταρεσκεδαστὴ ἁλλικίαν τὸ ὁμοίου γεννᾶν δυνάμεθα· πρίτη πάλιν ἑπταετία πέρας ἑστὶν αὐξήσεως· ἄχρι γὰρ ἐνός καὶ εἰκοσίου ἑτῶν ἑπιδίδωσιν εἰς μέγεθος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ καλεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς ὁ χρόνος 10 ὁ στεφάνιος ἀκμή. θυμιζόμεθα οὖ τὸ ἀλογόν ἑπταμερές, λογικὸν μὲν ἐπτάμηνα γόνυμα, αἰσθήσεως πέντε καὶ φωνητήριον ὀργανόν καὶ τὸ δυήκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὁ δὲ γόνιμον ἑστὶ.

11 ἐπτά μὲν ἑπτά ἑπταμερές, ὁργανικὲς ἐπὶ καὶ φωνητήριον ὀργανόν καὶ τὸ δυήκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὁ δὲ γόνιμον ἑστὶ.

12 ἐπτά μὲν ἑπτά ἑπταμερές, ὁργανικὰς ἐπὶ καὶ φωνητήριον ὀργανόν καὶ τὸ δυήκον ἄχρι παραστατῶν, ὁ δὲ γόνιμον ἑστὶ.
all that concerns us mortals has a divine origin drawn from heaven and is for our weal when its movement is ruled by seven. Who does not know that seven months' infants come to the birth, while those that have taken a longer time, remaining in the womb eight months, are as a rule still-born? And they say that man becomes a reasoning being during his first seven years, by which time he is already capable of expressing ordinary nouns and verbs through having acquired the reasoning faculty; and that during his second period of seven years he reaches complete consummation; consummation meaning the power of reproducing his like; for at about the age of fourteen we are able to beget offspring like ourselves. The third period of seven years, again, is the end of growth, for till the age of twenty-one years men increase in height, and by many this time is called his prime. Furthermore the unreasoning side of the soul consists of seven parts, five senses, and the organ of speech, and the genital organ. The body again has seven movements, six mechanical, the seventh circular. Seven also are the internal organs, stomach, heart, spleen, liver, lung, two kidneys. Of equal number in like number are the divisions of the body—head, neck, breast, hands, belly, abdomen, feet. And the face, the living creature's noblest part, is pierced by seven apertures, by two eyes, and two ears, as many nostrils, and the mouth, which make up seven. The excrements are seven—tears, mucus, spittle, seed, superfluities discharged by two ducts, and the sweat that oozes from all over the body. Once again in diseases the seventh is the most critical day. And the monthly purgings of women extend to seven days. V. The power
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14 V. διελήλυθε δὲ ἡ | δύναμις αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ὄφελματές τῶν τεχνῶν. Καὶ γεγονός γραμματική τὰ ἀριστὰ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ πλείστην δύναμιν ἔχοντα ἐπτά ἢ ἄριστος, τὰ φωνήματα. Κατὰ τε μονακή ἡ ἐπτάχορδος λύρα πάντων σχεδὸν ὀργάνων ἀρίστη, διὸ τὸ ἐναρμόνιον, ὁ δὲ τῶν μελωδουμένων γενῶν ἔστι τὸ σεμνότατον, καὶ αὐτὴν μάλιστα παρὰ θεωρεῖται. ἀπὸ τὰ τῶν φθόγγων τάσεις ἐπτὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, δεύτερον, βραχύτερον. Ἐτὶ πρῶτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τελείου τοῦ ἐξ καὶ μονάδι κατὰ τινὰ λόγον δ ἂυτός. οἱ τε ἐντὸς ἐκάκος ἀριθμοὶ ἡ γεννῶνται ἡ γεννώσι τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐκάκος καὶ αὐτῆς, ἡ δὲ ἐβδομᾶς οὔτε γεννᾶ τινὰ τῶν ἐντὸς ἐκάκος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν. Παρὸ μυθεύοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τῇ ἀειπάρθένῳ καὶ ἀμήτῳ αὐτὴν ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκατῆ οὔτε ἀποτέλεσται.

16 VI. "Κατέπαυσεν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἐποίησε" (Gen. ii. 2). Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο. τὰ θυερα γενὴ παυῖται πλάττων ο θεός, ὅταν ἄρχηται ποιεῖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐβδομάδος ψύσει οἰκεῖα. ἡ δ' πρὸς τὸ ἂθος ἀπόδοσις ἐστὶ τοιαύτῃ ὅταν ἐπεγέννηται τῇ ψυχῇ ο κατὰ ἐβδομάδα ἄγιος λόγος, ἐπέσχεται ἡ ἕξας καὶ ὁ σα θυτή ταύτη 1 ποιεῖν δοκεῖ.

VII. "Καὶ ευλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆν

1 ταύτη (sc. τῇ ἓξάδι) conj. Cohn: τοντὶ mss.
of this number reaches also to the most beneficent of the arts: in grammar, for instance, the best and most effective of the letters, namely the vowels, are seven in number: in music we may fairly call the seven-stringed lyre the best of instruments, because the enharmonic genus, which as we know is the most dignified of those used in melodies, is best brought out when that instrument renders it. Sevenfold are the modulations in pronunciation—acute, grave, circumflex, aspirated and unaspirated, long, short. Further, seven is the first number after the perfect number six, and the same in some sort with the number one. Whereas other numbers within the decade are either produced by or produce those within the decade and the decade itself, the number seven neither produces any of the numbers within the decade nor is produced by any. By reason of this the Pythagoreans, indulging in myth, liken seven to the motherless and ever-virgin Maiden, because neither was she born of the womb nor shall she ever bear.

VI. “He rested therefore on the seventh day from all His works which He had made” (Gen. ii. 2). This is as much as to say that God ceases moulding the masses that are mortal, whenever He begins to make those that are divine and in keeping with the nature of seven. But the interpretation of the statement in accordance with its bearing on human life and character is this, that, whenever there comes upon the soul the holy Reason of which Seven is the keynote, six together with all mortal things that the soul seems to make therewith comes to a stop.

VII. “And God blessed the seventh day and

* Literally, “caused to rest.”
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17 ἐβδόμην καὶ ἤγιασεν αὐτὴν” (Gen. ii. 3). τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομον καὶ θείον ὡς ἀληθῶς φῶς κυνηθέντας τρόπους εὐλογεῖ τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ εὐθὺς ἁγίους ἀποφαίνει· συγγενεστάται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ο ὑπόγιος προφαίνεται καὶ ὁ ἁγιος. διὰ τούτο ἐπὶ τὸν τὴν μεγάλην εὐχὴν εὐθύμενον φησὶν ὦτι, ἕαν τροπὴ κατασκήπασα αἰφνίδιον μιᾶς τῶν νοῦν, οὐκέτ庄园 ἂν τῷ οὗ ἡ ἁγιος τρόπος, ὡστε ὁ εὐλόγιος ἁγιος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῶν ἁγίων ἀποφαίνει· συγγενέστατοι γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὁ εὐλόγιος τε καὶ ὁ ἁγιος, διὰ τὸ τὴν μεγάλην εὐχήν εὐλογεῖ τε καὶ ἤγιασεν, ἢτοι εἰν αὐτῇ καταπαύσαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὄν ἠρξατο ποιεῖν ὁ θεός” (Gen. ii. 3). αἰτὶα δὲ ἢ δὲ ἦν εὐλογιοστὸς τε καὶ ἁγιος γέγονεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομον καὶ τέλειον φῶς ἁγιον ἐαυτον, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φύσει παύεται ἢ τῶν θητῶν σύστασις. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ φέγγος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ λαμπρότατον καὶ θείον οὕτως, ἐπέχεται τῆς ἐναντίας φύσεως ἢ γένεσις. ἐξήλωσαμεν δὲ ὅτι παῦν ἐβδομον

18 γιοστὸς ἁγιος. ὅρθως οὖν ἐφή ὦτι τὴν ἐβδόμην εὐλόγησε τε καὶ ἤγιασεν, ἢτοι ἐν αὐτῇ καταπαύσαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτού ὄν ἠρξατο ποιεῖν ὁ θεός” (Gen. ii. 3). αἰτὶα δὲ ἢ δὲ ἦν εὐλογιοστὸς τε καὶ ἁγιος γέγονεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἐβδομον καὶ τέλειον φῶς ἁγιον ἐαυτον, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φύσει παύεται ἢ τῶν θητῶν σύστασις. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἀνατείλῃ φέγγος τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ λαμπρότατον καὶ θείον οὕτως, ἐπέχεται τῆς ἐναντίας φύσεως ἢ γένεσις. ἐξήλωσαμεν δὲ ὅτι παῦν ἐβδομον

19 VIII. “Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὦτι ἐγένετο” (Gen. ii. 4). οὗτος ὁ κατὰ

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a Philo dwells on the connexion between εὐλογεῖ (lit. “say well done” or “well be it,” εὖ) and εὐλογιοστὸς (“happy in the use of reason or of speech”) and builds an ethical interpretation of the passage on this connexion.

b See Numb. vi. 2.

c Such is Philo’s interpretation of the Nazirite touching a corpse.

d “Not reckoned” (ἄλογος) suggests “not taken into
hallowed it” (Gen. ii. 3). God both blesses and forthwith makes holy the dispositions set in motion in harmony with the seventh and truly Divine light, for closely akin are the character that is charged with benediction and the character that is holy. That is why, when treating of him who has vowed the great vow, he says that, if a change suddenly befall him and defile his mind, he shall no longer be holy, but “the preceding days are not reckoned.” Rightly enough, for the character that is not holy is vile, of no account, so that the character well accounted of is holy. Rightly, then, did he say that God both blessed and hallowed the seventh day, “because in it He ceased from all His works which God began to make” (Gen. ii. 3). But the reason why the man that guides himself in accordance with the seventh and perfect light is both of good understanding and holy, is that the formation of things mortal ceases with this day’s advent. For, indeed, the matter stands thus; when that most brilliant and truly divine light of virtue has dawned, the creation of that whose nature is of the contrary kind comes to a stop. But we pointed out that God when ceasing or rather causing to cease, does not cease making, but begins the creating of other things, since He is not a mere artificer, but also Father of the things that are coming into being.

VIII. “This book is that of the origin of heaven and earth, when it came into being” (Gen. ii. 4).
εβδομάδα κινούμενος τέλειος λόγος ἀρχή γενέσεως τοῦ τε κατὰ τὰς ἱδέας νοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἱδέας τεταγμένης νοητῆς, εἰ οἶον τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, αἰσθήσεως. βιβλίον δὲ εἴρηκε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, ὃ συμβέβηκεν ἐγγράφεσθαι καὶ ἐγχαράττεσθαι τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεως. ἵνα δὲ μὴ καθ’ ὁρισμένας χρόνων περιόδους ὑπολάβης τῷ θείῳ τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἴδῆς ἀδηλα καὶ ἀ-τέκμαρτα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα τῷ θνητῷ γένει τὰ δημιουργούμενα, ἐπιφέρει τὸ ὅτε ἐγένετο,” τὸ πότε κατὰ περιγραφὴν οὐ διορίζων ἀπεριγράφως γὰρ γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ αιτίου. ἀνήρηται τοῖς τὸ ἐν ἔξ ήμέραις γεγενήθησαί τὸ πάν.

21 IX. Ἡ ήμέρα ἐποίησεν ο θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάν χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα χόρτον ἀγροῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατείλαν οὐ γὰρ ἐβρεξεν ο θεός ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀνθρώπος οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν” (Gen. ii. 4, 5). τὴν ήμέραν ταύτην ἐπάνω βίβλον εἴρηκεν, εἰ γε ἐν ἀμφότεροι οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὑπογράφει γένεσιν τῷ γαρ περιφανεστάτῳ καὶ τηλαυγεστάτῳ ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ ο θεός ἀμφότερα ποιεῖ, τὴν τε ἱδέαν τοῦ νοεῖν, ὃν συμβολικῶς οὐρανὸν κέκληκε, καὶ τὴν ἱδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἣν διὰ σημείου γῆν ἀνὸ-μασεν. ἀγροῖς δὲ ἀπεικάζει δυοὶ τὴν τε ἱδέαν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἱδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως. φέρει γὰρ ο μὲν νοῦς καρπὸν τὰ ἐν τῷ νοεῖν, ὥ δὲ αἰσθησίοις τὰ

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a Philo can identify the Book with Reason, since λόγος can mean Reason as well as Word.
b “Sense-perception” has its function in the material sphere. It cannot strictly be spoken of as acting in the domain of mind or pure intellect.

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(That is to say): "This perfect Reason, moving in accord with the number 7, is the primal origin both of mind ordering itself after the original patterns, and of sense-perception in the domain of mind (if the expression is permissible) ordering itself after those originals." "Book" is Moses' name for the Reason of God, in which have been inscribed and engraved the formation of all else. But that you may not suppose that the Deity makes anything in definite periods of time, but may know that to mortal kind the process of creation is unobserved, undescried, incomprehensible, he adds, "When it came into being," not defining "when" by a determining limit, for the things that come into being under the hand of the First Cause come into being with no determining limit. There is an end, then, of the notion that the universe came into being in six days.

IX. "In the day in which God made the heaven and the earth and every green thing of the field before it appeared upon the earth and all grass of the field before it sprang up; for God had not sent rain on the earth, and there was no man to till the earth" (Gen. ii. 4, 5). Above he has called this day a book, for he delineates the creation of heaven and earth as wrought in both: for by His own supremely manifest and far-shining Reason God makes both of them, both the original of the mind, which in symbolic language he calls "heaven," and the original of sense-perception, to which by a figure he gave the name of "earth." And he compares the original of the mind and the original of sense-perception to two fields; for they bear fruit, the mind all that is done in thinking, sense-perception all that is done in per-
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ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι. δὲ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτον ἐστιν· ὃς περ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ἀτόμου νοῦ προϋπ- ἀρχεῖ τις ἰδέα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχέτυπος καὶ παράδειγμα τούτου, καὶ πάλιν τῆς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεως ἰδέας των αἰσθήσεως, σφραγίδος λόγον ἔχουσα εἰδης τυπούσης, οὕτως πρὶν μὲν γενέσθαι τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους νοητά, ἢν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν νοητόν, οὗ κατὰ μετοχὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνώμασται, πρὶν δὲ γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητά, ἢν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενικὸν αἰσθητόν, οὗ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἀλλα αἰσθητά 23 γέγονε. χλωρὸν μὲν οὖν ἄγροι τὸ νοητὸν εἴρηκε [48] | τοῦ νοῦ. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἄγρῳ τὰ χλωρὰ βλαστάνει καὶ ἀνθεί, οὕτως βλάστημα τοῦ νοῦ τὸ νοητὸν ἐστὶ. πρὶν οὖν τὸ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν γενέσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο νοητὸν ἀποτελεῖ γενικὸν ὄν, ὁ δὴ καὶ "πᾶν" κέκληκεν ύγιῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μέρος νοητὸν ἀτελές ὃν οὐ πᾶν, τὸ δὲ γενικὸν 24 ἀπαν, ἄτε πλῆρες ὃν. Χ. "καὶ πάντα" φησὶ "χόρτον ἄγροι πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατεϊλαι," τούτεστι· πρὸ τοῦ ἀνατείλας τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθηταὶ ὢν τὸ γενικὸν αἰσθητόν προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, ὁ δὴ πάλιν "πᾶν" εἴρηκεν. εἰκότως μὲντοι χόρτω τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀπείκασεν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή, οὕτως τὸ αἰσθητὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει ψυχῆς 160
ceiving. What he means is something of this sort. As before the particular and individual mind there subsists a certain original as an archetype and pattern of it, and again before the particular sense-perception, a certain original of sense-perception related to the particular as a seal making impression is to the form which it makes; just so, before the individual objects of intellectual perception came into being, there was existing as a genus the ‘intellectually-perceptible’ itself, by participation in which the name has been given to the members of the genus; and before the individual objects of sense-perception came into existence, there was existing as a genus the ‘sensibly-perceptible’ itself, by sharing in whose being all other objects of sense have become such. “Green of the field,” then, is what he terms the “intellectually-perceptible” of the mind; for as in a field the green things spring up and bloom, even so the ‘intellectually-perceptible’ is a growth springing from the mind. Before, then, the particular ‘intellectually-perceptible’ came into being, the Creator produces the solely abstract ‘intellectually-perceptible,’ as a generic existence. This he rightly calls “all,” for the particular ‘intellectually-perceptible,’ being a fragment, is not all, but the generic is so, being a full whole.

X. “And all the grass of the field” he says, “before it sprang up,” that is to say, before the particular objects of sense sprang up, there existed by the Maker’s forethought the generic ‘sensibly-perceptible,’ and that it is that he again calls “all.” Natural enough is his comparison of the ‘sensibly-perceptible’ to grass. For as grass is the food of a creature devoid of reason, so has the
προσκεκλήρωται· ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ προειπὼν "χλωρὸν ἀγροῦ" ἐπιφέρει "καὶ πάντα χόρτον," ὡς οὐ γινομένου χόρτου χλωροῦ τὸ παράπαν; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀγροῦ χλωρὸν τὸ νοητὸν ἔστιν, ἐκβλάστημα νοῦ, ὁ δὲ χόρτος τὸ αἰσθητὸν, τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς ψυχῆς 25 καὶ αὐτό βλάστημα. "οὐ γὰρ ἐβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς" φησὶν "ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀνθρωπὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γην." φυσικῶτατα· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἐπομβρήσῃ ταῖς αἰσθήσεις τὰς ἀντιλήψεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὁ θεὸς, οὐδὲ ο νοῦς ἐργάσεται καὶ πραγματεύσεται τι περὶ αἰσθησις· ἀπρακτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἕαυτοῦ μὴ ὄσπερ ὄντος καὶ ἐπιψεκάζοντος ὑπάρξει μὲν χρώματα, φωνῶς δὲ ἀκοῆ, γεύσει δὲ χυλοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῦ 26 αἰτίον. ὅταν δὲ ἄρθειν ὁ θεὸς ἀρξῇ τὴν αἰσθησιν αἰσθητοῖς, τηνικαῦτα καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάτης οἷα πίονος γῆς ἀνευρίσκεται. ἦ δὲ ἑδέα τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐ δεῖται τροφής· τροφὴ δὲ αἰσθήσεως, ἦν κατὰ σύμβολον βροχὴν εὑρήκεν, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους αἰσθητά, ὁ δὲ σώματα ἐστίν· ἑδέα δὲ σωμάτων ἀλλότριων. πρὸν οὖν γενέσθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος συγκρίματα, οὐκ ἐβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑδέαν τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ἦν εὑρήκε γῆν, τούτῳ δὲ ἑστι, τροφὴν οὐ παρέσχεν αὐτῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδείτο αἰσθητοῖ τὸ 27 παράπαν οὐδενός. τὸ δὲ "καὶ ἀνθρωπὸς

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'sensibly-perceptible' been assigned to the unreasoning part of the soul. Else why, after saying before "green of the field," does he go on to say, "and all grass," as if it were impossible for green of the field to come up as grass? The fact is, "the green of the field" is the 'intellectually-perceptible,' an outgrowth of the mind, but the "grass" is the 'sensibly-perceptible,' it in turn being a growth of the unreasoning part of the soul.

He goes on "for God had not rained upon the earth, and there was no man to work the ground." These words discover a deep knowledge of the laws of being. For if God does not shower upon the senses the means of apprehending objects presented to them, neither will the mind have anything to "work" or take in hand in the field of sense-perception. For the mind by itself is without employment when the Cause of all things does not pour down, like rain and moisture, colours on the sight, sounds on the hearing, savours on the taste, and that which is proper to them on the other senses. But as soon as God has begun to water sense with objects of sense, that moment the mind also is found to be a tiller of rich soil, so to speak. The original of 'sense-perception' has no need of nourishment; but the nourishment of 'sense-perception,' which he figuratively calls "rain," is the particular objects of sense, which of course are bodies; whereas an original has nothing to do with bodies. Thus before the creation of particular concrete substances, God did not rain on the original idea of sense-perception, which Moses calls "earth," and this means that He supplied it with no food: for indeed it was in absolutely no need whatever of a sensible object of perception.
ούκ ἦν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν ἀνείβαυνεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς (Gen. ii. 6). τὸν μὲν νοὸν εἶρηκε γῆς πηγὴν, τὰς δὲ αἰσθήσεις πρόσωπον, ὡς χωρίον αὐταῖς ἐξ ἀπαντὸς τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὰς ἂνεργείας ἐπιτηδειότατον ἡ πάντα προμηθοῦμενη φύσις ἀπένειμε τοῦτο. πηγής δὲ τρόπον ἀρδεῖ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὄνοις, ἐπιπέμπων τὰ πρόσφορα ἓκαστη ρεύματα, ΐδε οὖν, πώς ἀλύσεως τρόπον αἱ τοῦ ζώου δυνάμεις αὐτὰ ἔχονται. νοὸς γὰρ καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἐτὶ δὲ αἰσθητοῦ τριῶν ὄντων μέσον μὲν ἐστὶν αἰσθήσεως, ἄκρον δὲ ἐκάτερον ὁ τε νοὸς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν. ἀλλ' οὐθ' ὁ νοὸς δυνατὸς ἐργάσασθαι, τοντέστων ἐνεργήσαι κατὰ αἰσθήσεων, ἐὰν μὴ βρέξῃ καὶ ὦη τὸ αἰσθητὸν θεός, οὕτε ὑσθέντος αἰσθητοῦ ὅφελός ἐστιν, ἐὰν μὴ πηγῆς τρόπον ὄνοις, τεῖνας ἑαυτὸν ἀχρί τῆς αἰσθήσεως, κινήσῃ τε αὐτὴν ἠρμοῦσαν, καὶ ἀγάγγα πρὸς ἀντίληψιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου· ὥστε ἀντίδοσιν ὁ νοὸς καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἀεὶ μελετῶσι, τὸ μὲν προ- ὑποκειμένων αἰσθήσει ώς ὁν ὦη, ὁ δὲ κινῶν τὴν
meaning of the words, "and there was not a man to work the ground," is this: the original idea of the mind did not work the original idea of sense-perception: for my mind like yours works the sense-perception through the objects of the senses, but the original idea of the mind, as there was of course no particular body in existence proper to it, does not work the original idea of 'sense-perception': for were it working, it would be working it by means of the objects of sense, but among original ideas there is no such thing as an object of sense.

XI. "And a spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). He calls the mind a "spring" of the earth, and the senses its "face," because Nature, exercising forethought in all things, assigned this place to them out of all the body as most suitable for their special activities: and the mind like a spring waters the senses, sending to each of them the streams suitable to it. See then, how, like links in a chain, the powers of the living creature hold on to each other; for mind and 'sense-perception' and object of sense being three, 'sense-perception' is in the middle, while mind and object of sense occupy each extreme. But neither has the mind power to work, that is, to put forth its energies by way of 'sense-perception,' unless God send the object of sense as rain upon it; nor is any benefit derived from the object of sense when so rained down, unless, like a spring, the mind, extending itself to reach the 'sense-perception,' stir it out of its repose to grasp the object presented to it. Thus the mind and the object of sense are always practising a reciprocity of giving, the one lying ready for sense-perception as its material, the
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αἰσθησιν πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς ὡς ἀν τεχνίτης, ἵνα γένηται 30 ὀρμή. τὸ γὰρ ζώον τοῦ μῆ ζώου δυσὶ προὐχεῖ, φαντασία καὶ ὀρμή. ἡ μὲν οὖν φαντασία συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκτὸς πρόσοδον τυποῦντος νοῦν δι’ αἰσθήσεως, ἡ δὲ ὀρμή, τὸ ἀδελφὸν τῆς φαντασίας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ τονικὴν δύναμιν, ἢ τεῖνας δι’ αἰσθήσεως ἀπτεται τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ χωρεῖ γλυκόμενος ἐφικέσθαι καὶ συλλαβεῖν αὐτό.

31 XII. "Καὶ ἐπλάσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν" (Gen. ii. 7). διττὰ ἄνθρωπων γένη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γῆινος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἄτε κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονὼς φθαρτής καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γῆινος ἐκ σποράδος ὑλῆς, ἧν χοῦν κέκληκεν, ἐπάγη· διὸ τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον φησιν οὐ πεπλάσθαι, κατ’ εἰκόνα δὲ τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ γῆινον πλάσμα, ἀλλ’ οὐ γέννημα, 32 εἰναι τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν ἅγη λογιστέον εἰναι νοῦν εἰσκρινόμενον σώματι, οὕτω [50] ὁ εἰσκεκριμένον. ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὗτος γεώδης ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι καὶ φθαρτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς ἐμπνεύσειειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς· τότε γὰρ γίνεται, οὐκέτι πλάττεται, εἰς ψυχήν, οὐκ ἄργον καὶ ἀδιατύπωτον, ἀλλ’ εἰς νοεράν καὶ ζῶσαν ὄντως.

a See App. p. 477.
other, like a craftsman, moving sense-perception in the direction of the external object, to produce an impulse towards it. For the living creature excels the non-living in two respects, in the power of receiving impressions and in the active impulse towards the object producing them. The impression is produced by the drawing nigh of the external object, as it stamps the mind through sense-perception; while the active impulse, close of kin to the power aforesaid, comes about by way of the mind’s power of self-extension, which it exercises through sense-perception, and so comes into touch with the object presented to it, and goes towards it, striving to reach and seize it.

XII. "And God formed the man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man, the other an earthly. The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; but the earthly one was compacted out of the matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls "clay." For this reason he says that the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God; while the earthly is a moulded work of the Artificer, but not His offspring. We must account the man made out of the earth to be mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. But this earthlike mind is in reality also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life; when He does so, it does not any more undergo moulding, but becomes a soul, not an inefficient and imperfectly formed soul, but one
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“εἰς ψυχὴν” γάρ φησι ἡ “ζώσαν ἐγένετο ὁ ἄν-
θρωπος.” ΧΙΙΙ. ξητήσαι δ’ ἃν τις, διὰ τί ἥξισθεν ὁ θεὸς ὅλως τὸν γηγενῆ καὶ φιλο-
σώματον νοῦν πνεύματος θείου, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἱδέαν γεγονότα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ. δεύ-
τερον δὲ, τί ἐστι τὸ “ἐνεφύσησε”. τρίτον, διὰ τί εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖται· τέταρτον, διὰ τί πνεύματος ὄνομα εἰδώς, ὅταν λέγῃ “καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος” (Gen. i. 2),

34 πνοῆς νῦν ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πνεύματος μέμνηται. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον λεκτέον ἐν μέν, ὀτι φιλόδωρος ὑν ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς μὴ τελείοις, προκαλούμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ ζηλὸν ἀρετῆς, ἀμα καὶ τὸν περιττὸν πλοῦτον ἐπι-
δεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ τοῖς μὴ λίαν ὑφεληθησομένοις. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐμφαντικῶτα παρίστησιν. ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὸ μὲν κατὰ θαλάττης, πηγάς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐρημωτάτοις ἀνομβρῆ, τὴν δὲ λεπτόγεως καὶ τραχεὰν καὶ ἄγονον γῆν ἀρδην ποταμοὺς ἀναχέων ταῖς πλημ-
μύραις, τί ἔτερον παρίστησιν ἡ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τε πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἑαυτοῦ; ἦδ’ ἐστὶν αἰτία δ’ ἢ ἄγονον οὐδεμίαν ψυχὴν ἐδημι-
ουργησεν ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ ἡ χρῆσις ἀδύνατος ἐνίοις ἢ αὐτοῦ. ἔτερον δὲ λεκτέον ἐκεῖνο·

βούλεται τὰ θέσει δίκαια εἰςαγαγεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἐμπνευσθεὶς τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἄπειρος ἢ ὁ ἄρετης, κολαζόμενος ἐφ’ οἷς ἠμάρτανεν ἐλπεῖν ἃν ως ἀδίκως κολάζεται, ἄπειρα γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ

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endowed with mind and actually alive; for he says, "man became a living soul." XIII. The question might be asked, why God deemed the earthly and body-loving mind worthy of divine breath at all, but not the mind which had been created after the original, and after His own image; in the second place, what "breathed in" means; thirdly, why the breathing is "into the face"; fourthly, why, though he shows his knowledge of the word 'spirit' when he says "and the Spirit of God was borne above the water" (Gen. i. 2), he now says "breath" not "spirit." In answer to the first query, one thing to be said is that God loves to give, and so bestows good things on all, even those who are not perfect, at the same time encouraging them to a zeal for virtue, and a participation in it, by displaying His own overflowing wealth, and how there is abundance even for those who will derive no great benefit from it. This characteristic He shows very clearly in other instances also. For when He rains upon the sea, and causes springs to gush forth in the depths of the desert, and waters the poor and rough and barren soil, pouring on it rivers with their overflowings, what else does He prove save the exceeding greatness of His own wealth and goodness? This is the reason for which He created no soul barren of virtue, even if the exercise of it be to some impossible. A second thing to be said is this. It is His will to make compliance with positive ordinances part of duty. One, then, into whom real life had not been breathed, but who was without experience of virtue, when punished for his transgressions would have said that he is unjustly punished, for that it was through inexperience
σφάλλεσθαι περὶ αὐτὸ, αὖτιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν μηδεμίαν ἐμπνεύσαντα ἐννοιαν αὐτοῦ. τάχα δὲ μηδὲ ἀμαρτάνειν φήσει τὸ παράπαν, εἰ γε τὰ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀδικημάτων ἔχειν λόγον φασὶ 36 tīnes. τὸ γε μὴν „ἐνεφύσησεν“ ἵσον ἐστὶ τῷ ἐνέπνευσεν ἡ ἐφύλαξε τὰ ἄψυχα· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτης ἀτοπίας ἀναπληθείησθαι, ὥστε νομίσαι θεὸν στόματος ἡ μυκτήρων ὀργάνοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐμφύσησαι· ἀποιοὺς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφος. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τι καὶ φυσικῶτερον 37 ἡ προφορά. τρία γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ, τὸ ἐμπνέον, τὸ δεχόμενον, τὸ ἐμπνεόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμπνεόν ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς, τὸ δὲ δεχόμενον ὁ νοὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνεό- [51] μενον τὸ πνεῦμα. τί | οὖν ἐκ τούτων συνάγεται; ἐνωσὶς γίνεται τῶν τριῶν, τείναντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν διὰ τοῦ μέσου πνεύματος ἀχριστοῦ ὑποκειμένου—τίνος ἕνεκα ἡ ὅπως ἐννοιαν αὐ- 38 τοῦ λάβωμεν; ἐπεὶ πῶς ἄν ἐνόησεν ἡ φυχὴ θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐνέπνευσε καὶ ἢματο αὐτῆς κατὰ δύναμιν; οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἀπετόλμησε τοσοῦτον ἀναδραμεῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπινος νοῦς, ὡς ἀντιλαβέσθαι θεοῦ φύσεως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνὴ ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ἀνασπασθήναι, καὶ ἐτύπωσε κατὰ τὰς ἐφικτὰς νοηθήναι δυνάμεις. 39 εἰς δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπνεῖ καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ ἡθικῶς· φυσικῶς μὲν, ὅτι ἐν προσώπῳ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργηε· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος τὸ μέρος ἐφύλαξε [καὶ ἐμπέπτευσται].
of good that he failed in respect of it, and that the blame lay with Him who had failed to breathe into him any conception of it. Nay, he will perhaps say that he does not sin at all, if (as some say) involuntary acts and acts done in ignorance do not count as wrong deeds. "Breathed into," we note, is equivalent to "inspired" or "be-souled" the soulless; for God forbid that we should be infected with such monstrous folly as to think that God employs for inbreathing organs such as mouth or nostrils; for God is not only not in the form of man, but belongs to no class or kind. Yet the expression clearly brings out something that accords with nature. For it implies of necessity three things, that which inbreathe, that which receives, that which is inbreathe: that which inbreathe is God, that which receives is the mind, that which is inbreathe is the spirit or breath. What, then, do we infer from these premises? A union of the three comes about, as God projects the power that proceeds from Himself through the mediant breath till it reaches the subject. And for what purpose save that we may obtain a conception of Him? For how could the soul have conceived of God, had He not breathed into it and mightily laid hold of it? For the mind of man would never have ventured to soar so high as to grasp the nature of God, had not God Himself drawn it up to Himself, so far as it was possible that the mind of man should be drawn up, and stamped it with the impress of the powers that are within the scope of its understanding.

The breathing "into the face" is to be understood both physically and ethically: physically, because it is in the face that He set the senses; for this part of the body is beyond other parts endowed with soul:
Ηθικώς δὲ οὕτως· ὡσπερ σώματος ἥγεμονικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὕτως ψυχῆς ἥγεμονικὸν ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς· τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐμπνεῖ ὁ θεὸς, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μέρεσιν οὐκ ἄξιοί, ταῖς τε αὐσθήσεσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ γονίμῳ· δεύτερα γὰρ ἐστὶν τῇ δυνάμει. ὑπὸ τίνος οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεπνεύσθη; ὑπὸ τοῦ νοοῦ δηλονότι· οὐ γὰρ μετέσχεν ὁ νοῦς παρὰ θεοῦ, τούτου μεταδίδεσθαι τῷ ἀλόγῳ μέρει τῆς ψυχῆς, ἠδει τὸν μὲν νοῦν ἐψυχώσθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀλόγου ὑπὸ τοῦ νοοῦ· ἰσχυεῖ γὰρ θεὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ ἀλόγου ὁ νοῦς, παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐκ ὄκνησεν εἰπεῖν "θεὸν τοῦ Φαραώ" (Exod. vii. 1). τῶν γὰρ γινομένων τὰ μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γίνεται καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν, οὐ δὲ αὐτοῦ δὲ· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄριστα καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γέγονε καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ· προελθὼν γοῦν ἔρει ὅτι "ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παρὰ- δεισον" (Gen. ii. 8). τούτων καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ ἀλόγου ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν γέγονεν, οὐ διὰ θεοῦ δὲ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λογικοῦ τοῦ ἀρχοντός τε καὶ βασιλέα λεύοντος ἐν ψυχῆ. "πνοὴν" δὲ, ἀλλ' οὐ πνεῦμα, εἴρηκεν, ὡς διαφόρας οὔσης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πνεῦμα νενόῃται κατὰ τὴν ἴσχυν καὶ εὐτονίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἢ δὲ πνοὴ ὡς ἂν αὖτά τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναθυμίας ἤρει καὶ πραεία. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονὸς καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν νοῦς πνεύματος ἀν λέγοιτο κεκοινωνηκέναι—ῥώμην γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λογισμὸς αὐτοῦ—ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὀλὴς τῆς κούφης καὶ ἑλαφροτέρας αὐρας ὃς ἂν ἀποφορᾶς τινος.
but ethically, on this wise. As the face is the dominant element in the body, so is the mind the dominant element of the soul: into this only does God breathe, whereas He does not see fit to do so with the other parts, whether senses or organs of utterance and of reproduction; for these are secondary in capacity. By what, then, were these also inspired? By the mind, evidently. For the mind imparts to the portion of the soul that is devoid of reason a share of that which it has received from God, so that the mind was be-souled by God, but the unreasoning part by the mind. For the mind is, so to speak, God of the unreasoning part. In like manner he does not hesitate to speak of Moses as "a God to Pharaoh" (Exod. vii. 1). For of the things which come into being some come into being both by God's power and through God's agency, while others come into being by God's power but not by His agency. The most excellent things were made both by God and through God. For example, he will presently say, "God planted a pleasance" (Gen. ii. 8): to these the mind belongs; but the part devoid of reason was made by God's power but not by God's agency, but by that of the reasonable power which rules and holds dominion in the soul. He uses the word 'breath' not 'spirit,' implying a difference between them; for 'spirit' is conceived of as connoting strength and vigour and power, while a 'breath' is like an air or a peaceful and gentle vapour. The mind that was made after the image and original might be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness; but the mind that was made out of matter must be said to partake of the light and less substantial air, as of some exhalation,
όποιαι γίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρωμάτων· φυλαττομένων γάρ οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ μὴ ἐκθυμιομένων εὐωδία τις γίνεται.

43 XIV. "Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεός παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπόν ὃν ἐπλάσε" (Gen. ii. 8). τὴν μετάρσιον καὶ οὐράνιον σοφίαν πολλοῖς ὄνομασι πολυώνυμον

52 οὕσαν | δεδήλωκε· καὶ γάρ ἄρχην καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ ὀρασιν θεοῦ κέκληκε. ταύτης δ' ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύπου μύημα τὴν ἐπίγειον σοφίαν νυνὶ παριστησι διὰ τῆς τοῦ παράδεισου φυτουργίας· μὴ γὰρ τοσαύτη κατάσχοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον λογισμὸν ἀσέβεια, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι θεὸς γεωπονεῖ καὶ φυτεύει παράδεισός, ἐπεί καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα εὐθὺς διαπορήσομεν· οὔ γὰρ ὅπως ἀναπαύλας εὐδιαγώγους καὶ ἡδονᾶς ἐαυτῶ πορίζη—μήδε εἰς νοῦν ἔλθοι ποτε τὸν

44 ἡμέτερον ἢ τοιαύτη μυθοποιία—θεοῦ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἄξιον ἂν εἰῇ χωρίων καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ τόπος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ πλήρης καὶ ἰκανὸς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ὁ θεός, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπίδεια καὶ ἔρημα καὶ κενὰ ὄντα πληρῶν καὶ περιέχον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὕσον ἄλλου περιεχόμενος, ἀτε

45 εἰς καὶ τὸ πάν αὐτὸς ὡν. τὴν οὖν ἐπίγειον ἁρετὴν σπείρει καὶ φυτεύει τῷ θυντῷ γένει ὁ θεὸς μύημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα οὕσαν τῆς οὐρανίου· ἐλεήσας γάρ ἡμῖν τὸ γένος καὶ κατιδὼν ὅτι εἰς ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων κακῶν συνέστηκεν, ἐπίκουρον καὶ ἄρωγον τῶν ψυχῆς νόσων ἁρετὴν ἐπίγειον ἐρρίζου, μύημα, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ ἀρχετύπου, ἧν πολλοῖς ὄνομασι καλεῖ. παραδείσως μὲν δὴ τροπικῶς εἰρηται ἡ ἁρετὴ, τόπος

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such as those that rise from spices: for if they are kept and not burned for incense there is still a sweet perfume from them.

XIV. "And God planted a pleasaunce in Eden toward the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom He had formed" (Gen. ii. 8). By using many words for it Moses has already made it manifest that the sublime and heavenly wisdom is of many names; for he calls it "beginning" and "image" and "vision of God"; and now by the planting of the pleasaunce he brings out the fact that earthly wisdom is a copy of this as of an archetype. Far be it from man's reasoning to be the victim of so great impiety as to suppose that God tills the soil and plants pleasances. We should at once be lost to tell from what motive He could do so. Not to provide Himself with pleasant refreshment and comfort. Let not such fables even enter our mind. For not even the whole world would be a place fit for God to make His abode, since God is His own place, and He is filled by Himself, and sufficient for Himself, filling and containing all other things in their destitution and barrenness and emptiness, but Himself contained by nothing else, seeing that He is Himself One and the Whole.

Well then, God sows and plants earthly excellence for the race of mortals as a copy and reproduction of the heavenly. For pitying our race and noting that it is compact of a rich abundance of ills, He caused earthly excellence to strike root, to bring succour and aid to the diseases of the soul. It is, as I said before, a copy of the heavenly and archetypal excellence, to which Moses gives many names. Virtue is figuratively called "pleasaunce," and the locality specially suited to the pleasaunce
δὲ οἶκεῖος τῷ παραδείσῳ Ἕδεμ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τρυφή· ἀρετή δὲ ἀρμόττον εἰρήνη καὶ εὐπάθεια καὶ χαρὰ, ἐν οἷς τὸ τρυφάν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστί. καὶ μὴν κατὰ ἀνατολάς ἐστιν ἡ φυτουργία τοῦ παραδείσου· οὗ γὰρ δύεται καὶ σβέννυται, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πέφυκεν ἀνατέλλειν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, καὶ ὡσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνατείλας ἦλιος τὸν ξόφον τοῦ ἀέρος φωτὸς ἐνέπλησεν, οὔτως καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀνατείλασα ἐν ψυχῇ τὴν ἀχλὸν αὐτῆς ἐναυγάζει καὶ τὸν πολὺν σκότον σκεδάνυσι. "καὶ ἐθέτο" φησίν "ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρωπόν ὄν ἐπλάσεν." ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὃν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὡς οἰκείοτατον ἐργον ἀσκῶν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν τίθησιν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἢν δηλονότι μηδὲν ἄλλο Ἦταν ταῦτην καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς τημελημένος καὶ περιέπη. XV. 48 ἐτήσιον δ' ἂν τις, διὰ τί, τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα οὖν μιμεῖσθαι σιαγόν, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπηγόρευται φυτεύειν ἀλος παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστήριῳ, τὸν δὲ παράδεισον ὁ θεὸς φυτεύει; φησὶ γὰρ· "οὐ φυτεύσεις σεαυτῷ ἀλος, πᾶν ξύλον παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου οὐ | ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ" (Deut. xvi. 21). τί οὖν λέκτεον; ὅτι πρέπει τῷ θεῷ φυτεύειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ τὰς ἀρετὰς. φίλαυτος δὲ καὶ θεος καὶ θεος, οἴομενος ἵππους εἶναι θεῷ καὶ ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἐν τῷ πάσχειν ἐξεταζόμενος· θεοῦ δὲ σπείροντος καὶ φυτεύοντος ἐν ψυχῇ τὰ καλά, ὁ λέγων νοῦς ὅτι "ἐγὼ φυτεύω" ἀσεβεῖ. οὐ φυτεύσεις οὖν, ὅταν ὁ θεὸς φυτουργή· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ φυτᾶ ἐν ψυχῇ καταβάλῃ, ὃ διάνοια, καρποτόκα φύτευε πάντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀλος, ἐν ἀλοι ἔχος καὶ ἀγρίας ύλῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμέρου δένδρα· κακίαν δὲ
“Eden,” which means “luxury”; excellence to be sure has for its fit adjuncts peace and welfare and joy, in which true luxury consists. Again the planting of the pleasance is “towards the sun-rising,” for right reason does not set nor is quenched, but its nature is ever to rise, and, I take it, just as the sun when it has risen fills the gloom of the atmosphere with light, so virtue also, when it has risen in the soul, illumines its mist and disperses its deep darkness. “And He placed there” it says, “the man whom He had formed.” For God, being good and training our race to virtue as the operation most proper to it, places the mind amid virtue, evidently to the end that as a good gardener it may spend its care on nothing else but this.

XV. Now the question might be asked, “Why, seeing that to imitate God’s works is a pious act, am I forbidden to plant a grove by the altar, while God plants the pleasance?” For it says, “Thou shalt not plant thyself a grove: thou shalt not make to thyself any wood by the side of the altar of the Lord thy God” (Deut. xvi. 21). What then are we to say? That it becomes God to plant and to build virtues in the soul, but that the mind shows itself to be without God and full of self-love, when it deems itself as on a par with God; and, whereas passivity is its true part, looks on itself as an agent. When God sows and plants noble qualities in the soul, the mind that says “I plant” is guilty of impiety. Thou shalt not plant, therefore, whensoever God is tending His plants. But if thou dost set plants in the soul, O mind, set only fruit-bearing plants. Set not a grove, for in a grove there are both wild and cultivated trees. And to plant in the soul barren wicked-
PHILO

τὴν ἁγονὸν ἐν ψυχῇ μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ καρποτόκου φυτεύειν ἀρετῆς λέπρας ἐστὶ τῆς διφυοῦς καὶ μυγάδος οἰκεῖον. ἐὰν μέντοι γε τὰ ἄμικτα καὶ σύγκλυδα εῖς ταύτων ἁγγὶς, χώριζε καὶ διάκρινε τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως τῆς ἀναφερούσης τὰ ἁμωμα τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄλλοτριον τὸ λέγειν ἐργον τι εἶναι ψυχῆς, ἐπὶ θεῶν πάντων λαμβανόντων τὴν ἀναφοράν, καὶ τὸ τὰ ἄκαρπα τοῖς καρποτόκους ἀναμιμνύναι· μῶμος γὰρ τοῦτο γε, τὰ δὲ ἁμωμα τῷ θεῷ προσάγεται. ἐὰν οὖν τι τούτων παραβιθῇς, ὃ ψυχῆ, σαυτὴν βλάψεις, οὐ θεόν· διὰ τοῦτο φησιν: “οὐ φυτεύεσις σεαυτῷ”. θεῷ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐργάζεται, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ φαιλα· καὶ ἐπιφέρει πάλιν: “οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ.” λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις: “οὐ ποιήσετε μετ’ ἐμοῦ θεοὺς ἀργυροῖς, καί θεοὺς χρυσοὺς οὐ ποιήσετε ύμῖν ἐαυτοῖς” (Exod. xx. 23). ὁ γὰρ ἡ ποιότητα οἰόμενος ἐχειν τὸν θεόν ἡ μὴ ἕνα εἶναι ἡ μὴ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ἡ μὴ ἀτρεπτον ἐπί θεοῦ ἀδικεῖ, οὐ θεόν· “ἐαυτοῖς” γὰρ φησιν “οὐ ποιήσετε”. δεί γὰρ ἠγείσθαι καὶ ἀποδοτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνα καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀτρεπτον· ὁ δὲ μὴ οὗτος διανοούμενος ἐαυτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ψευδοῦς καὶ θεοῦ δόξης ἀναπίμπλησιν. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι, καὶ εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀρετήν καὶ εἰσαχθέντες φυτεύσωμεν ἀκαρπον μὲν οὐδὲν “πάν δὲ ξύλον βρώσιμον,” κελεύει “περικαθαρίσαι τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ” (Lev. xix. 23);

α Philo plays on the two senses of ἀναφέρειν, “offer” and “refer”

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ness by the side of cultivated and fruit-yielding virtue is like leprosy with its twofold growths and blending of discordant hues. If, however, thou dost bring into the same place things heterogeneous and incapable of mixture, let them be separate and distinct from the pure and unsullied growth that offers up fruits free from blemish to God. And it is such a growth that is meant by the altar of sacrifice: for it is a violation of this to say that anything is the (independent) work of the soul, since there is nothing there that has not reference to God. To say that is to mingle the barren with the fruit-bearing. And this is a blemish, whereas only things without blemish are offered to God. If then thou transgress in any of these respects, O soul, thou wilt injure thyself, not God; that is why it says “thou shalt not plant to thyself”; for to God no one does such tillage, above all when the plants are bad ones; and it goes on to say, “thou shalt not make to thyself.” It says also in another case, “Ye shall not make together with Me gods of silver, and gods of gold ye shall not make to yourselves” (Exod. xx. 23). For he that thinks either that God belongs to a type, or that He is not one, or that He is not unoriginate and incorruptible, or that He is not incapable of change, wrongs himself not God; for it says, “to yourselves ye shall not make”; for we must deem that He belongs to no type, and that He is One and incorruptible and unchangeable. He that does not so conceive infects his own soul with a false and godless opinion. Do you not see that, even if He bring us into virtue and even if, when brought in, we plant no fruitless thing but “every tree good for food,” He yet commands us “thoroughly to cleanse its uncleanness”
PHILO

τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δοκεῖν φυτεῦειν· ἀποτεμεῖν
οὐσιν γὰρ ἐπαγγέλλεται, οὐσις δὲ ἀκάθαρτον
53 φύσει. XVI. ὅ τι δὲ ἐπλασεν ἄνθρωπον
tιθέναι φησιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ νῦν μόνον· τίς
οὖν ἐστιν, ἐφ' οὗ ὑστερόν φησιν ὡτι "ἐλαβε
κύριος θεός τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅτι ἐποίησε' καὶ ἔθετο
αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ
φυλάσσεων" (Gen. ii. 15); μήποτ' οὖν ἔτερος
ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν
идέαν γεγονός, ὡστε δύο ἄνθρωπους εἰς τὸν
παράδεισον εἰσάγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν πεπλασμένον, τὸν
54 δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἴδεαν γεγονός
[54] οὐ | μόνον ἐν ταῖς φυτουργίαις τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐξετά-
ζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐργάτης ἐστίν αὐτῶν καὶ φύλαξ,
tοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μνήμων οὐ ύστερον αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδια;
ὁ δὲ πλαστὸς οὔτε ἐργάζεται τὰς ἀρετὰς οὔτε
φυλάττει, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰσάγεται εἰς τὰ δόγματα
ἀφθονίαθεοῦ, μέλλων αὐτικά φυγάς ἀρετῆς
55 ἐσεθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ὃν μὲν μόνον τίθησιν ἐν τῷ
παραδείσῳ, πλαστὸν καλεῖ, ὃν δὲ καὶ ἐργάτην καὶ
φύλακα ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐ πλαστὸν, ἀλλὰ "ὁν ἐποίησε'
καὶ τοῦτον μὲν λαμβάνει, ἔκεινον δὲ
ἐκβάλλει. ὃν δὲ λαμβάνει, τριῶν ἀξιον, ἐξ ὧν
συνέστηκεν ἡ εὐφυία, εὐθιξία, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης.
ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐθιξία θέσις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ,
ἡ δὲ ἐπιμονὴ πρᾶξις τῶν καλῶν [τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι
τὰ καλὰ], ἡ δὲ μνήμη φυλακή καὶ διατήρησις τῶν
ἀγίων δογμάτων. ὃ δὲ πλαστὸς νοσὶ οὔτε μυημο-

1 We must suppose that Philo found ἐποίησε in his text of lxx.
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(Lev. xix. 23)? And this means the notion that we are planting, for it is the cutting away of self-conceit that He demands, and self-conceit is in its nature unclean. XVI. Speaking here of the man whom God moulded, it merely says that He “placed him in the garden.” Who then is it of whom it says later on “The Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till it and to guard it” (Gen. ii. 15)? It would seem then that this is a different man, the one that was made after the image and archetype, so that two men are introduced into the garden, the one a moulded being, the other “after the image.” The one then that was made according to the original has his sphere not only in the planting of virtues but is also their tiller and guardian, and that means that he is mindful of all that he heard and practised in his training; but the “moulded” man neither tills the virtues nor guards them, but is only introduced to the truths by the rich bounty of God, presently to be an exile from virtue. For this reason in describing the man whom God only places in the garden, Moses uses the word “moulded,” but of the man whom He appoints both tiller and guardian he speaks not as “moulded,” but he says “whom He had made”; and the one He receives, and the other He casts out. And He confers on him whom He receives three gifts, which constitute natural ability, facility in apprehending, persistence in doing, tenacity in keeping. Facility in apprehending is the placing in the garden, persistence in doing is the practice of noble deeds, tenacity in keeping the guarding and retaining in the memory of the holy precepts. But the “moulded” mind neither keeps in mind nor
νεύει τὰ καλὰ οὔτε ἐργάζεται, μόνον δὲ εὐθυκτός ἐστιν παρὸ καὶ τεθεῖς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἐκβάλλεται.

56 XVII. "Καὶ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ἠλέουν ὤραιον εἰς ὀρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ τὸ ἠλέουν τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ τὸ ἠλέουν τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλὸν καὶ πονηροῦ" (Gen. ii. 9). ἀ φυτεύει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δένδρα ἀρετῆς, νῦν ὑπογράφει· ἐστι δὲ ταῦτα αἱ τε κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταί καὶ αἱ κατὰ αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρὰ τοὺς ἑν τῇ φύσει δένδρα αρετής, νῦν υπογράφει· ἐστι δὲ ταῦτα αἱ τε κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταί καὶ αἱ κατὰ αὐτὰς ἐνέργειαι, καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρὰ τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦσι καθήκοντα· ταῦτα ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου τὰ φυτὰ. χαρακτηρίζει μέντοι γε αὐτὰ ταῦτα, δηλῶν ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁφθήναι κάλλιστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπολαυσθήναι. ἐναι γὰρ τῶν τεχνῶν θεωρητικῶν μὲν εἰσιν, οὐ πρακτικαὶ δὲ, γεωμετρία, ἀστρονομία, ἐναι δὲ πρακτικαὶ μὲν, οὐθεωρητικαὶ δὲ, τεκτονικῆ, χαλκευτικῆ, καὶ οὐσι βάναυσοι λέγονται· η δὲ ἀρετὴ καὶ θεωρητικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ πρακτικὴ· καὶ γὰρ θεωρίαν ἐχει, ὅπως καὶ η ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ὁδὸς φιλοσοφία διὰ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν, τοῦ λογικοῦ, τοῦ θηκικοῦ, τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καὶ πράξεως· οἶον γὰρ τὸν βίου ἐστὶν τέχνη ἡ ἀρετή, ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ αἱ σύμπασαι πράξεις. ἀλλα καὶ τοι θεωρίαν ἐχουσα καὶ πράξιν, πάλιν ἐν ἐκατέρῳ ὑπερβάλλει κατὰ τὸ κρείττον· καὶ γὰρ ἡ θεωρία τῆς ἀρετῆς παγκάλη· καὶ ἡ πράξιν καὶ ἡ χρήσιν περιμάχητος. διὸ καὶ φησιν ὅτι καὶ "εἰς ὀρασιν ἐστιν ωραῖον," ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ σύμβολον, καὶ "καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν," ὅπερ ἐστὶ

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a Cf. Cicero, De Officiis i. 3. 8, iii. 3. 14, κατορθώματα are honesta or recta; τὰ καθήκοντα are media or communia.
carries out in action the things that are noble, but has facility in apprehending them and no more than this. Accordingly after being placed in the garden he soon runs away and is cast out.

XVII. "And God caused to spring out of the ground every tree fair to behold and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. ii. 9). Moses now indicates what trees of virtue God plants in the soul. These are the several particular virtues, and the corresponding activities, and the complete moral victories, and what philosophers call καθήκοντα or common duties. These are the plants of the garden. These very plants he characterizes, showing that what is good is also most fair to be seen and enjoyed. For some of the arts and sciences are theoretical indeed but not practical, such as geometry and astronomy, and some are practical, but not theoretical, as the arts of the carpenter and coppersmith, and all that are called mechanical; but virtue is both theoretical and practical; for clearly it involves theory, since philosophy, the road that leads to it, involves it through its three parts, logic, ethics, physics; and it involves conduct, for virtue is the art of the whole of life, and life includes all kinds of conduct. But while virtue involves theory and practice, it is furthermore of surpassing excellence in each respect; for indeed the theory of virtue is perfect in beauty, and the practice and exercise of it a prize to be striven for. Wherefore he says that it is both "beautiful to look upon," an expression signifying its aspect as theory, and "good to eat,"

b See App. p. 477.
τοῦ χρηστικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ σημείον.

59 XVIII. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς έστιν ἡ γενικωτάτη ἀρετή, ἣν τινὲς ἀγαθότητα καλοῦσιν, ἀφ’ ἂς αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἀρεταί συνιστάνται. τοῦτον χάριν καὶ μέσον ἱδρυται τοῦ παραδείσου, τῆν συνεκτικώτάτην χώραν ἔχον, ἵνα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν,

[55] βασιλέως | τρόπον, δορυφορηται. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν τὴν καρδίαν ξύλον εἰρήσθαι ζωῆς, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὰ τε τοῦ ζήν ἐστι καὶ τὴν μέσην τοῦ σώματος χώραν ἔλαχεν, ὡς ἂν κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἥγεμονικὸν ὑπάρχουσα. ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν ἰατρικὴν δόξαν ἐκτιθέμενοι μᾶλλον ἡ φυσικὴν μὴ λανθανέτωσαν, ἥμεις δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐλέξθη, τὴν γενικωτάτην

60 ἀρετήν ξύλον εἰρήσθαι ζωῆς λέγομεν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ῥήτως φησιν ὅτι ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου· τὸ δὲ ἐτερον ξύλον, τὸ τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, οὐ δεδηλωκεν οὐτε εἰ ἐντὸς οὐτε εἰ ἐκτὸς ἐστι τοῦ παραδείσου, ἀλλ’ εἰπὼν οὔτως “καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν” εὐθὺς ἤσυχασεν οὐ δηλώσας ὅπου τετύχηκεν ὅν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ φυσιολογίας ἀμύητος τοῦ τόπου1 τῆς

61 ἐπιστήμης θαυμάζῃ. τὶ οὖν χρῆ λέγειν· ὅτι τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐσία μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐκτὸς. πῶς; τὸ ἥγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν πανδεχέσε ἐστὶ καὶ

1 Reading τόπον for ὅντα, as Cohn (after Jost) suggests. See note 6, on p. 36 of Heinemann’s translation, signed “L. C.,” and App. p. 478.

a See Vol. II. App. p. 492, note on De Sac. 136.

b Philo apparently means that Moses refrained from mentioning where the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil was situated, lest its locality should become an object of awe and wonder to the ignorant. φυσιολογία is the naturae species 184.
words which point to its excellence in exercise and practice.

XVIII. Now the tree of life is virtue in the most comprehensive sense, which some term goodness. From it the particular virtues derive their existence. That is why it is also set in the midst of the garden, occupying the central all-embracing position, that it may, like a king, be attended by those on either side as by body-guards. But some say that it is the heart that is called the tree of life, since it is the cause of life and has been allotted the central place in the body, as it naturally would, being in their view the dominating principle. But these people should remember that they are setting forth a view worthy of the physician rather than of the philosopher, while we, as we have said, maintain that virtue in its most generic aspect is called the tree of life. Of this he expressly says that it is in the midst of the garden, but as to the other tree, that of knowing good and evil, he has not made it clear whether it is within or without the garden, but immediately after the words, “and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,” he comes to a stop without making it clear where it was. His silence is due to his desire to prevent the man unversed in natural philosophy from regarding with wonder the spot where that knowledge dwells. What then must we say? That this tree is both in the garden and outside it, in literal fact in it, virtually outside it. How so? Our dominant part is all-receptive and ratioque of Lucretius (i. 147, ii. 58, iii. 91, vi. 38) which terrorem animi tων θάμβαςque necesse est Discutiat. So Plutarch says “Philosophic reason does away with the wonder and awe (θαυμα και θάμβος) due to unenlightenment and ignorance.” (“On the Student at Lectures,” § 44, Tucker's Translation.) See App. pp. 477, 478.
ΡΗΦΟ

έοικε κηρῷ πάντας τύπους καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσχροὺς
dεχομένως παρὸ καὶ ὁ περνιστὴς Ἰακώβ ὁμολογεῖ
φάσκων " 'Ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο πάντα ταῦτα"·
(Γεν. xlii. 36). ἐπὶ γὰρ μιὰν οὐσαν τὴν ψυχὴν αἰ
ἀμύθητον τυπάς ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ
ἀναφέρονταῖ. οταν μὲν οὖν δέξηται τὸν τῆς τελείας
ἀρετῆς χαρακτῆρα, γέγονε τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον,
οταν δὲ τὸν τῆς κακίας, γέγονε τὸ τοῦ εἰδέναι
γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· ἢ δὲ κακία πεφυ-
γάδευται θείου χοροῦ· τὸ δεδεγμένον οὖν αὐτῆς
ήγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν
οὐσίαν, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς χαρα-
kτῆρο οἰκεῖος ὧν τῷ παραδείσῳ, δυνάμει δὲ πάλιν
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τύπος ὁ κακίας ἀλλότριὸς
ἔστι θείων ἀνατολῶν. ὁ δὲ λέγω, καὶ οὕτως ἃν
τις καταμάθωι. νῦν ἐν τῷ σώματὶ μου τὸ ἱγε-
μονικὸν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ ἐν
Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ Σικελία, ὅπως περὶ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων
ἐπιλογίζεται, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπως περὶ οὐρανοῦ
σκοπεῖ· πάρο καὶ πολλάκις ἐν βεβήλοις ὄντες
χωρίοις τυχεῖ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ἱερωτάτως
ὑπάρχουσιν, φαντασιούμενοι τὰ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐμ-
pαλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπάρχουσες ἀλλοὶ τὴν
dιάνοιαν εἰς βεβηλού, τῷ τρόπῳ πρὸς τὸ χείρον
καὶ τύπους αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν φαύλους· ὅστε οὕτω
ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ κακία ἔστὶν οὕτε οὐχὶ ἔστι·
dύναται μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ᾽ οὐσίαν, δυνάμει δὲ οὐ
długη
62 XIX. " Ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδῆμ
ποτίζει τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς
[56] τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς. ὁνομα | τῷ ἐνὶ Φεισών· οὗτος
ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὗ ἔστι τὸ
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resembles wax that receives all impressions fair and ugly; accordingly the supplanter Jacob makes acknowledgement saying, "Upon me came all these things" (Gen. xlii. 36); for upon the soul, one as it is, the countless impressions of all things in the universe are borne. Whenever, then, it shall have received the stamp of perfect virtue, it straightway becomes the tree of life, but when it receives that of wickedness, it straightway becomes the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But wickedness has been exiled from the divine choir. The ruling part in us therefore that has received it is actually in the garden, for it has in it likewise the stamp of virtue, properly belonging to the garden; but on the other hand it is virtually not in it, because the impress of wickedness is alien to a place of divine sunrising. You may grasp what I mean in this way. At this moment my ruling part is in literal fact in my body, but virtually in Italy or Sicily, when it is pondering on these countries, and in heaven, when it is considering heaven. Accordingly it often happens that people who are actually in unconsecrated spots are really in most sacred ones, when they are forming images of all that pertains to virtue. Others, on the other hand, who are in consecrated spots are in mind profane, owing to their mind admitting bad impressions and inclinations to what is unworthy. Thus wickedness neither is in the garden, nor is it not in it, for it can be there actually, but virtually it cannot.

XIX. "A river goes forth from Eden to water the garden: thence it is separated into four heads; the name of the one is Pheison; this is that which encircles all the land of Evilat, there where the gold

\[\text{Plato, Phaedrus 247 a.}\]
PHILO

χρυσίον· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλὸν,· καὶ ἐκεὶ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος. καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ Γηῶν· οὗτος κυκλοὶ πᾶσαι τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας. καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις· οὗτος ὁ πορεύομενος κατέαντι Ἀσσυρίων. ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης” (Gen. ii. 10–14).

διὰ τούτων βουλεῖται τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρέτας ὑπογράφειν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν ἄριθμὸν τέτταρες, φρόνησις σωφροσύνη ἀνδρεία δικαιοσύνη. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγιστος ποταμὸς, οὗ αἱ τέτταρες ἀπόρροιαι γεγόνασι, ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετή, ἢν ἀγαθότητα ὑνομάζαμεν, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀπόρροιαι αἱ ἱσάριθμοι ἀρεταῖ. λαμβάνει μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἤδεμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας, ἡ χαίρει καὶ γάνυται καὶ τρυφά ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἀγαλλομένη καὶ σεμνομένη θεῷ, αἱ δὲ ἐν εἴδει τέτταρες ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς, ἢτις ποταμοῦ δίκην ἀρδεῖ τὰ κατορθώματα ἕκασταις πολλῷ ρεύματι καλῶν πράξεων.

64 ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς λέξεις. “ποταμὸς δὲ” φησιν ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἔδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον. ποταμὸς ἡ γενικὴ ἐστὶν ἀρετή, ἡ ἀγαθότης· αὕτη ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τῆς Ἤδεμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας· ἡ δὲ ἐστιν ὁ θεοῦ λόγος· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον πεποίηται ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετή. τὸν παράδεισον δὲ ποτίζει ἡ γενικὴ ἀρετή, τούτῳ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρέτας ἀρδεῖ. “ἀρχὰς” δὲ οὐ τὰς τοπικὰς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς· ἐκάστη γὰρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονικὰς καὶ βασιλικὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι. τὸ δὲ “ἀφορίζεται” ἵσον ἐστι τῷ ὄροις πεπεράτωται· ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὄρους αὐτοῖς τ输卵管, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῖς ὑπομενετέοις, ἢ δὲ 188
is; and the gold of that land is good; and there is the ruby and the emerald. And the name of the second river is Geon; this encompasses all the land of Aethiopia. And the third river is Tigris; this is that whose course is in front of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates” (Gen. ii. 10-14). By these rivers his purpose is to indicate the particular virtues. These are four in number, a prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice. The largest river, of which the four are effluxes, is generic virtue, which we have called “goodness.” The four effluxes are the virtues of the same number. Generic virtue takes its start from Eden, the wisdom of God, which is full of joy, and brightness, and exultation, gloriing and priding itself only upon God its Father; but the specific virtues, four in number, are derived from generic virtue, which like a river waters the perfect achievements of each of them with an abundant flow of noble doings. Let us look too at the particular words used. “A river,” it says “issues forth from Eden to water the garden.” “River” is generic virtue, goodness. This issues forth out of Eden, the wisdom of God, and this is the Reason of God; for after that has generic virtue been made. And generic virtue waters the garden, that is, it waters the particular virtues. “Heads” he takes not in the sense of locality but of sovereignty. For each of the virtues is in very deed a sovereign and a queen. “Is separated” is equivalent to ‘has boundaries to define it.’ Prudence, concerned with things to be done, sets boundaries round them; courage round things to be endured; self-mastery

* The four cardinal virtues belong, of course, to Platonism, though adopted by later philosophers.
σωφροσύνη τοῖς αἱρετεῖοι, ἢ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῖς ἀπονεμητεῖοι.

66 XX. "Ονόμα τῶ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν· οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐλάτ, ἐκεῖ οὗ ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνης καλὸν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος." τῶν τεττάρων ἀρετῶν ἐν εἴδος ἔστιν ἡ φρόνησις, ἢν Φεισῶν ἁνόμασε παρὰ τὸ φείδεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ψυχήν ἀπὸ ἀδικημάτων. χορεύει δὲ καὶ κύκλων περιέμαι τὴν γῆν Εὐλάτ, τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι, τὴν εὐμενήν καὶ πραείαν καὶ ὦλεων κατάστασιν.

67 ἡ δοκιμωτάτη ἀρετὴ φρόνησις γέγονε. τὸ δὲ ἐκεῖ οὗ ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον" οὐκ ἔστι τοπικῶν τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖ οὗπον ἔστι τὸ χρυσίον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ οὗ κτήμα ἔστιν ἡ χρυσαυγής καὶ πεπυρωμένη καὶ τυμία φρόνησις. κτήμα δὲ θεοῦ κάλλιστον ἦδε ἀνωμολόγηται. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον τῆς φρονήσεως δύο ἐστὶ ποιοὶ, ὁ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οὕς ἀνθρακί καὶ λίθω πρασίνῳ παραβέβληκεν.

68 XXI. "Καὶ ὄνομα τῶ ποταμῶ τῶ δευτέρῳ Γηῶν· οὗτος κυκλῳ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Αἰθιοπίας." συμβολικῶς ἔστιν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἡ ἀνδρεία· ἐρμηνευθέν γὰρ τὸ Γηῶν ὄνομα ἔστι στήθος ἡ κερατίζων. ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀνδρείας μηνυτικόν περί τε γὰρ τὰ στήθη, οὗπον καὶ ἡ καρδία, διατρίβει καὶ πρὸς ἀμυναν εὐτρέπισται· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπομενετῶν καὶ οὐχ ὑπομενετῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων. περικυκλοὶ δὲ καὶ περικάθηται προσπολεμοῦσα τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἡς ἔστιν ἐρμηνευθέν τούνομα

a φείδεσθαι = “to spare.”
round things to be chosen; justice round things to
be awarded.

XX. "The name of the one is Pheison. This is
that which encompasseth all the land of Evilat, there
where the gold is; and the gold of that land is good;
and there is the ruby and the emerald." One
species of the four virtues is prudence, which he has
called "Pheison," owing to its 'sparing' and guard­
ing the soul from deeds of wrong. And it encircles
in its roundel the land of Evilat; that is to say, it
cherishes with care the kindly and gentle and
gracious disposition; and, as of all smelted substance
the most excellent and most approved is gold, so of
the soul too the most approved virtue is prudence.
And the words, "there where (or ' whose ') the
gold is" are not a mere piece of local information,
there where the gold is, but there (is He) whose is the
treasure, even prudence gleaming like gold, tried by
the fire, and precious; and prudence is acknowledged
to be God's fairest treasure. And in the place where
prudence dwells are two corresponding concretes, the
man who is prudent, and the man who exercises
prudence. These he likens to ruby and emerald.

XXI. "And the name of the second river is Geon;
this encircles all the land of Ethiopia." This river
figuratively represents courage; for the word Geon
is 'breast' or 'butting'; and each of these indicates
courage; for it has its abode about men's breasts,
where the heart also is, and it is fully equipped for
self-defence; for it is the knowledge of things that
we ought to endure and not to endure, and of things
that fall under neither head. And it encompasses
and beleaguerers Ethiopia, whose name being inter-

\[b\] This definition of \(\alpha ν \omega \rho \varepsilon \lambda \alpha\) is Stoic (\(S. V. F.\) iii. 262 ff.).
ταπεινώσις· ταπεινὸν δὲ ἡ δειλία, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία ταπεινώσει καὶ δειλία πολέμιον.

69 "Καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ τρίτος Τίγρις, οὗτος ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων." τρίτη ἐστὶν ἀρετή σωφροσύνη, ἀντιστατοῦσα τῇ κατευθύνειν δοκοῦσθη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ἥδονη· Ἀσσύριοι γὰρ εὐθύνουσι Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ καλοῦνται. τίγριδι δὲ τῷ ἀνθρωπιστάτῳ ζῴῳ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἶκας, περὶ ἡ ἡ σωφροσύνη πραγματεύεται.

70 XXII. άξιον μέντοι ἀπορῆσαι, διὰ τί δευτέρα μὲν ἀνδρεία, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, πρῶτη δὲ φρόνησις εὑρηται, καὶ οὐχ ἔτεραν τῶν ἀρετῶν τάξιν δεδήλωκε. νοητέον οὖν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῶν τριμερῆς ἡ ψυχή καὶ ἔχει μέρος τὸ μὲν λογικὸν, τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικὸν. καὶ συμβέβηκε τοῦ μὲν λογικοῦ χωρίον εἶναι καὶ ἐνδιαίτημα τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοῦ δὲ θυμικοῦ τὰ στέρνα, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τὸ ἱττρον, ἀρετήν δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν ὀἰκεῖαν προσημόσθαι, τῷ μὲν λογικῷ φρόνησιν, λογισμῷ γὰρ ἐστίν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ὅτι τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὅν μή, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ ἀνδρείαν, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ σωφροσύνην, σωφροσύνη γὰρ τᾶς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκούμεθα καὶ ἱώμεθα. ᾧσπερ οὖν κεφαλὴ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ ζῶου καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ μέρος ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ στέρνα, τρίτον δὲ ἱττρον, καὶ πάλιν ψυχῆς πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικόν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ θυμικὸν, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν πρῶτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τὸ πρῶτον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁ δὴ λογικὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῦ σώματος διατρίβουσα κεφαλὴν φρόνησις, δευτέρα

* See App. p. 478.
preted is 'lowness'; and cowardice is a low thing, while courage is a foe to lowness and cowardice.

"And the third river is Tigris; this is that whose course is over against the Assyrians." Self-mastery is the third virtue, and takes its stand against pleasure, which thinks that it can direct the course of human weakness; for expressed in the Greek tongue "Assyrians" is 'directing.' He further compares desire, with which self-mastery is occupied, to a tiger, the animal least capable of being tamed. XXII. It is worth inquiring why courage is mentioned in the second place, self-mastery in the third, and prudence in the first, and why he has not set forth a different order of the virtues. We must observe, then, that our soul is threefold, and has one part that is the seat of reason, another that is the seat of high spirit, and another that is the seat of desire. And we discover that the head is the place and abode of the reasonable part, the breast of the passionate part, the abdomen of the lustful part; and that to each of the parts a virtue proper to it has been attached; prudence to the reasonable part, for it belongs to reason to have knowledge of the things we ought to do and of the things we ought not; courage to the passionate part; and self-mastery to the lustful part. For it is by self-mastery that we heal and cure our desires. As, then, the head is the first and highest part of the living creature, the breast the second, and the abdomen the third, and again of the soul the reasoning faculty is first, the high-spirited second, the lustful third: so too of the virtues, first is prudence which has its sphere in the first part of the soul which is the domain of reason, and in the first part of the body, namely the head; and second is courage, for it has its seat in high
δὲ ἀνδρεία, ὅτι περὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος ψυχῆς μὲν θυμόν, σώματος δὲ τὰ στέρνα φωλεῦει, τρίτη δὲ σωφροσύνη, ὅτι περὶ τὸ ἦτρον, ὃ δὴ τρίτον ἐστὶ τοῦ σῶματος, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὃ τρίτην εἰληθε χώραν ἐν ψυχῇ, πραγματεύεται.

72 XXIII. "Ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς" φησιν "ὁ τέταρτος Εὐφράτης." καρποφορία καλεῖται ὁ Εὐφράτης, ἔστι δὲ συμβολικῶς ἀρετὴ τετάρτη, δικαιοσύνη, καρποφόρος τῷ ὅντι καὶ εὐφραίνουσα τὴν διάνοιαν. πότε οὖν γίνεται; ὅταν τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς συμφωνικὰν ἔχῃ· συμφωνία δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κρείττονος ἰγμονία, οἶνον ὅταν τὰ δύο, τὸ τε θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ἰμοχώνται καθάπερ ἵπποι υπὸ τοῦ λογικοῦ, τότε γίνεται δικαιοσύνη· δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὲν κρείττον ἁρχεῖν ἄει καὶ πανταχοῦ, τὸ δὲ χείρον ἁρχεῖσθαι· κρείττον μὲν δὴ τὸ λογικὸν, χείρον δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν καὶ τὸ θυμικὸν.

73 ὅταν δὲ ἐμπαλίν ἀρηνιάσῃ καὶ ἀναχαίτισῃ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ τὸν ἴμιοχον, λέγω δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν, τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ὀρμῆς κατασύρῃ καὶ ὑποζεῦξῃ, ἐκάτερον δὲ πάθος λάβηται τῶν ἴμιων, ἀδικία κρατεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἄπειρα καὶ κακία <τοῦ> ἱμιόχον τὰ ὑπεζεύγμενα κατὰ κρημνών φέρεσθαι καὶ βαράθρων, ὃσπερ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ διασώζεσθαι.

74 XXIV. "Ἔτι καὶ οὕτως ἰδὼμεν τὸ προκειμένον. Φειδών ἐρμηνεύεται στόματος ἀλλοίωσις, Ἐυιλατ δὲ ὀδύνουσα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἡ φρόνησις ἐμφαίνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ φρόνιμοι νομίζουσι τὸν εὑρετὴν λόγων σοφιστικῶν καὶ δεινὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ νοθέν, Μωυσῆς δὲ λογοφίλην μὲν αὐτὸν

\*See Plato, Phaedrus 253 d.*
spirit, the second part of the soul, and in the breast, the corresponding part of the body; and third self-mastery, for its sphere of action is the abdomen, which is of course the third part of the body, and the lustful faculty, to which has been assigned the third place in the soul.

XXIII. "The fourth river," he says, "is Euphrates." "Euphrates" means 'fruitfulness,' and is a figurative name for the fourth virtue, justice, a virtue fruitful indeed and bringing gladness to the mind. When, then, does it appear? When the three parts of the soul are in harmony. Harmony for them is the dominance of the more excellent; for instance, when the two, the high-spirited and the lustful, are guided by the reasoning faculty as horses by their driver, then justice emerges; for it is justice for the better to rule always and everywhere, and for the worse to be ruled: and the reasoning faculty is better, the lustful and the high-spirited the inferior. Whenever, on the other hand, high spirit and desire turn restive and get out of hand, and by the violence of their impetus drag the driver, that is the reason, down from his seat and put him under the yoke, and each of these passions gets hold of the reins, injustice prevails. For it cannot but be that owing to the badness and want of skill of the driver, the team is swept down precipices and gullies, just as by experience and skill it must needs be brought safely through.a

XXIV. Now let us go on to look at our subject in this way. "Pheison" signifies 'alteration of mouth,' and "Evilat" 'in travail': and by these prudence is plainly indicated. For while most people deem the man prudent who can find sophistical arguments, and is clever at expressing his ideas, Moses knows such
οὐδὲ, φρόνιμον δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ἐν ἀλλούσει γὰρ τοῦ στόματος, τούτεστι τοῦ ἐρμηνευτικοῦ λόγου, ἡ φρόνησις θεωρεῖται· ὅπερ ἣν μὴ ἐν λόγῳ τὸ φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑργῷ θεωρεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδαίας
75 πράξειν. κύκλων δὲ περιτίθησι καὶ ῥαπανεὶ τεῖχος ἡ φρόνησις τῇ Εὐλατίᾳ ἡ ἀφροσύνη πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καθαίρεσιν · ἀφροσύνη δὲ [59] κύριον ὅνομα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀφροσύνη, ὅτι ὁ ἀφρων νους ἀνεφίκτων ἐρῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐν ὑδόσιν ἐστιν, ὅτε χρημάτων ἐρᾶ, [ὡδίνει], ὅτε δόξης, ὅτε ἡδονῆς, 76 ὅτε ἄλλου τινός. ἐν ὑδόσι δὲ ὅν ὀυδέποτε τίκτει· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε γόνυμον ὀυδὲν τελεσφορεῖν ἡ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῆ· ἀ δ' ἀν καὶ δοκῇ προφέρειν, ἀμβλυθρίδια εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐκτρώματα, κατεσθίοντα τὸ ἡμῖνο τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς, ἵππα τανάτω ψυχικῶ. παρὸ καὶ δεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Ἀσρῶν τοῦ θεοφιλῶν Μωυσέως ἴάσασθαι τὴν τροπήν τῆς Μαρίαμ, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἐν ὑδόσιν κακῶν ἡ ψυχή, διὸ καὶ φησι· "μὴ γένηται ὡς ἵππα τανάτω, ὡς ἐκτρώμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρὸς, καὶ κατεσθίει τὸ ἡμῖνο τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτῆς " (Num. xii. 12).

77 XXV. "Εκεῖ" οὖν φησιν "οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσόν" (Gen. ii. 11). οὐ λέγει ἐκεῖ οὐδ' εἴναι τὸ χρυσὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ "ἐκεῖ οὐ ἔστιν." ἡ γὰρ φρόνησις, ἣν εἰκασε χρυσίῳ, ἀδόλω καὶ καθαρᾷ καὶ πεπυρωμένη καὶ δεδοκιμασμένη καὶ τιμίᾳ φύσει, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίᾳ, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὖσα οὖκ ἐστὶ τῆς σοφίας κτήμα, ἀλλὰ οὐ καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ

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*a* i.e., transference of the matter from the sphere of theory to that of practice.
an one to be a lover of words indeed, but a prudent man by no means. For prudence is discerned in "alteration of the mouth," that is in the word of utterance undergoing a transformation. This comes to the same thing as saying that prudence is not seen in speech but in action and earnest doings. And prudence surrounds with an encircling wall Evilat, or "folly in travail," to besiege and overthrow it. "Travailing" is a name strictly appropriate to folly, because the foolish mind, being enamoured of things out of its reach, is evermore in travail pangs. This is so when it is enamoured of money, when of glory, when of pleasure, when of anything else. But, though in travail, it never brings to the birth, for the soul of the worthless man has not by nature the power to bring forth any offspring. What it seems to produce turn out to be wretched abortions and miscarriages, devouring half of its flesh, an evil tantamount to the death of the soul. Accordingly Aaron, the sacred word, begs of Moses, the beloved of God, to heal the change in Miriam, that her soul may not be in travail with evils; and so he says "Let her not become as one dead, as an abortion coming forth from the womb of a mother; consuming half of her flesh" (Num. xii. 12).

XXV. To resume. "There," it says, "where (or 'whose') the gold is" (Gen. ii. 11). It does not merely say that the gold is there, but "there (is He) 'whose' it is." For prudence, which he has likened to gold, a substance free from alloy and pure and cleansed by fire and tested and precious, is there in the wisdom of God, but, being there, is not a possession of wisdom, but of Him whose is wisdom itself also, even God Who created it and makes it His.
κτώμενου θεοῦ. "τὸ δὲ χρυσὸν τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλὸν" (Gen. ii. 12). οὐκοῦν ἐστιν ἐτερον χρυσόν οὐχὶ καλὸν; πάνυ γε· διτὸν γὰρ φρονήσεως γένος, τὸ μὲν καθόλου, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους· ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις ἐκ μέρους οὗσα οὐ καλή, φθαρέντος γὰρ μου συμφθείρεται· ἢ δὲ καθόλου φρόνησις ἡ οἰκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καλή, ἀφθαρτος γὰρ ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ οὐκ ἔδιαμένει.

"Καὶ ἔκει ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος" (ib.) οἱ δύο ποιοί, ὁ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, ὁ μὲν συνιστάμενος κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ὁ δὲ φρονῶν κατὰ τὸ φρονέιν· τούτων γὰρ ἐνεκά τῶν ποιῶν ἐσπειρεν ὁ θεὸς <ἐν> τῷ γηγενεί φρόνησιν τε καὶ ἀρετήν· τί γὰρ ὁφελος ἢν αὐτής, εἰ μὴ οἱ δεξόμενοι λογισμοί ὑπήρχον καὶ τοὺς τύπους αὐτής ἑναπομαξόμενοι; ἀπὸ εἰκότως ἔκει ἐστιν, ὅπου ἡ φρόνησις, ὁ τε φρόνιμος καὶ ὁ φρονῶν, οἱ δύο λίθοι. μὴποτε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἔστι καὶ ὁ Ἰσσάχαρ· ὁ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴς ἐξομολογεῖται εὐχαριστικῶς τῶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀφθόνως δωρησάμενῳ, ὃ δὲ καὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαία ἐργάζεται· τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐξομολογομένου ὁ Ἰούδας σύμβολον, ἐφ’ οὖ καὶ ἰσταται τίκτουσα ἡ Λεία (Gen. xxix. 35), τοῦ δὲ ἐργαζομένου τὰ καλὰ ὁ Ἰσσάχαρ, "ὑπέθηκε γὰρ

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a In De Sobr. 34 ff. this distinction between the adjective or noun and the verb, the one representing ἐξις and the other ἐνέργεια, is worked out at length. Thus ἐκγραφαῖος signifies a man who can paint, while ἐκγραφεῖν means the act of painting. Philo goes on to show that the same distinction applies to the virtues.

b See App. p. 478.
“Now the gold of that land is good.” “Is there, then, other gold that is not good?” Yes, indeed, for prudence is of two kinds, the one universal, the other particular. The prudence that is in me, being particular, is not good, for when I perish, it perishes together with me. But the universal prudence, which has for its abode the wisdom of God and His dwelling-place, is good, for, itself imperishable, it abides in an imperishable dwelling-place.

XXVI. “And there is the ruby and the greenstone (ibid.), the two concrete embodiments of this virtue, the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense: the determining quality in the one is potential good sense, that in the other good sense exercised. For it was for the sake of these concretes that God sowed in the earth-born man good sense (in particular) and virtue (in general). For what benefit had there been in virtue had there not been ready for it the activities of reason to welcome it and receive its impressions? ” So that, naturally, there where good sense is, there is both the man who has good sense, and the man who exercises good sense, the two precious stones. Judah and Issachar seem to be these. For the man who exercises himself in the practical wisdom of God, makes thankful acknowledgment to Him who bestowed good without stint; while the representative of the other aspect is furthermore engaged in noble and worthy works. Now of the man who makes confession of thankfulness Judah is the symbol, with whose birth Leah leaves off bearing (Gen. xxix. 35); but of him who is engaged in noble deeds Issachar is the figure, “for he submitted his shoulder to labour
"Judah" is derived from a verb meaning "to thank": "Issachar" from a noun meaning "reward." That thankful acknowledgement of God's goodness is the crowning virtue is typified by Leah ceasing to bear when she had given birth to Judah (Heinemann).
and became a tiller of the soil" (Gen. xlix. 15). In his case, as Moses says, when he has been sown and planted in the soul "there is a reward" (Gen. xxx. 18), that is to say his labour is not in vain, but crowned by God and awarded a recompense. That he is referring to these patriarchs he shows elsewhere when he says of the high-priestly garment, "And thou shalt weave together in it precious stones in fourfold order: there shall be a row of precious stones, sardius, topaz, smaragdus, making the one row"—Reuben, Simeon, Levi—"and the second row" it says "ruby and sapphire" (Exod. xxviii. 17 f.): but the sapphire is a green stone. Now Judah is engraved in the ruby, for he is fourth in order, and Issachar on the sapphire. Why then, while saying "a green stone," does he not also say, "a ruby stone"? Because Judah, the disposition prone to make confession of praise, is exempt from body and matter. For indeed the very word denoting confession (of praise) vividly portrays the acknowledgement that takes a man out of himself. For whenever the mind goes out from itself and offers itself up to God, as Isaac or "laughter," does, then does it make confession of acknowledgement towards the Existent One. But so long as the mind supposes itself to be the author of anything, it is far away from making room for God and from confessing or making acknowledgement to Him. For we must take note that the very confession of praise itself is the work not of the soul but of God who gives it thankfulness. Incorporereal assuredly is Judah with his confession of praise.

"i.e., in Gen. ii. 12.
83 Ἰούδας. τῷ δὲ ἐκ πόνου προεληλυθότι Ἰσσάχαρ δεῖ καὶ ὅλης σωματικῆς· ἐπει πώς ἀναγνώσεται χωρὶς ὀμμάτων ὁ ἀσκητής; πώς δὲ ἀκούσεται τῶν προτρεπτικῶν λόγων χωρὶς ἀκοῆς; πώς δὲ συνίων καὶ ποτῶν ἐφίξεται δίχα γαστρὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτῆς τερατουργίας; διὰ τούτο λίθω ἀπεικάσθη. καὶ τὰ χρώματα μέντοι διάφορα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐξομολογητικῷ οἰκείαι χροιὰ ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρακός, πεπύρωται γὰρ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ μεθύει τὴν νήφουσαν μέθην, τῷ δὲ ἐτι πονοῦντι ἢ τοῦ πρασίνου λίθου, ώρχοι γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἀσκήσει διὰ τε τοῦ τρύχοντα πόνου καὶ διὰ δέος τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ἄν ἰσωσ τοῦ κατ' εὐχὴν τέλους.

85 XXVII. Ἀξίον δὲ διαπορήσαι, διὰ τί οἱ μὲν δύο ποταμοὶ ὁ Φεισών καὶ ὁ Τηών κυκλοῦσι χώρας, ὃ μὲν τὴν Εὐιλάτ, ὃ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδέτερος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τίγρις κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων λέγεται εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης οὐδενός· καὶ τοὔ οὕς πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ περιπρεῖ τινας χώρας καὶ ἀντικρὺς ἔχει πολλάς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἠθούς ἐπανορθώσεως. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ μὲν φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία δύναται κύκλον καὶ τείχος βαλέσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων κακιῶν, ἀφρόσύνης τε καὶ δειλίας, καὶ ἐλεῖν αὐτάς· ἄθετεις γὰρ καὶ εὐάλωτοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων εὐλήπτος τῷ φρονίμῳ καὶ ὁ δειλὸς ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ ἀνδρείῳ·

[61] ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη ἀδυνατεῖ κυκλώσασθαι· τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἴδον ἥχολειν· χαλεπάς γὰρ ἀντίσωλοι καὶ δυσκαθαίρετοι· οὐχ ὅρας οὐτι καὶ οἱ ἑγκρατέστατοι.
But for Issachar who has advanced through labour there is need accordingly of a material body. For how shall the keen endeavourer read without eyes? How shall he hear the words of encouragement without ears? How shall he eat food and drink without a stomach and its wonderful processes? That is why he is likened to a stone. Yes, and the colours differ. To him who makes confession of praise the hue of the ruby belongs, for he is permeated by fire in giving thanks to God, and is drunk with a sober drunkenness. But to him who is still labouring the hue of the green stone is proper, for men in exercise and training are pale, both by reason of the wearing labour and by reason of the fear that they may perchance not obtain the result that accords with their prayer.

XXVII. It is worth inquiring why, while the two rivers Pheison and Geon encompass countries, the one Evilat, the other Ethiopia, neither of the others does so; but of the Tigris it is said that it is over against the Assyrians, and the Euphrates is not said to be over against anything; and yet as a matter of fact the Euphrates both flows round many countries and has many facing it. But the subject of the passage is not the river, but amendment of character. We must observe, then, that prudence and courage are able to construct an enclosing wall against the opposite vices, folly and cowardice, and capture them; for they are both of them weak and easy to take, for the foolish man falls an easy victim to the prudent man, and the coward lies at the mercy of the brave man; self-mastery on the contrary is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure; for they are hard to wrestle with and difficult to overthrow. Mark you not that
άνάγκη τοῦ θνητοῦ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ συτία καὶ ποτά, εἴ δὲν αἱ γαστρὸς ἡδοναὶ συνεστάσων; ἀγαπητὸν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀντιβήναι καὶ μαχέσασθαι τῷ 87 γένει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. διὸ καὶ κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων ἐστὶν ὁ Τίγρεις ποταμός, ἡ σωφροσύνη τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἡ δὲ γε δικαιοσύνη, καθ’ ἦν ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς συνίσταται, οὕτε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιτειχίζει τινὰ οὕτε ἀντιστατεῖ; διὰ τί; ὅτι ἀπονεμητικὴ τῶν κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τέτακται οὕτε κατὰ τὸν κατηγοροῦν οὕτε κατὰ τὸν ἄπολογούμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν δικαστὴν. ὦσπερ οὖν ὁ δικαστὴς οὕτε νικῆσαι τινὰς προήρηται οὕτε πολεμῆσαι τισὶ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι, γνώμην δὲ ἀποφηγμένων βραβεύει τὸ δίκαιον, οὕτως ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὔθενος οὕσα ἀντίδικος ἀπονέμει τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ πράγματι.

88 XXVIII. “Καὶ ἔλαβε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὴν ἐποίησε καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φυλάσσειν” (Gen. ii. 15). τοῦ πλασθέντος διαφέρει δὴν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὅσι ἐποίησεν ο μὲν γὰρ πλασθεῖς νοῦς ἐστὶ γεωδέστερος, ὁ δὲ ποιηθεὶς ἀυλότερος, φθάρτης ὀλοκλήρου, καθαρωτέρας καὶ εἰκονικω-89 στέρας τετυχηκὼς συστάσεως. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν λαμβάνει ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐνώ ἐκτὸς ἐαυτοῦ βαίνειν, καὶ λαβὼν τίθησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρρως ἐρρως ἐρρωσκέφαλα καὶ βλαστανούσας ἀρεταίς, ἢν ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὰς καὶ φυλάττῃ. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἁσκητηίς γενόμενοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους μετέβαλον· δὲ παρέχει ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστήμην βεβαιαίν, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἀμφότερα, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ

a The Stoic definition of justice, S. V. F. iii. 262.
even the most self-controlled of men under compulsion of the mortal element in them resort to food and drink, out of which the pleasures of the appetite develop? So we must be content to face and fight lust as a principle. That is why the river Tigris is over against the Assyrians, self-mastery over against pleasure. Justice, however, the characteristic of the river Euphrates, neither besieges and encircles anyone with a palisade, nor withstands any in conflict. Why? Because it is the function of justice to assign to each what he deserves, and justice sustains the part neither of prosecutor nor of defendant but of judge. Even as the judge, therefore, makes it his business neither to conquer any persons, nor to wage war on any and oppose them, but pronounces a judgement and awards what is just, so too justice, being nobody's opponent, accords to each matter what it merits.

XXVIII. "And the Lord God took the man whom He had made, and placed him in the garden to till and to guard it" (Gen. ii. 15). "The man whom God made" differs, as I have said before, from the one that "was moulded": for the one that was moulded is the more earthly mind, the one that was made the less material, having no part in perishable matter, endowed with a constitution of a purer and clearer kind. This pure mind, then, God takes, not suffering it to go outside of Himself, and, having taken it, sets it among the virtues that have roots and put forth shoots, that he may till them and guard them. For many, after beginning to practise virtue, have changed at the last: but on the man to whom God affords secure knowledge, He bestows both advantages, both that of tilling the virtues, and also
μηδέποτε αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ταμιεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐκάστην. τὸ μὲν οὖν "ἐργάζεσθαι" ἀντὶ τοῦ πράττειν, τὸ δὲ "φυλάττειν" ἀντὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν.

90 XXIX. "Καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ο θεὸς τῶν Ἀδάμ λέγων· ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγη, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἢ δ' ᾧ ἠμέρα φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτω ἀποθανεῖσθε" (Gen. ii. 16, 17). ποίως Ἀδάμ ἐνετείλεται καὶ τίς ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, διαπορητέον· οὖ γὰρ μέμνηται πρότερον αὐτοῦ, νυνὶ δὲ πρῶτον ἐνόμακεν αὐτὸν. μήποτ' οὖν βούλεται σοὶ τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραστῆσαι τούνομα. κάλει[62] δή, φησὶν, αὐτὸν γήν· τότῳ γὰρ Ἀδάμ ἑρμηνεύεται, ἵστατ πότεν ἀκούς 'Ἀδάμ, γήνοιν καὶ φθαρτὸν νοῦν εἰναι νόμιζε· ὁ γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ γήνοις, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος. ζητητέον δὲ, διὰ τί πάσιν ἐπιτυθεῖσς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἐπιτεθεικεν εαυτῷ. τί οὖν λεκτέον; τὸν ὦς ο ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν τὰ μὲν ἁλλὰ δύναται καταλαβεῖν, εαυτὸν δὲ γνωρίσαι ἀδυνάτος ἐχει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὰ μὲν ἁλλὰ ὀρᾶ, εαυτὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς, ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς τὰ μὲν ἁλλὰ νοεῖ, εαυτὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς. εἰστὶν γὰρ, τίς τε ἐστι καὶ ποταπός, πνεῦμα ἢ αἷμα ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ ἢ ἑτερὸν τί [σῶμα], ἢ τοσοῦτον γε ὦτι σῶμα ἐστιν ἢ πάλιν ἀσώματον. εἰτ' οὐκ εὑρίσκεις οἱ περὶ θεοῦ σκεπτομένοι οὐσίας; οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἱδίας ψυχῆς τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἴσασι, ποὺς ἄν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ψυχῆς ἀκριβώσαιεν; ἢ a "Feedingly" is a rough representation of the Hebrew idiom. E.V. "freely." 206
that of never desisting from them, but of evermore husbanding and guarding each one of them. So “tilling” represents practising, while “guarding” represents remembering.

XXIX. “And the Lord God commanded Adam saying: From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt feedingly eat, but of the tree of knowing good and evil ye shall not eat of it: and in the day that ye eat of it ye shall surely die” (Gen. ii. 16, 17).

We must raise the question what Adam He commands and who this is; for the writer has not mentioned him before, but has named him now for the first time. Perchance, then, he means to give us the name of the man that was moulded. “Call him earth” he says, for that is the meaning of “Adam,” so that when you hear the word “Adam,” you must make up your mind that it is the earthly and perishable mind; for the mind that was made after the image is not earthly but heavenly. And we must inquire why when assigning their names to all the other creatures Adam did not assign one to himself. What, then, are we to say? The mind that is in each one of us can apprehend other objects, but is incapable of knowing itself. For just as the eye sees other objects but does not see itself, so the mind too perceives other objects, but does not apprehend itself. Can it say what it is and of what kind, breath or blood or fire or air or anything else? Can it even say that it is a body or else that it is incorporeal? Are not they simpletons, then, who inquire about God’s substance? For how should those, who know not the substance of their own soul, have accurate ideas about the soul of the universe? For
γάρ τῶν ὅλων ψυχῆ ὁ θεός ἐστι κατὰ ἐννοιαν.

92 ΞΞΧ. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ 'Αδάμ, τοιτέστων ὁ νοῦς, τὰ ἄλλα ὁνομάζων καὶ καταλαμβάνων, ἐαυτῷ ὅνομα οὐκ ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτι ἐαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν. ἐντελεῖται δε τούτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν γεγονότι· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ δίχα προτροπῆς ἔχει τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτομαθῶς, οὔτως δ’ ἄνευ διδασκαλίας οὐκ ἂν φρο-

93 νήσεως ἐπιλάγχαι. διαφέρει δὲ τρία ταῦτα· πρόσ-
tαξις, ἀπαγόρευσις, ἐντολή καὶ παραίνεσις· ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἀπαγόρευσις περὶ ἀμαρτημάτων γίνεται καὶ πρὸς φαύλουν, ἢ δὲ πρόσταξις <περὶ> κατορθω-
mάτων, ἢ δὲ παραίνεσις πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε ψάλλον μήτε σπουδαίων· οὔτε γὰρ ἀμαρτάνει, ὡς ἀπαγορεύειν ἃν τυν αὐτῷ, οὔτε κατορθοῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου πρόσταξιν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν ἔχει παραίνεσιν τῆς ἀπέχειν μὲν τῶν φαύλων διδα-

94 σκούσης, προτερησούσης δὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀστείων. τῶ μὲν οὖν τελείω τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα προστάττειν ἢ ἀπαγορεύειν ἢ παραίνειν οὐχὶ δεῖ, οὐδενὸς γὰρ τούτων ὁ τελειος δεῖται, τῶ δὲ φαύλω προσ-
tάξιος καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεία, τῶ δὲ νηπίω παραίνεσις καὶ διδασκαλίας, ὡσπερ τῷ τελείῳ γραμματίκῳ ὡς μουσικῷ οὐδενὸς δεῖ παραγγελ-

ματος τῶν εἰς τὰς τεχνὰς, τῶ δὲ σφαλλομένως περὶ τὰ θεωρήματα ὡςανεί των νόμων προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις ἐχόντων, τῶ δὲ ἄρτι μανθάνοντι

1 ἀπέχειν has three mss. and, apparently, the Armenian version on its side, as against ἀνέχειν = "cease from," which would fit the bad man, but not the neutral man. In Plutarch, Life of Alexander, ch. xxxiii., to which L. and S. (1925) refer, ἀνέχειν is probably transitive. For ἀπέχειν see especially Xen. Mem. i. 2. 62, for ἀνέχειν De Opif. 128.
we may conceive of God as the soul of the universe.\(^a\) XXX. Quite naturally, therefore, Adam, that is the Mind, though he names and apprehends other things, gives no name to himself, since he is ignorant of himself and his own nature. Now it is to this being, and not to the being created after His image and after the original idea, that God gives the command. For the latter, even without urging, possesses virtue instinctively; but the former, independently of instruction, could have no part in wisdom. There is a difference between these three— injunction, prohibition, command accompanied by exhortation. For prohibition deals with wrongdoings and is addressed to the bad man, injunction concerns duties rightly done, and exhortation is addressed to the neutral man, the man who is neither bad nor good: for he is neither sinning, to lead anyone to forbid him, nor is he so doing right as right reason enjoins, but has need of exhortation, which teaches him to refrain from evil things, and incites him to aim at things noble. There is no need, then, to give injunctions or prohibitions or exhortations to the perfect man formed after the (Divine) image, for none of these does the perfect man require. The bad man has need of injunction and prohibition, and the child of exhortation and teaching. Just so the perfect master of music or letters requires none of the directions that apply to those arts, whereas the man who stumbles over the subjects of his study does require what we may call laws or rules with their injunctions and prohibitions, while one who is now beginning to learn requires teaching.

\(^a\) See App. p. 478.
κοτως ουν τω γηινω φω μητε φαουλω οντι μητε σπουδαιω αλλα μεσω τα νυν εντελλεται και παρανει. η δε παρανεις γινεται δι' άμφοτερων των κλησεων και του κυριου και του θεου, "ενετειλατο" γαρ "κυριος ο θεος," ίνα, ει μεν πειθουτο τας παρανεισεσιν, υπο του θεου ευεργεσιων αξιωθει, ει δε αφηναιοι, υπο του κυριου ως δεσποτου και εξουσιαν εχοντος σκορακιζοιτο. διοπερ και οτε εκβαλλεται τοι παραδεισου, τας αυτας κλησεις παρειληψε, λεγει γαρ. "και εξαπεστελευν αυτον κυριος οθεος εκ του παραδεισου της τρυφης, έργαζεθαι την γην εξ ής εληφθη" (Gen. iii. 23), ίνα, επει και ως δεσποτης ο κυριος και ως ευεργητης ο θεος ενετειλετο, παλιν ως άμφοτερα ον τον παρακουσαντα τιμωρηται. δι ον γαρ προϋπερε δυναμευν, δια τουτων τον άπειθουντα αποπεμπεται.

"Α δε παρανει, ταυτα εστιν. "απο παντος ξυλου του εν τω παραδεισω βρωσει φαγη" (Gen. ii. 16). προτρεπει την τοι άνθρωπον ψυχην μη αφ' ενος ξυλου μηδ' απο μιας αρετης αλλ' απο πασων των αρεων ωφελειοθαι: το γαρ φαγειν συμβολον εστι τροφης ψυχης: τρεφεται δε η ψυχη αναληψει των καλων και πραξει των κατορθωματων. μη μονον δε φησι "φαγη," αλλα και "βρωσει," τουτεστι καταλεσα και επιλεανας μη ιδιωτου αλλ' αθλητου τροπον την τροφην, ίνα ισχυν και δυναμιν περι-
Quite naturally, then, does God give the commandments and exhortations before us to the earthly man who is neither bad nor good but midway between these. To enforce the exhortation, both Divine titles are employed, both "Lord" and "God," for it says "God the Lord commanded him." This is in order that, should he obey the exhortations, he may be deemed worthy by God of His benefactions; but that, should he rebel, he may be driven from the presence of the Lord who has a Master's authority over him. For this reason again, when he is being cast out of the garden, the sacred writer has introduced the same titles, for he says, "And the Lord God sent him forth out of the garden of delight, to till the ground, out of which he was taken" (Gen. iii. 23). This is to show that, since "the Lord" as Master and "God" as Benefactor had issued the commands, so in both capacities does He inflict punishment on him who had disobeyed them. For he dismisses the disobedient by the exercise of the very powers which He had exercised in urging him to obedience.

XXXI. The charge which he gives is this: "From every tree that is in the garden thou shalt eat feedingly thereon" (Gen. ii. 16). He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues: for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment: and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. And He says not merely "shalt eat," but also "feedingly," that is, chewing and masticating the nourishment, not like an ordinary person, but like an athlete, that you may
ποιήση· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀθληταῖς οἱ ἀλείπται παραγγέλλουσι μὴ κάπτειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν λεαινεῖν, ἵνα πρὸς ἱσχὺν ἐπιδιδόσουν· ἐτέρως γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ἄθλητὴς τρεφόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέκα τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ὁ δὲ ἄθλητὴς καὶ ἐνέκα τοῦ πιάνεσθαι καὶ βάλλεσθαι, παρὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀσκητικῶν ἔστι τὸ λεαινεῖσθαι τροφῆν. τὸ "βρώσει φαγεῖν" ἐστι τοιοῦτον.

99 ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον διατυπώσωμεν αὐτό. τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς γονεῖς ἐδώδιμον καὶ τρόφιμόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ ἐτέρως οἱ ἁγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ φαύλοι τιμῶσιν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἔθος, οὔτε καὶ βρώσει ἐσθίουσι· ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐσθίουσι· πότε οὖν καὶ βρώσει; ὅταν ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνήσαντες κρίνωσιν ἐκοισίωσι, ὅτι καλὸν τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι τουλάχιστον ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς, ἔθρεψαν, ἐπαιδεύσαν, πάντων αἰτίαι γεγόνασιν ἁγαθῶν. πάλιν ἐδώδιμον (τὸ) τὸν ὄντα τιμᾶσθαι· τότε δὲ "βρώσει," ὅταν καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰτίων ἀποδόσεως.

100 XXXII. "Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλον τοῦ γινώσκεις καλὸν καὶ μολύνην οὗ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ" (Gen. ii. 17). οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ ξύλον | τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐσθίει παραγγέλλει τῶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ φαγεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ φυσικῶς· ἐστὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἔφη, οὐσία καὶ οὐκ ἐστι δυνάμει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κηρῷ δυνάμει μὲν εἰς πᾶσαι αἱ σφραγίδες, ἐντελεχεία δὲ μόνη ἢ
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gain strength and power: for, as we know, the trainers charge the athletes not to bolt their food, but to masticate it slowly, in order that they may grow stronger. For the athlete and I take nourishment with different objects; I, just to sustain life, the athlete, for the further purpose of growing brawny and strong; and so mastication of food is a special point in training. Such is the meaning of "thou shalt eat feedingly thereon." Let us try to form a yet more precise conception of it. To honour our parents is something eatable and nutritious: but good and bad sons honour them differently, the latter in compliance with custom, and these do not "eat feedingly," but simply eat. When, then, eat they feedingly too? When, after exploring the precept and searching for the grounds on which it rests, they freely determine that such conduct is noble. The grounds for it are such as these: they gave us birth, nurtured us, educated us, have been authors of all good things to us. Honour again shown to the Existent One is something eatable; it is shown "feedingly," when the honour we show is coupled with close search into the precept, and with a due appreciation of its motives.

XXXII. "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ye shall not eat" (Gen. ii. 17). Therefore this tree is not in the garden: for if He bids them to eat of every tree in the garden, but not to eat of this one, it is evident that it is not in the garden: and this is quite naturally so: for actually, as I have said, it is there, and virtually it is not. For as all the impressions are virtually in the wax, but actually only the one that has been made, so in the

a Or "rendering of our reasons."
τετυπωμένη, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κηροειδεὶ ὑπαρχοῦσῃ πάντες οἱ τύποι περιέχονται δυνάμει, οὐκ ἀποτελέσματι, κρατεῖ δὲ ὁ ἐσχαρχθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ, ἕως μὴ ἀπαλήλυται ὑφ' ἐτέρου ἐναργέστερον καὶ ἐκδήλως μᾶλλον ἐπιχαράξαντος.

101 έξῆς κάκεινο διαπορητέον· ὅτε μὲν παρανεῖ ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου ἐσθίειν, ἕνα προτρέπει, ὅτε δὲ ἀπαγορεύει χρῆσθαι τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ καλῷ αὐτῶν, πλεῖσι διαλέγεται· ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ φησιν “ἀπὸ παντὸς φάγη,” ἐνταῦθα δὲ “οὐ φάγεσθε” καὶ ἢ δ’ ἂν ἠμέρα φάγητε,” οὐχὶ φάγης, καὶ “ἀποθανείσθε,” οὐχὶ ἀποθανῆ. λεκτέον οὖν τάδε, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν σπάνιόν ἐστι τάγαθόν, τὸ δὲ κακὸν πολύχουν· διὰ τοῦτο σοφὸν μὲν εὑρεῖν ἕνα μόνον ἐργον, φαύλων δὲ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον· εἰκότως οὖν ἔνι παραγγέλλει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐντέρεσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦ πανουρ-

102 γίας ἀπέχεσθαι, ταύτῃ γὰρ μυρίοι χρῶνται. δευτερον <δὲ>, εἰς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἐνὸς μόνου δεὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐχ οἶν οὐκούσι πρὸς τοῦτο, ἄλλα καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖ· σχεδὸν γὰρ σοφίας ἐργον τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ· εἰς δὲ ἀπόλαυσιν κακίας οὐ μόνον δεῖ τῶς ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ σῶμα. δὲ γὰρ φαύλως δεῖται τούτων ἀπάντων πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἑδίας κακίας· ἐπεὶ πῶς

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*a* Plato, *Phaedo* 65 A.
soul, whose nature is waxlike, all the types are contained virtually, but not in actual execution, and the single one engraved in it is in possession, so long as it has not been obliterated by another seal which has made over it a clearer and bolder impression. Next there is this further question to be raised. When He is giving the charge to eat of every tree of the garden, He addresses the command to a single person, but when He issues the prohibition against making any use of that which causes evil and good, He speaks to more than one: for in the former case He says, "Thou shalt eat from every tree"; but in the latter, "ye shall not eat, and in the day that ye eat" not "that thou eatest," and "ye shall die" not "thou shalt die." We must accordingly remark in the first place that the good is scarce, the evil abundant. Hence it is hard to find a single wise man, while of inferior men there is a countless multitude. Quite fitly, therefore, does He bid a single man to find nourishment in the virtues, but many to abstain from evil-doing, for myriads practise this. In the second place, for the acquisition and practice of virtue a single thing only, namely our understanding, is requisite: but the body not only fails to co-operate to this end, but is an actual hindrance; for we may almost make it an axiom that the business of wisdom is to become estranged from the body and its cravings: but for the enjoyment of evil it is necessary not only that the mind be in a certain condition, but also the power of perception and of speech, in fact the body; for all these the inferior man requires for the full satisfaction of his particular form of wickedness. For how shall he divulge sacred and hidden truths
ἐκλαλήσει μυστήρια φωνητήριον ὅποι ἔχων ὀργανον; πῶς δὲ ταῖς ὠδοναίς χρῆσεται γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητήριων στερόμενος; δεόντως οὖν ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ διαλέγεται περὶ κτήσεως ἀρετῆς, μόνον γάρ, ὡς ἐφην, ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ χρεία πρὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς, περὶ δὲ κακίας πλείοσι, ψυχῇ, λόγῳ, αἰσθήσεις, σῶματι, διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐμφαίνεται.

105 XXXIII. Λέγει γε μήν "δ ἄν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε" (Gen. ii. 17). καὶ φαγόντες οὐχ οἶνον οὐκ ἀποθνησκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδοποιοῦνται καὶ ἐτέροις τῷ ζῇν αἴτιοι καθίστανται. τί οὖν λέκτεον; ὃ τι διττὸς ἐστί [65] θάνατος, ὃ μὲν ἀνθρώπου, ὃ δὲ ψυχῆς ίδιος· ὃ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου χωρισμός ἐστὶ ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σῶματος, ὃ δὲ ψυχῆς θάνατος ἀρετῆς μὲν φθορά 106 ἐστὶ, κακίας δὲ ἀνάληψις. παρὸ καὶ φησίν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ "θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν," δηλῶν οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἱδιον καὶ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν θάνατον, ὃς ἐστὶ ψυχῆς ἐντυμβευμένης πάθει καὶ κακίας ἀπάσαις. καὶ σχεδὸν οὕτως ὃ θάνατος μάχεται ἐκεῖνω· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ διάκρισις ἐστὶ τῶν συγκριθέντων σῶματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς, οὕτως δὲ τοῦναντίον σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν, κρατοῦντος μὲν τοῦ χείρος σῶματος, κρατοῦμενοι δὲ τοῦ 107 κρείττονος ψυχῆς. ὅπου δ` ἂν λέγη "θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν," παρατήρει ὃτι θάνατον τὸν ἑπὶ τιμωρία παραλαμβάνει, οὐ τὸν φύσει γινόμενον· φύσει μὲν

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*a Plato, Phaedo 64 c.
b Or “of elements which had been in combination.”
unless he have an organ of speech? And how is he to indulge in pleasures, if he be bereft of a stomach and the organs of taste? So it is in accordance with the necessities of the case that He addresses the understanding alone about gaining virtue; for, as I said, it alone is needed for its acquisition; whereas in the pursuit of evil several faculties are needed, soul, speech, senses, body, for wickedness employs all these in displaying itself.

XXXIII. And further he says, "In the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall die the death" (Gen. ii. 17). And yet after they have eaten, not merely do they not die, but they beget children and become authors of life to others. What, then, is to be said to this? That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body, but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only "die" but "die the death," indicating not the death common to us all, but that special death properly so called, which is that of the soul becoming entombed in passions and wickedness of all kinds. And this death is practically the antithesis of the death which awaits us all. The latter is a separation of combatants that had been pitted against one another, body and soul, to wit. The former, on the other hand, is a meeting of the two in conflict. And in this conflict the worse, the body, overcomes, and the better, the soul, is overcome. But observe that wherever Moses speaks of "dying the death," he means the penalty-death, not that which takes place in the course of nature. That one is in the course
οὐν ἔστι, καθ’ ὅν χωρίζεται ψυχή ἀπὸ σώματος, 
奥林匹克  ὅ δέ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ συνιστάται, ὅταν ἡ ψυχή τὸν
108 ἀρετῆς βίον θυήσκῃ, τὸν δὲ κακίας ζῆ ὑπὸν. εὖ
καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τοῦτο Μωσέως ἀκολοου-
θήσας τῷ δόγματι, φησὶ γὰρ· "Ζῶμεν τὸν ἑκεῖνων
θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἑκεῖνων βίον," ὡς
νῦν μὲν, ὅτε ζῶμεν, τεθνηκυίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς
ἀν ἐν σώματι τῷ σώματι ἐντετυμβευμένης, εἰ δὲ
ἀποθάνομεν, τῆς ψυχῆς ζώσης τὸν ἵδιον βίον καὶ
ἀπηλλαγμένης κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου τοῦ
σώματος.
of nature in which soul is parted from body; but the penalty-death takes place when the soul dies to the life of virtue, and is alive only to that of wickedness. That is an excellent saying of Heraclitus, who on this point followed Moses' teaching, "We live," he says, "their death, and are dead to their life." He means that now, when we are living, the soul is dead and has been entombed in the body as in a sepulchre; whereas, should we die, the soul lives forthwith its own proper life, and is released from the body, the baneful corpse to which it was tied.a

a For σῆμα—σῶμα cf. Plato, Gorgias 493 A, Cratylus 400 B.
This treatise deals with Genesis ii. 18–iii. 1. Let us mark its mode of dealing with the Sacred Text in salient instances.

The story of the creation of Eve, we are told, is not meant to be taken literally. It is a “Myth,” showing forth the origin of Sense-perception, which becomes active when Mind is asleep (Gen. ii. 21). The bringing of Woman to Man is the introduction of Sense-perception to Mind, which hails it as its own (ii. 22 f.). (19 ff., 40 ff.)

That Adam and Eve were both naked (ii. 25) means that they were without either good or evil; for nakedness of soul can show itself as (a) freedom from passions; (b) loss of virtue; (c) neutrality. Adam and Eve were inactive both in mind and sense-perception, and were “unashamed,” i.e. without either the shamelessness of the worthless man, or the shamefastness of the man of worth. (53 ff.)

The entry of the Serpent (Gen. iii. 1) is due to the need of some means of uniting Mind and Sense-perception for their joint apprehension of objects, and of eliciting their activities. (71 ff.)

Let us notice next the extent to which Philo dwells on single words.

The word “alone” in Gen. ii. 18 draws out the reminder that God only is alone, self-contained,
needing naught, not composite; while the heavenly Man ever yearens to be with God, and the earthy man always is with his passions. (1-4.)

The word "help" or "helper" suggests to him the created, later-born helpers given to the earthy man. These "wild beasts" are the senses and passions, such as desire, fear, anger, given to Mind (Gen. ii. 19)—our helpers, but often our foes. (5 ff.)

The word "moreover" (in the Greek version of Gen. ii. 19) is taken by Philo to mean a second creation of senses and passions; and this further creation is accounted for by the observation that evils are numerous, and by the suggestion that Gen. i. 24 refers to genera, and Gen. ii. 19 to species, a suggestion in support of which evidence is adduced. (11 f.)

In the account of the giving of names to the creatures, the words "what he would call" are taken as meaning "why he would invite." (14 f.)

In the story of the creation of Eve, "ribs" or "sides" are understood as "strength"; "took" as meaning "entered on the roll," "registered," i.e. brought into active service (this on the strength of Numb. xxxi. 26, "take the sum"); "filled up flesh in its stead" means "fulfilled" sense-perception, and "filled" the body "with it"; and woman is "builted" (Gen. ii. 22, R.V. margin) because she is moved to activity from without. (19 f., 35, 38 f.)

A striking example of single words pressed into the service of allegory is Adam's welcome to Eve, "This is now bone of my bones." "This" is Sense-perception no longer passive but become active; and "now" is indicative of Sense-perception being affected only by the present. (42 f.)

We pass on to observe the examples afforded by
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this treatise of Philo's fondness for drawing illustrations and adducing parallels from the story of the patriarchs and the early history of Israel.

In 46 f. Philo maintains that, though active Sense-perception, being an extension of the potential Sense-perception inherent in Mind, may be said to come from Mind, yet to suppose that anything whatever is, in the strict sense of the word, derived from Mind is to be guilty of shallow thinking, and illustrates the truth of what he says by the contrast between Rachel addressing to Jacob the appeal "Give me children," and "the Lord opening Leah's womb" (Gen. xxix. 31 and xxx. 1 f.).

In 51 f. the danger of the drawing down of Mind from the love of God by its cleaving to Sense-perception is brought out by a reference to Levi's noble choice (Deut. xxxiii. 9) making the Lord his portion (x. 9), and to the two goats of Lev. xvi. 8.

Freedom from passions (one of the meanings of "nakedness") is illustrated by Moses setting up the Tent of Witness outside the Camp (Exod. xxxiii. 7); by Aaron entering unrobed (!) into the Holy of Holies (cf. Lev. xvi. 1 ff.); by Nadab and Abihu leaving their coats (or irrational parts) for Mishael and Elzaphan (Lev. x. 5); by Abraham leaving his country (Gen. xii. 1); by Isaac being forbidden to go down into Egypt (i.e. the body, Gen. xxvi. 2); and by Jacob's smoothness (Gen. xxvii. 11). (54 ff.)

Loss of virtue (another meaning given to "nakedness") is illustrated by Noah's lapse (Gen. ix. 21). And the indications which Philo finds in the narrative that the lapse was not irretrievable are illustrated by the provision in the Law that vows made only in intent may be rescinded (Numb. xxx. 10). (60 ff.)
The assaults of pleasure and the healing virtue of Self-mastery are illustrated by the deadly serpents and the brazen serpent of the wilderness journey (Numb. xxi.). Distraction, Pleasure's agent, is like the scorpion (= "scattering") of the desert. The soul-thirst of "Egypt" is quenched by the Wisdom ("Water") as is hunger by the Word ("Manna") of God. A sign of the great daring of Pleasure, in attacking even Moses, is found in the story of his rod. Like Jacob's, it is "discipline." Shrinking from this, Moses casts it away, and is then bidden to grasp it by its tail (Exod. iv. 1 ff.). (78 ff., 87 ff.)

Pleasure is again pointed at in the Prayer of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16-18), where Dan (= "distinguishing") is the principle of self-mastery, who is to become a serpent biting the horse (sc. passions), and saving from them Mind (the "horseman"), who "waits for" God's "salvation"; and in the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1), where horse and rider, i.e. the four passions with Mind mounted on them, are cast into the sea.
Β’

1. "Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ θεὸς· Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτὸν" (Gen. ii. 18). διὰ τι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥς προφήτα, οὐκ ἐστὶ καλὸν εἶναι μόνον; ὅτι, φησὶ, καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸν μόνον εἶναι μόνον· μόνος δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν εἰς ὅν ὁ θεὸς, οὐδὲν δὲ ὁμοιὸν θεῷ· ὥστ’ ἐπεὶ τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ὁντα καλὸν ἐστὶ—καὶ γὰρ περὶ μόνον αὐτὸν τὸ καλὸν—οὐκ ἂν εἶη

2. καλὸν τὸ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον. τὸ δὲ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ἐκδεξάσθαι καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι οὕτε πρὸ γενέσεως ἢν τι σὺν τῷ θεῷ οὕτε κόσμου γενομένου συντάττεται τι αὐτῷ· χρῆζει γὰρ οὕτως τὸ παράπαν. ἀμείνων δὲ ἦδε ἡ ἐκδοχὴ· ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν, οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ἀπλῆ, ἡμῶν δ’ ἐκαστὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥσα γέγονε πολλά· οὸν ἔγω πολλά εἰμι, ψυχὴ σῶμα, καὶ ψυχῆς ἄλογον λογικὸν, πάλιν σώματος θερμὸν ψυχρὸν βαρύ κούφον ξηρὸν ύγρὸν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ σύγκριμα οὐδὲ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀμιγῆς 224
BOOK II

I. "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone, let us make for him a helper corresponding to him" (Gen. ii. 18). Why, O prophet, is it not good that the man should be alone? Because, he says, it is good that the Alone should be alone: but God, being One, is alone and unique, and like God there is nothing. Hence, since it is good that He Who is should be alone—for indeed with regard to Him alone can the statement "it is good" be made—it follows that it would not be good that the man should be alone. There is another way in which we may understand the statement that God is alone. It may mean that neither before creation was there anything with God, nor, when the universe had come into being, does anything take its place with Him; for there is absolutely nothing which He needs. A yet better interpretation is the following. God is alone, a Unity, in the sense that His nature is simple not composite, whereas each one of us and of all other created beings is made up of many things. I, for example, am many things in one. I am soul and body. To soul belong rational and irrational parts, and to body, again, different properties, warm and cold, heavy and light, dry and moist. But God is not a composite Being, consisting of many parts,
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3 ἄλλως· δὲ γὰρ ἄν προσκρήθη· θεῷ· ἡ κρείσσον ἐστιν αὐτῷ· ἡ ἐλασσὸν · ἡ ἱσον αὐτῷ· οὔτε δὲ ἱσον οὔτε κρείσσον ἐστι θεῷ· ἐλασσὸν γε μην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσκρίνεται· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλαττωθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ φθαρτὸς ἔσται, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις νοήσαι. τέτακται οὖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, μάλλον δὲ ἡ μονάς κατὰ τὸν ἐνα θεόν· πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς νεώτερος κόσμου, ὡς καὶ χρόνος, δὲ θεὸς προσβύτερος κόσμου καὶ δημιουργός.

4 Π. Οὐδένα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνον. δύο γὰρ ἄνθρωπων γένη, τὸ τε κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐκ γῆς· οὔτε δὲ τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπῳ καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστι· πάν δὲ μίμημα ποθεὶ τούτῳ· οὔτε τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἁνθρώπῳ καλόν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστι· πάν δὲ μίμημα ποθεὶ τούτῳ· οὔτε τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἁνθρώπῳ καλόν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστι· πάν δὲ μίμημα ποθεὶ τούτῳ· οὔτε τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἁνθρώπῳ καλόν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστι· πάν δὲ μίμημα ποθεὶ τούτῳ· οὔτε τῷ κατ’ εἰκόνα ἁνθρώπῳ καλόν εἶναι μόνῳ—ἐφίεται γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἡ γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχέτυπος ἄλλων ἐστι· πάν δὲ μίμημα ποθεὶ τοúτῳ· οὔτε τῷ πλαστῷ πολυ μάλλον καλόν ἐστιν εἶναι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄδυναν, καὶ γὰρ αἰσθήσεις καὶ πάθη καὶ κακία καὶ μυρία ἄλλα τοῦτω τῷ νῷ συνέζευκται καὶ συνήρμοσται. τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἄνθρώπῳ βοηθός συνίσταται, πρῶτον μὲν γενητός, “ποιήσωμεν” γὰρ φησὶν “αὐτῷ βοηθόν,” ἐπειτὰ δὲ νεώτερος τοῦ βοηθούμενον· πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐπλασε τὸν νοῦν, μέλλει δὲ· πλάττει τὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα φυσικῶς ἄλληγορεῖ· ἡ γὰρ αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη
nor is He mixed with aught else. For whatever is added to God, is either superior or inferior or equal to Him. But there is nothing equal or superior to God. And no lesser thing is resolved into Him. If He do so assimilate any lesser thing, He also will be lessened. And if He can be made less, He will also be capable of corruption; and even to imagine this were blasphemous. The "one" and the "monad" are, therefore, the only standard for determining the category to which God belongs. Rather should we say, the One God is the sole standard for the "monad." For, like time, all number is subsequent to the universe; and God is prior to the universe, and is its Maker.

II. It is not good that any man should be alone. For there are two races of men, the one made after the (Divine) Image, and the one moulded out of the earth. For the man made after the Image it is not good to be alone, because he yearns after the Image. For the image of God is a pattern of which copies are made, and every copy longs for that of which it is a copy, and its station is at its side. Far less is it good for the man moulded of the earth to be alone. Nay, it is impossible. For with the mind so formed, linked to it in closest fellowship, are senses, passions, vices, ten thousand other presences. With the second man a helper is associated. To begin with, the helper is a created one, for it says, "Let us make a helper for him"; and, in the next place, is subsequent to him who is to be helped, for He had formed the mind before and is about to form its helper. In these particulars again, while using terms of outward nature he is conveying a deeper meaning. For sense and the passions are helpers
τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσὶ βοηθοὶ νεώτεροι τῆς ψυχῆς. πῶς μὲν οὖν βοηθοῦσιν, ὦφόμεθα· ὅτι δὲ εἰσὶ νεώτεροι, 

6 θεασώμεθα. III. ὥσπερ κατὰ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἵατρῶν καὶ φυσικῶν δοκεῖ τοῦ ὁλου σώματος προπλάττεσθαι ἡ καρδία, θεμελίου τρόπον ἡ ὡς ἐν νητῷ τρόπῳ, ἐφ’ ἣν οἰκοδομεῖται τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα—παρὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔτι ἐμπηδᾶν ἑαυτὴν ὡς καὶ πρώτην γινομένην καὶ ὑστέραν φθειρομένην—οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἵγιμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον τῆς ὅλης εἶναι, τὸ δ’ ἄλογον νεώτερον, οὐ τὴν γένεσιν οὔτως οὐκ ἔδειχλωκε, μέλλει δὲ ὑπογράφειν. τὸ δὲ ἄλογον αἰσθησίς ἔστι καὶ τὰ ταύτης ἔχονα πάθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μὴ κρίσεις εἰσίν ἡμέτεραι. καὶ νεώτερος οὖν οὕτως ὁ βοηθὸς [θεοῦ] καὶ γενητὸς εἰκότως.

7 τὸ δ’ ὑπερτεθὲν ἰδώμεν, πῶς βοηθῆ. [68] πῶς ἦμων ὁ νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ὅτι τοῦτ’ λευκὸν ἡ μέλαν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος ὅρασει; πῶς δὲ ὅτι ἦδεια ἡ τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ φωνῆ ἡ τοιναντίον ἐκμελῆς, εἰ μὴ βοηθῶ χρησάμενος ἀκοῆ; πῶς δὲ ὅτι εὐώδεις ἡ δυσώδεις οἱ ἀτμοὶ, εἰ μὴ συμμάχω χρησάμενος ὀσφρήσει; πῶς δὲ δοκιμάζει τοῖς χυλοῖς, εἰ μὴ διὰ βοηθοῦ τῆς 

8 γεύσεως; πῶς δὲ αὖ τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τραχέα, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἀφῆς; ἔστι τούτων ἐπερον εἴδος βοηθῶν, ὡς ἐφην, τὰ πάθη; καὶ γὰρ ἢδουν βοηθεῖ πρὸς διαμονήν τοῦ γένους ἦμῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ λύπη μέντοι καὶ φόβος δάκινοντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὴν μηδενὸς ὀλυγωρεῖν, ὀργή τε

a See App. p. 479.
of the soul and come after the soul. In what way they help we shall see: let us fix our attention on their coming later than the soul. III. In the view of the best physicians and natural philosophers the heart is thought to be formed before the whole body, by way of a foundation, or as the keel in a ship, the rest of the body being built upon it; and they assert that accordingly even after death it still beats, and decays after the body, as it came into existence before it. In just the same way, it is thought, the princely part of the soul is older than the soul as a whole, and the irrational portion younger. The creation of this the prophet has not as yet related, but he is going to describe it. The irrational portion is sense and the passions which are the offspring of sense, unquestionably so if they are not the result of any choice of our own. This helper then is later born and of course created.

Now let us consider the point which we deferred, how the help is given. How does our mind apprehend the fact that an object is white or black, except by using sight as a helper? How does it become aware that the musician's voice is sweet or on the other hand out of tune, save by using the sense of hearing as a helper? How does it recognize that perfumes are pleasant or disagreeable, except by using as an ally the sense of smell? How does it distinguish savours, except by means of the taste acting as its helper? Things smooth and rough, again, how but by touch? Moreover, there are, as I have said, helpers of another kind, namely the passions. For pleasure and desire contribute to the permanence of our kind: pain and fear are like bites or stings warning the soul to treat nothing carelessly: anger
άμυντήριον ὀπλον [ἡ] μεγάλα πολλοὺς ὠφέλησε, καὶ τάλλα ταύτη. διὸ καὶ εὐθυβόλως εἶπε “κατ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν βοηθόν”. τῶ γὰρ ὄντι οἰκεῖος οὗτος ὁ βοηθός ἐστὶ τῷ νῷ ὡς ἂν ἄδελφος καὶ ὅμαμος· μᾶς γὰρ ἐστὶ ψυχῆς μέρη καὶ γεννήματα ἡ τε αἴσθησις καὶ τὰ πάθη.

9 IV. Τοῦ δὲ βοηθοῦ ἐστὶ διπτῶν τὸ εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐν πάθεις, τὸ δ’ ἐν αἰσθήσει. τὸ γε νῦν μόνον τὸ πρότερον εἶδος γεννήσει, λέγει γὰρ. “καὶ ἐπλάσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐτὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἄγρον καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἴγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν 'Αδὰμ, ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά· καὶ πάν ὁ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ 'Αδὰμ ψυχήν ζώσαν, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτοῦ’” (Gen. ii. 19). ὥρας, τίνες εἰσὶν ἡμῶν οἱ βοηθοὶ, τὰ θηρία, τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάθη· εἰπών γὰρ “ποιήσωμεν βοηθόν κατ’ αὐτὸν” ἐπιφέρει τὸ “ἐπλάσε τὰ θηρία,” ὡς τῶν θηρίων ὃντων βοηθῶν ἡμῖν. οὐ κυρίως δὲ οὗτοι βοηθοὶ ἀλλὰ καταχρηστικῶς λέγονται, εὐρίσκονταί γε τοι πρὸς ἄλλησιν <καὶ> πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι προδόται καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οἱ κόλακες ἀντὶ ἐταύρων ἔχθροι. οὐρανὸν δὲ καὶ ἄγρον συνωνύμως κέκληκεν ἄλληγορῶς τὸν νοῦν· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὃς ἄγρος ἀνατολάς καὶ βλάστας ἔχει μυρίας ὃσας καὶ ὃς οὐρανὸς πάλιν λαμπρᾶς καὶ θείας καὶ εὐδαιμονικῆς φύσεις. θηρίως δὲ καὶ πτηνοῖς ἀπεικάζει τὰ πάθη, ὅτι σύνεται τὸν νοῦν ἀτίθασα καὶ ἀνήμερα ὄντα καὶ ὁτι πτηνῶν τρόπον ἑπιποτᾶται τῇ διανοίᾳ· ὥσεία γὰρ ἡ τούτων καὶ

a Or “his.” See 18. αὐτοῦ can be masculine or neuter.

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is a weapon of defence, which has conferred great boons on many: and so with the other passions. This shows also that the prophet was perfectly right in saying that the helper must be one "corresponding to him." For in very deed this helper is intimately allied to the mind, as though a brother of one blood with it: for sense-perception and passions are parts and offspring of one soul with it.

IV. There are two species of this helper: the one has its sphere in the passions, the other in sense-perception. At present He will produce the former only, for he says, "And God moulded moreover out of the earth all the wild beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, and led them to Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatever Adam called a living soul, this was its name" (Gen. ii. 19). You see who are our helpers, the wild beasts, the soul's passions: for after saying, "Let us make a helper corresponding to him," he adds the words, "He moulded the wild beasts," implying that the wild beasts are our helpers. These are not properly called our helpers, but by a straining of language; in reality they are found to be our actual foes, just as the allies of states sometimes turn out to be traitors and deserters, and in private friendships flatterers prove enemies instead of comrades. He uses the terms "heaven" and "field" as synonyms, meaning the mind. For the mind is like the field in having countless sproutings and upgrowths, and like heaven again in having natures brilliant and godlike and blessed. The passions he likens to wild beasts and birds, because, savage and untamed as they are, they tear the soul to pieces, and because like winged things they light upon the understanding;
ΦΙΛΟ

άνεπίσχετος ὀρμή. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται τῷ "ἐπλασε" τὸ "ἔτι." διὰ τί; ὅτι καὶ [69] ἐπάνω πεπλάσθαι | τὰ θηρία φησὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρώ- που γενέσεως, ἡς καὶ δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων ἐν ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. "καὶ εἴπεν Ἑξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζώσαν κατὰ γένος, τετράποδα καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ 12 θηρία" (Gen. i. 24).

τί παθὼν οὖν ἀλλὰ πλάττει θηρία νῦν οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς τοῖς προ- τέροις; λεκτέον οὖν ἡθικῶς μὲν τούτῳ· πλούσιον ἔστι τὸ κακίας γένος ἐν τῷ γένητῷ, ὡστε ἀεὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὰ φαυλότατα ἐν τούτῳ· φυσικῶς δὲ ἐκεῖνο· πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑξαμέρῳ τὰ γένη τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς ἱδέας ἐφράξετο, νῦν δὲ τὰ 13 εἴδη προσπλάττει· διό φησιν "ἐπλασεν ἔτι." ὅτι δὲ τὰ πάλαι κατασκευασθέντα γένη ἤν, φανερὸν εξ ὧν φησιν "ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζώσαν" οὐ κατ’ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ "κατὰ γένος." καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἀπάσῳ εὑρίσκεται· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν εἴδῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὰ γένη, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· προτύπωσας γὰρ τὸν γενικὸν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὦ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ γένος φησιν εἶναι, ὡστε τὸ εἴδος ἀπ- εργάζεται τὸν 'Αδάμ.

14 Τούτο μὲν οὖν τὸ εἴδος τῶν βοηθῶν εὕρηκε, τὸ δ' ἐτερον ὑπερτίθεται τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, εὖτε ἀν ἐπιχειρη πλάττειν τῇ γυναικα. ἐκεῖνο δ'
for the assault of the passions is violent and irresistible. The addition of "further" to "formed" is by no means otiose. How do we see this? Because above also he mentions the forming of the wild beasts before the creation of man, as we see from these words referring to the sixth day: and He said, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul after its kind, four-footed animals and creeping things and wild beasts" (Gen. i. 24). How comes He, then, to form other wild beasts now, and not to be satisfied with those former ones? From the ethical point of view what we must say is this. In the realm of created things the class or kind of wickedness is abundant. It follows that in this the worst things are ever being produced. From the philosophical point of view our answer must be, that on the former occasion, when engaged in the Work of the six days, He wrought the genera or kinds and the originals of the passions, whereas now He is fashioning the species as well. This is why he says, "He fashioned moreover." That what were created in the first instance were genera, is evident from the words employed, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul," not according to species but "according to kind." And we find Him in every instance working in this way. Before the species He completes the genera. He does so in the case of man. Having first fashioned man as a genus, in which the prophet says that there is the male and the female genus, He afterwards makes Adam, the finished form or species.

V. Helpers of this sort the prophet has now dealt with; the other sort he defers, that of sense-perception, I mean, until the Creator takes in hand to
PHILO

ὑπερθέμενος περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεως τεχνολογεῖ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ ἡ ῥητὴ ἀπόδοσις ἀξία τοῦ θαυμαζομένου. ἡ μὲν ῥητὴ, παρόσον τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων προσήψε τῷ 15 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ νομοθέτης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρ' Ἐλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντες εἶπον εἶναι σοφοὺς τοὺς πρῶτους τοὺς πράγματι τὰ ὀνόματα θέντας. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἀμεινων, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ τοὺς τῶν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ, ἣν ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενέσεως ἐπλάσθη, οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τοῦ διαλέγομενος νομισθῆ—μὴ γὰρ ὄντων ὀνομάτων, οὐδὲν διάλεκτος ἢν—ἐπείτα ὅτι πολλῶν μὲν τιθέντων ὀνόματα διάφωνα καὶ ἅμικτα ἔμελλεν ἐσεσθαι, ἄλλων ἄλλως τιθέντων, ἐνὸς δὲ ὥφειλεν ἡ θέσις ἐφαρμόττειν τῷ πράγματι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι σύμβολον ἀπασί τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου.

16 VI. ὁ δὲ ἡθικὸς λόγος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν: τὸ "τί" πολλάκις τίθεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ τί," οἴον τί λέλουσιν, τί περιπατεῖς, τί διαλέγη, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἀντὶ τοῦ "διὰ τί." ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ "ἰδεῖν τί καλέσει," ἀκούε ἵσον τῷ, διὰ τί καλέσει καὶ προσκαλέσεται καὶ ἀσπάσεται τούτων ἐκαστὸν ὁ νοῦς· πότερον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀναγκαίου μόνον, ὅτι

* See App. p. 479.
fashion woman. Having deferred that subject, he goes on to a systematic treatment of the giving of names. Here his literal statement and his symbolic interpretation alike claim our admiration. What we admire in the Lawgiver's literal statement is his ascription to the first man of the fixing of names. Indeed Greek philosophers\(^a\) said that those who first assigned names to things were wise men. Moses did better than they, first of all in ascribing it not to some of the men of old but to the first man created. His purpose was that, as Adam was formed to be the beginning from which all others drew their birth, so too no other than he should be regarded as the beginning of the use of speech: for even language would not have existed, if there had not been names. Again, had many persons bestowed names on things, they would inevitably have been incongruous and ill-matched, different persons imposing them on different principles, whereas the naming by one man was bound to bring about harmony between name and thing, and the name given was sure to be a symbol, the same for all men, of any object to which the name was attached or of the meaning attaching to the name.

VI. What he says in the domain of ethics is to this effect. We often use "τί" (= "what") for "διὰ τί"\(^a\) ("by reason of what"), as "what (i.e. why) have you bathed?" "What (i.e. 'why') are you walking?" "What (i.e. 'why') are you conversing?" In all these cases "what" stands for "because of what." When the prophet says "to see what he would call them" you should understand something equivalent to 'why the mind would call and invite to it and greet' each of these objects, whether only for the
κατέζευκται τὸ θνητὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πάθει καὶ κακίαις, ἢ καὶ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττοῦ καὶ πότερον διὰ τὰς τοῦ γηγενοῦς χρείας ἢ διὰ τὸ κρίνειν αὐτὰ béλτιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα· οὖν ἡ ἡδονὴ χρήσθαι δεῖ τὸ γεγονός· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φαύλος ὡς ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ χρήσται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ὡς μόνον ἀναγκαίως χωρίς γὰρ ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν γίνεται τῶν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει. πάλιν τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν ὁ μὲν <φαύλος> τελειότατον ἀγαθὸν κρίνει, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἀναγκαίον καὶ χρῆσμον αὐτὸ μόνον. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἱδεῖν καὶ καταμαθεῖν βούλεται, πῶς ἔκαστον τούτων προσκαλεῖται καὶ ἀποδέχεται ὁ νοῦς, εἰτε ὃς ἀγαθὰ εἰτε ὃς ἀναφόρα ὃς κακὰ μὲν, χρειῶδη δὲ ἄλλως. διὸ καὶ πάν ὁ ἄν προσεκαλέσατο καὶ ἡσύχασατο ὡς ψυχὴν ἱζότιμον αὐτὸ ἡγησάμενον ψυχῇ, τούτῳ ὄνομα οὐ τοῦ κληθέντος ἐγίνετο μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ καλέσαντος· οὖν, εἰ ἀπεδέξατο ἡδονή, ἐκαλεῖτο ἢδονικός, εἰ ἐπιθυμιᾶν, ἐπιθυμητικός, εἰ ἀκολασίαν, ἀκόλαστος, εἰ δειλίαν, δειλός, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὠσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὁ κατ' αὐτὰς ποιῶς καλεῖται φρόνιμος ἢ σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἢ άνδρείος, οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν ἄδικος καὶ ἄφρων καὶ ἄνανδρος, ἐπειδὰν τὰς ἔξεις προσκαλέσηται καὶ δεξιώσηται.

VII. "Καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνώσε· καὶ ἐλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ" καὶ τὰ ἔξης (Gen. ii. 21). τὸ ῥητὸν ἐπὶ

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a See App. p. 479.
sake of that which it cannot dispense with, seeing that all that is mortal is necessarily bound up with passions and vices, or also for the sake of what is in excess of reasonable needs; and whether to satisfy the needs of flesh and blood, or because it deems them good and admirable above all things. For example. A created being cannot but make use of pleasure. But the worthless man will use it as a perfect good, but the man of worth simply as a necessity, remembering that apart from pleasure nothing in mortal kind comes into existence. Again the worthless man accounts the acquisition of wealth a most perfect good; the man of worth regards it as just necessary and serviceable and no more. No wonder then that God wishes to see and ascertain how the mind invites and welcomes each of these, whether as good, or as indifferent, or as bad but at all events as serviceable. Hence it came about that everything which he called to himself and greeted as living soul, reckoning it equal in worth to the soul, this became the name not only of the thing called but of him who called it. For example, if he welcomed pleasure, he was called pleasure-loving; if desire, desire-ridden; if licence, licentious; if cowardice, cowardly; and so on. For, just as the man whose quality is determined by the virtues is from them called wise or sober-minded or just or brave, so from the vices is he called unjust and foolish and unmanly, whenever he has invited to himself and given a hearty welcome to the corresponding dispositions.

VII. "And God brought a trance upon Adam, and he fell asleep; and He took one of his sides" and what follows (Gen. ii. 21). These words in
τούτου μυθώδες ἐστι· πώς γὰρ ἂν παραδεξαίτο τις, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἄνδρος γυνῆ ἢ συνόλως ἄνθρωπος; τί δὲ ἐκάλυπτε, ὡσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρα ἐδημιουργεῖ τὸ αὐτίον, οὕτως καὶ γυναῖκα δημιουργῆσαι; οὐ τε γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἢν ἢ τε ὑλὴ σχέδου ἀπειρο, ἡς ἡ πάσα ποιότης κατεσκευάζετο. διὰ τί δὲ οὖν ἢς ἄλλου μέρους, τοσσότων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐτύπου τὴν γυναίκα; ποτέραν δὲ πλευρὰν ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐτύπου τὴν γυναίκα; ποτέραν δὲ πλευρὰν—ἵνα καὶ δύο μόνας ἐμφαίνεσθαι φώμεν, πρὸς γὰρ ἀλήθειαν οὔδὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσεν—ἄρα γε τὴν εὐώνυμον ἡ τὴν δεξιάν; εἴ γε μὴν ἀνεπλήρου σαρκὶ τὴν ἐτέραν, ἡ ἀπολειυσμένη οὐκ ἢν σαρκίνη δῆπος; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφαὶ γ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν αἱ ἠμὲν πλευραὶ καὶ σαρκὸς γεγόνασι. 20 τί οὖν λεκτέον; πλευρὰς ὁ βίος ὄνομαζει τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν γὰρ πλευρᾶς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἴσον τῷ δυνάμεις, καὶ εὔπλευρον εἶναι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, καὶ πλευρᾶς ἔχειν τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ δύναμιν ἐρρωμένην ἐν τῷ ἄδειν. τούτου 21 τί οὖν λεκτέον; πλευρὰς ὁ βίος ὄνομαζει τὰς δυνάμεις· λέγομεν γὰρ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἴσον τῷ δυνάμεις, καὶ εὔπλευρον εἶναι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, καὶ πλευρὰς ἔχειν τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν 22 ἀντὶ τοῦ δύναμιν ἐρρωμένην ἐν τῷ ἄδειν. τούτου 71] προειρημένου κάκεινο λεκτέον, | ὅτι ὁ γυμνὸς καὶ ἀνένδετος σώματι νοῦς—περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μῆπω ἐνδεδεμένου ἐστίν ὁ λόγος—πολλὰς ἔχει δυνάμεις, ἐκτικὴν φυτικὴν ψυχικὴν, ἀλλὰς μυρίας κατὰ τε εἴδη καὶ γένη. ἡ μὲν ἔξις κοινῇ καὶ τῶν ἁμύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ εὐλόων, ἡς μετέχει

1 λογικὴν is omitted with the Armenian version.

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their literal sense are of the nature of a myth. For how could anyone admit that a woman, or a human being at all, came into existence out of a man's side? And what was there to hinder the First Cause from creating woman, as He created man, out of the earth? For not only was the Maker the same Being, but the material too, out of which every particular kind was fashioned, was practically unlimited. And why, when there were so many parts to choose from, did He form the woman not from some other part but from the side? And which side did he take? For we may assume that only two are indicated, as there is in fact nothing to suggest a large number of them. Did he take the left or the right side? If He filled up with flesh (the place of) the one which He took, are we to suppose that the one which He left was not made of flesh? Truly our sides are twin in all their parts and are made of flesh. What then are we to say? "Sides" is a term of ordinary life for "strength." To say that a man has "sides" is equivalent to saying that he is strong, we say of a powerful athlete "he has stout sides," and to say that a singer has "sides" is as much as to say that he has great lung power in singing. Having said this, we must go on to remark that the mind when as yet unclothed and unconfined by the body (and it is of the mind when not so confined that he is speaking) has many powers. It has the power of holding together, of growing, of conscious life, of thought, and countless other powers, varying both in species and genus. Lifeless things, like stones and blocks of wood, share with all others the power of holding together, of which the bones in us, which are not unlike stones,
καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐοικότα λίθοις ὀστέα. ἡ δὲ φύσις
dιατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά· καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν
ἐοικότα φυτοῖς, ὄνυχες τε καὶ τρίχες· ἐστι δὲ ἡ

23 φύσις ἐξίς ἡ διανοημένη. ψυχή δὲ ἐστὶ φύσις
προσειληφυῖα φαντασίαν καὶ ὀρμήν· αὕτη κοινὴ
cαὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐστίν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἴμετερος νοῦς
ἀναλογοῦν τι ἀλόγου ψυχῆ. πάλιν ἡ διανοητικὴ
dύναμις ἰδία τοῦ νοῦ ἐστι, καὶ κοινὴ μὲν τάχα
καὶ τῶν θειοτέρων φύσεων, ἰδία δὲ όσ ἐν θνητοῖς
ἀνθρώπου· αὕτη δὲ διίτη, ἡ μὲν καθ' ἦν λογικοὶ
ἐσμεν νοῦ μετέχοντες, ἡ δὲ καθ' ἦν διαλεγόμεθα.

24 ἐστιν <οὖν καί> ἀλλη δύναμις ἐν ψυχῇ τούτων
ἀδελφῆ, ἡ αἰσθητική, περὶ ἦς ἐστιν ὁ λόγος· οὐδὲν
γὰρ ἀλλο νῦν ὑπογράφει ἡ γένεσιν τῆς κατ'
ἐνέργειαν αἰσθήσεως· καὶ κατὰ λόγον. VIII. μετὰ
gὰρ νοῦν εὑρῆς ἐδει δημιουργηθῆναι αἰσθησιν
βοηθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ σύμμαχον. τελεσιουργήσας οὖν
ἐκεῖνον τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει
πλάττει δημιούργημα, τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἰσθησιν,
πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν

25 τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀντίληψιν. πῶς οὖν γεννᾶται;
ὡς αὐτὸς πάλιν φησὶν, ὅταν ὑπνώσῃ ὁ νοῦς· τῷ
γὰρ ὁντι ὑπνώσαντος νοῦ γίνεται αἰσθησις, καὶ
γὰρ ἐμπαλιν ἐγηγορότος νοῦ σβένννται· τεκ-

1 The words ἡ λογικὴ are omitted. See Leopold Cohn’s
Note in Heinemann’s translation (p. 61).

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partake. "Growth" extends to plants, and there are parts in us, such as our nails and hair, resembling plants; "growth" is coherence capable of moving itself. Conscious life is the power to grow, with the additional power of receiving impressions and being the subject of impulses. This is shared also by creatures without reason. Indeed our mind contains a part that is analogous to the conscious life of a creature without reason. Once more, the power of thinking is peculiar to the mind, and while shared, it may well be, by beings more akin to God, is, so far as mortal beings are concerned, peculiar to man. This power or faculty is twofold. We are rational beings, on the one hand as being partakers of mind, and on the other as being capable of discourse. Well, there is also another power or faculty in the soul, closely akin to these, namely that of receiving sense-impressions, and it is of this that the prophet is speaking. For his immediate concern is just this, to indicate the origin of active sense-perception. And logical sequence leads him to do so. VIII. For it was requisite that the creation of mind should be followed immediately by that of sense-perception, to be a helper and ally to it. Having then finished the creation of the mind He fashions the product of creative skill that comes next to it alike in order and in power, namely active sense-perception, with a view to the completeness of the whole soul, and with a view to its apprehension of objects presented to it. How is it, then, produced? As the prophet himself again says, it is when the mind has fallen asleep. As a matter of fact it is when the mind has gone to sleep that perception begins, for conversely when the mind wakes up perception is quenched.
μήριον δέ ὅταν τι βουλώμεθα ἀκριβῶς νοήσαι, εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀποδιδράσκομεν, καταμύομεν τὰς ὄψεις, τὰ ὡτα ἐπιφράττομεν, ἀποταττόμεθα ταῖς αἰσθήσεωι. οὕτως μέν, ὅταν ἀναστῇ καὶ ἐγρηγόροσεν χρῆται ὁ νοῦς, φθείρεται αἴσθησις.

26 Ἡδομέν δὲ καὶ θάτερον, πῶς ὕπνω χρῆται ὁ νοῦς. περιαναστάσης καὶ ᾠστηρησείς αἰσθήσεωι, ὅταν ἡ ὄψις γραφέων ἤ πλαστῶν ἔργα εὗ δεδημουργημένα καθορᾶ, οὐχ ὁ νοῦς ἀπρακτὸς ἐστι νοητῶν ἐπινοῶν οὐδέν; τί δ' ὅταν ἡ ἄκοη προσέχη φωνῆς ἐμμελεία, δύναται ὁ νοῦς λογίζεσθαι τι τῶν οἰκείων; οὐδαμῶς. καὶ μὴν πολὺ πλέον ἀπρακτὸς γίνεται, ὅταν ἡ γεῦσις ἐξαναστᾶσα λάβρως ἐμπιπλητῆται τῶν γαστρῶν ἰδινῶν.

27 Διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φοβηθεῖς, μὴ ποτε ὁ νοῦς μὴ μόνον κοιμηθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελείως ἀποθάνῃ, φησίν ἐν ἑτέροις "καὶ πάσσαλος ἔσται σοι ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου καὶ ἔσται, ὅταν διακαθίζατης, ὁρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἁρπαγόμουσαν σοῦ" (Deut. xxiii. 13), πάσσαλον συμβολικῶς φάσκων τὸν ἐξορύσσοντα λόγον τὰ κε-28 κρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων. κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν φορεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὅ ἀνεξώσθαι χρῆ καὶ μὴ ἔάν κεχαλάσθαι καὶ ἀνείσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πρακτέον, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ τόνου τῶν νοητῶν ἀποστᾶς υφίηται πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ διακαθίζανθη ἐνδίδους καὶ
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A proof of this is afforded by the fact that whenever we wish to get an accurate understanding of a subject we hurry off to a lonely spot; we close our eyes; we stop our ears; we say "good-bye" to our perceptive faculties. So then, we see that, when the mind is astir and awake, the power of perception is suppressed.

There is the other point to be noticed. Let us see what happens to the mind in sleep. When the perceptive faculty has been set astir and aflame, owing to the eye contemplating the masterpieces of painters or sculptors, does not the mind remain inactive, and cease to exercise itself on objects of thought? And when the ear is intent on the tunefulness of a voice, can the mind be employing its reasoning power upon any of the subjects belonging to its sphere? Of course not. And in good sooth the mind finds itself still more completely out of work when the sense of taste has fully roused itself and is gorging itself with all that delights the appetite.

And this is the reason why Moses, fearing lest the mind should not only go to sleep but absolutely die, says in another place, "And thou shalt have a shovel upon thy belt; and it shall be, when thou sittest down abroad, thou shalt dig therewith and cover over thine unseemliness" (Deut. xxiii. 13). He uses the term "shovel" figuratively for the reason that digs out hidden matters. And he bids the man wear it upon his passion, which must be girded up and which he must not allow to be loose and slack. And this girding must be put into practice whenever the mind, relaxing from the strain of its own objects, lowers itself to the passions, and "sits down abroad," giving itself up to be drawn

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29 ἀγόμενος υπὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· ὅταν ἐν ταῖς ἀβροδίαις συνουσίαις ἐπιλάθηται ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ὔδους ἀγοῦσι, δεδουλώμεθα καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ χρώμεθα· ἕαν δὲ ὁ λόγος ἰσχύῃ ἀνακαθάραι τὸ πάθος, οὔτε πίνοντες μεθυσκόμεθα οὔτε ἑσθίοντες ἐξυβρίζομεν διὰ κόρον, ἀλλὰ δίχα τοῦ ληρεὶν νηφάλια συνουσίαις εἰπώλαθηται ὁ νοῦς εαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐδῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλιοῦ ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἀλλών ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἐκδηλοῦ· ἡλιοῦ δὴ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρήγορος μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξέλαμψε.

30 Τούτων ληρεὶν νηφάλια συνουσίαις ἐπιλάθηται ὁ νοῦς εαυτοῦ κρατηθεὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐδῶν αἰσθήσεων, καθάπερ καὶ ἡλιοῦ ἀνατείλαντος μὲν ἀφανεῖς αἱ τῶν ἀλλών ἀστέρων λάμψεις, καταδύντος δὲ ἐκδηλοῦ· ἡλιοῦ δὴ τρόπον ὁ νοῦς ἐγρήγορος μὲν ἐπισκιάζει ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κοιμηθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἐξέλαμψε.

31 IX. Τούτων εἴρημένων ἐφαρμοστέον τὰς λέξεις. "ἐπέβαλε" φησίν "ὁ θεὸς ἐκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνώσεν" (Gen. ii. 21). ὡρθῶς· ἡ γὰρ ἐκστασις καὶ τροπῆ τοῦ νοοῦ ὑπνόω ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ· ἐξισταται δὲ, ὅταν μὴ πραγματευται τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ νοητά· ὅτε δὲ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ ταῦτα, κοιμᾶται· εὕ δὲ τὸ φάναι ὧτι ἐξισταται, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ τρέπεται, οὐ παρε ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα καὶ ἐπιφεροντα καὶ ἐπι-

32 πέμποντα τὴν τροπὴν θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ γοῦν παρ' ἐμὲ ἂν τὸ τρέπεσθαι, ὁπότε ἐβολολόμην, ἃν ἐχρώμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὀπότε μὴ ἐπροηρούμην, ἀτρεπτός διεσέλυον· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικεὶ μοι ἡ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενοι καθήκον
by bodily necessity. And this is how the matter stands. Whenever the mind forgets itself amid the luxuries of a festive gathering and is mastered by all that conduces to pleasure, we are in bondage and we leave our "unseemliness" uncovered. But if the reason prove strong enough to purge the passion, we neither go on drinking till we are drunk, nor eat so greedily as to wax wanton, but we banish folly and take our food soberly. Thus the wakefulness of the senses means sleep for the mind, and the wakefulness of the mind a time of leisure for the senses; just as, when the sun has risen, the lights of the other heavenly bodies are invisible; when it has set, they show themselves. The mind, like the sun, when awake, throws the senses into the shade, but if it goes to sleep, it causes them to shine out.

IX. Having said this, we must show how the terms employed accord with it. "God cast," he says, "a trance upon Adam, and he went to sleep" (Gen. ii. 21). Quite correctly does he use this language. For the mind's trance and change is its sleep, and it falls into a trance when it ceases to be engaged with the objects appropriate to it; and when it is not at work at these, it is sleeping. Rightly also does he say that this change or turning which he undergoes is not of his own motion but of God's; that it is God who "casts it on him," that is, brings and sends it on him. For the case is this. For if the change were in our hands I should have recourse to it, when I wished, and when it was not my deliberate choice I should then continue unturned. But as it is, the change is actually repugnant to me, and many a time when wishing to entertain some fitting thought, I am
PHILO

τι νοήσαι ἐπανθυμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθήκον ἐπιρροίας, καὶ ἐμπαλιν ἐννοιάν τινος λαμβάνων αἴσχροι ποτίμως ἐννοιάς ἀπερρυψάμην ἐκεῖνο,

θεοῦ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χάριτι γλυκῷ νάμα ἀντὶ ἀλμυροῦ 33 ἐπεισχέαντος τῇ ψυχῇ. πάν μὲν οὖν τὸ γενητὸν ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι, ἰδιον γάρ ἐστι τούτῳ αὐτοῦ,

ὡσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἀτρεπτόν εἶναι· ἄλλα οἱ μὲν τραπέντες κατέμειναν ἀρχὴ παντελοῦσθαι φθορᾶς, οἱ δ' ὅσον μόνον παθεῖν τὸ θυντόν, οὕτωι δ' εὐθὺς 34 ἀνασώθησαν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὁτι “οὐκ [73] ἔσσει τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα εἰσέλθειν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑμῶν πατάξαι” (Exod. xii. 23). εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλοθρεύοντα—ὁλεθρος δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τροπῆ—

εἰσέλθειν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα τὸ ἰδιον ἐνδείξηται τοῦ γενητοῦ; οὐκ ἀφῆσει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τοῦ ὀρῶντος ἔγγονον Ἰσραήλ οὕτως τραπῇναι, ὡστε πληγῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀναδραμεῖν καὶ ἀνακύψαι ὡσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ἀνασώθηναι βιάσεται.

35 Χ. “Ἐλαβε μίαν των πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ” (Gen. ii. 21). τῶν πολλῶν τοῦ νοῦ δυνάμεων μίαν ἔλαβε τὴν αἰσθητικὴν. τὸ δὲ “ἔλαβεν” οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφείλεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηρίθμησεν, ἔξητασεν, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις “λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν σκύλων τῆς αἰχμαλώσιας” (Num. xxxi. 26).

36 τί οὖν ἔστιν ὁ βουλέται ποραστῆσαι; διχῶς αἰσθησίς λέγεται, ἡ μὲν καθ’ ἔξων, ἢτις καὶ κοιμω-

μένων ἡμῶν ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν. τῆς μὲν

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* Philo is adapting Plato, Phaedrus 243 D ποτίμως λόγῳ οὗν ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοην ἀποκλύσασθαι.

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drenched by a flood of unfitting matters pouring over me; and conversely when on the point of admitting a conception of something vile, I have washed the vile thing away with wholesome thoughts, God having by His grace poured upon my soul a sweet draught in place of the bitter one. Now every created thing must necessarily undergo change, for this is its property, even as unchangeableness is the property of God. But, while some, after being changed, remain so until they are entirely destroyed, others continue so only so far as to experience that to which all flesh is liable, and these forthwith recover. This is why Moses says, "He will not permit the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you" (Exod. xii. 23): for He does indeed permit the destroyer—("destruction" being the change or turning of the soul)—to enter into the soul, that He may make it evident that what is peculiar to created things is there; but God will not let the offspring of "the seeing" Israel be in such wise changed as to receive his death-blow by the change, but will force him to rise and emerge as though from deep water and recover.

X. "He took one of his sides" (Gen. ii. 21). Of the many faculties of the mind He took one, the faculty of perception. "Took" must not be understood as equivalent to "removed," but as equivalent to "enrolled," "registered," as we find it elsewhere "take the sum of the spoils of the captivity" (Numb. xxxi. 26). What idea is it, then, that he wants to convey? The word "perception" is used in two ways, first in that of a condition, in which sense it is ours when we are asleep, secondly in the sense of an activity. From perception in the
οὖν προτέρας τῆς καθ' ἐξιν ὁφελος οúdeν, οúde γὰρ 
αὐτῆ τῶν ύποκειμένων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, τῆς δὲ 
δευτέρας τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης 
ποιούμεθα τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλήψεις. γεννήσας 
οὖν τὴν προτέραν τὴν καθ' ἐξιν αἰσθησιν, ὅτε καὶ 
τὸν νοῦν ἐγέννα—σὺν γὰρ πολλαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἡρε-
μούσας αὐτὸν κατεσκεύαζε—νῦν βούλεται τὴν 
κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἀποτελέσαι· ἀποτελεῖται δὲ ἡ κατ' 
ἐνέργειαν, ὅταν ἡ καθ' ἐξιν κινηθεῖσα ταθὴ μέχρι 
τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀγγείων· ὥσπερ 
γὰρ φύσις ἀποτελεῖται κινηθέντος σπέρματος, 
ὁταν καὶ ἐνέργεια κινηθεῖσης ἐξεως. XI. "ἀν-
επλήρου δὲ σάρκα αὐτὴν καθ" (Gen. ii. 21), 
tουτέστι συνεπλήρου τὴν καθ' ἐξιν αἰσθησιν ἀγων 
eis ἐνέργειαν καὶ τείνων αὐτὴν ἀχρι σαρκὸς καὶ 
tῆς ὀλῆς ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ἄκο-
δόμησεν εἰς γυναῖκα" (Gen. ii. 22), διὰ τοῦτο 
παριστάς ὅτι οἰκειότατον καὶ εὐθυβολώτατον ἐστὶν 
όνομα αἰσθήσεως γυνῆ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄνὴρ ἐν 
tῷ δράσαι1 θεωρεῖται, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν ἡ γυνῆ, 
οὕτως ἐν μὲν τῷ δράν ὁ νοῦς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχειν 
γυναικὸς τρόπον ἡ αἰσθησις ἐξετάζεται. μαθεῖν 
dὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐναργείας βάδουν· ἡ ὁψις πάσχει υπὸ 
tῶν κινούντων αὐτὴν ὅρατῶν, τοῦ λευκοῦ, τοῦ 
μέλανος, τῶν ἄλλων, ἡ ἀκοή πάλιν υπὸ τῶν 
φωνῶν καὶ ἡ γεύσις υπὸ τῶν χυλῶν διατίθεται, 
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτμῶν ἡ ὀσφρησις, ὑπὸ τραχέος καὶ 
μαλακοῦ ἡ ἀφή· καὶ ἰρεμοῦσί γε αἱ αἰσθησις 
1 Τῇ δράσει.
former sense, as it is a state, we derive no benefit, for it does not enable us to apprehend the objects about us. It is from the second kind of perception, as an activity, that we get benefit, for our apprehension of the objects of sense-perception is made possible by this. Having, then, brought into being the former sort of perception as a quiescent condition, at the time when He was bringing the mind itself into being—for He made the mind with many faculties lying dormant—now it is His wish to produce perception as an activity. Active perception is brought to pass when quiescent perception has been set in motion and extended to reach the flesh and the perceptive organs. For, just as growth is effected by seed being set in motion, so is activity or actuality by a quiescent condition being set in motion.

XI. "And he filled up flesh in its stead" (Gen. ii. 21), that is to say He fulfilled perception that was only a state by leading it on to be an activity, and extending it till it reached the flesh and the whole surface of the body. And so he adds the words, "He built it to be a woman" (Gen. ii. 22), proving by this that the most proper and exact name for sense-perception is "woman." For just as the man shows himself in activity and the woman in passivity, so the province of the mind is activity, and that of the perceptive sense passivity, as in woman. It is easy to learn this from what is before our eyes. Sight is in a passive relation to the objects of sight that set it moving, white, black, and the rest. Hearing, again, is affected by sounds, and the sense of taste by savours, the sense of smell by odours, that of touch by things rough and smooth; and the faculties of perception are all dormant, until
απασαι, μέχρις ἀν προσέλθῃ ἑκάστῃ τὸ κινήσων ἔξωθεν.

40 XII. "Καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν 'Αδὰμ· καὶ εἶπεν 'Αδὰμ Τοῦτο νῦν ὡστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὡστῶν μου καὶ σάρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου" (Gen. ii. 22, 23). τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν αἴσθησιν ἄγει ὁ θεός πρὸς τὸν [74] νοῦν, εἰδώς ὅτι ἀνακάμπτειν | δεὶ τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ νοῦν. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος ἦν πρότερον εἴχε δύναμιν καὶ καθ’ ἐξιν ἤρεμούσαν νῦν ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ἐνέργειαν γεγεννημένην καὶ κινομένην, θαυμάζει τε καὶ ἀναφθέγγεται φάσκων ὅτι οὐκ ἔστω ἀλλοτρία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα οἰκεία.

41 "τότο," γάρ φησιν "ἐστὶν ὡστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ὡστῶν," τοιούτῳ δύναμις ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν δυνάμεων —ἐπὶ γὰρ δυνάμεως καὶ ἱσχύος νῦν παρείληπται τὸ ὡστεόν—καὶ πάθος ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν, "καὶ σάρξ" φησίν "ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς μου". πάντα γὰρ ὅσα πάσχει ή αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἄνευ νοῦ υπομένει, πηγὴ γὰρ οὔτος ἔστιν αὐτῆ καὶ θεμέλιος ὥ ἐπερείδεται. ἢξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τὸ "νῦν" προσετέθη "τότο" γὰρ φησὶ "νῦν ὡστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὡστῶν μου." ἡ αἴσθησις φύσει νῦν ἔστι, κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα χρόνον ύφισταμένη μόνον. δὲ μὲν γὰρ νοῦς τῶν τριῶν ἐφάπτεται χρόνων, καὶ γὰρ τὰ παρόντα νοεὶ καὶ τῶν παρεληλυθῶν

42 μέμνηται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προσδοκᾶ. ἢ δὲ αἴσθησις οὔτε μελλόντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται οὔδ’ ἀνάλογον τι πάσχει προσδοκίας ἢ ἐπιδί οὔτε παρεληλυθῶν μέμνηται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔτη κινοῦντος καὶ παρόντος μόνον πάσχειν πέφυκεν, οἷον ὀφθαλμὸς λευκαῖνε-
there draws near to each of them from outside that which is to set it in motion.

XII. “And he led her to Adam; and Adam said, This is now bone out of my bones and flesh out of my flesh” (Gen. ii. 22, 23). God leads active perception to the mind, knowing that its movement and apprehensive power must revert to the mind as their starting-point. The mind, on beholding that, which it had before as a potentiality and as a dormant state, now become a finished product, an activity, and in motion, marvels at it, and cries aloud declaring that it is not foreign to it but in the fullest sense its own, for it says, “This is bone out of my bones,” that is, power out of my powers, for “bone” is here used as “power and strength”; “and feeling out of my feelings”; “and flesh,” he says, “out of my flesh”; for not without the mind does the perceptive faculty bear anything that it feels, for the mind is to it a fountain-head and a basis on which it rests. It is worth our while to consider why the word “now” was added: for what he says is, “This is now bone out of my bones.” Perception by itself is now, subsisting only in relation to the present time. For whereas past, present, and future are within the scope of the mind, as it grasps things present, remembers things past, and looks forward to things future, perception, on the other hand, has no power either to reach out to future things by experiencing something corresponding to hope or expectation, nor does it remember things past, but it is so constituted as to be affected only by that which is present and sets it in motion at the moment. For instance, the eye has a sensation of white now under the influence of the
ταί νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λευκοῦ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μη παρόντος οὐδὲν πᾶσχει. ὁ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μη παρόντι κινεῖται, παρεληλυθότι μὲν κατὰ μνήμην, μέλλοντι δὲ ἐπελπίζων καὶ προσδοκῶν.

44 XIII. "Ταύτῃ καὶ κληθήσεται γυνὴ” (Gen. ii. 23), ἀντὶ τοῦ, διὰ τούτο ἡ αἴσθησις γυνῆ προσφησθήσεται, “ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἄνδρος” τοῦ κινούντος αὐτὴν “λαμβάνεται αὐτῇ” φησί. διὰ τί οὖν τὸ “αὐτῇ” πρόσκειται; ὅτι ἐστιν ἐτέρα αἴσθησις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ λαμβανομένη, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ γεγενημένη. δύο γάρ, ὡς ἔπον ἡδη, εἰσὶν αἰσθή-

45 σεις, ἡ μὲν καθ᾽ ἔξων, ἡ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἔξων οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνδρος, τούτως τοῦ νοῦ, λαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ φύει. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς, καθάπερ ἠδήλωσα, ὅτε ἐγεννᾶτο, σὺν πολλαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἔξων ἐγεννᾶτο, λογικής ψυχικῆς φυτικῆς, ὡστε καὶ αἰσθητικῆς. ἡ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νῷ καθ᾽ ἔξων οὐσίας αἰσθητικῆς ἐτάθη, ἵνα γένηται κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν, ὡστε ἐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νοὸς γεγενηθῆσθαι τὴν δεύτεραν

46 καὶ κατὰ κίνησιν. μάταιος δὲ ὁ νομίζων πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγου ἐκ τοῦ νοὸς τὰ συνόλως γεννᾶσθαι ἡ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ. οὐχ ὥρας ὅτι καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν εἴδωλων καθεξομένη αἰσθητείς τῇ Ῥαχήλ νομιζούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ νοὸς τὰ κινήματα εἶναι ἐπιπλήττει ὁ [75] βλέπων; ἡ μὲν γὰρ φησίν. “δός μοι τέκνα, εἰ δὲ μῆ, τελευτήσω ἐγώ” (Gen. xxx. 1). ὁ δὲ

* See App. p. 480.

b lxx. εἴδωλα, E.V. ‘teraphim.’
white that is present, but from that which is not present it feels no effect. The mind, on the contrary, is set in motion by occasion of that which is not present as well, if past, by way of memory, if future, by building hopes and expectations on it.

XIII. "To this one shall be given the title 'woman'" (Gen. ii. 23), as much as to say, for this cause shall perception be called "woman" because out of man that sets it in motion "this one is taken." Why, then is "this one" put in? Because there is another perception, not taken from the mind, but brought into being together with it. For there are, as I have said already, two perceptions, one existing as quiescent condition, the other as activity. The one, then, that exists as quiescent condition, is not taken out of the man, that is to say the mind, but comes into being with it. For the mind, as I have pointed out, when it came into existence, came into existence in association with many potentialities and conditions, those of reason, animal life, and growth, and so with that of perception also. But the one that exists as an activity comes out of the mind. For it was extended out of the perception which is in the mind as a condition, that it might come to be an activity. Thus the second one, the one that is characterized by movement, has been produced out of the mind itself. But he is a shallow thinker who supposes that in strict truth anything whatever derives its birth from the mind or from himself. Do you not see that perception in the person of Rachel a who sits upon the teraphim, b is rebuked by "the seeing one," when she imagines that movements have their source in mind? For she says, "Give me children; if you do not, I shall die" (Gen.
αποκρίνεται ὅτι, ὁ ψευδοδοξοῦσα, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς αὐτῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ νοῦ θεός· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "μὴ ἀντί θεοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὃς ἑστέρησε
47 σε καρπὸν κοιλίας" (ib. 2); ὃτι δὲ ὁ γεννῶν ὁ θεός ἐστιν, μαρτυρήσει ἐπὶ τῆς Λείας, ὅταν φη· "ἴδων δὲ κύριοι ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἦνοιξε τὴν
μήτραν αὐτῆς, 'Ραχήλ δὲ ἦν στείρα" (Gen. xxix. 31). ἄνδρος δὲ ἰδιον τὸ μήτραν ἀνοιγνύναι. φύσει δὲ μισείται παρὰ τῷ θυτῷ <γένει> ἡ ἀρετή, διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῆν τετίμηκε καὶ παρέρχει
48 τὰ πρωτότοκια τῆς μισουμένης. λέγει δ' ἐν ἐτέροις· "ἐὰν δὲ γένωνται ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναῖκες, μία αὐτῶν ἡγαπημένη καὶ μία αὐτῶν μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ γένηται ύιὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισουμένης, . . . οὐ δυνήσεται πρωτότοκεύσαι τῷ ύιῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ὑπεριδών τὸν ύιὸν τῆς μισουμένης τὸν πρωτότοκον" (Deut. xxi. 15, 16). πρῶτιστα γὰρ ἐστί καὶ τελειότατα τὰ τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς γεννήματα, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἁγαπωμένης ἡδονῆς ἐσχάτα.
49 XIV. "'Ενεκα τοῦτον καταλεύψει ἀνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολλήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν" (Gen. ii. 24). ἐνεκα τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν αὐτῇ δουλωθῇ, καταλεύψει καὶ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν συμπάντων, τῆν ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσκολλᾶται καὶ ἐνοῦται τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀναλύεται εἰς αἰσθήσεως, ἵνα γένωνται μία σάρξ καὶ
50 ἐν πάθος οἱ δύο. παρατήρει δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἡ γυνὴ
xxx. 1); but he answers, "O woman, full of false fancies, the mind is the origin of nothing, but God who is antecedent to the mind is the only cause"; and so he adds, "Am I in the place of God who deprived thee of the fruit of the womb?" (ibid. 2). But that it is God who brings about birth, Scripture will give evidence in the case of Leah, when it says, "And the Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31). The opening of the womb is man's proper function. But mortal kind is prone of itself to hate virtue, and accordingly God has bestowed honour upon it and vouchsafes to her that is hated to bear the first-born. He says elsewhere, "If a man have two wives, one of them beloved and one of them hated, and they shall bear children to him and the first-born son be the son of the hated wife . . . he shall not be able to give the right of the first-born to the son of the beloved wife, overlooking the son of the hated one who is the first-born" (Deut. xxi. 15, 16): for first of all and most perfect of all are the offspring of the hated virtue, while the offspring of the well-loved pleasure are last of all.

XIV. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and the twain shall be one flesh" (Gen. ii. 24). For the sake of sense-perception the Mind, when it has become her slave, abandons both God the Father of the universe, and God's excellence and wisdom, the Mother of all things, and cleaves to and becomes one with sense-perception and is resolved into sense-perception so that the two become one flesh and one experience. Observe that it is not the woman that cleaves to the man,
κολλάται τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλ’ ἐμπαλιν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ γυναικὶ, ὁ νοῦς τῇ αἰσθήσει· ὅταν γὰρ τὸ κρεῖττον ὁ νοῦς ἐνωθῇ τῷ χείρον τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἀναλύεται εἰς τὸ χείρον τὸ σαρκὸς γένος, τὴν παθῶν αὐτίναν αἰσθήσειν· ὅταν δὲ τὸ χείρον ἡ αἰσθήσεις ἀκολουθήσῃ τῷ κρεῖττον τῷ νῷ, οὐκέτι ἔσται σάρξ, ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα νοῦς. οὕτος μὲν δὴ τουοῦτος, τὸ φιλο-

51 παθὲς προκρίνων τοῦ φιλοθέου. ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἐτερος τοῦ πάθους τοῦ παθηνήν ἔρημόν ὁ Δευ ὁ "λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ. Οὐχ ἐώρακα σε, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐκ ἔπέγνω, καὶ τοὺς νικίς ἀπέγνω." (Deut. xxxiii. 9); πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὕτος [τε], τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕλην, καταλείπει ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου ἔχειν τὸν ἕνα θεόν, "κύριος γὰρ αὐτὸς κλήρος αὐτῷ." (Deut. x. 9). γίνεται δὴ τοῦ μὲν φιλοπαθοῦς κλήρος τὸ πάθος, τοῦ δὲ <φιλοθέου> τοῦ Δευ κλήρος ὁ θεός. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι καὶ τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ <ἐβδόμου> μηνὸς κελεύει δύο τράγους [κλήρον] προσάγειν, "κλήρου ἕνα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ κλήρον ἐνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ" (Lev. xvi. 8); τὸ γὰρ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐστι κλήρος ὅντως τὸ ἀποπόμπιμου πάθος.

53 XV. "Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοὶ, ὁ τε Ἄδαμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦσιν δύο. Ὁ δὲ ὁφις ἦν φρονιμῶτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, δεῦ | ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός." (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). γυμνός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς ὁ μήτε κακία μήτε ἁρετή ἁμπεχόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐκατέρου γεγυμνωμένος ὅντως, οἶον ἤ τοῦ νησίου παιδὸς ψυχῇ ἁμέτοχος οὐσα ἐκατέρου, ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, ἀπημφίασται
but conversely the man to the woman, Mind to Sense-perception. For when that which is superior, namely Mind, becomes one with that which is inferior, namely Sense-perception, it resolves itself into the order of flesh which is inferior, into sense-perception, the moving cause of the passions. But if Sense the inferior follow Mind the superior, there will be flesh no more, but both of them will be Mind. The man, then, of whom the prophet speaks is such as has been described; he prefers the love of his passions to the love of God. But there is a different man, one who has made the contrary choice, even Levi, who said to his father and his mother ‘I have not seen thee,’ and knew not his brethren, and disclaimed his sons’ (Deut. xxxiii. 9). This man forsakes father and mother, his mind and material body, for the sake of having as his portion the one God, ‘for the Lord Himself is his portion’ (Deut. x. 9). Passion becomes the portion of the lover of passion, but the portion of Levi the lover of God is God. Do you not see again that he prescribes that on the tenth day of the seventh month they should bring two goats, ‘one portion for the Lord and one for the averter of evil’? (Lev. xvi. 8). For in very deed the portion of the lover of passion is a passion that needs an averter.

XV. ‘And the two were naked, Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed.’ ‘Now the serpent was the most subtil of all the beasts that were upon the earth, which the Lord God had made’ (Gen. ii. 25, iii. 1). The mind that is clothed neither in vice nor in virtue, but absolutely stripped of either, is naked, just as the soul of an infant, since it is without part in either good or evil, is bared and
τὰ καλύμματα καὶ γεγύμνωται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑσθῆματα ψυχῆς, οἷς σκεπάζεται καὶ συγκρύπτεται, τῆς μὲν σπουδαίας τὸ ἀγαθόν, τῆς δὲ φαύλης τὸ κακὸν. τριχῶς δὲ [καὶ] ψυχὴ γυμνοῦται· ἀπαξ μὲν ὅτε ἀτρέπτος διατελεῖ καὶ πασῶν μὲν ἡρήμωται κακιῶν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πάθη ἀπημφίασται καὶ ἀποβέβληκε. διὰ τούτου καὶ "Μωσῆς ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς πήγνυσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνήν, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς καὶ ἐκλήθη σκηνή μαρτυρίου" (Exod. xxxiii. 7). τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τοιούτῳ· ἡ φιλόθεος ψυχή ἐκδύσα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ τούτω φίλα καὶ μακρὰν ἔξω φυγοῦσα ἀπὸ τούτων πηξίν καὶ βεβαίωσιν καὶ ἱδρυσιν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀρετῆς δόγμασι λαμβάνει· διὸ καὶ μαρτυρεῖται ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὅτι καλῶν ἐρᾶ, "ἐκλήθη γὰρ σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου" φησί· καὶ τὸν καλοῦντα παρεσωπησεν, ἵνα συγκινηθεῖσα ἡ ψυχὴ σκέφτηται, τίς ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῖς φιλαρέτοις διανοίαις ἐστὶ. 56 τούτῳ χάριν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἅγιων οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ἐν τῷ ποδήρει (cf. Lev. xvi. 1 ss.), ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς δόξης καὶ φαντασίας ψυχῆς χιτῶνα ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ καταλιπὼν τοῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαπῶσι καὶ δόξαν πρὸ ἀληθείας τετμηκόσι γυμνὸς ἄνευ χρωμάτων καὶ ἤχων εἰσελεύσεται σπεῖσαι τὸ ψυχικὸν ἁίμα καὶ θυμίσαι ὅλον τὸν 57 νοῦν τῷ σωτῆρί καὶ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ. καὶ μὲν δὴ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιοῦδ (cf. Lev. x. 1) οἱ ἐγκύσαντες θεῷ καὶ τὸν μὲν θνητὸν βίον καταλιπόντες, τοῦ δὲ ἀθανάτου μεταλαχόντες, γυμνοὶ θεωροῦνται τῆς κενῆς καὶ θνητῆς δόξης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν αὐτοῦς οἱ κομίζοντες ἐφερον
stripped of coverings: for these are the soul's clothes, by which it is sheltered and concealed. Goodness is the garment of the worthy soul, evil that of the worthless. Now there are three ways in which a soul is made naked. One is when it continues without change and is barren of all vices, and has divested itself of all the passions and flung them away. For this reason "Moses fixes his tent outside the camp, a long way from the camp, and it was called the tent of testimony" (Exod. xxxiii. 7).

What this means is this. The soul that loves God, having disrobed itself of the body and the objects dear to the body and fled abroad far away from these, gains a fixed and assured settlement in the perfect ordinances of virtue. Wherefore witness is also borne to it by God that it loves things that are noble; "for," says he, "it was called the tent of witness." He leaves unmentioned who it is that calls it so, in order that the soul may be stirred up to consider who it is that bears witness to virtue-loving minds. This is why the high priest shall not enter the Holy of Holies in his robe (Lev. xvi. 1 ff.), but laying aside the garment of opinions and impressions of the soul, and leaving it behind for those that love outward things and value semblance above reality, shall enter naked with no coloured borders or sound of bells, to pour as a libation the blood of the soul and to offer as incense the whole mind to God our Saviour and Benefactor.

Nadab and Abihu, too, who had drawn nigh to God and had forsaken the mortal life and become partakers of the life immortal are beheld naked of vain and mortal glory. For those who carried them away would not have borne them in their
(Lev. x. 5), ei μη γεγύμνωντο πάντα δεσμὸν πάθους καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης διαρρήξαντες, ἵνα μὴ ἡ γύμνωσις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσωματότης ἀθέων ἐπεισόδων λογισμῶν κιβδηλευθῆ: οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρεπτέον τὰ θεοῦ καθοράν ἀπόρρητα, ἀλλὰ μόνοι τοῖς 58 δυναμένοις αὐτὰ περιστέλλειν καὶ φυλάττειν. διὸ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μισαδαι οὐχὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις χιτῶσιν αἶροντον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ἐκτυρυθέντων καὶ ἀναληθέντων Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιοῦδ· ἀποδυσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ ἐπικαλύπτοντα πάντα τὴν μὲν γύμνωσιν τῷ [77] θεῷ | προσήνεγκαν, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας τοῖς περὶ Μισαδαι κατέλιπον· χιτώνας δ’ εἰσὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ ἀλόγου, ἃ τὸ λογικὸν ἔπεσκίαζε. καὶ Ἀβραὰμ 59 γυμνοῦται, ὅταν ἀκούσῃ: "ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου" (Gen. xii. 1). καὶ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ οὐ γυμνοῦται μὲν, ἀεὶ δὲ γυμνὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσώματος· πρόσταγμα γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδοται, μὴ καταβῆναι εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν (Gen. xxvi. 2), τούτης τὸ σῶμα. καὶ Ἰακώβ γυμνότητος ἑρὰ ψυχικῆς—ἡ γὰρ λειτοθής αὐτοῦ γύμνωσις ἐστὶν—ἡν γὰρ Ἡσαῦ ἀνὴρ δασὺς, Ἰακώβ δὲ, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ λεῖος (Gen. xxvii. 11), παρὸ καὶ τῆς Λείας ἀνὴρ ἔστιν. 60 XVI. Μία μὲν ἀρίστη γύμνωσίς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, ἢ δ’ ἐτέρα ἐστὶν ἐναντία, ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσις ἐκ τροπῆς γυμνομένη, ὅταν ληραίνῃ καὶ παρανοῇ ἡ ψυχή. ταύτῃ χρὴται ὁ Νῶε γυμνούμενος, ὅταν πὴ τοῦ οἴνου· χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἡ τροπὴ καὶ ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ νοῦ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀφαίρεσιν οὐκ

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*The Greek for ‘Leah’ (λέια) is the feminine of λεῖος, ‘smooth.’*
coats (Lev. x. 5), had they not become naked by bursting every bond of passion and of bodily constraint, in order that their nakedness and freedom from the body should not be debased by the irruption of impious thoughts. For not to all must leave be given to contemplate the secret things of God, but only to those who are able to hide and guard them. And so Mishael and Elzaphan do not take them up in their own coats, but in those of Nadab and Abihu, who had been devoured by fire and been taken up (into heaven). For having stripped themselves of all that covered them, they offered their nakedness to God, but their coats they left behind for Mishael and Elzaphan. Now coats are those parts of the irrational by which the rational was hidden. Abraham too becomes naked when the words have been spoken to him, "Go forth out of thy country and thy kindred" (Gen. xii. 1). Isaac also does not indeed become naked, but is always naked and without body, for an injunction has been given him not to go down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2), and "Egypt" is the body. Jacob, again, loves nakedness of the soul, for his smoothness signifies nakedness. "For Esau," we read, "was a hairy man, but Jacob a smooth man" (Gen. xxvii. 11), and accordingly he has "Leah" as wife.

XVI. This is one form, the noblest form, of stripping or becoming naked. The other is of a contrary nature, a deprivation of virtue due to a turning or change of condition, when the soul becomes foolish and deranged. This kind of stripping is experienced by Noah, who is made naked when he has drunk wine. But, thanks be to God, the change of condition and the stripping of the mind

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ἀχρὶ τῶν ἕκτος ἐχύθη, ἀλλ' ἐμεινεν ἐν τῷ οἶκῳ. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι ''ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οἶκῳ αὐτοῦ'' (Gen. ix. 21). κἂν γὰρ ἁμάρτῃ ὁ σοφὸς, οὐχ οὕτως ἡ̈ξοκειλεν ὡς ὁ φαύλος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κέχυται ή̈κακία, τοῦ δὲ συνεσταλταϊ διὸ καὶ ἀνανήφει. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὠσπερ ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνει. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ οἶκῳ γίνεσθαι την γύμνωσιν θεασώμεθα· ἐπειδὰν ἡ ψυχὴ τραπείσα μόνον ἐννοήθη τι τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθη, ὦστε αὐτὸ ἕργῳ τελεώσαι, ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκῳ γέγονε τὸ ἁμάρτημα· ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς τῷ μοχθηρὸν τι λογίσασθαι καὶ ἐπανύσηται, ὦστε ἐργάσασθαι, κέχυται καὶ εἰς τὰ ἕκτος τὸ ἅδικημα. παρὸ καὶ τῷ Χαναάν καταρᾶται, ὅτι τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς τροπῆς ἐξω ἀπήγγειλε, τούτεστι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἕκτος ἔστιν ἐπεξειργάσατο προσθείς τῷ κακῷ βουλήματι κακὸν τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀποτέλεσμα. Σήμερον δὲ καὶ Ἡάφεθ ἐπανυσῆται μὴ ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τροπὴν αὐτῆς περικαλύψαντες. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ὀρισμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύονται, ὅταν ἐν οἰκῳ γένονται πατρὸς ἢ ἄνδρός (Num. xxx. 4 ff.), μὴ ἡσυχαζόντων τῶν λογισμῶν μηδὲ ἐπιτιθεμένων τῇ τροπῇ, ἀλλὰ περαιροῦντων τὸ ἁμάρτημα· τότε γὰρ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἀπάντων ''καθαρίει αὐτὴν'' εὐχὴν δὲ χήρας καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης ἀναφαίρετον ἐὰν ''ὁσα γὰρ ἐν εὐχῇ'' φησὶ ''κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς,
which ensued upon the deprivation of virtue, did not spread out abroad and reach those outside, but stayed in the house, for what is said is "he was made naked in his house" (Gen. ix. 21): for the wise man, if he do commit sin, does not run riot, as does the bad man. The evil of the one has been spread forth; that of the other has been held in check; so he becomes sober again, that is to say, he repents and recovers as from an illness.

Let us contemplate more in detail the fact that the stripping takes place in the house. When the soul in its perversion only purposes some outrage, but does not follow it up so as to complete it in action, the sin has been committed in the soul’s abode and house. But if, in addition to designing the bad deed, it goes on to carry out its design and do the thing, the unrighteous act has been spread out of doors as well. It is in accordance with this that a curse is pronounced on Canaan, because he reported abroad the change of the soul. This means that he gave it fuller scope and wrought it out further, adding a further evil to the evil wish, even its accomplishment by deeds. Shem and Japhet on the other hand receive praise for not joining in the soul’s act but covering over its sad change. For this reason also the vows and determinations of the soul are annulled, when they have been made in the house of father or husband (Numb. xxx. 4 ff.), if the reason and reflection do not hold their peace and so add their weight to the soul’s failure, but remove the offence; for in that case the Lord of all also “shall cleanse her.” But he leaves with no removal the vow of a widow or of her that is cast off: “for whatever vows she shall have vowed,”
μένει αὐτῇ” (Num. xxx. 10). κατὰ λόγον· εἰ γὰρ ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκβληθείσα προελήλυθεν, ὡς μὴ τρέπεσθαι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀθεράπευτος μένει ἄνδρείου τε λόγου μὴ μετασχοῦσα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρηγορίας στερηθείσα.

64 Τρίτη γύμνωσὶς ἐστιν ἡ μέση, καθ’ ἣν ὁ νοῦς ἀλογὸς ἐστὶ μὴτε ἀρετῆς πω μὴτε κακίας μετέχουν. περὶ ταῦτης ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἢς καὶ ὁ νηπίος κοινωνεῖ, ὅστε ἐκ λεγόμενον “ἡσαν οἱ δύο γυμνοὶ, ὁ τε Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ” τοιοῦτον εἶναι· οὔτε ὁ νοῦς ἐνείπει οὔτε ἡ ἀφθονία ἠσθάνετο, ἀλλ’ ἢν ὁ μὲν τοῦ νοεῖν ἔρημος τε καὶ γυμνός, ἢ δὲ τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι. XVII. τὸ δὲ “οὐκ ἦσχυνοντο” πάλιν ἰδωμεν. τρία κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐστὶν· ἀναισχυντία, αἰδώς, τὸ μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν μήτε αἴδεσθαι. ἀναισχυντία μὲν ὁν ἰδιὸν φαίλου, αἰδώς δὲ σπουδαίον, τὸ δὲ μήτε αἴδεσθαι μήτε ἀναισχυντεῖν τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἁσυγκαταθέτως, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος· ὁ γὰρ μηδέπω κατάληπτως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν λαβὼν οὔτε ἀναισχυντεῖν οὔτε αἴδεσθαι δύναται. τῆς μὲν ὁν ἀναισχυντίας παραδείγματα αἱ ἀσχημοσύναι πᾶσαι, ὅταν ὁ νοὸς ἀποκαλύπτῃ τὰ ἀισχρὰ, συσκίαζειν δέον, ἔπαυχων καὶ σεμνυνόμενος ἐπι τοῦ αὐτοῖς. λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Μαριάμ, ὅτε κατελάλει Μωυσῆ· “εἰ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς πτύων ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐντραπησεται ἐπτὰ

* See App. p. 481.
he says, "against her soul, abide for her" (Numb. xxx. 10). And this is reasonable. For if she has been cast off and gone forth to the parts outside, not turning merely but sinning by overt deeds, she abides incurable with no part in a husband’s admonition and deprived of her father’s persuasion.

A third form of producing nakedness is the middle or neutral one. Here the mind is irrational and has no part as yet either in virtue or in vice. It is of this form that the prophet is speaking. In this the infant too is partaker. Accordingly the words, “The two were naked, both Adam and his wife,” amount to this: neither mind nor sense was performing its functions, the one being bare and barren of mental action and the other of the activity of sense-perception. XVII. Let us look again at the words, "they were not ashamed." The words suggest three points for consideration: shamelessness, and shamefastness, and absence of both shamelessness and shamefastness. Shamelessness, then, is peculiar to the worthless man, shamefastness to the man of worth, to feel neither shamefastness nor shamelessness to the man who is incapable of right apprehension and of due assent thereto, and this man is at this moment the prophet’s subject. For he who has not yet attained to the apprehension of good and evil cannot possibly be either shameless or shamefast. Examples of shamelessness are all those unseemly actions, when the mind uncovers shameful things which it ought to hide from view, and vaunts itself in them and prides itself on them. Even in the case of Miriam, when she spoke against Moses, it is said, “If her father had but spat in her face, should she not feel shame seven days?”
67 ἡμέρας;” (Num. xii. 14) ὠντῶς γὰρ ἀναίσχυντος καὶ θρασείας ἡ αἴσθησις, ἡ ἐξουθενηθείσα υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν πιστὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οίκῳ (ib. 7), ὡς τὴν Αἰθιόπισσαν, τὴν ἀμετάβλητον καὶ κατακορὴ γνώμην, αὐτὸς ὁ θεός ἤμοσατο, τολμᾶ καταλαλεῖν Μωυσῆ καὶ καθηγορεῖν, ἕφ’ ὡς ὥθελεν ἑπανείσθαι (ib. 1). τοὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὴν Αἰθιόπισσαν ἔλαβε, τὴν ἀτρεπτὴν καὶ κατακορή γνώμην, αὐτὸς ὁ θεός ἤρμόζατο, τολμᾶ καταλαλεῖν τῷ θεῷ τῷ πατρῷ καὶ ἀμετάβλητη τῇν Αἰθιόπισσαν ἕστιν, ὡστε τὸ ὅρατον τῆς ψυχῆς Αἰθιόπισσα 68 κέκληται.

διὰ τί οὖν, πολλῶν ὄντων κακίας ἔργων, ἐνὸς μόνον μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν εἰπὼν “οὐκ ἥσχυνοντο,” ἀλλ’ ὁκ οὐκ ἡδίκουν ὡς ὁμάρτανον ὡς ὀκ ἐπληκτοέλουν; παράκειται δὲ ἡ αἰτία. μα τὸν ἀληθῆ μόνον θεὸν οὐδὲν ὀντῶς αἰσχρὸν ἠγούμαι ὡς τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν 69 ὅτι νοῶ ὡς ὅτι αἰσθάνομαι. ὁ ἐμὸς νοῦς αἰτίας τοῦ νοεῖν; πόθεν; ἔαυτὸν γὰρ οἶδεν, ὅστις ὡς τυγχάνει ὡς πῶς ἐγένετο; ἢ δὲ αἰσθήσεως αἰτία τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι; πῶς ἄν λέγοιτο, μήθ’ ὑφ’ αὐτῆς μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ νοοῦ ἐγένετο; οὐ όρας ὅτι ὁ δοκῶν νοεῖν νοῦς εὑρίσκεται πολλάκις ἄνους, ἐν τοῖς κόροις, ἐν ταῖς μέθαις, ἐν ταῖς παραφροσύναις; ποὺ δὴ τὸ νοεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν; ἢ δὲ αἴσθησες οὐ πολλάκις ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; ὀρῶντες ἐστὶν ὅτε νοοῦ ὃρῳμεν καὶ ἄκουοντες νοοῦ ἄκουομεν,
(Numb. xii. 14). For veritably shameless and bold was sense-perception in daring to decry and find fault with Moses for that for which he deserved praise. In comparison with him, who was "faithful in all God's house" (ibid.), sense-perception was set at naught by the God and Father; and it was God Himself who wedded to Moses the Ethiopian woman, who stands for resolve unalterable, intense, and fixed. For this Moses merits high eulogy, that he took to him the Ethiopian woman, even the nature that has been tried by fire and cannot be changed. For, even as in the eye the part that sees is black, so the soul's power of vision has the title of woman of Ethiopia. Why then, seeing that results of wickedness are many, has he mentioned only one, that which attends on conduct that is disgraceful, saying "they were not shamed," but not saying "they did not commit injustice," or "they did not sin," or "they did not err"? The reason is not far to seek. By the only true God I deem nothing so shameful as supposing that I exert my mind and senses. My own mind the author of its exertion? How can it be? Does it know as to itself, what it is or how it came into existence? Sense-perception the origin of the perceiving by sense? How could it be said to be so, seeing that it is beyond the ken either of itself or of the mind? Do you not observe that the mind which thinks that it exercises itself is often found to be without mental power, in scenes of gluttony, drunkenness, folly? Where does the exercise of mind show itself then? And is not perceptive sense often robbed of the power of perceiving? There are times when seeing we see not and hearing
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ἐπειδὰν ὁ νοῦς μικρὸν ὡς εἴρη υποτίς προσ-
70 ενεχθῇ παρενθομομένοι. ἔως οὖν γυμνοὶ εἰσίν,
ο μὲν νοὺς τοῦ νοεῖν, ἡ δὲ αἰσθήσις τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι,
[79] οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἰσχρόν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄρξονται
καταλαμβάνειν, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ὑβρία πολλάκις
χρώμενοι μᾶλλον ἡ υγιαννοῦσῃ ἐπιστήμῃ, οὐ
μόνον ἐν κόροις καὶ μελαγχολίαις καὶ παρα-
φροσύναις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ βίῳ· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ
ἡ αἰσθήσις κρατεῖ, ὁ νοῦς ἴνδραπόδισται μηδενὶ
προσέχων νοητῷ, ὅτε δὲ ὁ νοῦς κρατεῖ, ἡ αἰσθήσις
ἄπρακτος θεωρεῖται μηδενός ἀντιλήψιν ἵσχουσαι
αἰσθητοῦ.

71 XVIII. "Ὁ δὲ ὁφίς ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων
tῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὸν ἐποίησε κύριος
ὁ θεός" (Gen. iii. 1). δυεὶν προγεγονότων νοῦ
καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τούτων γυμνῶν κατὰ τὸν
dedehluménon trópezon ὑπαρχόντων, ἀνάγκη τρίτην
ήδονὴν συναγωγὸν ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν
νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλήψιν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νοῦς
dίχα αἰσθήσεως ἴδυνατο καταλαβέων ξώον ἡ
φυτὸν ἡ λίθον ἡ ξύλον ἡ συνόλως σώμα ἡ
καὶ αἰσθήσις δίχα τοῦ νοῦ περιποίησαι τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι.

72 ἐπειδή τούτων ἄμφω ταῦτα συνελθεῖν ἔδει πρὸς
κατάληψιν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τίς αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν
ὅτι μὴ ἰδεσμὸς τρίτος ἔρωτος καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,
ἀρχοῦσις καὶ δυναστευοῦσις ἓδονῆς, ἤν συμ-

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hear not, whenever the mind, breaking off its attention for a moment, is brought to bear on some other mental object. So long then as they are naked, the mind without self-exertion, the perceptive sense without perceiving, they have nothing shameful: but when they have begun to apprehend, they fall into shameful and wanton conduct, for they will be found often showing silliness and folly rather than healthy knowledge, not only in times of loathsome surfeit and depression and mad fooling but also in the rest of their life. For when bodily sense is in command, the mind is in a state of slavery heeding none of its proper objects; but when the mind is in the ascendant, the bodily sense is seen to have nothing to do and to be powerless to lay hold of any object of sense-perception.

XVIII. "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts on the earth, which the Lord God had made" (Gen. iii. 1). Two things, mind and bodily sense, having already come into being, and these being in nakedness after the manner that has been set forth, it was necessary that there should be a third subsistence, namely pleasure, to bring both of them together to the apprehension of the objects of mental and of bodily perception. For neither could the mind apart from bodily sense apprehend an animal or a plant or a stone or a log or any bodily shape whatever, nor could the bodily sense apart from the mind maintain the act of perceiving. Since then it was necessary that both of these should come together for the apprehension of the objects about them, who was it that brought them together save a third, a bond of love and desire, under the rule and dominion of pleasure, to which
73 βολικῶς ὁφιν ὁνόμασε; πάνυ καλῶς ὁ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐδημιούργησε τὴν τάξιν· νοῦν πρῶτον τὸν ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτατον γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, εἶτα αἰσθήσεων τὴν γυναῖκα, εἶτα ἐξῆς τρίτον ἱδονήν. δυνάμει δὲ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν αἱ ήλικίαι διάφοραι νοοῦμεναι μόνον, χρόνῳ δὲ ισήλικες· ἂμα γὰρ ἑαυτῇ ψυχῇ πάντα ἐπιφέρεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐντελεχεῖα, τὰ δὲ τῶν δύνασθαι γενέσθαι, εἰ καὶ μήπω προσείληψε 74 τὸ τέλος. εἰκάσθη δὲ ὁφεὶ ἱδονή διὰ τὸδε· πολύπλοκος γὰρ καὶ ποικίλη ὥσπερ τοῦ ὀφεως ἡ κίνησις, οὔτως καὶ ἱδονῆς· πενταχῆ γε τοῦ πρῶτον εἰλεῖται, καὶ γὰρ δι’ ὀράσεως ἱδοναί συνίστανται καὶ δι’ ἀκοῆς καὶ διὰ γεύσεως καὶ διὰ ὀφρήσεως καὶ δι’ ἀφής· γίνονται δὲ αἱ σφοδροταται καὶ σύντονοι αἱ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαι, δι’ ὅν γένεσις ἡ τοῦ ὁμοίου πέφυκεν ἀποτελεῖσθαι.

75 Καὶ μὴν οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ποικίλην φαμέν τὴν ἱδονήν, ὅτι περὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῆς φυχῆς εἰλεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἑκαστον μέρος πολύπλοκος ἐστιν· εὔθεώς δι’ ὀράσεως ἱδοναί γίνονται ποικίλαι, γραφική πάσα, πλαστικὴ, τῶν σα κατὰ τέχνας τεχνικὰ δημιουργίματα τέρπεται τὴν ὀρασιν· πάλιν φυτῶν βλαστανόντων ἀνθοῦντων καρποτοκούντων διαφοραὶ, ζῷων εὐμορφίαι πολυσχιδεῖς· ὁμοίως τὴν ἁκοήν αὐλὸς ἠδύνει, κιβάρα, [80] πάσα ὀργάνων ἱδέα, | ζῷων ἀλόγων ἐμμελεῖς
the prophet gave the figurative name of a serpent? Exceeding well did God the Framer of living beings contrive the order in which they were created. First He made mind, the man, for mind is most venerable in a human being, then bodily sense, the woman, then after them in the third place pleasure. But it is potentially only, as objects of thought, that they differ in age; but in actual time they are equal in age. For the soul brings all together with herself, some parts in virtue of actual existence, others in virtue of the potentiality to arrive, even if they have not yet reached their consummation.

The reason pleasure is likened to a serpent is this. The movement of pleasure like that of the serpent is tortuous and variable. To begin with it takes its gliding course in five ways, for pleasures are occasioned by sight and by hearing and by taste and by smell and by touch; but those connected with sexual intercourse prove themselves the most violent of all in their intensity, and this is the method ordained by Nature for the reproduction of the type.

Furthermore the fact that pleasure insinuates itself about all the organs of the irrational portion of the soul is not the only reason for our calling her variable; for we call her so also because she glides with many a coil about each part. For instance variegated pleasures come through sight, those afforded by every kind of painting and of sculpture, and by all other artistic creations which in one art after another charm the eye; by the changes too that plants go through as they shoot up, bloom, and bear fruit; by the beauty of animals seen in so many forms. Similarly the ear gets pleasure from the flute, from the harp, from every kind of instrument, from the
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φωναί, χελιδόνων, ἄηδόνων, τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα φύσις μεμούσκε, λογικῶν εὐφωνία, κιθαρωδῶν κωμῳδίαν τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἄλλην ὑποκριτικὴν ἐπι- δεικνυμένων.

76 ΧΙΘ. Τὶ <δὲ> δεῖ περὶ τῶν γαστρῶν ἡδονῶν διδάσκειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡσα τῶν ὑποκειμένων χυλῶν προσηνῶν διαφοραί καὶ τὴν αἰσθήσεων κινούντων, τοσαὶταί καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἀρ' <οὖν> οὐ δεόντως ποικίλων οὐσα ἡδονῆ ποικίλω ζῷων ὀφεὶ παρεβλήθη; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαῦδες καὶ ὦχλον ἔχον ἐν ἡμῶν μέρος, ὅτε τῶν ἐν Ἄιγυπτῷ, τοιτέστι τῷ σωματικῷ ὄγκῳ, οἰκίων ἐφίεται, ἡδοναῖς περιτύπτεται θάνατον ἐπαγούσας, οὐ χωρισμὸν ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σῶματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ κακίας φθορᾶν· φησὶ γὰρ, "καὶ ἀπέστειλε κύριος εἰς τὸν λαὸν τοὺς ὦφεὶς τοὺς θανατοῦντας, καὶ ἔδακνον τὸν λαὸν, καὶ ἀπέθνησκε λαὸς πολὺς τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραήλ" (Num. xxi. 6· ὅτως γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως θάνατον ἔπαγει ψυχή, ὡς ἀμετρία τῶν ἡδονῶν. τὸ δὲ ἀποθνησκὸν οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄρχόμενον τὸ λαῦδες, καὶ μέχρι τοῦτου θάνατον ἐνδέξεται, μέχρις ἂν μετανοια χρησάμενον ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν τροπὴν προσελθόντες γὰρ ἐλεγον Μωυσῆ· "ὅτι ημαρτήκαμεν, ὅτι κατελάθησαμεν κατὰ κύριον καὶ κατὰ σου· εὑξα σὺν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἀφελέτω αφ' ἡμῶν τούς ὦφεις" (ib. 7.· εὖ τὸ φάναι, οὐχ ὅτι κατελάθησαμεν, ήμαρτομεν, ἀλλ' "ὅτι ημαρτομεν, κατελάθησαμεν"· ὅταν γὰρ ἁμάρτη καὶ ἀπαρτηθής

a See App. p. 481.

b Or "Because we spoke, we sinned' but 'because we sinned, we spoke.'"
tuneful voices of creatures without reason, swallows, nightingales, other birds which Nature has made musical; from the euphonious speech of beings endowed with reason, from musicians as they exercise their histrionic powers in comedy, tragedy, and all that is put on the stage.

XIX. What need to illustrate my point from the pleasures of the table? There are, we may roughly say, as many varieties of pleasure, as there are of dishes set before us stirring our senses with their delicious flavours. Pleasure being, then, a thing so variable, was it not fitly compared to a tortuous animal, the serpent? For this reason, too, when the part of us that corresponds to the turbulent mob of a city, pines for the dwellings in Egypt, that is, in the corporeal mass, it encounters pleasures which bring death, not the death which severs soul from body, but the death which ruins the soul by vice. For we read, "And the Lord sent among the people the deadly serpents, and they bit the people, and much people of the children of Israel died" (Numb. xxi. 6). For verily nothing so surely brings death upon a soul as immoderate indulgence in pleasures. That which dies is not the ruling part in us, but the part that is under rule, the part that is like the vulgar herd. And so long will it incur death, as it fails to repent and acknowledge its fall. For they came to Moses saying, "We have sinned in that we spake against the Lord, and against thee. Pray therefore to the Lord, and let Him take away the serpents from us" (ibid. 7). 'Tis well that they say, a not "We spake against, we sinned" but "We sinned, we spake against." b For it is when the mind has sinned and ceased to
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ό νοῦς ἄρετής, αἰτιάται τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἱδίαν τροπὴν προσάπτων θεῶ.

79 ΧΧ. Πῶς οὖν γίνεται ἵππης τοῦ πάθους; ὅταν ἕτερος ὁφις κατασκευασθῇ τῷ τῆς Εὔας ἐναντίος, ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος· ἣδονῇ γὰρ ἐναντίον σωφροσύνη, ποικίλῳ πάθει ποικίλῃ ἄρετῇ καὶ ἀμυνομένῃ πολεμίαν ἤδονήν. τὸν κατὰ σωφροσύνην οὖν ὁφιν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεὶ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ φησι· "ποίησον σεαυτῷ ὁφιν καὶ θῆς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημεῖον" (ib. 8). ὅρας ὅτι οὖν ἄλλω τινὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτον ὁ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὁφιν ἣ ἐαυτῷ, προστάττει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς "ποίησον σεαυτῷ," ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι οὐ παντὸς ἔστι κτῆμα σωφροσύνη,

80 ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς. σκεπτέον δὲ, διὰ τὴν Μωυσῆς χαλκοῦν ὁφιν κατασκευάζεται, οὐ προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ποιότητος. μήποτ' οὖν διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἄνυλοι εἰσιν αἱ θεοῦ χάριτες [ίδοι αὐταὶ] καὶ ἁποιοὶ, αἱ δὲ τῶν θνητῶν σὺν ὑλή θεωροῦνται. δεύτερον δὲ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἄσωμάτων ἑρᾶ ἄρετῶν, αἱ δ' ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ οὐ δυνάμεναι ἐκδύναι τὰ σώματα σωματικῆς ἐφίενται ἄρετῆς. δυνατὴ δὲ καὶ στερεὰ οὐσία τῇ χαλκοῦ ἀπείκασται ὁ κατὰ σωφροσύνην λόγος εὐτόνος καὶ ἀδιάκοπος ὁμοιώματος ἑως ὃ ὅποιος ἤ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ σωφροσύνη τιμωτάτη ἐστὶ καὶ χρυσῷ ἑοικώιᾳ, δευτερεύουσα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ προκοπὴν σοφίαν ἀναλαβόντι. ὅν ἄν οὖν "δάκη ὁφις, πᾶς ὁ ἵδων αὐτὸν ζῆσεται" (ib.).
cleeve to virtue, that it blames God's ways, fastening its own defection on God.

XX. How, then, is a healing of their suffering brought about? By the making of another serpent, opposite in kind to that of Eve, namely the principle of self-mastery. For self-mastery runs counter to pleasure, a variable virtue to a variable affection, and a virtue that defends itself against pleasure its foe. So then God bids Moses make the serpent that expresses self-mastery, and says: "Make for thyself a serpent and set it upon a standard" (ibid. 8). You notice that Moses makes this serpent for no one else, but for himself, for God's bidding is "Make it for thyself." This is that you may know that self-mastery is not a possession of every man, but only of the man beloved of God.

We must consider why Moses makes a brazen serpent, no direction having been given him as to material. Possibly these are the reasons. In the first place, matter is not an element in God's gifts making them to be of this or that sort; but the gifts of us mortals are always looked upon embodied in matter. A second reason: Moses loves excellences without bodily form, whereas our souls, being unable to get out of our bodies, crave for excellence in bodily shape. But the principle of self-mastery, being forcible and unyielding, is likened to the strong and firm substance of brass, perhaps also because, whereas the self-mastery found in the man beloved of God is most precious and like gold, that which is found in him who has absorbed wisdom by gradual progress holds the second place. Everyone, then, "whom a serpent shall have bitten, when he looks on it shall live" (ibid.). This is quite true. For if the
αλήθως: εάν γὰρ ο νοὺς δηχθεῖς ήδονή, τῷ τῆς Εὐας ὄφει, ἵσχυσθι κατιδεῖν ψυχικώς τὸ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, τὸν Μωυσέως ὄφω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν θεόν αὐτὸν, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω καὶ κατα- 82 νοησάτω. XXI. οὐχ ὅρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἄρχοσα σοφία Σάρρα φησίν· "δὲ γὰρ ἂν ἄκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖται μου" (Gen. xxiii. 6); ἀλλὰ φέρε τινά ἵσχυσαι ἄκούσαι, ὅτι τέτοκεν ἡ ἄρετή τῆς εὐδαμονίαν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ εὐθὺς συγχαρητικῶν ὤμον ὑμνήσει. ὡς οὖν τοῦ ἄκούσαντός ἐστιν τὸ συγχαίρειν, οὕτως τοῦ σωφροσύνην καὶ θεον 83 ἰδόντος εἰλκρινῶς τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν. πολλαὶ δὲ καρτέριας καὶ σωφροσύνης έρασθεῖσαι ψυχαὶ καὶ ἐρημωθεῖσαι παθῶν ὄμοις κράτος ὑπέμειναν θεοῦ καὶ τροπὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἐδεξαντο, διασυνιστάντος αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ δεσπότου, ἐαυτὸν μὲν, ὅτι ἀκλίνης ἔστηκεν αἰει, τὴν δὲ γένεσιν, ὅτι ταλαντεύει καὶ πρὸς τάναντια 84 ἀντιρρεῖν· φησὶ γὰρ· "τοῦ ἀγαγόντος σε διὰ τῆς έρήμου τῆς μεγάλης καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης, οὐ δάκνων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ δύσα, οὐ δῶρ 9  ἂν ὕδωρ, τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος σου έκ πέτρας ἄκρωτομοι πηγῆν ὕδατος, τοῦ ὑμείσαντός σε τὸ μάννα ἐν τῇ έρήμῳ, δ οὐκ ἴδεσαν οἱ πατέρες σου" (Deut. viii. 15, 16). οἴρα ὅτι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παθῶν ἐφιεμένη ἡ ψυχὴ περιπέπτεται τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οτὲ ἐστὶν ἐν έρήμῳ δάκνεται ὑφ ήδονῆς, τοῦ ποικίλου καὶ ὁμοίως πάθους· οἰκειότατοι δὲ ὄνομα εἶληχε τὸ ήδονῆς 85 ἔργον, δηχμὸς γὰρ καλεῖται. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐν έρήμῳ δάκνονται ὑφ ήδονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ

a See App. p. 481.
mind, when bitten by pleasure, the serpent of Eve, shall have succeeded in beholding in soul the beauty of self-mastery, the serpent of Moses, and through beholding this, beholds God Himself, he shall live; only let him look and mark well. XXI. Do you not notice that Sarah, that is dominant wisdom, says: "For whosoever shall hear of it shall rejoice with me" (Gen. xxi. 6)? Just suppose that someone has succeeded in hearing that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (Isaac). Straightway he will sing a hymn of sympathetic joy. As then fellowship in joy is his who has heard of Isaac's birth, so is escape from death his who has looked with clear vision on self-mastery and God. But many souls, after being enamoured of endurance and self-mastery and divested of passions, nevertheless do experience the might of God and receive the turning to the lower way, the Master making a sharp distinction between Himself and His creation. He Himself stands ever steadfast, while His creation wavers and inclines in opposite directions. For the prophet says: "Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, where there was biting serpent and scorpion and drought, where there was no water, who brought out a spring of water for thee from the hard rock, who fed thee with manna in the wilderness, which thy fathers knew not" (Deut. viii. 15 f.). You see that it is not only when attracted by the passions of Egypt that the soul falls in with the serpents, but when it is in a wilderness too it is bitten by pleasure, that subtle and snake-like passion. And pleasure's mode of action has received a most appropriate name, for it is here called a biting. But not those in a wilderness only are bitten by pleasure, but those
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εσκορπισμένοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πολλάκις καταλιπὼν μὲν ἀνθρώπους συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εἰς ἐρημίαν ἔλθὼν, ἵνα τί τῶν θεῶν ἄξιών κατανοήσω, οὐδὲν ὄνησα, ἀλλὰ σκορπισθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἢ πάθει δηχθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τάναντία· ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε καὶ ἐν πλῆθει μυριάνδρῳ ἡρμῶ τὴν διάνοιαν, οτὸν ψυχικὸν ὄχλον σκέδασαν τὸν φυχικόν δχλον σκεδάσαντος θεοῦ καὶ διδάξαντος με, ὧτι οὐ τόπων διαφορᾶς τὸ τε εὖ καὶ χείρον ἔργαζονται, ἀλλ' ὁ κυνῶν θεὸς καὶ ἀγών ἢ ἄν προαιρῆται τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀχῆμα. Πλὴν περιπίπτει σκορπίς, ὃπερ ἐστὶ σκορπισμῷ, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ δύσα καταλαμβάνει ἢ τῶν παθῶν, μέχρις ἂν ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀκροτόμου σοφίας ἐαυτοῦ τὸ νάμα ἔστω ηῆτα ἐπιτέμηση καὶ ποτίσῃ τὴν τραπέζαν ἡ ψυχήν ἀμεταβλήτω ύγεία· ἢ γὰρ ἀκρότομος πέτρα ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν, ἢν ἀκραν καὶ πρωτίστην ἐπέμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεων, ἢς ἂν ποτίζει τὰς νομοθέους ψυχὰς· ποτισθήσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ μάννα ἐμπίπλαται τοῦ γενικωτάτου—καλεῖται γὰρ τὸ μάννα "τι," ὃ πάντων ἐστὶ γένος—, τὸ δὲ γενικῶτατον ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μόνον ὑπάρχει, ἐργοὺς δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ ἵνα τῷ οὐχ ὑπάρχοντι.

87 Ιδε νῦν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἐν ἐρημίῳ τρεπομένου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς θανατοῦσιν ὀφειλεί χρήται, τοιτέτοιν ἀπλήστοις ἱδοναῖς

a Or “supremely generic.”
also who are a prey to scattering. For many a time have I myself forsaken friends and kinsfolk and country and come into a wilderness, to give my attention to some subject demanding contemplation, and derived no advantage from doing so, but my mind scattered or bitten by passion has gone off to matters of the contrary kind. Sometimes, on the other hand, amid a vast throng I have a collected mind. God has dispersed the crowd that besets the soul and taught me that a favourable and unfavourable condition are not brought about by differences of place, but by God who moves and leads the car of the soul in whatever way He pleases.

To return to what I was saying, the soul falls in with a scorpion, which is "scattering," in the wilderness, and the drought of the passions seizes upon it, until God send forth the stream from His strong wisdom and quench with unfailing health the thirst of the soul that had turned from Him. For the flinty rock is the wisdom of God, which He marked off highest and chiefest from His powers, and from which He satisfies the thirsty souls that love God. And when they have been given water to drink, they are filled also with the manna, the most generic of substances, for the manna is called "somewhat," and that suggests the sumnum genus. But the primal existence a is God, and next to Him is the Word of God, but all other things subsist in word only, but in their active effects they are in some cases as good as non-subsisting.

XXII. Note now a difference between him who turns aside in the wilderness and him who does so in Egypt. The one has experience of deadly serpents, that is to say insatiable pleasures inflicting
θάνατον ἐπιφερούσας, ο δ’ ἀσκητὴς δάκνεται μόνον ὡφ’ ἡδονῆς καὶ σκορπίζεται, οὐ διαλογιστῶν ἀλλὰ κάκεινος μὲν σωφροσύνη, χαλκῷ ὀφει, θεραπεύεται γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ Μωυσέως, οὗτος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ποτίζεται κάλλιστον ποτὸν σοφίαν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ἣν αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς έαυτοῦ θανάτου. οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου Μωυσέως ἀπέχεται ἢ ὀψιώδης ἡδονή, λέγεται δὲ ὡδε: “ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πιστεύσωσι μοι μηδὲ εἰσακούσωσι τῆς φωνῆς μου—ἐρούσι γάρ, οὐκ ὀπταί σοι ὁ θεὸς—, τί ἔρω πρὸς αὐτούς; καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· τί τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρί σου; ο δὲ εἶπε· ῥάβδος. καὶ εἶπε· ῥύσιν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔγενετο ὦ ἄρσις. καὶ ἔφυγε Μωυσῆς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπε κύριος Μωυσεῖ· ἐκτεινον τὴν χείρα καὶ ἐπιλαβὸ τῆς κέρκου. ἐκτειναὶ οὖν τὴν χείρα ἐπελάβετο τῆς κέρκου καὶ ἔγενετο ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρί <αὐτοῦ>· ἵνα πιστεύσωσι σοι” (Exod. iv. 1 ff.).

πώς ἂν τις πιστεύσαι θεῷ; ἐὰν μάθῃ, ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τρέπεται, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀτρεπτός ἐστι. πυνθάνεται οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σοφοῦ, τί ἐστιν ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ βίῳ· ἡ γὰρ χείρ σύμβολον πράξεως· ὁ δ’ ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι παιδεία, ἣν ῥάβδον καλεῖ. διὸ καὶ ὁ πτερνιστὸς τῶν παθῶν Ἰακώβ φησιν· “ἐν γὰρ τῇ ῥάβδῳ μου διέβην τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον” (Gen. xxxii. 10).

[Iorðánhs | δε κατάβασις ἐρμηνεύεται· τῆς δὲ κάτω καὶ γηνῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεως ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ κακίαν καὶ πάθος· διαβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀσκητής νοῦς ἐν παιδείᾳ. ταπεινὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐκδέχεσθαι, ὅτι βακτηρίαν ἔχων ποταμὸν διέβαινε. 280]
death; but the disciplined one is only bitten and scattered, not done to death, by pleasure. And while the one is cured by self-mastery, even the brazen serpent made by the wise Moses, the other is caused by God to drink a draught most excellent, even wisdom out of the fountain which He drew out from His own wisdom. Not even from Moses, most beloved of God, does Pleasure, the serpent-like one, refrain, but this is what we read: “If therefore they say, ‘God has not appeared to thee,’ and believe me not and hearken not to my voice, what shall I say to them? And the Lord said unto Moses, ‘What is that in thine hand?’ And he said, ‘A rod.’ And He said, ‘Cast it upon the ground.’ And he cast it upon the ground, and it became a serpent, and Moses fled from it. And the Lord said unto Moses, ‘Stretch forth thine hand and lay hold of its tail’ (and he stretched forth his hand and took hold of its tail, and it became a rod in his hand): that they may believe thee” (Exod. iv. 1 ff.). How should one come to believe God? By learning that all other things change but He is unchangeable. Therefore God asks the wise man what there is in his hand or in the active life of his soul, for the hand represents activity; and he answers, “Schooling,” giving it the name of a rod. So Jacob also, the supplanter of the passions, says, “For in my rod I crossed this Jordan” (Gen. xxxii. 10). The meaning of Jordan is “descent” or “coming down.” And to the nature that is down below, earthly, corruptible, belongs all that is done under the impulse of vice and passion. Over these Mind, the disciplined One, crosses in schooling himself. To take the words to mean that he crossed the river with a staff in
καλῶς οὖν καὶ ὁ θεοφιλὴς Μωυσῆς ἀποκρύνεται· ὄντως γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τοῦ σπουδαῖον παιδεία ὡς ἄν ράβδῳ ἐπερείδονται, τὸν κλόνον καὶ σάλον τῆς ψυχῆς ἱδρύμεναι. αὕτη ἡ ράβδος ἀπορριφθείσα γίνεται ὁφις· εἰκότως· ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπορρήμα τὴν παιδείαν, γέγονε φιλόδονος ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδάσκει ὁ φιλάρετος. ἀλλὰ τοῖ γε ὁ θεὸς τήν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔπαινε· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ, ὅ διάνοια, μήπω τελευθείσῃ ψυχὴ καὶ δρασμὸν τῶν παθῶν ἀρμόζει μελετᾶν, Μωυσεὶ δὲ τῷ τελείῳ παραμένειν τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀντιστατεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαμάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅδείας καὶ ἐξουσίας λαβόμενα μέχρι τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀναβάντα πᾶσαν ἐκπολιορκήσει καὶ λεηλατήσει τυράννου τρόπον τήν ἡδονήν. διὸ καὶ προστάτευε ὁ θεὸς "λαβέσθαι τῆς κέρκου," τούτεστι τὸ ἀντίδικον τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀτίθασον αὐτῆς μὴ φοβεῖτω σε, ἀλλὰ τούτοις μάλιστα λαβοῦ καὶ κατάσχεις καὶ περικράτησον· ἔσται γὰρ πάλιν ἀντὶ ὁφεως ράβδος, τούτεστιν ἄντι ἡδονῆς γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ παίδεια. ἀλλὰ γενήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, ἐν τῇ πράξει τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὁ δὴ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ· λαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ περικράτησιν ἡδονῆς ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐκταθεῖ ἡ χειρὶ, τούτεστιν εἰ μὴ τὰς πράξεις καὶ προκοπᾶς ἀπάσας ὁμολογήσειν ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ θεόν εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγάγω. τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν ὀφυν ἀποδιδάσκειν ὁ βλέπων δι-
his hand would be tame. XXIII. Good, therefore is the reply of Moses beloved of God; for in truth the conduct of the virtuous man leans on discipline as on a rod, settling and allaying the tumult and tossing of the soul. This rod when cast away becomes a serpent; naturally; for if the soul casts away discipline, it at once becomes a lover of pleasure in place of a lover of virtue. And so Moses flies from it; for the lover of virtue runs away from passion and pleasure. But, mark you, God does not applaud his flight. For while it well befits thee, O my mind, who art not yet made perfect, to get practice by flying and running away from the passions, it befits Moses, the perfect one, not to desist from the warfare against them, but to resist them and fight it out. Otherwise, finding nothing to alarm or to stop them, they will make their way up to the very citadel of the soul, and storm and plunder the whole soul after the fashion of a lawless ruler. Wherefore also God bids him "lay hold of the tail." This means, "Let not pleasure's opposition and her savagery daunt thee. That is the very part to make for. Grip it fast and quell it; for then there shall be once more a rod instead of a serpent; that is to say, instead of pleasure there shall be in thy hand discipline." But it is "in the hand," in the doing of the wise man, that this shall come to pass. This is quite true. It would be impossible to lay hold of pleasure and get the mastery of it if the hand were not first stretched out, that is to say, if the soul were not first to acknowledge that all its achievements and successes are due to God's impelling force and to refer nothing to itself. The man whose eyes are open determines to run away from
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έγνωκεν· ἐτερον δὲ τῶν σωφροσύνης λόγων κατα-
ςκενάζει, τῶν χαλκοῦν ἐκείνων, ἵνα ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑφ'
ηδονής ἰδὼν σωφροσύνην ζήσῃ τὸν ἀληθῆ βίον.

94 XXIV. Τοιούτων ὅφιν εὐχεται ὁ Ἰακώβ γενέσθαι
τὸν Δὰν καὶ φησιν οὕτως· “Δὰν κρίνει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
λαόν, ὥσει καὶ μία φυλὴ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ· Γενέσθω
Δὰν ὁφίς ἐφ’ ὁδοῦ, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου,
δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππος
εἰς τὰ ὁπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου”
(Gen. xlix. 16-18). ἐκ μὲν τῆς Λείας πέμπτος
νῦν ἐστὶν Ἰσσάχαρ γνήσιος τοῦ Ἰακώβ, συγκατ-
αριθμομένων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ζελφας δυεῖν ἐβδομος,
τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ πέμπτος ἐστὶν ὁ Δὰν ἐκ τῆς
Βάλλας τῆς παιδίσκης Ῥαχήλ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐν
τοῖς κατ ιδίαν ἐξευρήσομεν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Δὰν
95 πάλιν κατανοητέον. δύο γένη φορεῖ ἡ ψυχή, τὸ
μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ φθαρτόν τὸ μὲν οὖν κρείττον
κεκύηκεν και ἐστὶν Ε' αὐτοῦ· οὔτε γὰρ

[84] ἐξομολογήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάντα
:pointer ή ψυχή, κτήμα κρείσσον λαβεῖν οὐκέτ'
εἰχε· διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τοῦ τίκτειν τὸν Ἰουδα. τὸν
96 ἐξομολογητικὸν τρόπον, ἐνεγκότοςα. τὸ δὲ θνητὸν
gένος ύπ’ ἀρχεῖ τις διαπλάττειν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τὸ
θνητὸν καταπόσει· θεμελίων γὰρ τρόπον ἡ γενις,
ἢ αἰτία τῆς τῶν ζῶων διαμονῆς ἐστι· Βάλλα δὲ
ἐρμηνεύεται κατάποσις· ἐκ ταῦτης οὖν γίνεται οἱ
Δὰν, δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται κρίσις· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γένος
διακρίνει καὶ χωρίζει τὰ ἀθάνατα ἀπὸ τῶν θνητῶν.
eὐχεται οὖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι σωφροσύνης ἑραστήν,
this serpent, and he fashions another, the principle of self-mastery, that serpent of brass, in order that the man who has been bitten by pleasure may, on seeing self-mastery, live the real life.

XXIV. Such a serpent does Jacob pray that Dan may become, and speaks on this wise:

"Dan shall judge his people,  
As if indeed one tribe of Israel," and  
"Let Dan become a serpent in the way,  
Seated on the beaten track, biting the horse's heel,  
And the horseman shall fall backward,  
Waiting for the salvation of the Lord."  

(Gen. xlix. 16-18.)

Of those born of Leah Issachar is Jacob's fifth genuine son, or if Zilpah's two sons are reckoned in, he is the seventh. But Jacob's fifth son is Dan, by Bilhah Rachel's handmaid. The occasion of this remark we shall discover in my special treatise on the subject. The subject of Dan demands further study. The soul bears two kinds of offspring, the one divine, the other perishable. The better kind she has already conceived, and with it she ceases to bear. For when the soul had attained to making full submission and acknowledgement to God there was no better possession for it to go on to gain. This is why she ceased when she had borne Judah, the spirit of praise and acknowledgement. The soul now goes on to the fashioning of the mortal race. The mortal subsists by swallowing. For the taste, like a foundation, is the cause of living creatures continuing to live. And Bilhah means "swallowing." From this woman there springs Dan, whose name signifies sifting or distinguishing: for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may
τῷ ἁ' Ἰουδά οὐκ ἐξεταί· ἔχει γὰρ ἡδὴ τὸ ἐξομολογοῦν 97 γεῖσθαι καὶ ἐναρπεστείν θεῷ. "γενέσθω" οὖν φησὶ "Δᾶν ὁφι ἐφ' ὁδοῦ." ὁδὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή· ἄστερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐστίν ἰδεῖν διαφορὰν τῶν ὀντων, ἄψυχων ἐμψύχων, ἀλόγων λογικῶν, σπευδαίων φαύλων, δούλων ἐλευθέρων, νεωτέρων πρεσβυτέρων, ἄρρενων νεωτέρων, νεωτέρων ἐλεύθερων, νοσούντων ὑγιανόντων, λευθημένων ὀδοκήρων, οὖτως καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἄψυχα καὶ ἀτελῆ καὶ νοσώδη καὶ δούλα καὶ θήλεα καὶ μυρία ἀλλα κηρῶν μεστὰ κινήματα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐμπαλιν ἐμφάνη ὀδοκήρη ἀρρένα ἐλεύθερα ὑγία πρεσβυτέρα σπευδαί γνήσια καὶ ἀστά ὄντως.

98 γενέσθω οὖν ὁ σωφροσύνης λόγος ὁφι ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ὀδευούσης διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐγκαθισάτω ἐπὶ τρίβου. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; ἀτριπτὸς μὲν ὁ ἀρρέτης χῶρος, ὁλίγοι γὰρ βαίνονσιν αὐτὸν, τέτριπται δὲ ὁ κακίας· ἐγκαθίσαι δὴ καὶ ἐνεδρέυσαι καὶ λοχήσαι παρανεῖ τὴν τετριμμένην ὀδὸν, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν, ἐν οἷς κατατρίβονται τὸν βίον οἱ φυγάδες ἀρρέτης λογισμοῖ.

99 XXV. "Δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππον." ἐχομένως πτερνιστῆς ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν στάσιν τοῦ γενήτος καὶ φθαρτοῦ διαιείων τρόπος. τὰ πάθη δὲ ἤππῳ ἀπεκάθευ· τετρασκελές γὰρ καὶ τὸ πάθος ὡς ἵππος καὶ ὄρμητικόν καὶ ὀρμητόν καὶ σκιρτητικόν φύσει. ὁ δὲ σωφροσύνης λόγος δάκνων καὶ τυτρώσκεις φιλεῖ καὶ ἀναρέει τὸ πάθος· πτερνισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὀκλάσαντος "πεσεῖται ὁ ἤππευς εἰς τὰ ὅπίσω." ἤππεα νοητέον <τὸν> ἐπιβεβηκότα τοῖς πάθεσι νοῦ, δὲ ἀποπίπτει
prove a lover of self-mastery. But for Judah he will offer no such prayer, for Judah already has the property of praising and pleasing God. So he says, "Let Dan become a serpent on the road." The soul is our road; for as on the roads it is possible to see the distinction of existences, lifeless, living; irrational, rational; good, bad; slave, free; young, or older; male, female; foreign, or native; sickly, healthy; maimed, entire; so in the soul too there are lifeless, incomplete, diseased, enslaved, female, and countless other movements full of disabilities; and on the other hand movements living, entire, male, free, sound, elder, good, genuine, and, in a real sense, of the fatherland.

Let then the principle of self-mastery become a serpent upon the soul whose road lies through all the circumstances of life and let it seat itself upon the well worn track. What is this? The path of virtue is unworn, for few tread it, while that of vice is well worn. He calls on him to beset with his ambuscade and to lie in wait upon the beaten road of passion and vice, on which reasoning powers that flee from virtue wear out their life.

XXV. "Biting the horse's heel." It is quite in keeping that the character which upsets the stability of created and perishable life attacks the heel. The passions are likened to a horse. For passion, like a horse, is a four-legged creature, impulsive, full of wilfulness, and naturally restive. But the principle of self-mastery loves to bite and wound and destroy passion. When passion with its heel bitten has stumbled "the horseman shall fall backwards." We must understand by "the horseman" the mind that is mounted on the passions,

a See App. p. 481.
τῶν παθῶν, όταν αὐτὰ συλλογισθῆ καὶ πτερνισθῆ.

100 εὖ δ’ ότι εἰς τούμπροσθεν οὐ πίπτει ἡ ψυχή· μὴ γὰρ προερχέσθω τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλ’ ύστεριζέτω τούτων, καὶ σωφρονισθῆσεται. καὶ δογματικὸν ἐστιν δ’ λέγει· ἐὰν γὰρ ὀρμήσας ὁ νοῦς ἀδικήσαι ύστερήσῃ καὶ πέσῃ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, οὐκ ἀδικήσει· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ πάθος κυνήγεις ἄλογον μὴ ἐπεκδράμῃ,

[85] ἄλλα | κατόπιν μείνῃ, ἀπάθειαν, τὸ κάλλιστον,
101 καρπώσεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κατόπιν πτώμα ἀποδεχόμενος τῶν κακιῶν ἐπιφέρει· "τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίων" ὄντως γὰρ ὑπὸ θεοῦ σώζεται ὁ ἀποπίπτων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ύστερίζων τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. πέσοι τοιούτοι μοι πτώμα ἡ ψυχή καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνασταῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱππεῖον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν πάθος, ἵνα θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμείνασι εὐδαιμονήση.

102 μονήσῃ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ ἄσματι ὑμνεῖ τὸν θεόν, ότι "ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν" (Exod. xv. 1), τὰ τέσσαρα πάθη καὶ τὸν ἐποχούμενον αὐτοῖς ἁθλίον νοῦν εἰς τὴν φθορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν ἀνήνυτον βυθόν. καὶ σχέδον τοῦ ἀσματος ὅλου τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἐφ’ ὅ τα ἄλλα πάντα ἀναφέρεται, καὶ οὔτως ἔχει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπάθεια κατάσχη τὴν ψυχήν, τελέως εὐδαιμονήση.

103 ΧΧΧΓ. Ζητητέον δὲ, τίνος ἔνεκα ὁ μὲν Ἰακώβ φησίν, ὅτι "πεσεῖται ὁ ἱππος εἰς τὰ ἀσίσω" (Gen. xlix. 17), Μωυσῆς δὲ ἄθει, ὅτι ὅππος καὶ ἀναβάτης καταποντώθησαν. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν καταποντούμενος ὁ Ἁγγύττιος ἐστὶ τρόπος, ὅς, κἂν φεύγῃ, ὑπὸ τὸ ὑδωρ τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τῆν φορὰν
which falls off the passions when they are brought to a reckoning and overthrown. 'Tis well that the soul does not fall forwards: let him not get in advance of the passions, but be behind them, and he shall learn self-control. And there is sound principle in what is said here. For if the mind, after starting out to do wrong, drops behind and falls backwards, it will not do the wrong deed; and if, after experiencing an impulse to an irrational passion, it does not follow it up, but stays behind, it will reap the fairest reward, even exemption from passion. That is why the prophet, understanding the falling backwards to be escape from the passions, adds the words, "waiting for the salvation of the Lord": for he is indeed saved by God who falls away from the passions and comes short of realizing them in act. May my soul have such a fall, and never mount the beast of passion, wild like a bounding capering horse, that, having waited for God's salvation, it may attain to bliss. This explains why Moses in the Song praises God, that "He cast horse and rider into the sea" (Exod. xv. 1). He means that God cast to utter ruin and the bottomless abyss the four passions and the wretched mind mounted on them. This is indeed practically the chief point of the whole Song, to which all else is subsidiary. And it is true; for if the soul be won by exemption from passion, it will have perfect bliss.

XXVI. But we must inquire why, whereas Jacob says, "the horseman shall fall backwards" (Gen. xlix. 17), Moses sings of the drowning of horse and rider. We must remark then, that, whereas he that is to perish by drowning is the Egyptian character, which, even if it flees, flees under the water, that is, under
τῶν παθῶν φεύγει, ὅ δὲ πέπτων ἵππεῦς εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα σφικτέον δὲ, ὅτι οὕτος μὲν ἐστὶν ἵππεύς, ἀκένος δὲ ἀναβάτης.

104 ἵππεως μὲν οὖν ἔργον δαμάζειν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἀφθηναίζοντα ἐπιστομίζειν, ἀναβάτου δὲ φέρεσθαι ἢ ἂν τὸ ζῷον ἁγη. καὶ ἐν ναῦτῃ τοῦ μὲν κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἄγειν τὸ σκάφος καὶ εὐθύνειν καὶ ὀρθοῦν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιβάτου πάσχειν ὅσα ἂν ἂν νῶς ὑπομένῃ. παρὸ καὶ ὁ δαμάζων τὰ πάθη ἵππεύς οὐ καταποντούται, ἀλλὰ ἀποβάς αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένει τοῦ δεσπότου.

105 Παραινεῖ μέντοι ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν Δευτικῷ ἢ απὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν, ἢ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, ἢ ἔχει σκέλη ἀνώτερον τῶν πολλῶν, ὡστε πηδάν ἐν αὐτῶις” συνεῖθαι (Lev. xi. 21), ὃν ἐστὶν ὁ βρούχος καὶ ὁ ἀττακός καὶ ἀκρίς καὶ τέταρτον ὁ ὄφιομάχης καὶ δεόντως. εἰ γὰρ ἀτροφον καὶ βλαβερὸν πράγμα ὁμιώδης ἡδονή, τροφιμώτατον ἀν καὶ σωτηρίου γένοιτο διὰ τῇ ἔδοσιν διαμαχό-

106 μένῃ φύσις. αὕτη δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη ἐστὶ. μάχου δὴ καὶ σύ, ὃ διάνοια, πρὸς πᾶν πάθος καὶ διαφερόντως πρὸς ἡδονήν, καὶ γὰρ “φρουμώτατός ἐστιν ὁ ὄφις πάντων θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὥν ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεός” (Gen. iii. 1). τῶν γὰρ πάντων πανουργότατον ἐστὶν ἡδονή: διὰ τὑτ, ὅτι πάντα ἡδονής δοῦλα καὶ ὁ βίος ὁ τῶν ἑαυτῶν δεσπόζεται ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς. τὰ γοῦν ποιητικὰ αὕτης εὑρίσκεται διὰ πανουργίας πάσης, χρυσὸς ἀργυρὸς [86] δοξα τιμαὶ ἄρχαι, αἱ ἐλα τῶν | αἰσθητῶν, καὶ τέχναι αἱ βάναυσοι καὶ ὁσαι ἄλλαι κατασκευα.
the current of the passions; the horseman who falls backwards does not belong to the lovers of the passions. A proof of this is that he is called "horseman," whereas the other is called "rider." A horseman's business is to subdue his horse and use the bit when it disregards the rein, whereas a rider's business is to be carried wherever the animal takes him. On the sea, too, the helmsman's business is to guide the boat and keep it upright and in its course, but it is for the passenger to experience all that the ship undergoes. Accordingly the horseman who subdues the passions is not drowned but, dismounting from them, awaits the salvation that comes from the Master.

Now the sacred word in Leviticus directs them to feed "on creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them" (Lev. xi. 21). Such are the locust, the wild locust, the grasshopper, and in the fourth place the cricket. And this is as it should be. For if serpentlike pleasure is a thing un-nourishing and injurious, self-mastery, the nature that is in conflict with pleasure, must be wholesome and full of nourishment. Do thou also contend, O my mind, against all passion and above all against pleasure, for indeed "the serpent is the most subtle of all beasts upon the earth, which the Lord God made" (Gen. iii. 1); for pleasure is the most cunning of all things. Why is this? Because all things are enthralled to pleasure, and the life of bad men is under the dominion of pleasure. The things that yield pleasure are obtained by means of cunning of every kind; gold, silver, glory, honours, offices, the materials of objects of sense, the mechanical arts, and all other
στικαὶ ἡδονῆς πάνυ ποικίλαι. καὶ ἄδικοῦμεν δι’ ἡδονήν, τὰ δὲ ἄδικήματα οὐκ ἄνευ πανουργίας τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστίν. τὴν ἀφιομάχον οὐν γνώμην ἀντίταττε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγώνα τούτον διάθλησον καὶ σπούδασον στεφάνωθηναι κατὰ τῆς τούς ἄλλους ἀπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς καλὸν καὶ εὐκλεὰ στέφανον, δὴ τοὺς ἄνθρωπος πανήγυρις ἐχορήγησεν.
arts in great variety that minister to pleasure. It is for the sake of pleasure that we do wrong, and wrong deeds are ever associated with desperate cunning. Therefore set judgement, the serpent-fighter, against it, and contend to the end in this noblest contest, and strive earnestly, by defeating pleasure that conquers all others, to win the noble and glorious crown, which no human assembly has ever bestowed.
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK III

A. MAN EXILED. Gen. iii. 8 (1-48).

(a) Man hiding from God (1-27).

Contrasted with Moses (12-14),
who is open before God, and shuns Distraction ("Pharaoh").
Contrasted with Jacob (15-23),
who flies from Material Temptation ("Laban"),
to heights of Virtue and Witness ("Gilead").
Contrasted with Abraham (24-27),
who, loyal to God, refuses the offer of the World (King of Sodom).

(b) Man taking refuge in Self (28-47).

Exod. xxii. 1 f. Rejection of God, that comes to nothing, far less heinous than thorough-going Self-exaltation (32-35).
Deut. xxvii. 15. Evil of secretly holding false opinions (36).
Exod. ii. 12. Evil of being buried in our own loose mind (37).
Gen. xv. 5. Bliss of flying from Self to God (39).
Gen. xxiv. 7—and of quitting the mortal body to be with God (42).
Exod. ix. 29—and our own mind to open all to God (43).
Exod. xxxiii. 7—of going out of Self, and seeking God, even if we fail (46 f.).
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B. THE CALL. Gen. iii. 9-13 (49-64).

*The Call* is addressed to Mind, for Mind is capable of instruction. (Sense-perception receives no special call.)

*The Question,* "Where art thou?" capable of being taken in other ways.

*The Answer of Mind* comes to this, "There where fear is, and hiding from Thee, and nakedness of virtue" (49-55).

The words "gavest with me" imply the freedom of Sense-perception, which apprehendssimultaneously with Mind, and gives it occasions of apprehending ("She gave it me") (56-58).

*The Answer of Sense-perception* is pertinent, though she says "I ate," when asked about Adam's eating, for Mind concurs at once with Sense-perception. And she rightly says "beguiled," for, while Sense-perception gives without any guile, Pleasure falsifies the object (59-64).

C. PLEASURE, EVIL IN ORIGIN. Gen. iii. 14 (65-106)

God cursing the serpent (viz. Pleasure), without giving him an opportunity to defend himself, is paralleled with God slaying Er (Gen. xxxviii. 7), without bringing an open charge against him. Slain Er is the Body, a corpse from the first, and the soul knows itself best to be a corpse-bearer when perfected (65 ff.).

How the God of Goodness came to create Er and the Serpent, we are not told. We *are* told that creation is due to the goodness of God (75 ff.).
And the Book of the Law affords many examples of wide divergence in original endowments. *Noah* "finds grace in the sight of the Lord," and *Melchizedek* is made His "Priest" and "King of peace," no previous merit being mentioned in either case (79 ff.). (Philo stops to contrast M. with the Moabites and Ammonites, who failed to bring forth bread and *water*, Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) *Abram* was created good, and led to a better city. *Isaac*, who is compared with Hope, was richly endowed before birth. The lots of *Jacob* and *Esau* were told when they were unborn (82). *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* have names denoting, the one Memory and its Fruitfulness, the other escape only from Forgetfulness (94). *Bezalel* called to a position, which he is not said to have earned, bears a name meaning "In the shadow of God" and is taught by Moses, while Moses is taught by God. In view of all this we must pray and ponder God's goodness (95-103).

D. THE CURSE ON PLEASURE. Gen. iii. 14 (107-199).

Its Ground, 107-110.
Its Fitness, 111-114.
Its Content, 115-199.

Content of the Curse—115-159. Posture and Motion.

(a) On the Breast (115-137).

The Breast the seat of high spirit—the Urim and Thummim there point to Aaron's control of high spirit which Moses wholly *exscinds* (Lev. viii. 29).
(b) On the Belly.

(a) Appropriate to Pleasure whose lover goes "on" or "after" the belly and the four passions (138 f.).

(β) The perfect man contrasted with the man of gradual improvement in their dealing with self-indulgence (140-144).

(γ) The belly the basis of all passions (145-150).

Note.—Breast cut out, while the belly is washed, for it is indispensable (147).

(δ) Bodily necessity compels us to go forth from the house of wisdom—girded with Reason—putting out of sight all that is unreasonable (151-158).


The earthy body feeds on earth.—

Contrast of the "Bread out of Heaven," "the day's portion for the day," like dew—prolific as coriander-seed—like hoar-frost, called "What is it?" (Deut. viii. 3).

Contrast "The God who feedeth me," said by Jacob, with "I will nourish thee," by Joseph—true son of Rachel ("Give me children").

Enmity (182-199).

The Combatants (185-187).
Their Warfare (188).
Jacob grips the heel of Esau, the man who says "Mine," a word for God only to use (189-199).


(a) Of the Woman (Gen. iii. 16) (200-245).

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ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, III.

(a) Grief the lot of Sense-perception (200).
   Contrast God confirming *good* to Abraham by an oath (201-203).
   Discussion of oath taken by God (204-208).
   Groaning — good and bad (211 continued from 200).

(β) Subjection to her husband (220 ff.).
   Num. xxi. 27 ff., the women adding to the fire.
   *Potiphar's wife* contrasted with Joseph and Phinehas. *Sarah. Hagar* (224 ff.).

(b) Of the Man (Gen. iii. 17 ff.) (246-253).
   Due to Serpent. Thorns. Grass. Return to Earth.
I. "Καὶ ἐκρύβησαν οἱ τε Ἄδαμ καὶ η γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ παραδείσου" (Gen. iii. 8). 

Δόγμα εἰσηγείται διδάσκον, ὅτι οἱ φαύλοι φυγάς ἐστίν, εἰ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεία τῶν σοφῶν ἡ ἀρετή, ταύτης ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος μετέχειν ἀπελήλαται πόλεως, ἢς ἀδυνατεῖ μετέχειν οἱ φαύλοι, ἀπελήλαται ἅπας καὶ πεφυγάδευται μόνος οἱ φαύλοι. ὁ δὲ ἀρετής φυγάς εὔθυς ἀποκέκρυπται θεόν: εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐμφανεῖς οἱ σοφοὶ θεῶ, ἀτέ οὔτε αὐτῷ φίλοι, δῆλον ὡς ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ καταδύονται πάντες οἱ φαύλοι, ὡς ἂν ἐχθροὶ καὶ δυσμενεῖς οὔτε ὅρθῳ λόγῳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀπολείπει καὶ ἄοικος οἱ φαύλος ἐστί, μαρτυρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ δασέως καὶ πουκίλου τὴν κακίαν Ἡσαῦ, ὅτε φησίν: “ἳν δὲ Ἡσαῦ εἶδώς κυνηγεῖν, ἀγροῖκος” (Gen. xxv. 27). οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡ τῶν παθῶν θηρευτικὴ κακία τὴν ἀρετῆς πόλιν ὁικεῖαν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης μεταδιώκουσα. ὁ δὲ γε σοφίας μεστὸς Ἰακώβ καὶ πολίτης ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν κατοικεῖ: φησὶ γὰρ οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ: “Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἀπλαστὸς ἀνθρώπως οἰκῶν οἰκίαι” (ib.).
BOOK III

I. "And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God in the midst of the forest of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8). He introduces a doctrine showing that the bad man is an exile. For if virtue is a city peculiar to the wise, the man who has no capacity to partake of virtue has been driven away from the city, in which the bad man is incapable of taking part. It is accordingly the bad man only who has been driven away and sent into exile. But the exile from virtue has by incurring such exile hidden himself from God. For if the wise, as being His friends, are in God's sight, it is evident that all bad men slink away and hide from Him, as is to be expected in men who cherish hatred and ill-will to right reason. The prophet, moreover, finds proof that the bad man is without city or dwelling-house, in the account of Esau, the hairy man, crafty in wickedness, when he says, "Esau was skilled in hunting, a countryman" (Gen. xxv. 27); for vice, that hunts after the passions, is by nature unfit to dwell in the city of virtue. Rather, in utter senselessness, it follows after rustic grossness, the life of the untrained. Jacob, the man full of wisdom, belongs to a city, and as a dwelling-house he occupies virtue. The prophet says of him: "But Jacob was a simple man dwelling in a house"
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3 παρὸ καὶ "αἱ μαῖαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐφοβοῦντο τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἐαυταῖς οἰκίας" (Exod. i. 21): αἱ γὰρ ξητητικὰ τῶν ἀφανῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ "ζωογονεῖν τὰ ἄρσενα," οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ ἀρετῆς πράγματα, οἷς καὶ ἐνοικεῖν προχρηματιστεῖν. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐπιδείκτεται, πῶς ὁ μὲν φαύλος ἀπολὶς τὴν ἄρσεν ἀνώμαλος καὶ ὁ θεός ἀρετὴς ὁθόν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν καὶ οἰκὸν σοφίαν κεκλήρωται.

4 II. Ἡδομεν δὲ ἔξης, πῶς καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τις θεὸν λέγεται. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλληγορήσει τις, αὐτότων παραδέξασθαι τὸ προκείμενον. πάντα γὰρ πεπλήρωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ διὰ πάντων διελήλυthen καὶ κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐρημοῦσαν ἀπολέλοιπεν. ποῖον δὴ τις τόπον ἐρημοῦσαν, ἐν οὗ οὐκ θεὸς ἐστὶν; τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις λέγων "ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστω "ἐπὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ" (Deut. iv. 39). καὶ πάλιν. "οὗτος ἐστὶ σύντον σε" (Exod. xvii. 6) πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς γενήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ εὑρίσκεται πανταχόν, ὡσεὶ οὐκ ἂν δυνατό τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι. ἐν τοῖς γὰρ γενομένων τὰ συνεκτικῶτα οὐδὲ ἂν, εἰ τι γένοιτο, ἐκφεύγεται καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι δυνηθεῖμεν, οἷον γῆν φυγέτω τῆς ή ὑδάτω ή ἀέρα ή οὐρανόν ή τὸν σύμπαν κόσμον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω γε τὸ τοῦ κόσμου φεύγειν δυνήσεται. εἴτε <μὴ> τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου μηδὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν δυνάμενός τις ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἂν ἱσχύσαι.
(ibid.). It accords with this too that the midwives, since they feared God, made houses for themselves (Exod. i. 21); for such (souls) as make a quest of God’s hidden mysteries—and this is what is meant by “saving the males’ lives” or “bringing the males to the birth”—build up the cause of virtue, and in this they have elected to have their abode. By these instances it has been made clear how the bad man is without a city or home, being an exile from virtue, while the good man has received it as his lot to have wisdom for both city and dwelling.

II. Let us see next how a man is said actually to hide himself from God. Were one not to take the language as figurative, it would be impossible to accept the statement, for God fills and penetrates all things, and has left no spot void or empty of His presence. What manner of place then shall a man occupy, in which God is not? The prophet elsewhere bears witness of this saying, “God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath and there is none else but He” (Deut. iv. 39). And again, “Here stand I before thou (wert made)” (Exod. xvii. 6); for before every created thing God is, and is found everywhere, so that no one could possibly hide himself from God. And why should we marvel at this? Whatever should happen, we could never escape or hide ourselves from those, even among things created, that are essential elements of creation. For instance, let a man fly, if he can, from earth or water or air or sky or the world at large. A man must needs have all these round him, for no one shall ever be able to escape out of the world. Then, seeing a man is powerless to hide himself from the parts of the world or from the world itself, would he
λανθάνειν; οὐδαμῶς. τί οὖν τὸ "ἐκρύβησαν"; ὁ φαύλος δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ περιεχόμενον. οὐ χάριν καὶ οἴτσαι ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, ὡς κατ’ ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ὄντος τοῦ αἰτίου, καθ’ ὁ φωλεύειν διέγνωκεν. 7 III. ἔστι δὲ οὔτως ἐκδέξασθαι ἐν τῷ φαύλῳ ἡ ἀληθῆς περὶ θεοῦ δόξα ἐπεσκίασται καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται, σκότους γὰρ πλήρης ἔστι μηδὲν ἔχων ἐναύγασμα θείου, ὡς τὰ ὄντα περισκεψαι. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος πεφυγάδευται θείου χοροῦ, καθάπερ ὁ λεπρὸς καὶ γονορρυής, ὁ μὲν θεὸν καὶ γένεσιν, ἀντιπάλους φύσεις, δύο χρωμάτων ὄντων, ἀγαγὼν εἰς ταύτο ὡς αἰτία, ἐνός ὄντος αἰτίου τοῦ δρόμου, ὁ δὲ γονορρυής ἐκ κόσμου πάντα καὶ εἰς κόσμον ἄναγων, ὑπὸ θεοῦ δὲ μηδὲν οἴόμενος γεγονέναι, Ἡρακλει-

[89] τείου δόξης ἔτανος, κόρον καὶ χρησμοσύνην καὶ 8 ἐν τῷ πᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀμοιβὴ εἰςάγων. διὸ φησι καὶ ὁ θεὸς λόγος: "ἐξαποστειλάτωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίου ψυχῆς πάντα λεπτὸν καὶ πάντα γονορρυή καὶ πάντα ἀκάθαρτον ἐν φύσει, ἀπὸ ἁρσενικοῦ ἑώς ἑλυκοῦ" (Num. ν. 2), καὶ τοὺς θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομένους τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πόρνους τὴν ἐνός ἀρχήν ἀποδιδράσκοντας, οἷς ἀντικρὺς ἀπείρηται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν θεοῦ φοιτᾷν 9 (Deut. xxiii. 2). οἱ δὲ γε σοφοὶ λογισμοὶ οὐχ οἴον ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ’ ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι γλίχονται. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι ὁ Ἀβραὰμ "ἐτι ἦν ἑστηκὼς ἐνώπιον

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*a* See App. p. 482.
*b* Literally “there being two colours.” See Lev. xiii. 9-17. ‘Raw flesh’ and ‘white’ would seem to be the “two colours.”
be able to escape the eye of God? By no means. Why then does it say "they hid themselves"? The bad man thinks that God is in a place, not containing but contained; and for this reason he imagines that he can hide from Him, fancying that God, the Author of all things, is not in that part, which he has chosen for his lurking-place. III. It is possible to take it in this way. In the bad man the true opinion concerning God is hidden in obscurity, for he is full of darkness with no divine radiance in him, whereby to investigate realities. Such an one is in banishment from the divine company, like the leper and the man with an issue.\(^a\) The former combines as joint causes God and creation, which are natures mutually hostile, for he shows two different colours,\(^b\) whereas there is one single Cause, even He who doeth all. The man with an issue, on the other hand, deriving everything from the world, and making it return into the world, imagines that nothing has been created by God, associating himself with the opinion of Heracleitus, in his advocacy of such tenets as "fullness and want," "the universe one," and "all things interchange." So the divine word saith, "Let them send forth out of the holy soul every leper, and everyone that hath an issue, and everyone that is unclean in soul, both male and female (Numb. v. 2), and eunuchs with the generative organs of the soul cut away, and fornicators, deserters from the rule of One, to whom entrance into the assembly of God is absolutely forbidden (Deut. xxiii. 2). But wise reasonings, so far from hiding themselves, are keenly desirous to be manifest. Do you not see that Abraham "was still standing before the Lord and drew nigh and

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\(^a\) 

\(^b\)
κυρίου καὶ ἐγγίσας εἶπε 'Μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἁσβεθῆς'' (Gen. xviii. 22, 23), τὸν ἐμφανῆ σοι καὶ γνώριμον μετὰ τοῦ φεύγοντός σε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος; οὕτως μὲν γὰρ ἁσβεθῆς, δίκαιος δὲ ὁ ἐστηκὼς ἐναντίον σου καὶ μὴ φεύγων· σὲ γάρ, ὡ δέσποτα, τιμᾶσθαι δίκαιον μόνον. οὐχ ὠσπέρ δὲ ἁσβεθῆς, οὕτω καὶ εὐσεβῆς τις εὑρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, εἰ δίκαιος, οὐ χάριν φησί· 'μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἁσβεθῆς.' ἀξίως γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θεὸν τιμᾷ, ἀλλὰ δικαίως μόνον· ὅποτε γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοὺς γονεῦσιν ἵσας ἀποδοῦναι χάριτας ἐνδέχεται—ἄντιγεννηταὶ γὰρ οὐχ οἶον τε τοῦτοι· πῶς οὐκ ἀδύνατον τὸν θεὸν ἀμείβασθαι ἢ ἐπαινέσαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸν τὰ ὀλὰ συστησάμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων; πάσαν γὰρ ἄρετήν παρέσχετο.

11 IV. Τρεῖς οὖν καιροὺς, ὡ ψυχή, τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον σύμπαντα ἐμφανῆς αἰεὶ γίνον θεῶ, μὴ τὸ θῆλυ αἰσθητὸν πάθος ἐφελκομένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καρτερίας ἀσκητήν λογισμόν ἐκθυμιώσα· τριτὶ γὰρ καιρῷ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑφημίου πᾶν ἀρσενικὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ

12 ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προστάτητε (Deut. xvi. 16). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς, οτὲ ἐμφανῆς καθιστάται θεῶ, φεύγει τὸν διασκεδαστὴν τρόπον Φαραώ, ὃς αὐχεὶ λέγων μὴ εἰδέναι τὸν κύριον (Exod. v. 2). 'ἀνεχώρησε' γὰρ φησι· 'Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραώ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐν γῆ Μαδιάμ' (Exod. ii. 15), τῇ κρίσει
said, 'Destroy Thou not the just man together with the impious one'" (Gen. xviii. 22 f.), the one that is manifest and known to Thee together with him who shuns and avoids Thee? For this one is impious, but he that stands before Thee and avoids Thee not is just. For the only justice is that Thou, O Master, shouldst be honoured. A pious man is not found with the same ease as an impious one. We have to be content with a just man. This is why he says, "Destroy not a just together with an impious man." For no one honours God as He deserves but only as is just. It is impossible to requite even our parents with boons equal to those which we have received from them—for it is out of the question to requite by becoming their parents. How must it not be impossible to recompense or to praise as He deserves Him who brought the universe out of non-existence? For it was an exercise towards us of every virtue.

IV. Through three seasons, then, O soul, that is throughout the whole of time with its threefold divisions, make thyself ever manifest to God, not dragging after thee the weak feminine passion of sense-perception, but giving forth as incense the manly reasoning schooled in fortitude. For the sacred word (Deut. xvi. 16) enjoins that at three seasons of the year every male is to show himself before the Lord the God of Israel. For this reason Moses also, when he is being established as one standing open before God, avoids Pharaoh, the symbol of dispersion, for he boasts saying that he knows not the Lord (Exod. v. 2). "Moses," we read, "withdrew from Pharaoh's presence and settled in the land of Midian" (Exod. ii. 15), or
τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων, "καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος," ἐκδεχόμενος τί ὁ θεὸς ἀνομβρήσει πότιμον τῇ δυψώσῃ καὶ ποθούσῃ ψυχῇ τὸ ἀγαθόν. 13 ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ ἡγεμονίδος τῶν παθῶν δόξης Φαραώ, ἀναχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς Μαδιάμ, τὴν κρίσιν, ἐξετάζων πότερον ἠρεμητεὸν αὐτῷ | [90] ἔστιν η δικαστέον πάλιν πρὸς τὸν φαύλον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ· σκέπτεται δὲ, εἰ ἐπιθέμενος ἱσχύσει νικηφόρησαι, παρὸ καὶ κατέχεται ὑπομένων, ὥς ἔφη, εἰ ἀναδώσει ὁ θεὸς τῷ βαθεί καὶ μὴ κούφη λογισμῷ πηγὴν ἱκανὴν ἐπικλύσαι τῇ φορὰν τοῦ 14 Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως, τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ· ἀξιόθεται μέντοι τῆς χάριτος· στρατευσάμενος γὰρ στρατεύων τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς οὔ παύεται πολέμῳν, πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν πρηνεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους τὰς ἡδονὰς. οὗ χάριν οὗ φεύγει Μωυσῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαραώ, ἀνεπιστρεπτι γὰρ ἀν ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀναχωρεῖ, τούτοισιν ἀνακωχὴν ποιεῖται τοῦ πολέμου ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα, μέχρις ἂν ἐγείρῃ τὴν φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀρετῆς συμμαχίαν διὰ λόγων θείων μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐρ- ρωμενεστάτης ἐπίθεται. 15 'Ο δὲ Ἰακώβ, πτερνιστὴς γὰρ ἐστὶ, μεθόδοις καὶ τέχναις τῆν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀκοινοὺς κτώμενος— οὐ γὰρ μετωνόμαστο πω εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ—ἀπο- διδράσκει τῶν κατὰ Δάβαν πραγμάτων, τοντέστι χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων καὶ συνόλως σωμάτων, ἃ τὸν νοῦν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τιτρώσκειν πέφυκεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὰ νικήσαι παρὼν κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς 308
in the examination of the things of nature, "and sat on the well," waiting to see what draught God would send to quench the thirst of his soul in its longing for that which is good. So he withdraws from the godless opinion of Pharaoh, which the passions follow as their leader, and withdraws into Midian, the sifting-place, to inquire whether he is to be still or to dispute again with the evil man for his destruction; he considers whether, if he attack him, he shall prevail to win the victory, and so he is kept there waiting upon God, as I have said, to see whether He will bestow upon a deep reasoning faculty free from shallowness a stream sufficient to drown the onrush of the king of the Egyptians, the onrush, that is, of his passions. And he is deemed worthy of the boon: for, having taken the field in the cause of virtue, he does not abandon the warfare till he beholds the pleasures prostrate and out of action. This is why Moses does not fly from Pharaoh, for that would have been to run away and not return, but, like an athlete taking an interval to regain his breath, "withdraws," that is, brings about a cessation of arms, until he shall by divine words have raised forces of wisdom and every other virtue to aid him in renewing the attack with irresistible power.

But Jacob, "Supplanter" that he is, acquiring virtue with great toil by wiles and artifices, his name having not yet been changed into "Israel," runs away from Laban and all his belongings, tints and shapes and material bodies generally, whose nature it is to inflict wounds on the mind through the objects of sense. For since when facing them he was not able completely to vanquish them, he
οὐκ ἦδύνατο, φεύγει δεδώς τὴν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦτταν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαίνων ἁξίους· "εὐλαβεῖς" γὰρ φησὶν Μωυσῆς "ποιήσετε τοὺς νῦν τοῦ ὄρῳντος" (Lev. xv. 31), ἀλλ’ οὐ θρασείς καὶ τῶν μη καθ’ 16 αὐτοὺς ἐρώντας. Β. "καὶ ἐκρυφεν Ἰακώβ Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον τοῦ μη ἀναγγείλαν αὐτῷ ὧτι ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα, καὶ διέβη τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὦρμησεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαάδ" (Gen. xxxi. 20, 21). "φυσικῶτατόν ἔστιν τὸ κρύπτειν ὧτι ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ μὴ ἀναγγέλλειν τῷ ἠρτημένῳ τῶν αἰσθητῶν λογισμοῦ Λάβαν· οἶον ἕως κάλλος ἠδῶν αἱρεθῆν αὐτῷ καὶ μέλλῃ πταίειν περὶ αὐτό, φύγε λαθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι ἀναγγείλῃς τῷ νῷ, οὐτέστι μη ἐπιλογίσῃ πάλιν μηδὲ μελετήσῃς· αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς ὑπομνήσεις τύπους ἐγχαράττουσιν τρανοὺς βλάπτοντο τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἀκουσάν αὐτὴν <πολλάκις> 17 περιτρέπουσιν. ὅ δ’ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἔπι πάντων τῶν καθ’ ἠντυνόν αἴσθησιν ὅλκών· ἐν γὰρ τοῦτοις σώτειρα ἡ λαθραία φυγῆ, τὸ δ’ ὑπομμηνήσκεσθαι καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν καὶ ἀναπολεῖν κρατεῖ καὶ δουλοῦνται βιαίως τὸν λογισμόν. μηδέποτ’ ὅυν, οὐ διάνοια, τὸ φανέν αἰσθητόν, εἰ μέλλεις ἀλίσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀναγγείλῃς σαυτῇ μηδὲ ἀναπολήσῃς αὐτό, ἢν μη κρατηθεῖσα κακοδαιμονής· ἀλλ’ ἀφετος ὀρμήσασα ἀπόδραθι ἐλευθερίαν ἀτίθασον δουλεῖας χειρόθους προκρίνουσα.
flies, fearing defeat at their hands. And in doing so he is thoroughly deserving of praise; for Moses says, “Ye shall make the sons of the seeing one cautious” (Lev. xv. 31), not bold and aiming at what is beyond their capacity. V. “And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not that he fled.” So he fled with all that he had; and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead” (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). It is thoroughly in accordance with true principles that he is said to have concealed the fact that he is running away and not made it known to Laban, who represents the way of thinking governed by objects of sense. For instance, if thou hast caught sight of beauty and been captivated by it, and if it is like to be a cause of stumbling to thee, fly secretly from the vision of it, and give no further report of it to thy mind, that is to say, do not give it another thought or ponder it; for to keep on recalling anything is the way to engrave on the mind distinct outlines of it, which injure the mind and often bring it to ruin against its will. The same principle holds in the case of every kind of attraction by the avenue of whatever sense it may reach us; for here safety lies in secret flight; but recalling the attractive object in memory, telling of it, turning it over, spells conquest and harsh slavery for our reasoning faculty. If, therefore, O my mind, thou art in imminent danger of falling a prey to some object of sense that has shown itself, never report it to thyself, never dwell on it, lest thou be overcome and plunged into misery. Nay, rush forth at large, make thy escape, choose the freedom of the wild rather than the slavery of the tame.
VI. Διὰ τί δὲ νῦν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ὅτι Σύρος δὲ Λάβαν ἔστι, φησὶν ἡ έκρυψε δὲ Ἰακὼβ
[91] Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον"; ἢχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ πάρεργον λόγον. Συρία γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται μετέωρα· ὁ ἀσκητής οὖν Ἰακὼβ νοῦς, ὅτε μὲν ὀρα ῥας πάθος, περιμένει λογιζόμενος αὐτὸ νικήσεων κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε δὲ μετέωρον καὶ υψαρχοῦν καὶ υπέρογκον, ἀποδιδάσκει τε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἀσκητής πρῶτος, εἶτα καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα μέρη τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἀναγνώσεις, μελέτησια, θεραπείας, τῶν καλῶν μνῆμα, ἐγκράτεια, τῶν καθηκόντων ἐνέργειας, καὶ διαβαίνει τὸν τῶν αἰσθητῶν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπικλύζοντα καὶ βαπτίζοντα τῇ φορᾷ τῶν παθῶν τῇ φυχῇ, καὶ ὀρμά διαβάς εἰς τὸν υψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον <τόπον> τὸν λόγον τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς. "ὡρμησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Γαλαάδ," ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ μετουκία μαρτυρίας, τοῦ θεοῦ μετοικίσαντος τὴν ψυχήν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Λάβαν παθῶν καὶ μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτῆς μετανάστασιν, ὅτι λυσιτελής καὶ συμφέρουσα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ χαμαίζηλον ἀπεργαζομένων τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶν εἰς ψυχὸς καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς προάγοντος.

20 Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ φίλος τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργῶν Λάβαν ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ διώκει καὶ φησιν. "ἲνα τί κρυφῇ ἀπέδρας" (Gen. xxxi. 26), ἀλλ' οὐ παρέμεινας τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολαύσει καὶ τῷ δόγματι τῷ <τὰ> περὶ σώμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ κρίνοντι; ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγων ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης ἐσύλησάς
VI. Now (let us ask) why, as though Jacob were not aware that Laban was a Syrian, does he say, "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark"? In this likewise there is a point not without pertinence. For "Syria" means "Highlands." Jacob, therefore, the mind in training, when he sees passion grovelling low before him, awaits its onset calculating that he will master it by force, but when it is seen to be lofty, stately, weighty, the first to run away is the mind in training, followed by all his belongings, being portions of his discipline, readings, ponderings, acts of worship, and of remembrance of noble souls, self-control, discharge of daily duties; he crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions, and, when he has crossed it, sets his face for the lofty high-land, the principle of perfect virtue: "for he set his face towards the mountain of Gilead." The meaning of this name is "migration of witness"; for God caused the soul to migrate from the passions that are represented by Laban, and bore witness to it how greatly to its advantage and benefit its removal was, and led it on away from the evil things that render the soul low and grovelling up to the height and greatness of virtue.

For this reason Laban, the friend of the senses and the man whose actions are regulated by them and not by the mind, is vexed, and pursues him, and says, "Why didst thou run away secretly" (Gen. xxxi. 26), but didst not remain in the company of bodily enjoyment and of the teaching that gives the preference to bodily and external good things? But in addition to fleeing from this view of life, thou
μον καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν, Λείαν τε καὶ Ἱακώβ· αὐταὶ γάρ, ἡνίκα παρέμεμφω τῇ ψυχῇ, φρένας ἐνεποίουν ταύτῃ, μεταναστάσαν δὲ ἀμαθιὰν καὶ ἀπαθευσίαν αὐτῇ κατέλειπον. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι ἕκλοποφόρησές με (ib.), τούτῳ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐκλείψας.

21 VII. τί οὖν ἦν τὸ φρονεῖν, ἐξηγήσεται· ἐπιφέρει γάρ· "καὶ ἀπήγαγες τὰς θυγατέρας μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἀν σε" (ib.). οὐκ ἂν ἐξαπέστειλας τὰ μαχόμενα ἀλλήλοις· εἰ γὰρ ἐξαπέστειλας ὄντως καὶ ήλευθέρους τὴν ψυχήν, περείπτεσ ἄν αὐτῆς τοὺς σωματικοὺς καὶ ισθητικοὺς ἄντας ἥχους· οὔτως γὰρ ἀπολυτρώτατα κακῶς καὶ παθῶς διάνοιαν. νυνὶ δὲ λέγεις μὲν, ὡς ἐξαποστέλλεις ἐλευθέραν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἑργῶν ὑμολογεῖς, ὅτι κατέσχες ἄν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ· εἰ γὰρ "μετὰ μονοκὼν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας" καὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην αἰσθήσεως γιαντάς προὔπεμπτες, οὐκ ἂν οὖντως ἐξ- 22 ἀπέστειλας. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σε, ὡς σωμάτων καὶ χρωμάτων ἐταύρε Λάβαν, ἀποδιδάσκομεν, ἅλλα καὶ πάντα τὰ σά, ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φωναὶ τοὺς παθῶν ἐνεργείας συνήχους, μεμελετηκαμὲν γάρ, εἰ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἐσμεν ἀσκηταί, μελέτην ἀναγκαίαν, ἦν καὶ Ἱακὼβ ἐμελέτησεν, [92] ἀπολλύναι καὶ διαφθείρειν | τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῆς

a Both in Hebrew and in Greek “to steal the mind” means “to deceive.” Philo probably knew that in Gen. xxxi. 20 “stole away unawares to” is in the Hebrew “stole the mind of.” In v. 26 (27) the LXX. renders by ἐκλοποφόρησας με the Hebrew “didst steal me,” which in E.V. is rendered “didst steal away from me.” Philo can hardly have got τὸ φρονεῖν except from the Hebrew phrase of v. 20, or its Greek equivalent.

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didst carry off my soundness of sense as well, Leah and Rachel to wit. For these, while they remained with the soul, produced in it sound sense, but when they removed elsewhither they left behind to it ignorance and indiscipline. This is why he adds the words "thou didst rob me" (ibid.), that is, didst steal my good sense. VII. What, then, his good sense was, he is going to explain; for he adds "and didst carry away my daughters as prisoners of war: and if thou hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth" (ibid.). Thou wouldst not have sent forth those at variance one with another; for hadst thou really sent forth and liberated the soul, thou wouldst have stripped from it all voices belonging to the body and senses: for it is in this way that the understanding is delivered from vices and passions. But as it is, thou sayest that thou art ready to send her forth free, but by thy actions thou ownest that thou wouldst have detained her in prison; for if thou hadst sent her on her way with "music and tabrets and harp" and the pleasures that suit each several sense, thou wouldst not really have sent her forth at all. For it is not from thee only, O Laban, friend of bodies and of tints, that we are running away, but from all too that is thine: and this includes the voices of the senses sounding in harmony with the operations of the passions. For we have made our own, if so be that we are under virtue's training, a study absolutely vital which was Jacob's study also, to consign to death and destruction the gods that

b The things mutually at variance are true "well-being" and the lower delights, represented by the "music and tabrets and harp," which, as Philo takes it, are to go with those released.
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ψυχῆς [τοὺς] θεούς, τοὺς χωνευτοὺς θεούς, οὓς ἀπηγόρευκε Μωυσῆς δημιουργεῖν (Lev. xix. 4). οὕτω δ' εἰσὶν ἀρετὴς μὲν καὶ εὐπαθείας διάλυσις, κακίας δὲ καὶ παθῶν σύστασις τε καὶ πῆξις, τὸ γὰρ χεόμενον διαλυθὲν αὖθις πήγνυται.

23 VIII. Λέγει δὲ οὕτως· "καὶ ἔδωκαν Ἰακώβ τοὺς θεούς τοὺς ἄλλοτροὺς, οἱ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ ἐν τοῖς ωσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ κατέκρυψεν αὐτὰ Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ τὴν τερέβιν τὴν ἐν Σικίμοις" (Gen. xxxv 4). οὕτω δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φαύλων θεοί. ο δὲ Ἰακώβ οὐ λέγεται λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ κρύπτει καὶ ἀπολλυναι· πάντη διηκριβωμένως· ὁ γὰρ ἀστείος οὐδὲν λήφεται πρὸς περιουσίαν τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας, ἀλλὰ κρύψει καὶ ἀφανεῖ

24 λάθρα. καθάπερ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Σοδόμῳ βασιλεῖ τεχνάζοντι ἀλόγου φύσεως ποιήσασθαι ἀντίδοσιν πρὸς λογικὴν, ὕππου πρὸς ἀνδρὰς, φησίν μηδὲν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' "ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν υψίστον" (Gen. xiv. 22), μὴ γὰρ λήψεσθαι "ἀπὸ σπάρτίου ἐως σφαιρωτῆρος υποδήματος" ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου, ἵνα μὴ εἴψῃ πλούσιον πεποιηκέναι τὸν ὅρωντα πενιάν ἀρετῆς τῆς πλούσιας ἀντίδιδούς.

25 κρύπτεται μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ φυλάττεται τὰ πάθη ἐν Σικίμοις—ὑμίασις δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὁ γὰρ πονοῦμενος περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς φυλακτικὸς τῶν ἡδονῶν ἑστιν—ἀπόλλυται δὲ καὶ διαφθείρεται παρὰ τῷ

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a In Gen. xiv. 21 the word rendered "goods" in E.V. can mean "cattle," and is translated in LXX. by τὴν ἵππον (collective for "horses"). See 197.

b De Migratione Abrahami 221.
are alien to the soul, the gods moulded in metal, the making of which Moses has forbidden (Lev. xix. 4); and these are a means of dissolving virtue and well-being, and a means of forming and giving fixity to wickedness and passions, for that which undergoes moulding, if dissolved, grows fixed and firm again.

VIII. We read as follows: "And they gave Jacob the strange gods, which were in their hands, and the ear-rings which were in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the terebinth that was in Shechem" (Gen. xxxv. 4). These are bad men's gods. And Jacob is not said to receive them, but to hide and destroy them. This is in every point perfectly accurate. For the man of sterling worth will take nothing to make him rich in the products of evil, but will hide them secretly and do away with them. In like manner when the king of Sodom is artfully attempting to effect an exchange of creatures without reason for reasonable beings, of horses for men, Abraham says that he will take none of the things that are his but will "stretch out" his soul's operation, which he figuratively called his "hand," "to the Most High God" (Gen. xiv. 22), for that he would not take of all that was the king's "from a cord even to a shoelace," in order that he may not say that he has conferred wealth on the man whose eyes were open, by giving him poverty in return for his wealth of virtue. The passions are always hidden away and placed under guard in Shechem—"shoulder" is the meaning of the name—for he that devotes toil to pleasures is prone to keep pleasures well guarded. But in the case of the wise man the passions perish and are destroyed, not for

\[\text{Or "shouldering," } i.e. \text{ 'toil.'} \]
σοφῶ, οὐ πρὸς βραχύν των χρόνων, ἀλλ’ “ἐως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας,” τοῦτόστιν ἂεί· ὁ γὰρ αἰῶν ἀπας τῷ σήμερον παραμετρεῖται, μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου ὁ ἡμερήσιος κύκλος. διὸ καὶ ἐξαιρέτων δίδωσι τῷ Ἰωσήφ τὰ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακὼβ (Gen. xlviii. 22), τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ αἰσθητικά, μετιόντι τὸν ἐν τούτοις πόνον, τῷ δ’ ἐξομολογούμενῳ Ἰουδά οὐχὶ δόσει, ἀλλὰ αἶνεσιν καὶ ὤμοις καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ὡδὰς πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν (Gen. xlix. 8). τὰ δὲ Σίκιμα ὁ Ἰακὼβ λαμβάνει οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ “ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ τόξοις,” λόγοις τμητικοῖς καὶ ἀμυντηρίοις· υποτάττει γὰρ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἑαυτῷ ὁ σοφὸς, υποτάξας δὲ οὐ φυλάττει,

27 ἀλλὰ χαρίζεται τῷ πεφυκότι πρὸς αὐτά. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δοκῶν λαμβάνειν οὐκ [93] ἐιληφεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπέκρυψε | καὶ ἡφάνισε καὶ διέφθειρε τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ; τίνι οὖν ψυχῇ ἀποκρύπτει παρὰ ἄφαντας καὶ ἀποφαύσει τοιάν ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ ἦ ο θεὸς ἐνεφανίσθη, ἢν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων ἠζώσει; φησὶ γὰρ: “μὴ κρύψω ἕγω ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ παιδὸς μου ἄ ἐγώ ποιῶ;” (Gen. xviii. 17) εὐ, σωτερ, ὅτι τὰ σαιντοῦ ἔργα ἐπὶ-δεῖκνυσαι τῇ ποθοῦσῃ τὰ καλὰ ψυχῇ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν σῶν ἔργων ἐπικέκρυψε. τούτοις χάρων ἰσχυεῖ φεύγειν κακίαν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν καὶ συσκιάζει καὶ ἀπολλύειν ἄλλην τάς σεαυτοῦ ἐργα ζώον καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ

IX. “Ων μὲν οὖν τρόπον φυγάς τε ἐστιν ὁ φαύλος καὶ ἀποκρύπτεται θεόν, δεδηλώκαμεν· νυνὶ δὲ


b See Gen. xxxv. 4.

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some short period but "even to this day," that is, always. For the whole age of the world is made commensurate with to-day, for the daily cycle is the measure of all time. For this reason too Jacob gives as a special portion to Joseph Shechem (Gen. xlviii. 22), the things of the body and of the senses, as he is occupied in toiling at these things, but to Judah who openly acknowledges God he gives not presents, but praise and hymns and hallowed songs from his brethren (Gen. xlix. 8). Jacob receives Shechem not from God, but by dint of "sword and bow," words that pierce and parry. For the wise man subjects to himself the secondary as well as the primary objects, but, having subjected them, does not keep them, but bestows them on him to whose nature they are akin. Mark you not that, in the case of the gods also, though apparently receiving them, he has not really done so, but hid them and did away with them and "destroyed" them for ever from himself? What soul, then, was it that succeeded in hiding away wickedness and removing it from sight, but the soul to which God manifested Himself, and which He deemed worthy of His secret mysteries? For He says: "Shall I hide from Abraham My servant that which I am doing?" (Gen. xviii. 17). It is meet, O Saviour, that Thou displayest Thine own works to the soul that longs for all beauteous things, and that Thou hast concealed from it none of Thy works. That is why it is strong to shun evil and always to hide and becloud and destroy passion that works cruel havoc.

IX. In what manner, then, the bad man is in banishment and hiding himself from God we have
σκεψόμεθα, ὅπου ἀποκρύπτεται. "ἐν μέσῳ" φησίν τοῦ ἐξόλου τοῦ παραδείσου" (Gen. iii. 8), τοποτεστι κατὰ μέσον τῶν νοῶν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μέσος ἐστὶν ὡσανεί παραδείσου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν καταφεύγει εἰς ἑαυτόν· ὅταν γὰρ ὄντων τοῦ τῶν ὅλων νοῶν, ὃς ἐστιν θεός, καὶ τοῦ ἱδίου, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ τὸν συμπάντων—ὁ γὰρ νοῶν τοῦ ἱδίου ἀπολείπτων ὄμολογεῖ μηδὲν εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπων νοῶν, ἀπαντά δὲ προσάπτει θεῷ—ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδιδράσκων θεὸν τοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς αἰτίων φησιν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀπάντων ἑαυτόν· λέγεται γοῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς, ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα φέρεται χωρὶς ἥγεμόνος ἀπαυτοματίζοντα, τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιτβαύζουσα καὶ νόμους καὶ ἐθή καὶ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἱδια καὶ κοινα δίκαια μέσῳ τὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀλογα ἔως· ὁ γὰρ τῶν δοξών τὸ παράλλαττον ἡ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ μέρους τὸν γενητὸν καὶ θνητον ἀπολιποῦσα τὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ αφθαρτον εἰγράφεται ὄντως, ὃς δὲ πάλιν θεὸν ἀποδοκιμάζουσα τὸν μηδ' αὐτῷ βοηθήσαι ἰκανὸν νοῶν σύμμαχον ἐπιστατά τι πλημμελῶς.

32 Χ. Τούτου χάριν καὶ Μωυσῆς φησιν ὅτι "ἐὰν <ἐν> τῷ διορύγματι εὑρεθῇ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἐνοχὸς ἔστιν, ἀνταπο-

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* See App. pp. 482, 483.
shown; let us consider now where he hides himself. "In the midst," it says, "of the wood of the garden" (Gen. iii. 8), that is in the centre of the mind, which in its turn is the centre of what we may call the garden of the whole soul: for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself. There are two minds, that of the universe, which is God, and the individual mind. He that flees from his own mind flees for refuge to the Mind of all things. For he that abandons his own mind acknowledges all that makes the human mind its standard to be naught, and he refers all things to God. On the other hand he that runs away from God declares Him to be the cause of nothing, and himself to be the cause of all things that come into being. The view, for instance, is widely current that all things in the world tear along automatically independently of anyone to guide them, and that the human mind by itself established arts, professions, laws, customs, and rules of right treatment both of men and animals on the part of the state and in our conduct whether as individual persons or as members of communities. But thou perceivest, O my soul, the difference of the two opinions; for the one turns its back on the particular being, created and mortal mind, and whole-heartedly puts itself under the patronage of the universal Mind, uncreate and immortal; the other opinion on the contrary, rejects God, and by a grievous error calls in to share its warfare the mind that is insufficient even to help itself.

X. This is the ground for Moses' words, "If the thief be found where he has just broken through and be smitten and die, there is no blood-guiltiness for him": but if the sun have risen upon him, (then he)
θανεῖται” (Exod. xxii. 1, 2). ἐὰν γὰρ τις τὸν ἑστῶτα καὶ ύγιὴ καὶ ὀρθὸν διακόψῃ καὶ διέλῃ λόγον, δὲς θεῷ μόνῳ τὸ πάντα δύνασθαι μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι τούτου ἐν τῷ πετρημένῳ καὶ διηρημένῳ, δὲς τὸν ίδιον νοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα οἶδεν, ἀλλ’ οὐ θεόν, κλέπτης ἐστὶ τὰ 33 ἄλλοτρια ἀφαιρούμενος· θεοῦ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κτήματα, ὥστε δὲ ἐαυτῷ τῷ προσνέμῳ τὰ ἐτέρου νοσφίζεται καὶ πληγήν ἔχει παγχάλησαι καὶ δυσίατον, οὗ ήσυχία, πράγμα ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαϊδευσίας συγγενές· τὸν δὲ πλήττοντα παρησάχασεν· οὐ [94] γὰρ ἔστων ἔτερος τοῦ πληττομένου· ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ ὁ τρίβων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τρίβεται καὶ ὁ ἐκτείνων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐκτείνεται—τῆν τε γὰρ τοῦ δρόμου δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ υπομένοντος πάθος αὐτὸς τῇ δύνασθαι—οὕτως ὁ κλέπτων τὰ θεόν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἑγεράρχων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἁθεότητός τε καὶ 34 οἰήσεως αἰκίζεται. εἴθε μέντοι πληθεὶς ἀποθάνοι, τούτους ἀπράκτος διατελέσεις· ἦττον γὰρ ἀμαρτότευν δόξει. τῆς γὰρ κακίας ἡ μὲν ἐν σχέσει θεωρεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἐν κινήσει θεωρεῖται· νεὔει δὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐκπληρώσεις ἡ ἐν τῷ κινεῖσαι, διὸ καὶ χείρων τῆς κατὰ σχέσιν 35 ἐστὶν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ διάνοια ἀποθάνη ἢ δοξάζουσα αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ θεόν, τούτους ἡρεμήσῃ καὶ συσταλῆ, οὐκ ἔστων αὐτῇ φόνος· οὐκ ἀνήρηκε τελέως τὸ ἐμψυχον δόγμα τὸ

1  ? αὐτῶς.

a Or "comes to pass."
is liable, he shall die in requital’’ (Exod. xxii. 1 f.). For if a man cleave and break through the
tenet that stands firm in its soundness and up­
rightness, testifying of unlimited power as belonging
to God alone, and he be found where he has broken
through, that is, in the pierced and cloven doctrine
that is conscious of a man’s own mind at work but
not of God, he is a thief abstracting what belongs
to another; for all things are God’s possessions, so
that he who assigns anything to himself is appro­
priating what is another’s, and he receives a blow
grievous and hard to be healed, even self-conceit, a
thing akin to boorish ignorance. Moses does not
make distinct mention of the man who strikes, for
he is no other than the man who is struck; just as
the man who rubs himself is also rubbed, and the
man who stretches himself is also stretched; for
in his own person he is at the same time active and
passive, employs the force and submits to its effect.
Even so he that steals what is God’s and assigns it
to himself, is the victim of the outrage inflicted by
his own impiety and self-conceit. A good thing it
would be should he die when struck, that is to say
permanently fail of the accomplishment of his
purpose; for he must then be held to be less a sinner.
For wickedness presents itself now as stationary,
now as moving. It is wickedness in motion that is
ripe for filling up its full measure by carrying its
designs to completion, and so it is worse than
stationary wickedness. If, therefore, the under­
standing which fancies itself and not God to be the
cause of all that comes into existence 2 die, that is,
shrink into inactivity, blood-guiltiness does not
pertain to it; it has not gone the full length of
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θεῷ τὰς ἀπάσας δυνάμεις ἐπιγράφον· ἕαν δὲ ἀνατείλῃ ὁ ἥλιος, τούτεστιν ὁ φαυλόμενος λαμπρὸς νοῦς ἐν ἴμῳ, καὶ δόξῃ πάντα διορᾶν καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκφεύγειν ἕαυτόν, ἐνοχὸς ἐστιν, ἀνταποθανεῖται τοῦ ἐμψύχου δόγματος ὁ ἀνείλε, καθ’ ὁ μόνος αἰτίος ἐστιν ὁ θεός, εὐρισκόμενος ἀπρακτός καὶ νεκρός ὅντως αὐτός, ἐμψύχου καὶ θυτητὸς καὶ πλημμελοῦς δόγματος εἰσηγητὴς γεγονενέμον.

36 XI. Παρὸ καὶ καταράται ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τιθέντι ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ γλυπτῶν ἢ χωνευτῶν, ἔργον χειρῶν τεχνίτου (Deut. xxvii. 15). τί γὰρ τὰς φαυλὰς δόξας, ὃτι ποιός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ὃς καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ ὁ ἀποιος, ὃτι φθάρτος ὃς τὰ χωνευτὰ ὁ ἀφθάρτος, ταμιεύεις καὶ θησαυρίζεις, ὃ διάνοια, ἐν σαυτῇ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς μέσον προφέρεις, ἵνα ύπό τῶν ασκητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀ χρή διδαχθῆς; οἰεὶ μὲν γὰρ τεχνικὴ τῆς εἶναι, ὅτι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀμοῦσος πιθανότητας μεμελέτηκας, ἀτεχνὸς δὲ ἀνευρίσκῃ νόσον χαλεπὴν ψυχῆς ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα θεραπεύεσθαι.

37 XII. Ὁτὶ δὲ ὁ φαὐλὸς εἰς τὸν σποράδα νοῦν ἐαυτοῦ καταδύεται φεύγων τὸν ὄντα, μαρτυρήσει Μωυσῆς ὁ "πατάξας τὸν Αἴγυπτιον καὶ κρύψας ἐν τῇ άμμῳ." (Exod. ii. 12), ὅπερ ἤν, συλλογισμένος τὸν προστατεῖν λέγοντα <τὰ> τοῦ
abolishing the living doctrine which ascribes to God the totality of powers. But if the sun shall have risen, that is the mind that shines so brilliantly in us, and shall have conceived the notion that it discerns all things, and decides all things, and that nothing ever escapes it, he is guilty, he shall die in requital for the living doctrine which he destroyed, which acknowledges God as the sole Cause. For he is found futile and dead indeed in himself; he has come forward as the author of a lifeless, mortal, and erroneous doctrine.

XI. In keeping with this the sacred word pronounces a curse on one setting up in secret a graven or molten image, the work of the hands of the craftsman (Deut. xxvii. 15). For why, O mind, dost thou hoard and treasure in thyself those wrong opinions, that God is as the graven images are, of this or that kind, God the Being that is without kind, and that He the incorruptible is, as the molten images are, corruptible? Why dost thou not rather bring them forth into the open, to the end that thou mayest be taught the things which it behoves thee to learn from those who study the truth? For thou fanciest thyself one versed in science because thou hast conned over methods of persuasion unworthy of an educated man, wherewith to combat the truth. But thy science proves itself no science, in that thou refusest to submit to healing treatment of thy soul's sore malady of ignorance.

XII. That the bad man sinks down into his own incoherent mind as he strives to avoid Him that is, we shall learn from Moses who "smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand" (Exod. ii. 12). This means that he took full account of the man who maintains
σώματος καὶ μηδέν τα ψυχῆς νομίζοντα καὶ τέλος
38 ἡγούμενον τᾶς ἴδιονας· κατανόησας γὰρ τὸν πόνον
tοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὅρωντος, δὲν ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ βασι-
λεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἢ τῶν παθῶν ἡγεμονὶς κακία,
ὅρα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀνθρώπιον καὶ
ἐπίκηρον πάθος, τύπτοντα καὶ αἰκίζομενον τὸν
ὅρωντα, περιβελεσάμενος δὲ τὴν ὀλὴν ψυχὴν ὧδε
κάκεισε καὶ μηδένα ἰδὼν ἐστῶτα, ὧτι μὴ τὸν ὄντα
θεόν, τὰ δʼ ἄλλα κλονούμενα καὶ σαλευόμενα,
[95] πατάξας καὶ συλλογισάμενος τὸν φιλήδονον κρύπτει
ἐν τῷ σποράδι καὶ συμπεφορημένων' νῷ, δὲς συμ-
φυίς καὶ ἐνώπεσιν τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἐστήρηται.
39 οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἀποκέκρυπται εἰς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ
ἐναντίος τούτῳ φεύγει μὲν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, κατα-
φεύγει δʼ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὄντων θεόν. XIII. διὸ καὶ
φησὶν "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐξο ἐξω καὶ εἶπεν Ἀνά-
βλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον καὶ ἄριθμησον τοὺς
ἀστέρας" (Gen. xv. 5), οὐσ ἐβουλόμεθα μὲν
περιπερεῖν καὶ περιαρθῆσαι ἀπληστοι τῶν ἀρετῆς
ὄντες ἐρώτων, ἀδυνατούμεν δὲ πλοῦτον ᾽ανα-
40 μετρῆσαι θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ ὁμοὶς χάρις τῷ ψυλλοδώρῳ,
ὅτι οὕτω σπέρματα ἐν ψυχῇ βαλέσθαι φησὶ
tηλαυγῇ καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ δὶ οὐλοὶ νοερὰ ὡς τοὺς
ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ. οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται
τῶ "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν" τὸ "ἐξω"; τίς γὰρ
ἐνδον ἐξάγεται; ἀλλὰ μῆποτε δ λέγει τοιοῦτον
ἐστὶν· ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτάτῳ χωρίον,
οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἐκτός, δ ἐνάστατο ὑπ’ ἄλλων περι-
ἐχεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ θαλάμου

1 συμπεφ. from Mangey’s conjecture.

a Cf. Exod. ii. 11.
that the things of the body have the pre-eminence and holds the things of the soul to be naught, and regards pleasures as the end and aim of life. For having noted the toil imposed by the king of Egypt on him who sees God—and the king is wickedness whose lead the passions follow—he sees the Egyptian man, that is, human and perishable passion, beating and outrageously treating the seeing one; and having looked round upon the whole soul in this direction and in that, and seen no one standing, save God who is, but all other things tossing in wild confusion, after smiting and thoroughly reckoning up the lover of pleasure, he hides him in his mind, which is a congeries of disconnected grains, devoid of cohesion and union with the beautiful and noble. So this man has been hidden away in himself. But the man of a character the reverse of his flies indeed from himself but takes refuge in the God of those that are. XIII. And for this reason he says, "He led him forth abroad and said, Look up to heaven and count the stars" (Gen. xv. 5). These we would fain take in in one all-encompassing view, being insatiable in our love of virtue, but we are powerless to take the measure of the riches of God. Yet thanks be to the Lover of Giving, for telling us in this way that He has set for Himself in the soul seeds far-shining, radiant, full charged with meaning, as he has set the stars in heaven. But is not "abroad" a superfluous addition to "led him forth"? For who is ever led forth within? But it may be that this is what he means; He led him forth to outermost space, not just to one of the outside spaces, one that can be encompassed by others. For just as in our houses the women's apartments have the men's
ΦΙΛΟ

ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔστιν ὁ ἀνδρών, ἐντὸς δὲ ὁ αὐλὼν, καὶ ἡ αὐλείας ἐκτὸς μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς, εἰσω δὲ τοῦ πυλώνος, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς δύναται τὸ ἐκτὸς τινὸς ἐντὸς εἶναι [τοῦ] ἐτέρου. οὕτως οὖν ἄκουστέον τοῖς νοῦν εἰς τὸ ἐξῶτατον ἐξήγαγε. τί γὰρ ὃφελος ἦν καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα, καταφυγεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ αἰσθησιν; τί δὲ αἰσθῆσει μὲν ἀποτάξασθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὑποστείλαι τῷ γεγονός; χρή γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα νοῦν ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφίεσθαι πάντων ὑπεκστήναι, σωματικῶν ἀναγκῶν, αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων, λόγων σοφιστικῶν, πιθανοτήτων, τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ ἐαυτῷ.

41 XIV. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις αὐχεῖ λέγων· "κύριος θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεὸς τῆς γῆς, ὅσεν έλαξέ με ἐκ τοῦ οίκου τοῦ πατρὸς μου" (Gen. xxiv. 7). οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν <τὸν> κατακοῦντα ἐν σώματι καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δυνατὸν θεῷ συγγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν <δὲν> ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου θεὸς διαρρύεται.

42 οὐκ έπεκαὶ ἕτερας φυχῆς χαρά Ισαὰκ, ὅταν ἀδολεσχῆ καὶ ιδιάζῃ θεῷ, ἐξέρχεται ἀπολιπὼν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ίδιον νοῦν "ἐξήλθε" γάρ φησιν "Ἰσαὰκ ἀδολεσχήσαι εἰς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸς δείλης" (Gen. xxiv. 63). καὶ Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος φησίν· "ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν," τὴν ψυχὴν—πόλις γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἑβου νόμου διδοῦσα καὶ έθη—"ἐκπετάσω τὰς χείρας" (Exod. ix. 29), καὶ ἀναπετάσω καὶ ἐξαπλώσω πάσας τὰς πράξεις θεῷ μάρτυρα καλῶν καὶ ἑπίσκοπον ἐκάστης, ὅν κακία κρύπ—
quarters outside them and the passage inside them, and the courtyard door is outside the court but inside the gateway, even so, in the case of the soul too, that which is outside one part can be inside another part. We must take what he says in this way; He led forth the mind to the outermost bound. For what advantage would it have been for it to leave the body behind and take refuge in sense-perception? What gain in renouncing sense-perception and taking shelter under the uttered word? For it behoves the mind that would be led forth and let go free to withdraw itself from the influence of everything, the needs of the body, the organs of sense, specious arguments, the plausibilities of rhetoric, last of all itself.

XIV. For this reason he glories elsewhere saying "The Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, who took me out of my father's house" (Gen. xxiv. 7); for it is not possible that he whose abode is in the body and the mortal race should attain to being with God; this is possible only for him whom God rescues out of the prison. For this reason Isaac also, the soul's gladness, when he meditates and is alone with God, goes forth, quitting himself and his own mind; for it says, "Isaac went forth into the plain to meditate as evening was drawing near" (Gen. xxiv. 63). Yes, and Moses, the word of prophecy, says, "When I go forth out of the city," the soul to wit (for this too is the city of the living being giving him laws and customs), "I will spread out my hands" (Exod. ix. 29), and I will spread open and unfold all my doings to God, calling Him to be witness and overseer of each one of them, from whom evil cannot hide itself,
τεσθαι οὐ πέφυκεν, ἐξαπλοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ φανερῶς ὁρᾶσθαι.

44 Ὅταν μέντοι διὰ πάντων ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ λόγων καὶ ἐργῶν ἐξαπλωθῆ καὶ ἐκθειασθῆ, παύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἱ φωναὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀχληροὶ καὶ δυσώνυμοι ἤχοι· φωνεῖ γὰρ καὶ καλεῖ τὸ μὲν ὀρατὸν τὴν ὀρασίν ἐφ’ ἐαυτό, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἁκοήν, ὁ δὲ ἀτμὸς τὴν ὀσφρησιν, καὶ συνόλως τὸ αἰσθητὸν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸ προσκαλεῖται· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα παύεται, όταν ἐξελθοῦσα τὴν ψυχῆς πόλιν ἡ διάνοια θεῶ τὰς ἐαυτῆς πράξεις καὶ διανοήσεις ἀνάλημμα. Χ.Ν. καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν “αἱ χέιρες Μωυσεῖ βαρεῖαι” (Ἐξοδ. ΧV. 12). ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φαύλου πράξεις ἀνεμμαίοι τε καὶ κοῦφαι, γένοντ’ ὅν αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ βαρεῖαι καὶ ἀκίνητοι οὐδ’ εὐσάλευτοι· παρὸ καὶ στηρίζονται ὑπὸ τε Ἀαρών, τοῦ λόγου, καὶ Ὕρ, ὁ ἐστι φῶς· οὐδὲν, δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων φῶς ἐναργέστερον ἡ αἴσθησιν. βούλεται οὐδ’ διὰ συμβόλων σοι παραστῆσαι, ὅτι αἱ τοῦ σοφοῦ πράξεις στηρίζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων λόγου τε καὶ ἀληθείας. διὸ καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅταν τελευτᾷ, τούτεστιν ὅταν τελειωθῇ, εἰς Ὕρ, ὁ ἐστι φῶς, ἀνέρχεται (Num. XX. 25). τὸ γὰρ τέλος, τοῦ λόγου ἀληθεία ἐστὶν ἡ φωτὸς τηλαυγεστέρα, εἰς ἐὰν σπουδαίει ὁ λόγος ἐλθεῖν.

46 Οὐκ ὅρας ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνὴν (Ἐξοδ. xxxiii. 7) λαβὼν, τούτεστι σοφίαν, ἐν ἡ κατασκηνοὶ καὶ ἐνοικεῖ ὁ σοφὸς, ἐπηξε καὶ ἐβεβαιώσατο καὶ κραταῖος ἐγρύσατο, οὐκ ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀλλ’ ἐξω τούτου; παρεμβολὴ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀπεικάζει, στρατοπέδῳ πολέμων καὶ κακῶν ὡς 330
but is forced to remove all disguises and be plainly seen.

When the soul in all utterances and all actions has attained to perfect sincerity and godlikeness, the voices of the senses cease and all those abominable sounds that used to vex it. For the visible calls and summons the sense of sight to itself, and the voice calls the sense of hearing, and the perfume that of smell, and all round the object of sense invites the sense to itself. But all these cease when the mind goes forth from the city of the soul and finds in God the spring and aim of its own doings and intents.\textsuperscript{a} XV. For truly are "the hands of Moses heavy" (Exod. xvii. 12); for inasmuch as the bad man’s doings are light and windy, those of the wise man will be weighty and immovable and not easily shaken. Accordingly they are steadied by Aaron, the Word, and Hor, which is "Light"; and life has no clearer light than truth. The prophet’s aim therefore is to show thee by means of symbols that the doings of the wise man are upheld by the most essential of all things, the Word and Truth. And so, when Aaron dies, that is, when he is made perfect, he goes up into Hor, which is "Light" (Numb. xx. 25); for the end of the Word is Truth, which casts a beam more far-reaching than light. To this it is the earnest endeavour of the Word to attain.

Mark you not, that when he had received from God (Exod. xxxiii. 7) the Tent, namely, wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles and dwells, he fixed and made it fast and strongly established it, not in the body, but outside it? For to represent the body he uses the figure of a camp, the quarters of an army full of wars and all the evils that war

\textsuperscript{a} Exod. ix. 29 is still being handled.
πόλεμος ἐργάζεται πλήρει, μετουσίαν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔχοντι. "καὶ ἐκλήθη ἡ σκηνή μαρτυρίου," σοφία μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ "πᾶς ὁ ξητῶν
κύριον ἔξεπορεύετο," παγκάλως· εἰ γὰρ ξητείς θεόν, ὃ διάνοια, ἐξελθοῦσα ἀπὸ σαυτῆς ἀναζήτει, μένουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὁγκοῖς ἢ ταῖς κατὰ νοῦν οἰ̃̂̃ςεσιν ἄζητήτως ἔχεις τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιμορφάζης ὅτι ξητείς· εἰ δὲ ξητοῦσα εὐρήσεις θεόν, ἄθηλον, πολλοῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἐφανερώσεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀτελή τὴν σπουδὴν ἀχρὶ παντὸς ἔσχον· ἔξαρκεὶ μέντοι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ψιλὸν τὸ ξητεῖν μόνον, ἀεὶ γὰρ αἱ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ ὀρμαί, καὶ τοῦ τέλους ἀτυχώσι, τοὺς
χρωμένους προευφραίνουσιν. οὕτως ὁ μὲν φαύλος ἀρετὴν γε φεύγων καὶ θεόν ἀπο κρυπτὸς ἔπασθεν βοηθὸν καταφεύγει τὸν ἱππίον νουν, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἐμπαλίν εαυτόν ἀποσπασάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους άτυχώσι, τοὺς
πάντων ἀριστον αγώνισμα τοῦτο νικῶν.
ΧΧV. "Καὶ ἔκαλεσε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ποῦ εἶ;" (Gen. iii. 9) διὰ τὸ μόνον καλεῖται ὁ Ἄδαμ, συγκεκριμένης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς; λεκτέον οὖν πρῶτον, ὡς καλεῖται τὸ νοῦς ὅπως ἤν, ὅταν ἐλεγχὸν λαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐπίστασιν τῆς τροπῆς· οὐ μόνον ἄτυχῶν αὐτὸς καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι, ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ νοῦς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν γυμνὸς καὶ οὐδὲ ὃν εὐρίσκεται· μία δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἦ

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*[i.e. 'in the case in which it was.' The sequel describes its case.]*
produces, a place that has no part in peace. "And it was called 'the tent of testimony,'" wisdom testified to by God. Yes, for "everyone that sought the Lord went out to it." Right finely is this said. For if thou art seeking God, O mind, go out from thyself and seek diligently; but if thou remainest amid the heavy encumbrances of the body or the self-conceits with which the understanding is familiar, though thou mayest have the semblance of a seeker, not thine is the quest for the things of God. But whether thou wilt find God when thou seekest is uncertain, for to many He has not manifested Himself, but their zeal has been without success all along. And yet the mere seeking by itself is sufficient to make us partakers of good things, for it always is the case that endeavours after noble things, even if they fail to attain their object, gladden in their very course those who make them. Thus it is that while the bad man, who shuns virtue and hides himself from God, takes refuge in his own mind, a sorry resource, the good man, on the other hand, who runs away from himself, returns to the apprehension of the One, thus winning a noble race and proving victor in this grandest of all contests.

XVI. "And the Lord God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou?'" (Gen. iii. 9). Why is Adam alone called, his wife having hid herself with him? Well, first of all we must say, that the mind is called even there where it was, when it receives reproof and a check is given to its defection. But not only is the mind itself called, but all its faculties as well, for without its faculties the mind by itself is found naked and not even existent; and one of the faculties is sense-perception, the
50 αἰσθησις, ἦτις ἐστὶ γυνή. συγκέκληται οὖν τῷ Ἀδάμ τῷ νῷ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αἰσθησις· ἵδια δ' αὐτὴν οὐ καλεῖ· διὰ τί; οτι ἄλογος οὔσα ἔλεγχον ἐξ ἐαυτῆς λαμβάνειν οὐ δύναται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὀρασις οὔθ' ἢ ἀκοή οὔτε τις τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων διδακτή, ἡ τοῦ δύναται κατάληψιν πραγμάτων ποιήσασθαι· μόνων γὰρ σωμάτων διακριτικήν εἰργάσατο αὐτὴν ὁ ἐργασάμενος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ διδασκόμενος ἐστιν, οὐ χάριν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν αἰσθησιν προκέκληται.

51 XVII. Τὸ δὲ "ποῦ εἰ" πολλαχῶς ἐστιν ἀποδοῦναι· ἀπαξ μὲν οὐ τὸ πευστικὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποφαντικὸν τὸ ἵσον τῷ "ἐν τόπῳ ὑπάρχεις" βαρυτοτονουμένου τοῦ "ποῦ εἰ·" ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὠήθης τὸν θεόν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περιπατεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου περιέχεσθαι, μάθε ὅτι ὁκεῖ εὖ τοῦτο πέπονθας, καὶ ἀκουσον παρὰ τοῦ ἑπισταμένου θεοῦ ῥῆσιν ἀληθεστάτην, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεός οὐχί ποι—οὐ γὰρ περιέχεται ἀλλὰ περιέχει τὸ πᾶν—τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἐν τόπῳ, περιέχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ

52 περιέχειν ἀναγκαῖον. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ἵσον ἐστὶ τούτω· ποῦ γέγονας, ὁ ψυχή; ἀνθ' οἰων ἀγαθῶν οἶα ἤρησαι κακά; καλέσαντός σε τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μετουσίαν ἄρετῆς κακίας μετέρχῃ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἐξύλου, τουτέστι σοφίας τῇ δυνήσης ζῆν, παρασχόντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀμαθίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐνεφερθῆς, κακοδαιμονίας τῶν ψυχῆς θάνατον εὐδαιμονίας τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς προ-

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which is woman. Included then in the call of Adam, the mind, is that of sense-perception, the woman; but God does not call her with a special call; why? because, being irrational, she has no capacity derived from herself to receive reproof. For neither sight nor hearing nor any of the senses is susceptible of instruction, so that it cannot perform the act of apprehending subjects. But He who made sense-perception made it capable of distinguishing between material forms only: but the mind it is that receives instruction, and that is why He challenged it but not sense-perception.

XVII. The words πον ἐστι, "Where art thou?" can be accounted for in many different ways, first as not being interrogative but declarative, as equivalent to "thou art in a place," πον receiving the grave accent. For whereas thou thoughtest that God walked in the garden and was contained by it, learn that there was something amiss with thee in thinking this, and listen to a most true utterance from the mouth of God who knoweth, to the effect that God is not somewhere (for He is not contained but contains the universe), but that which came into being is in a place, for it must of necessity be contained but not contain.

A second account is this: What is said is equivalent to "Where hast thou arrived, O soul?" In the place of how great goods, what evils hast thou chosen for thyself? When God had invited thee to participate in virtue, art thou going after wickedness, and when He had provided for thy enjoyment the tree of life, that is of wisdom, whereby thou shouldst have power to live, didst thou gorge thyself with ignorance and corruption, preferring misery the soul's death to
κρίνασα; τρίτον ἐστὶ τὸ πευστικὸν, πρὸς ὁ δὺὸ γένουτ' ἂν ἀποκρίσεις· μία μὲν πυνθανομένῳ "ποῦ εἶ" ἢ "οὐδαμοῦ," τόπον γὰρ οὐδένα ἔχει ἡ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχή, ὃ ἐπιβήσεται ἢ ἐφ' οὔ ἰδρυθῆσεται, παρὸ καὶ ἀτοπος λέγεται εἶναι ὁ φαύλος—ἀτοπον δὲ ἐστὶ κακὸν ὑσθετὸν—τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ μὴ ἀστείος, σαλεύων καὶ κληνοῦμενος ἂεὶ καὶ πνεύματος τρόπον ἀστάτων διαφερόμενος, βεβαιοῦν τὸ | παράπαν οὐδεμᾶς γνώμης ἔταιρος ὅν· ἐτέρα δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόκρυσις τούτῳ, ἢ κέχρηται καὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ· ποῦ εἰμι ἄκουε· ὅπου οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἱδεῖν ἄδυνατοῦντες, ὅπου οἱ θεοῦ οὐκ ἄκουοντες, ὅπου οἱ τὸ αἶτιον ἀποκρυπτόμενοι, ὅπου οἱ φεύγοντες ἀρετὴν, ὅπου οἱ γυμνοὶ σοφίας, ὅπου οἱ φοβοῦμενοι καὶ πρέμοντες ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ δειλίας ψυχικῆς· οταν γὰρ λέγη "τῆς φωνῆς σου ἠκουσα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ ἐφοβήθην, ὦτι γυμνὸς εἰμι, καὶ ἐκρύβην" (Gen. iii. 10), πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα παρέστησιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προτέροις διὰ μακρο-τέρων λόγων ἀπεδείξαμεν. ΧVIII. καίτοι γυμνῶς οὐκ ἐστὶ νῦν ὁ Ἀδάμ· "ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς περιξώματα" ὄλιγω πρότερον εἰρηται· ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βούλεται σε διδάξαι, ὦτι γυμνότητα οὐ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραλαμβάνει, ἄλλα καθ' ἥν ὁ νοῦς ἄμοιρος καὶ γυμνὸς ἀρετῆς ἀνευρίσκεται.

"Ἡ γυνὴ" φησίν "ἤν ἐδωκας μετ' ἐμοῦ, αὕτη μοι ἐδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ ἐφαγοῦ" (Gen. 336
happiness the real life? Thirdly, there is the interrogative sense, to which two answers might be made. One answer to the question, “Where art thou?” is “Nowhere,” for the soul of the bad man has no place where to find footing or upon which to settle. Owing to this the bad man is said to be “placeless”—“placeless” is used of an evil that defies placing (in any known category). Such is the man that is not good, always restless and unstable, drifting this way and that like a chopping wind, attaching himself absolutely to no fixed principle whatever. A second answer might be given to this effect. Adam in fact gave it. “Hear where I am; where those are who are incapable of seeing God; where those are who do not listen to God; where those are who hide themselves from the Author of all things; where are those that shun virtue, where are the destitute of wisdom, where those are who owing to unmanliness and cowardice of soul live in fear and trembling. For when Adam says, “I heard Thy voice in the garden and was afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself” (Gen. iii. 10), he discovers all the traits just enumerated, as I have fully shown in former sections. XVIII. Nevertheless Adam is not naked now: “they made for themselves girdles” are the words that occur a little further back. Even by this it is the prophet’s wish to teach thee, that he understands by nakedness not that of the body, but that by which the mind is found unprovided and unclothed with virtue.

“The woman,” he says, “whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate” (Gen. iii. 12). It is well his not saying, “the
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iii. 12). εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἢ γυνὴ ἢν ἐδωκας ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ "μετ' ἐμοῦ:" οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἰσθησιν ἐδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφῆκας ἀνετον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, κατὰ τινα τρόπον οὐχ ὑπείκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας ἐπιτάγμασιν· ἐὰν γοῦν βουλήθη ὁ νοῦς προστάξαι τῇ ὁράσει μὴ ἓδειν, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτὴ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὤφηται· καὶ ἡ ἀκοή μὲντοι προσπεσοῦσης φωνῆς ἀντιλήφεται πάντως, κἂν ὁ νοῦς φιλονεικῶν διακελεύηται αὐτῇ μὴ ἀκούειν· καὶ μὴ ἡ γε ὀσφρησις ἀτμῶν χωρη-σάντων εἰς αὐτὴν ὀσφρήσεται, κἂν ὁ νοῦς ἀπ-57

αγορεύῃ μὴ ἀντιλαβέοθαί. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐδωκεν αἰσθησιν τῷ ζώῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ζώου· τὸ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν· ἀπαντα αἰσθησις μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου νοῦ γνωρίζει καὶ ἁμα αὐτῷ· οἷον ἡ ὀράσις ᾧ ἡμα τῷ νῷ ἐπιβάλλει τῷ ὀρατῷ· εἰδέ τε γὰρ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ νοῦς κατέλαβε τὸ ὀραθέν, ὁτὶ μέλαν ἡ λευκὸν ἡ ὕψων ἡ φοινικὸν ἡ τρίγωνον ἡ τετράγωνον ἡ στρογγύλον ἡ τὰ ἀλλα χρώματα τε καὶ σχήματα· καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἀκοή ἐπλήχθη ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ὁ νοῦς· τεκμήριον δέ, ἐκρινεν εὐθὺς τὴν φωνήν, ὅτι λεπτῇ ἡ μέγεθος ἔχουσα ἡ ἐμελῆς καὶ εὐρυθμὸς καὶ πάλιν εἰ ἐκμελῆς τε καὶ οὐκ ἐναρμόνιος· καὶ ταῦτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων εὑρίσκεται. 58 πάνυ δὲ καλὸς καὶ τὸ προσθεῖναι τῷ "αὐτὴ μοι ἐδωκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου"· τὸν γὰρ ξύλινον καὶ αἰσθητὸν ὄγκον τῷ νῷ οὐδεὶς διδόσωι, ὅτι μὴ αἰσθησις· τὸς γὰρ ἐδωκε τῇ διανοίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ σῶμα ἡ τὸ λευκὸν; οὐχ ἡ ὄψις· τὸς δὲ τὴν 338
woman whom Thou gavest to me," but "with me"; for Thou gavest not sense to me as a possession, but it too Thou didst leave free and at large, in some respects not subservient to the behests of my understanding. For instance, should the mind choose to bid the sight not to see, the sight will none the less see what lies before it. The hearing again, when a sound has reached it, will assuredly give it entrance, even if the mind resolutely command it not to hear. And the sense of smell, when odours have found their way in to it, will smell them, even though the mind forbid it to welcome them. Owing to this God did not give sense-perception to the living being, but with the living being. What "giving with" means is this. Sense becomes aware of all things with our mind and simultaneously with it. For instance, the visible object arrests simultaneously the attention of the sight and of the mind; for the eye caught sight of the material substance, and at once the mind took in the thing that had been seen, took in that it was black or white or yellow or red or triangular or square or round, or some other colour or shape. Again the hearing received the impression of the sound and the mind with it: in proof that it did, it immediately judged of the sound, pronouncing it weak or loud, tuneful and rhythmical, and on the other hand whether it is out of tune and a discord. We find the same thing in the case of the other senses. Quite excellent is the addition of the words "she gave me of the tree." For no one, except sense-perception, ever gives to the mind the tree with its sensibly-discerned bulk. For who gave to the mind the possibility of recognizing the body or whiteness? Did
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φωνήν; οὐχ ἢ ἀκοή; τίς ὄε τὸν ἀτμόν; οὐχ ἢ [99] ὀσφρήσεις; τίς ὄε τὸν χυλόν; οὐχ ἢ γεύσις; | τίς ὄε τὸ τραχύ καὶ μαλακόν; οὐχ ἢ ἀφή; ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ πάνυ ἄληθῶς εἰρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτι τάς τῶν σωμάτων ἀντιλήψεις διδωσί μοι μόνη ἡ αἰσθήσεις.

59 XIX. "Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γυναικὶ Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; καὶ εἶπεν 'Ο ὄφις ἡπάτησέ με, καὶ ἔφαγον' (Gen. iii. 13). ἄλλο μὲν πυνθάνεται τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὁ θεὸς, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποκρίνεται: πυνθάνεται μὲν γὰρ τι περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἢ δὲ οὐ περὶ τούτου φησίν, ἀλλὰ τι περὶ ἐαυτῆς, λέγουσα ὅτι ἔφαγον, οὐχ ὅτι ἔδωκα. μήποτ’ οὖν ἀλληγοροῦντες λύσομεν τὸ ἀπορηθέν καὶ δείξομεν τὴν γυναίκα εὐθυβόλως πρὸς τὸ πύσμα ἀποκρυμμένην. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτὴς φαγούσης καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα φαγεῖν: ὅταν γὰρ ἡ αἰσθήσις ἐπιβάλλουσα τῷ αἰσθήτῳ πληρωθῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ φαντασίας, εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ νους συμβέβληκε καὶ ἀντέλαβε τὸν ὑπό τοῦτου τρόπον τινά τροφῆς τῆς ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνον πεπλήρωται. τοῦτ’ οὖ ἐκαίνθε φησίν: ἀκούσα δέδωκα τῷ ἄνδρι: προσβαλούσης γὰρ μου τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ἀδικώντος ὅν αὐτὸς ἐφαντασώθη καὶ ἐτυπώθη. XX. παρατήρει δ’ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνήρ λέγει τὴν γυναίκα δεδωκέναι, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ὀφιν δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡπατηκέναι: ἵδιον γὰρ αἰσθήσεως μὲν τὸ διδόναι, ἵδιον γὰρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ ὀφιώδους τὸ ἀπατάν καὶ παρακρούεσθαι: οἶον τὸ λευκὸν τῇ φύσει καὶ

a Or "Why didst thou do this?"
not sight? Who gave it the sound? Did not the hearing? Who the odour? Did not the sense of smell? Who the savour? Did not the taste? Who the rough and the soft? Did not the touch? Rightly and with perfect truth was it said by the mind, 'sense-perception alone gives me opportunities of apprehending bodies.'

XIX. "And God said to the woman, 'What is this thou hast done?' And she said, 'The serpent beguiled me and I ate'" (Gen. iii. 13). God puts a question to sense-perception touching one point; she gives an answer touching another point: for God asks something about the man; she speaks not about him, but says something about herself, for her words are "I ate," not "I gave." Perhaps, then as we read the passage figuratively, we shall solve the puzzle and show that the woman gives a very pertinent answer to the question put to her. For it is a matter of necessity that when she ate, the man too should eat. For when sense-perception, meeting with the object of sense, is filled with the presentation of it, forthwith the mind also is in contact, takes hold and in a way absorbs the sustenance which it provides. This, then, is what she says: My giving it to the man was by no act of will, for even as I struck upon the object, he (so swift is he to move) received the image and impression of it himself. XX. Now observe that, whereas the man says that the woman gave, the woman says not that the serpent gave but that he beguiled; for to give is characteristic of sense-perception but to cheat and beguile of pleasure with its serpent-like subtility. For instance, sense-perception gives to the mind that which is by its nature white and that which is
τὸ μέλαν καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν δίδωσιν ἡ ἀισθήσεις τῷ νῷ, οὐχὶ ἀπατῶσα ἄλλα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν· τοιαύτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑποκείμενα, οία καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσπίπτουσα φαντασία, κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν μὴ φυσικώτερον φυσιολογοῦντων· ἡ δὲ ἡδωνή οὐχ οἶδ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸ γνωρίζει τῇ διανοϊᾷ, ἀλλ' ἐπιμείδεται τέχνη τὸ ἀλυσιτελὲς εἰς συμφέροντος τάξιν ἐμβιβάζουσα·

62 ὢσπερ καὶ τῶν ἐταιρῶν τὰς εἰδεχθές ἴδειν ἐκεῖ φαρματτούσας καὶ ὑπογραφομένας τὴν ὀψιν, ἵνα τὸ περὶ αὐτὰς αἶσχος ἐπικρύψωσι, καὶ τὸν ἀκρατὴ ἐπὶ τὴν γαστρὸς νενευκότα ἡδωνήν· οὕτος τὸν πολὺν ἀκρατὸν καὶ τῶν σιτίων τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀποδέχεται ὡς ἀγαθὸν, βλαπτόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα

63 καὶ τὴν ψυχήν ἄπ' αὐτῶν· πάλιν τοὺς ἐρώτας ἴδειν ἐστὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ γυναιῶν αἰσχιστῶν ὁφθηναὶ ἐπιμεμηνότας, τῆς ἡδωνῆς ἀπατώσης καὶ μονονοχίας διεξιούσης, ὅτι εὐμορφία καὶ εὐχροϊα καὶ εὐσάρκεια καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἀνάλογα περὶ τὰς πάντα τὰ ἐναντία ὀρθῶς ἐξούσας ἴστι· τὰς γούν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀμέμπτως κεχρημένας κάλλει παρορώσιν, ἐκεῖνων

64 δὲ ὃν εἰπὼν κατατηκόται. πᾶσα οὖν ἀπατὴ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἡδωνή, δόσις δὲ αἰσθῆσι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ σοφίζεται καὶ παράγει τὸν νοῦν, οὐχ ὅποια τὰ ὑποκείμενα ἐστὶ δηλούσα, ἀλλ' ὅποια οὐκ ἕστων, ἡ δὲ αἰσθήσεις ἀκραφνῶς δίδωσι τὰ σώματα σοῦτως, ὡς ἔχει φύσεως ἐκείνα, πλάσματος καὶ τέχνης ἐκτός.

a "I should say the reference is to the philosophers in the succession who held that ἀισθήσεις was true, Empedocles, probably Leucippus, and Epicurus himself, but not (e.g.) Parmenides or Democritus."—CYRIL BAILEY. In this case perhaps φυσικώτερον may be understood in the same sense as

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black, that which is hot and that which is cold, quite truthfully and with no deception. For, in the opinion of most people who do not overdo precision in their natural philosophy, objects are such as the appearance of them which meets the eye. But pleasure does not report the object to the mind such as it is, but artfully falsifies it, representing as something advantageous that which is of no benefit at all: even as it is possible to see repulsive courtesans applying pigments to their faces and painting under their eyes to conceal their ugliness. We can note also the immoderate man inclined to gluttony: this man welcomes as a good thing the abundance of strong drink and the well-spread board, though taking harm from them both in body and soul. Again we may see those who are in love, often quite crazy over women most hideous to behold, while pleasure beguiles them; you might almost say that she assures them of the beauty of form and colouring, the fullness and symmetry, that mark those who are characterized by traits the very reverse of these. Indeed they overlook those endowed with really faultless beauty, and pine for those whom I have mentioned. All kinds of consummate deception, then, are most proper to pleasure, while giving is the characteristic of sense-perception: pleasure outwits and misleads the mind, showing objects not as they are, but as they are not, whereas sense-perception simply gives the material forms just as nature has made them, without trickery or counterfeit.

in De Post. 7 (see note), where φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες are those who can discern the higher truths that underlie nature. Thus the whole phrase (τῶν μὴ φυσικῶτερων φυσιολογοῦντων) means something like “materialistic philosophers.”
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65 XXI. "Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄφει "Οτι ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ τῷ στῆθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ, καὶ γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἱμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου. καὶ ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλῆν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 14, 15). διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταράται τῷ ὄφει, κελεύων ἐν ἔτεροις ὡς εἰκὸς "στῆναι τοὺς δύο, ὅσ ἔστων ἡ ἀντιλογία" (Deut. xix. 17)

66 καὶ μή τῷ ἔτέρῳ προπιστεύειν; καὶ μὴν ὅρᾶς ὅτι τῷ Ὁδάμ οὐ προπεπίστευκε κατὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἄλλα δίδωσιν αὐτῇ εἰς ἀπολογίαν ἀφορμήν, ὅταν πυρθάνηται "τὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησας;" (Gen. iii. 13) ἢ δὲ γε ὁμολογεῖ πταίσαι παρὰ τὴν τῆς ὀφιώδους καὶ ποικίλης ἡδονῆς ἀπάτην. τί οὖν ἐκώλυν, καὶ τῆς γυναικός εἰποῦσα ὅτι ὁ ὦφις ἡπάτησε με, πυθέσθαι τοῦ ὦφεως, εἰ οὕτως ἡπάτησεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκρίτως χωρὶς ἀπολογίας καταράθαι; λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ ἀοίδησις οὐτε τῶν φαύλων οὐτε τῶν σπουδαίων ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ μέσον τι αὐτῆ καὶ κοινὸν σοφοῦ τε καὶ ἄφρονος, καὶ γενομένη μὲν ἐν ἄφρονι γίνεται φαύλη, ἐν ἀστείῳ δὲ σπουδαία. εἰκότως οὖν, ἐπειδὴ φύσιν ἐς ἑαυτῆς μοχθηρὰν ὅνκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζουσα νευεῖ πρὸς ἕκατερα τὸ τε εὗ καὶ χεῖρον, οὐ καταδικάζεται πρὶν ὁμολογῆσαι, ὅτι ἱκολούθησε τῷ χείροιν.

* See App. p. 483.
XXI. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, 'Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth. Upon thy breast $\alpha$ and thy belly shalt thou go, and earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall watch for thy head, and thou shalt watch for his heel'' (Gen. iii. 14 f.). For what reason does He curse the serpent without giving it the opportunity to defend itself, though elsewhere, as seems reasonable, He commands that "the two parties between whom the dispute is should stand forth" (Deut. xix. 17) and that credit be not given to the one till the other be heard? Yet you see, no doubt, that He did not thus give credit to Adam, and prejudge the case against the woman, but gives her opportunity to defend herself, when He inquires "What is this that thou hast done?" (Gen. iii. 13), and she acknowledges that she failed owing to the deception practised on her by subtle serpent-like pleasure. When, then, the woman said "the serpent beguiled me," what was there to prevent His inquiring here too from the serpent, whether he beguiled her, instead of prejudging the case and pronouncing the curse without listening to any defence? We have to say, then, that sense-perception comes under the head neither of bad nor of good things, but is an intermediate thing common to a wise man and a fool, and when it finds itself in a fool it proves bad, when in a sensible man, good. Reasonably then, since it has no evil nature on its own account, but halts between good and evil, inclining to either side, it is not pronounced guilty till it has owned that it
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68 ο δε οφις η ηδονη εξ ουτης εστι μυχθηρα· δια τουτο εν μεν σπουδαιω ουχ ευρισκεται το παραπαν, μονος δ' αυτης ο φαυλος απολαιει· κατα το ουκειον ουν μη διδους απολογιαν αυτη καταραται ο θεος, σπερμα αρετης ουκ εχουση, άλλα αιει και πανταχου επιληπτω και μιαρα καθεστωση.

69 Δια τουτο και τον Ειρ χωρις αιτιας περιφανους πονηρον οιδεν ο θεος (Gen. xxxviii. 7) και αποκτεινει· τον γαρ δερματινον ογκον ημων το σωμα—Ειρ γαρ δερματινον ερμηνευεται—πονηρον τε και επιβουλον της ψυχης ουκ αγνοει και νεκρον και τεθνηκον αιει· μη γαρ άλλο τι νοησης έκαστον ημων ποιειν η νεκροφορειν, | το νεκρον εξ ουτω σωμα εγειρουσης και αμοχθι φερουσης της ψυχης· και την ευτονιαν αυτης, ει βουλει, κατανοησον. ο μεν ερρωμενεστατος αθλητης ουκ αν ισχυσαι τον ουτω προς βραχυν χρονον ανδριαντα κομισαι, η δε ψυχη μεχρις έκατον ανθρωπον ημων άμοχθι φερει κουφως ανδριαντα μη καμνουσα· ου γαρ νυν αυτων απεκτεινεν, άλλ' εξ άρχης νεκρον το σωμα απ-70 ειργασατο. πονηρον δε φυσει μεν, ως ειπον, έστι και ψυχης επιβουλον, ου φαινεται δε πασιν, άλλα μονω τω θεω και ει τως θεως φιλος· "εναντιον" γαρ φησι "κυριου πονηρος Ειρ." οταν γαρ ο νος μετεωροπολη και τα των κυριου μυστηρια μυηται, πονηρον και δυσμενης κρινει το σωμα· οταν δε άποστη της των θεων ερευνης, φιλον 346
followed evil. But the serpent, pleasure, is bad of itself; and therefore it is not found at all in a good man, the bad man getting all the harm of it by himself. Quite appropriately therefore does God pronounce the curse without giving pleasure an opportunity of defending herself, since she has in her no seed from which virtue might spring, but is always and everywhere guilty and foul.

XXII. For this reason in the case of Er also God knows him to be wicked and puts him to death without bringing an open charge against him (Gen. xxxviii. 7). For He is well aware that the body, our "leathern" bulk ("leathern" is the meaning of "Er"), is wicked and a plotter against the soul, and is even a corpse and a dead thing. For you must make up your mind that we are each of us nothing but corpse-bearers, the soul raising up and carrying without toil the body which of itself is a corpse. And note, if you will, how strong the soul is. The most muscular athlete would not have strength to carry his own statue for a short time, but the soul, sometimes for as long as a hundred years, easily carries the statue of the human being without getting tired; for it is not now (at the last) that God slays Er; nay, but the body which He made and which Er represents was a corpse to begin with. By nature, as I have said, it is wicked and a plotter against the soul, but it is not evident to all that it is so, but to God alone and to anyone who is dear to God; for we read "Er was wicked in the sight of the Lord." For when the mind soars aloft and is being initiated in the mysteries of the Lord, it judges the body to be wicked and hostile; but when it has abandoned the investigation of things
αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενέσ καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἰγεῖται, κατα- 72 φεύγει γούν ἐπὶ τὰ φίλα τούτῳ. διὰ τούτῳ ἀθλητοῦ ψυχῆ καὶ φιλοσόφου διαφέρει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητὴς πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν ἀναφέρει καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς πρόοι ἀν υπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἄτε φιλοσώματος ὑπάρχων, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ἔραστὴς ὅν τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ ζώντος ἐν ἐαυτῷ κήδεται ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ νεκροῦ ὄντως σώματος ἀλογεὶ μόνον στοχαζόμενος, ἦν μὴ ὑπὸ κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου πλημμελήται τὸ ἀριστον ἢ 73 ψυχῆ. XXIII. ὁρᾶς ὅτι τὸν Ἔιρ ἀποκτείνει οὐχ ὁ κύριος, ἀλλ' ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ, καθὸ ἄρχει καὶ ἠγεμονεύει δυναστεία κράτους αὐτεξουσίω χρώ- μενος, ἀναφεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καθὸ ἀγαθότητι καὶ χρηστότητι χρήται—ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ἀγαθότητος ἐστὶ τοῦ αἰτίου ὅνομα—ὑνα εἰδής ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀψυχὰ οὐκ ἐξουσίᾳ πεποίηκεν ἀλλ’ ἀγαθότητι, ἦ καὶ τὰ ἐμψυχα· ἐδει γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν βελτιώνων δήλωσιν γένεσιν ὑποστήναι καὶ τῶν χειρόνων ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ αἰτίου,
74 ἦτις ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. πότε οὖν, ὁ ψυχὴ, μάλιστα νεκροφορεῖν σαυτὴν ὑπολήψῃ; ἄρα γε οὐχ ὅταν τελεωθῆσα καὶ βραβεῖν καὶ στεφάνων ἄξιω- θῆς; ἐσὴ γὰρ τὸτε φιλόθεος, οὐ φιλοσώματος. τεύξῃ δὲ τῶν ἄθλων, εὰν γυνὴ σοι γένηται ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδα νύμφη Θάμαρ, ἦτις ἐρμηνεύεται
divine, it deems it friendly to itself, its kinsman and brother. The proof of this is that it takes refuge in what is dear to the body. On this account there is a difference between the soul of an athlete and the soul of a philosopher. For the athlete refers everything to the well-being of the body, and, lover of the body that he is, would sacrifice the soul itself on its behalf; but the philosopher being enamoured of the noble thing that lives in himself, cares for the soul, and pays no regard to that which is really a corpse, the body, concerned only that the best part of him, his soul, may not be hurt by an evil thing, a very corpse, tied to it. XXIII. You see that Er is slain not by the Lord, but by God. For it is not as Ruler and Governor employing the absolute power of sovereignty that He destroys the body, but in the exercise of goodness and kindness. For "God" is the name of the goodness pertaining to the First Cause, and is so used that thou mayest know that He hath made the inanimate things also not by exercising authority but goodness, even as by goodness He hath made the living creatures. For it was necessary with a view to the clear manifestation of the superior beings that there should be in existence an inferior creation also, due to the same power, even the goodness of the First Cause. And that goodness is God.

When, then, O soul, wilt thou in fullest measure realize thyself to be a corpse-bearer? Will it not be when thou art perfected, and accounted worthy of prizes and crowns? For then shalt thou be no lover of the body, but a lover of God. And thou shalt win the rewards if Judah's daughter-in-law become thy wife, even Tamar, which means a palm-tree, the sign of
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φοίνιξ, σύμβολον νίκης· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅταν αὐτὴν ἀγάγηται ὁ Εἰρ, εὐθὺς πονηρός τε εὐρίσκεται καὶ κτείνεται· λέγει γάρ· "καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰούδας γυναῖκα Εἰρ τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ αὐτοῦ, ἥ ὀνομα Θάμαρ" (Gen. xxxviii. 6), καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιλέγει· "καὶ ἐγένετο Εἰρ πονηρὸς ἐναντίον κυρίου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς" (ib. 7). ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἀρετῆς ἀπενέγκηται νυκτήρια, θάνατον καταψηφίζεται τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος. ὁρᾶς ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὄφιν ἀνεύ ἀπολογίας καταράται, ἢδονὴ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τὸν Εἰρ χωρὶς αἰτίας περιφανοῦς [102] ἀποκτείνει· ἐστὶ γὰρ σῶμα. καὶ σκοπῶν, ὁ γενναῖε, εὐρήσεις τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκότα φύσεις ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ἐπιλήπτους τε καὶ ὑπαιτίους ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐν πάσι σπουδαίας καὶ ἐπαινετάς, ὅσπερ ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζώων. οὐχ ὁρᾶς ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ μὲν ἡμέρα καὶ ἀφέλμα καὶ σωτηρία κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δημιουργός, τὰ δὲ ἁγρια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ νόσων καὶ φθορᾶς αἰτία, καὶ ζώα ὀμοίως; καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ὄφιν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, φθοροποιοῦν γὰρ τὸ ζῷον καὶ ἀναιρετικῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὴ διατίθησιν ἀνθρωπόν ὀφίς, τοῦτο καὶ ψυχὴν ἢδονή, παρὸ καὶ ἀπεικάσθη ὦφις ἢδονή.

76 XXIV. "Ωσπερ οὖν ἢδονήν καὶ σῶμα ἀνεύ μεμίσηκεν αἰτίων ὁ θεός, οὕτω καὶ φύσεις ἀστείας χωρὶς περιφανοῦς αἰτίας προαγήσχεν, ἐργὸν οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτῶν ὀμολογήσας. εἰ γάρ τις ἐροτοῦ, διὰ τὸ φησὶ τὸν Νῶε χάριν εὐρεῖν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen. vi. 8) μὴ δὲν πρότερον ἐργασάμενον, ὡσα γε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἀστείον, ἀποκρινούμεθα δεόντως ὅτι

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victory. Here is a proof of it. When Er has married her, he is immediately found to be wicked and slain. For we read, "And Judah took for Er his firstborn a wife whose name was Tamar" (Gen. xxxviii. 6), and the next words are, "And Er was wicked before the Lord, and God slew him" (ibid. 7). For when the mind has carried off the rewards of victory, it condemns the corpse-body to death. Thou seest that God both curses the serpent without allowing him to defend himself—for he is pleasure—and slays Er without bringing an open charge against him; for he is the body. And if thou wilt consider, my friend, thou wilt find that God has made in the soul some natures faulty and blameworthy of themselves, and others in all respects excellent and praiseworthy, just as is the case with plants and animals. Seest thou not that among the plants the Creator has made some repaying cultivation and useful and wholesome, and others wild and injurious and productive of disease and destruction, and the same with animals? As, doubtless, He has made the serpent, our present subject, for the creature is of itself destructive of health and life. What a serpent does to a man, that pleasure does to the soul, and therefore the serpent was taken to represent pleasure.

XXIV. Exactly, then, as God has conceived a hatred for pleasure and the body without giving reasons, so too has he promoted goodly natures apart from any manifest reason, pronouncing no action of theirs acceptable before bestowing his praises upon them. For should anyone ask why the prophet says that Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord God (Gen. vi. 8) when as yet he had, so far as our knowledge goes, done no fair deed, we shall give a suitable
Επαινετής ἐλέγχεται συστάσεως καὶ γενέσεως, ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Νωε ἀνάπαυσις ή δίκαιος· ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν πανόμενον ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀναπαυόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ καὶ δικαιοσύνης συζώντα, χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. 78 τὸ δὲ χάριν εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἔστι μόνον, ὡς νομίζουσί τινες, ἵσον τῷ εὐαρεστήσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιούτου· ξητῶν ὁ δίκαιος τὴν τῶν ὀντῶν φύσιν ἐν τούτῳ εὐρίσκει ἀριστον εὐρήμα, χάριν ὀντα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα, γενέσεως δὲ οὐδὲν χάρισμα, ὅτι γε οὐδὲ κτήμα, θεοῦ δὲ κτήμα τὰ πάντα, διὸ καὶ μόνον τὴν χάριν οἰκεῖον· τοῖς γοῦν ξητοῦσι, τὶς ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὀρθῶτα ἂν τις ἀποκρίνοιτο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἤν ἐχαρίσατο τὸν κόσμον, γενέσεως δὲ οὐδὲν χάρισμα, ὅτι γε οὐδὲ κτήμα, θεοῦ δέ κτήμα τὰ πάντα· διὸ καὶ μόνον τὴν χάριν οἰκεῖον· τοῖς γοῦν ξητοῦσι, τίς ἀρχὴ γενέσεως, ὀρθῶτα ἂν τις ἀποκρίνοιτο, ὅτι ἀγαθότης καὶ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἤν ἐχαρίσατο τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ χάρισμα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὁσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ. 79 XXV. Καὶ Μελχισεδέκ βασιλέα τῆς εἰρήνης —Σαλήμ τοῦτο ερμηνεύεται—<καὶ> ἱερεία [103] εἰσαργοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ θεός (Gen. xiv. 18), ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ προδιατυπώσας, ἀλλα τοιούτων ἐργασάμενος βασιλέα καὶ εἰρηναίον καὶ ἱερωσύνης άξιον τῆς εἰσαργοῦ πρώτου καλεῖται γὰρ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐχθρόν τυράννω, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νόμων, ὁ δὲ ἀνομίας ἔστιν εἰσηγητής. ὁ μὲν οὖν τυράννως νοῦς ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττει τῇ τῷ καὶ τῷ σώματι βίαια καὶ βλαβερὰ καὶ σφοδρὰς λύπας ἐργαζόμενα, τὰς κατὰ κακίαν λέγω πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν ἀπολαύσεις· ὁ δὲ [δεύτερος] βασιλεὺς πρώτων μὲν [οὖν] οὐκ ἐπιτάττει μᾶλλον.
answer to the effect that he is shown to be of an excellent nature from his birth, for Noah means "rest" or "righteous." But it cannot but be that he who rests from sinful and unrighteous acts and rests upon what is noble and lives in fellowship with righteousness, should find favour with God. Now finding favour is not as some suppose equivalent only to being well-pleasing, but something of this kind besides. The righteous man exploring the nature of existences makes a surprising find, in this one discovery, that all things are a grace of God, and that creation has no gift of grace to bestow, for neither has it any possession, since all things are God's possession, and for this reason grace too belongs to Him alone as a thing that is His very own. Thus to those who ask what the origin of creation is the right answer would be, that it is the goodness and grace of God, which He bestowed on the race that stands next after Him. For all things in the world and the world itself is a free gift and act of kindness and grace on God's part.

XXV. Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of "Salem," and His own priest (Gen. xiv. 18). He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a "king" is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness. So mind, the despot, decrees for both soul and body harsh and hurtful decrees working grievous woes, conduct, I mean, such as wickedness prompts, and free indulgence of the passions. But the king in the first place resorts to persuasion rather
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η πείθει, ἐπειτα τοιαῦτα παραγελλεὶ, δι’ ὅν ὡσπερ σκάφος τὸ ξώον εὐπλοῖα τῇ τοῦ βίου χρήσεται κυβερνώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ [καὶ τεγνίτου] κυβερνήτου, οὗτος δὲ ἔστω ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος. καλείσθω οὖν ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἁρχῶν πολέμου, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἡγεμόνων εἰρήνης, Σαλήμ, καὶ προσφερέτω τῇ ψυχῆ τροφᾶς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς πλήρεις· ἀρτοὺς γάρ καὶ οἶνον προσφέρει, ἀπέρ Ἄμμανίται καὶ Μωαβῖται τῷ βλέποντι παρασχεῖν οὐκ ἡθέλησαν, οἳ χάριν ἐκκλησίας εἰργοῦνται καὶ συλλόγου θείου. Ἄμμανίται γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αἰσθήσεως καὶ Μωαβῖται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς νοὸς νύμφες δύο ταῦτα τῶν ὄντων συνεκτικὰ νομίζοντες νοῦν καὶ αἰσθησιν, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἐννοιαν, “οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται” φησὶ Μωυσῆς “<εἰς ἐκκλησίαν> κυρίου, . . . παρὰ τὸ μὴ συναντήσαι αὐτούς ἡμῖν μετ’ ἀρτῶν καὶ ὦδατος” (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4) ἐξιούσιν 82 ἐκ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου. XXVI. ἀλλ’, ὁ μὲν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀντὶ ὦδατος οἶνον προσφερέτω καὶ ποτιζέτω καὶ ἀκρατιζέτω ψυχᾶς· οὐχι γενόνται θεία μέθη νηφαλεωτέρα νήφας αὐτῆς· ἱερεὺς γάρ ἔστι λόγος κλήρων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὄντα καὶ ψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς λογιζόμενος· τοῦ γὰρ ψιθύστου ἐστὶν ἱερεύς (Gen. xiv. 18), οὐχὶ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερόγκως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς λογιζόμενος· τοῦ γὰρ ψιθύστου ἐστὶν ἱερεύς (Gen. xiv. 18), οὐχὶ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπι τῆς γῆς κάτω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ” (Deut. iv. 39) —, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ταπεινῶς καὶ χαμαιζήλως ὑπερμεγέθως δὲ καὶ ὑπεραύλως καὶ ψηλῶς νοεῖν περὶ θεοῦ ἔμφασιν τοῦ ψιθύστου κινεῖ. 83 XXVII. Τί δὲ εἰργάσατο ἡδὴ καλὸν ὁ ’Αβράμ, 354
than decrees, and in the next place issues directions such as to enable a vessel, the living being I mean, to make life's voyage successfully, piloted by the good pilot, who is right principle. Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince, of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness; for he brings bread and wine, things which Ammonites and Moabites refused to supply to the seeing one, on which account they are excluded from the divine congregation and assembly. These characters, Ammonites deriving their nature from sense-perception their mother, and Moabites deriving theirs from mind their father, who hold that all things owe their coherence to these two things, mind and sense-perception, and take no thought of God, "shall not enter," saith Moses, "into the congregation of the Lord, because they did not meet us with bread and water" (Deut. xxiii. 3 f.) when we came out from the passions of Egypt. XXVI. But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest, even Reason, having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime: for he is priest of the Most High (Gen. xiv. 18), not that there is any other not Most High—for God being One "is in heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him" (Deut. iv. 39)—but to conceive of God not in low earthbound ways but in lofty terms, such as transcend all other greatness and all else that is free from matter, calls up in us a picture of the Most High.

XXVII. What good thing had Abram already done,
ὁτι κελεύει αυτῷ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης ἕρευναι καὶ γῆν οἶκεῖν, ἣν ἄν αὐτὸς δῷ ὁ θεὸς (Gen. xii. 1); πόλις δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὴ καὶ πολλὴ καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, τὰ γὰρ δώρα τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλα καὶ τίμια. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τῶν τρόπων ἐγέννησε τῦτον ἔχοντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον.

84 δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὅνομάτων ἐπιστατέας. ο γὰρ νοῦς, ὅταν μὴ δεσπότου τρόπον ἀπειλή τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ὃς πατήρ ἄρχῃ, μὴ τὰ ὕδεα χαριζόμενοι αὐτῇ, τὰ δὲ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀκοῦσθη δίδοις, καὶ ἐπίπεπα τῶν ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀγώντων ἐπὶ τὰ θυντά ἀποστάς μεταφρασθῆ καὶ συνδιατρίβη θεωρῆσαι τοὺς περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑτί μᾶλλον ἐπαινῶν ἔρευνα τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τοῦτον φύσιν δι' ἔρωτα ἐπιστήμης ἀλεκτον, μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δογμάτων οὐ δύναται, ἀλλὰ μετοικιῶν ἤτει βελτιώμενοι ἀμείνω.

85 XXVIII. 'Ενίους δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως καλῶς διαπλάττει καὶ διατίθεται καὶ κλήρων ἐχειν ἀριστον προήρηται. οὐχ ὅρας, τὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ φησι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ οὐκ ἔλησαντο, ὅτι γενήσεται τοιοῦτον γενήματος πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελάσαντο ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποσχέσει καὶ εἴποντι "Εἰ τῷ ἑκατοντατετεῖ γενήσεται, καὶ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἑτῶν οὕσα τέξεται;" (Gen. xviii. 17) καταφάσκει καὶ εἰπεῖνέυει λέγων "Ναὶ, ίδον Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου τέξεται σοι νῦν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς αὐτὸν

* The favourable interpretation of "Abram" given here should be compared with those given in De Cherubim 4, and De Gigantibus 62. Cf. De Mutatione Nominum 66.

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that he bids him estrange himself from fatherland and kindred there and dwell in whatever land God Himself may give him? (Gen. xii. 1). And that is a city good and large and very prosperous, for great and precious are God's gifts. But this character also did God create in such a shape as to merit esteem, for "Abram" means "father high-soaring," and both epithets are grounds for praise. For when the mind does not, like a master, frighten the soul with threats, but governs it as a father, not granting it the things that are pleasant to it, but giving it even against its will the things that are good for it; when, in all matters turning away from what is base and from all that draws it to things mortal, it soars aloft and spends its time in contemplation of the universe and its different parts; when, mounting yet higher, it explores the Deity and His nature, urged by an ineffable love of knowledge; it cannot continue to entertain the principles it imbibed originally, but in its desire to improve itself seeks to change its abode for a better one.

XXVIII. Some even before their birth God endows with a goodly form and equipment, and has determined that they shall have a most excellent portion. Dost thou not see what He says concerning Isaac to Abraham when unable to trust that he shall ever become the father of such an offspring, nay when he actually laughed at the promise and said, "Shall it come to pass to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear a child?" (Gen. xvii. 17). He ratifies and confirms it saying, "Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My covenant with Him for an everlasting
86 εἰς διαθήκην αἰώνιον" (ib. 19). τί οὖν ἐστι τὸ καὶ τοῦτον πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἑπανείσθαι πεποιηκός; ἐνὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν γενόμενα καὶ παρόντα ὕφελεῖ, οἰον ὑγίεια, εὐαυθαυθησία, πλοῦτος εἰ τύχοι, δόξα—λεγέσθω γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καταχρηστικῶτερον ἁγαθά—ἐνὶ δ' οὖ γενόμενα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ θεσπισθέντα ὑπὶ γενήσεται, ὥσπερ ἡ χαρά—εὐπάθεια ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἣδε—[γὰρ] οὐχ ὅταν παροῦσα δραστηρίως ἑνεργὴ μόνον εὐφραίνει, ἄλλα καὶ ὅταν ἐλπίζηται προγανοῦ. ἐξαίρετου γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐχει· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἁγαθὰ ἰδίᾳ ἑνεργεῖ, ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἰδιον καὶ κοινὸν ἁγαθὸν ἐστὶν· ἐπιγίνεται γοῦν ἄπασι, χαίρομεν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ υγεία καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε κυρίως εἰπεῖν μηδὲν εἰναι ἁγαθὸν, ὃ μὴ πρόσεστι χαρά. ἄλλ' οὖ μόνον ἐπὶ προγεγενημένοις ἦδη τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁγαθοῖς καὶ παροῦσι χαϊρομεν, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ μέλλουσι καὶ προσδοκομένοις, οἰον ὅτε ἐλπίζομεν πλουτήσειν ἢ ἄρξειν ἢ ἑπανεθήσεσθαι ἢ νόσων ἀπαλλαγῆν εὐρήσεσθαι ἢ εὐτονίας καὶ ῥώμης κοινωνήσειν ἢ ἐπιστήμονες ἀντ᾽ ἀνεπιστημόνων ἐσεσθαι, γεγήθαμεν οὐ μετρίως. ἐπειδῆ τοῖνυν ἡ χαρὰ οὐ παροῦσα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐλπιζομένη ἀναχεί τε καὶ εὐφραίνει τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰκὸς τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐνόματος τε καὶ δωρεάς μεγάλης ἦξώσε. γέλως γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη διερμηνεύεται οὕτος.
covenant” (ibid. 19). What is it, then, that has made this one too to be praised before his birth? Some good things benefit us when they have reached us and are present, as health, excellence of bodily senses, wealth perhaps, fame—for even these may be loosely called “good things”;—some again not only when they have come, but when their coming has been foretold. For instance joy, a happy condition of the soul, gladdens not only when it is present and in active operation, but, when still an object of hope, brings an anticipatory brightness. For here again is a peculiar advantage which it possesses. While other good things take effect in virtue of their own particular goodness only, joy is both a particular and a general good. See how it comes to add to and enrich them all. We rejoice over health, and over liberty, and over honour, and over the other good things, so that we say with literal truth that nothing is good unless joy be attached to it. But we rejoice over the other good things not only when they have already come about beforehand and are present, but also when they are looked for in the future, as when we hope that we shall grow rich, or shall obtain office, or shall win praise, or shall discover a way of getting rid of disease, or shall obtain our share of health and strength, or shall be no longer ignorant, but men of knowledge, we are glad in no small measure. Seeing then, that joy, not only when present but when hoped for, causes the soul to overflow with gladness, God fitly held Isaac, even before he was begotten, worthy of his great name and therein of a vast endowment: for “Isaac” means laughter of soul and joy and gladness,
88 PHIL. XXIX. Πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ἰακώβ καὶ τῶν Ἡσαί τῶν μὲν ἀρχοντα καὶ ἱγμένον καὶ δεσπότην τῶν δὲ Ἡσαί υπήκοον καὶ | δοῦλον ἐτὶ κατὰ γαστρὸς οὖν τι φησίν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ ζωοπλάστης θεὸς ἐπίσταται τὰ ἐαυτοῦ καλῶς δημιουργήματα καὶ πρὶν αυτὰ εἰς ἀκρον διατορεύσαι, τάς τε δυνάμεις, αἰς αὐθεντικοὶ, καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἐργά τούτων καὶ πάθη. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ πορεύεται ἡ ὑπομονητικὴ ψυχή Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρά θεοῦ, ἀποκρίνεται αὐτῇ, ὅτι "δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου ἔστιν, καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας σου διασταλῆσονται, καὶ λαὸς λαοῦ ὑπερέξη, καὶ ὁ μεῖζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονον." (Gen. xxv. 23). φύσει γὰρ δοῦλον παρὰ θεῶ τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, ἥγεμονικὸν δὲ καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ ἀστεῖον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἀμείνον, καὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἦδη γένηται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τέλειου εἰκάτερον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐνδοιάζηται ὅλως γὰρ καὶ μικρὰ τις ἄνα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱγμένον, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν μόνον, ἐμφαίνει, καὶ ἐμπαλὶν ἡ τυχοῦσα κακίας γένεσις δουλοῖ τὸν λογισμόν, κὰν μήπω τέλειον αὐτῆς ἐκφοιτήση τὸ γέννημα.

89 XXX. Τι δὲ παθὼν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ δύο νιόυς προσαγαγόντος τὸν πρεσβύτερον Μανασσῆν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἑφραίμ, ἐναλλάττει τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθησι τῶ νεωτέροι Ἑφραίμ, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον τῷ πρεσβύτερῳ Μανασσῆ, καὶ βαρὺ τὸ πράγμα ἠγγαμα-μένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἰηθέντος τὸν πατέρα ἀκοντα σφαλήναι περὶ τῆν τῶν χειρῶν ἐπίθεσιν, φησὶν· οὐ διήματον, ἀλλ' "οἶδα, τέκνο, οἶδα, καὶ οὗτος ἐστιν εἰς λαὸν καὶ οὗτος ὑψωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ

"The words "and better" are perhaps an intrusion."
XXIX. Once again, of Jacob and Esau, when still in the womb, God declares that the one is a ruler and leader and master, but that Esau is a subject and a slave. For God the Maker of living beings knoweth well the different pieces of his own handiwork, even before He has thoroughly chiselled and consummated them, and the faculties which they are to display at a later time, in a word their deeds and experiences. And so when Rebecca, the soul that waits on God, goes to inquire of God, He tells her in reply, “Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy belly, and one people shall be above the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger” (Gen. xxv. 23). For in God’s judgement that which is base and irrational is by nature a slave, but that which is of fine character and endowed with reason and better is princely and free. And this not only when either is full-grown in soul, but even if their development is still uncertain. For it is universally the case that even a slight breath of virtue is an evidence not of liberty merely but of leadership and sovereignty, and on the other hand that the most casual beginning of wickedness enslaves the reasoning faculty, even if its offspring have not yet come forth fully developed.

XXX. What led this same Jacob, when Joseph brought to him his two sons, the elder Manasseh and the younger Ephraim, to cross his hands and place his right hand on Ephraim the younger son and his left hand on Manasseh the elder; and when Joseph was distressed by it and imagined that his father had made an unintentional mistake in so placing his hands, to say it was no error, but “I know, my child, I know, this one too shall be a people,
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώτερος μείζων αὐτοῦ ἔσται” 91 (Gen. xlviii. 19). τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν ἡ τούτο, ὅτι
dύο φύσεις ἐδημιουργήθησαν ἐν ψυχῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ
σφόδρα ἀναγκαία, μνήμη τε καὶ ἀνάμνησις;
ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ μνήμη, χειρὼν δὲ ἡ ἀνάμνησις· ἡ
μὲν γὰρ ἐναύλους ἔχει καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὰς κατα-
lήψεις, ὃς μηδὲν ἁγνοῖς διαμαρτέτειν, ἀναμνήσεως
dὲ λήθη πάντως προηγεῖται, πηρὸν καὶ τυφλὸν
92 πράγμα. πρεσβύτερον δὲ τὸ χείρον ἢ ἀνάμνησις
eὐφρίσκεται μνήμης τοῦ κρείττονος· * * * συνεχὲς
cαὶ ἀδιάστατον· οἱ γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέχνας
εἰσαγόμενοι περικρατήσαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς θεωρη-
mάτων ἀδυνατοῦμεν εὐθὺς· λήθη οὖν κατ’ ἀρχὰς
χρώμενοι πάλιν ἀναμμηνησκόμεθα, ἐώς ἐκ τοῦ
πολλάκις μὲν ἐκλαθέσθαι πολλάκις δὲ ἀναμνησθῆναι
βέβαιος αὕτως μνήμη κρατήσει, παρὸ καὶ νεωτέρα
—ὁψίγονος γὰρ ἐστὶ—συνίσταται τῆς ἀναμνήσεως.
93 συμβολικῶς οὖν ὁ μὲν Ἐφραῖμ λέγεται μνήμη,
καρποφορία γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται, τῆς τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς
ψυχῆς τὸν οἴκειον <καρπὸν> ἐνηνοχυίας, ὅποτε | [106] διὰ μνήμης ἐξορ βεβαιοῦν τὰ θεωρήματα. ὁ δὲ
Μανασσῆς ἀνάμνησις, μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ “ἐκ λήθης”
eἶναι λέγεται, ὁ δὲ λήθην ἐκφεύγων ἀναμμηνήσκε-
tαι πάντως. ὁρθότατα οὖν ὁ πτερνιστὴς τῶν
παθῶν καὶ ἁσκητὴς ἁρετής Ἰακὼβ δεξιοῦτα τὴν
carpofoiron mnêmhn 'Efraithm, deuterereîow dé axioi
thn anamnêsw Mnassthn.

1 μηδὲν conj. Wendland.
this one too shall be exalted, but his younger brother shall be greater than he” (Gen. xlviii. 19). What, then, does it behove us to say but this, that two exceedingly necessary faculties were created in the soul by God, memory, and recollection? Of these memory is the better, recollection the inferior. For while the former keeps everything that it has apprehended fresh and distinct, so as to go wrong in nothing owing to ignorance, recollection is in all cases preceded by forgetfulness, a maimed and blind affair. But the inferior of these, recollection, is discovered to be older than the superior one, memory: [while recollection has many gaps of forgetfulness, memory is] unbroken and uninterrupted. For when we are being first introduced to the various arts we are unable at once to master their principles; so finding ourselves liable to forgetfulness at the outset, we afterwards recollect, until as the result of repeated forgetting and repeated recollecting an unfailing memory shall subsequently win the day. Accordingly memory, being late-born, is formed as recollection's younger sister. So then Ephraim is the figurative name of Memory, meaning “fruit-bearing,” for the soul of the student has borne its proper fruit when it is able by means of memory to hold securely the principles of the art that is being learned. Manasseh, however, represents recollection, for the name is said to mean “out of forgetfulness” when translated, and he who escapes from forgetfulness necessarily recollects. Most rightly, therefore, does Jacob, the over thrower of the passions and the trained seeker of virtue, lay his right hand on Ephraim as fruitful memory, and count Manasseh, who is recollection, worthy of the second place.
PHILO

94 Καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῶν θυόντων τὸ Φασέκ τοὺς μὲν <τὸ> πρότερον θύσαντας μάλιστα ἐπανεῖ, ὅτι διαβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτου ἐπέμειναν τῇ διαβάσει καὶ οὐχ ὄρμησαν ἔτι ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον δευτερεῖων ἀξιοὶ (Num. ix. 6 ff.), τραπέντες γὰρ ἀνέδραμον τῇ τροπῇ καὶ ὁσπερ ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν πρακτέων πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ὄρμησαν αὐτά, οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ἀτρεπτοὶ διετέλεσαν. ἐνικεὶ οὖν τοὺς μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Πάσχα θύουσιν ὁ ἐκ λήθης Μανασσῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὸ πρότερον ὁ καρποφόρος Ἑφραῖμ.

95 XXXI. "Οθέν καὶ Βεσελεήλ ἀνακαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ φησιν αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι σοφίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, καὶ δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονα πάντων τῶν τῆς σκηνῆς, τούτους τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐργῶν, ἀποδείξειν (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), μηδὲν ἐργον, ὁ κἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις, προὔποδειξας αὐτοῦ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ψυχῇ ἐντετύπωκεν ὁ θεὸς νομίσματος δοκίμου τρόπον. τίς οὖν ἔστων ὁ χαρακτήρ εἰσόμεθα, ἐὰν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν πρότερον τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀκριβώσωμεν. ἐρμηνεύεται οὖν Βεσελεήλ ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ· σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ὃ καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει. αὐτὴ δὲ η σκιὰ καὶ τὸ ὄσανει ἀπεικόνισμα ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον· ὁσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παρά-

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a i.e., "in the first month."

b i.e., "in the second month."

c In Numb. ix. 6 ff. Philo interprets ἀκάθαρτος of moral, 364
Moses also, to take another case, awards special praise among the sacrificers of the Passover to those who sacrificed the first time, because when they had separated themselves from the passions of Egypt by crossing the Red Sea they kept to that crossing and no more hankered after them, but to those who sacrificed the second time he assigns the second place, for after turning they retraced the wrong steps they had taken and as though they had forgotten their duties they set out again to perform them, while the earlier sacrificers held on without turning. So Manasseh, who comes "out of forgetfulness," corresponds to those who offer the second Passover, the fruit-bearing Ephraim to those who offer the earlier one.

XXXI. This, moreover, is the reason of God's proclaiming Bezalel by name, and saying that He has given him wisdom and knowledge, and that He will appoint him artificer and chief craftsman of all the works of the Tabernacle, that is of the soul (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.), though He has so far pointed to no work or deed of Bezalel's, such as to win him even commendation. We must say, then, that here too we have a form which God has stamped on the soul as on the tested coin. What, then, the image impressed on it is we shall know if we first ascertain accurately the meaning of the name. Bezalel means, then, "in the shadow of God"; but God's shadow is His Word, which he made use of like an instrument, and so made the world. But this shadow, and what we may describe as the representation, is the archetype for further creations. For just as God is the not ceremonial, uncleanness, as excluding from the keeping of the Passover in the first month.
δείγμα τῆς εικόνος, ἢν σκιάν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἡ εἰκών ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ωσ καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών· “καὶ ἐποίησεν ο θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ” (Gen. i. 27), ως τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου | κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.

97 XXXII. Τίς οὖν ὁ ἐπιγινόμενος χαρακτήρ, θεασώμεθα. ἔζητησαν οἱ πρῶτοι, πῶς ἐνοίκασαν τὸ θείον, εἰθ' οἱ δοκοῦντες ἁριστὰ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐφασαν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐνυπάρχοντων τούτως δυνάμεων ἀντι-

98 λήψιν ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ αἰτίου. ὅπερ γὰρ, εἰ τὸς ἄνθρωπος ἀντιληφθὲν οἱκιῶν ἐπιμελῶς προ-

99 κατασκευάσματος, οὕτως δὴ καὶ ἐσελθὼν τις ὅπερ εἰς μεγίστην οἰκίαν ἡ πόλιν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ θεασάμενος οὐρανὸν μὲν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπολοῦντα καὶ πάντα ἐντὸς συνεληφότα, πλανή-

a See App. p. 483.
Pattern of the Image, to which the title of Shadow has just been given, even so the Image becomes the pattern of other beings, as the prophet made clear at the very outset of the Law-giving by saying, "And God made the man after the Image of God" (Gen. i. 27), implying that the Image had been made such as representing God, but that the man was made after the Image when it had acquired the force of a pattern.

XXXII. Let us observe therefore what the character impressed is. The first men sought to find how we came to conceive of the Deity. Next those whose philosophy was reputed the best declared that it was from the world and its constituent parts and the forces subsisting in these that we gained our apprehension of the First Cause. Should a man see a house carefully constructed with a gateway, colonnades, men's quarters, women's quarters, and the other buildings, he will get an idea of the artificer, for he will be of opinion that the house never reached that completeness without the skill of the craftsman; and in like manner in the case of a city and a ship and every smaller or greater construction. Just so anyone entering this world, as it were some vast house or city, and beholding the sky circling round and embracing within it all things, and planets and fixed stars without any variation moving in rhythmical harmony and with advantage to the whole, and earth with the central space assigned to it, water and air flowing in set order as its boundary, and over and above these, living creatures, mortal and immortal beings, plants and fruits in great variety, he will surely argue that these have not been wrought without consummate art, but that the Maker of this
παντὸς δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. οἱ δὲ οὖτως ἐπιλογιζόμενοι διὰ σκιᾶς τὸν θεόν καταλαμβάνουσι, διὰ τῶν ἑργῶν τὸν τεχνίτην κατανοοῦντες.

100 XXXIII. Ἐστι δὲ τις τελεώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια μυθεῖς, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων τὸ αἰτίον γνωρίζει, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τὸ μένον, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπερκύψας τὸ γενητὸν ἐμφασις ἐναργῇ τοῦ ἀγενήτου λαμβάνει, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει καὶ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ, ὃπερ ἦν τὸν τε λόγον καὶ τὸν τῶν κόσμων.

101 οὕτως ἔστι Μωυσῆς ὁ λέγων "Ἐμφάνισον μοι σαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἰδὼ σε" (Exod. xxxiii. 13). μὴ γὰρ ἐμφανισθεῖς μοι δι' οὐρανοῦ ἢ γῆς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ ἀέρος ἢ τινος ἀπλάν ἐν γενέσει, μηδὲ κατοπτρισάμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐν γενεσίᾳ ἢ ἐν σοι τῷ θεῷ, αἱ γὰρ ἐν γεγομένῳ ἐμφάσεις διαλυόνται, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ μόνῳ καὶ βέβαιοι καὶ αἶδιοι ἄν διατελοῖεν. διὰ τοῦτο Μωυσῆν ἄνακέκληκε καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. καὶ Βεσελῆλ ἄνακέκληκεν, ἀλλ' οὕχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν τὴν ἐμφάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνοντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἰτίου, τὸν δὲ ὡσπερ ἀπὸ σκιᾶς τῶν γενομένων τὸν τεχνίτην ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ κατανοοῦντα. διὰ τοῦτο εὐρήσεις τὴν σκηνήν καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα αὐτῆς πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Μωυσέως, [108] αὕθις δ' ὑπὸ Βεσελῆλ κατασκευασμένα. Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀρχέτυπα τεχνιτεύει, Βεσελῆλ δὲ τὰ τούτων μμῆματα· χρῆται μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς
whole universe was and is God. Those, who thus base their reasoning on what is before their eyes, apprehend God by means of a shadow cast, discerning the Artificer by means of His works.

XXXIII. There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed, which has undergone initiation into the great mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the First Cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated One, so as from Him to apprehend both Himself and His shadow. To apprehend that was, we saw, to apprehend both the Word and this world. The mind of which I speak is Moses who says, "Manifest Thyself to me, let me see Thee that I may know Thee" (Exod. xxxiii. 13); 'for I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee Who art God, for the reflections in created things are dissolved, but those in the Uncreate will continue abiding and sure and eternal.' This is why God hath expressly called Moses and why He spake to Him. Bezalel also He hath expressly called, but not in like manner. One receives the clear vision of God directly from the First Cause Himself. The other discerns the Artificer, as it were from a shadow, from created things by virtue of a process of reasoning. Hence you will find the Tabernacle and all its furniture made in the first instance by Moses but afterwards by Bezalel, for Moses is the artificer of the archetypes, and Bezalel of the copies of these. For Moses has God for
υφηγητή τῷ θεῷ, ὃς φησὶ· "κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα
tὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὁρεί πάντα ποιήσεις"  

103 (Exod. xxv. 40), Βεσελεήλ δὲ Μωυσεῖ· καὶ εἰ-
kότως· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε Ἀαρὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ Μαριάμ
ἡ αἰσθησις ἔπανιστανται, ρητῶς ἀκούονσιν ὅτι,
"ἐὰν γένηται προφήτης κυρίω, ἐν ὀράματι αὐτῷ
γνωσθῆσεται" καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐναργῶς,
Μωυσεῖ δὲ, ὅστις "πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ὀἶκῳ,
στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσει, ἐν εἴδει καὶ οὐ δι'
αἰνιγμάτων" (Num. xii. 6-8).

104 XXXIV. Ἐπειδὴ τούτων δύο φύσεις εὑρομεν
γενομένας καὶ πλαττομένας καὶ ἀκρως τετορευ-
μένας ὑπὸ θεοῦ, τὴν μὲν ἐξ εαυτῆς βλαβερὰν καὶ
ἐπιληπτὸν καὶ κατάρατον, τὴν δὲ ὠφελητὴν καὶ
ἐπαυνετὴν, καὶ ἔχουσαν τὴν μὲν κίβδηλα, τὴν δὲ
δόκιμον χαρακτήρα, καὶ έχουσαν εὐχὴν
eυξώμεθα, ἂν καὶ Μωυσῆς, "Ιν’ ἡμῖν ἁνοίξῃ ὁ
θεὸς τὸν εαυτοῦ θησαυρὸν" (Deut. xxviii. 12)
καὶ τὸν μετάρσιον καὶ ἐγκύμονα θείων φώτων
λόγον, ὃν δὴ κέκληκεν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν
105 κακῶν ἐπισφίγξης. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὅσπερ ἄγαθῶν ὀὔτω
καὶ κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί, ὃς ἐν μεγάλῃ
φησὶν ὡδὴ· "οὐκ ἱδον ταῦτα συνήκεται παρ’ ἐμοί,
καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
ἔκδικησεως, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν;" (Deut.
xxxii. 34, 35) ὁρᾶς ὅτι κακῶν εἰς θησαυροῖς
καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἄγαθῶν εἰς—ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
εἰς, καὶ ἄγαθῶν θησαυρὸς <εἰς>—πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν
κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀπειροὶ τὸ πλῆθος.
Instructor, as He says "thou shalt make all things according to the pattern that was shown to thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40), but Bezalel is instructed by Moses. And all this is just as we should expect. For on the occasion likewise of the rebellion of Aaron, Speech, and Miriam, Perception, they are expressly told "If a prophet be raised up unto the Lord, God shall be known unto him in a vision" and in a shadow, not manifestly; but with Moses, the man who is "faithful in all His house, He will speak mouth to mouth in manifest form and not through dark speeches" (Numb. xii. 6-8).

XXXIV. Seeing then that we have found two natures created, undergoing moulding, and chiselled into full relief by God's hands, the one essentially hurtful, blameworthy, and accursed, the other beneficial and praiseworthy, stamped the one with a counterfeit, the other with a genuine impression, let us offer a noble and suitable prayer, which Moses offered before us, "that God may open to us His own treasury" (Deut. xxviii. 12) and that sublime reason pregnant with divine illumination,\(^a\) to which He has given the title of "heaven"; and that He may close up the treasuries of evil things. For there are with God treasuries as of good things so also of evil things, as He saith in the great Song,\(^b\) "Are not these laid up in store with Me, sealed up in My treasuries in the day of vengeance, when their foot shall have slipped?" (Deut. xxxii. 34 f.). You see that there are treasuries of evil things. And the treasury of good things is one, for since God is One, there is likewise one treasury of good things. But of evil things there are many treasuries, for countless too

\(^a\) Philo often refers to Deuteronomy xxxii. under this title.
ἆλλα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σκόπει τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἁγαθότητα· τὸν μὲν τῶν ἁγαθῶν θησαυρὸν ἀνοίγει, τοὺς δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἐπισφίγγει. θεοῦ γὰρ ὦδον τὰ μὲν ἁγαθὰ προτείνειν καὶ φθάνειν δωροῦμεν, τὰ δὲ κακὰ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπάγειν. Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ ἐπιτείνων τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φιλόδωρον καὶ χαριστικὸν οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ φησὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν κακῶν ἑσφραγίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ σφαλῇ κατὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου, ὅποτε καὶ ἄξιον ἦν αὐτὴν δίκης ἄξιοῦσθαι. <ἐν> ἡμέρα γὰρ φῆσιν ἕκκιστεος ἑσφραγίσθαι τοὺς τῶν κακῶν θησαυροὺς, δεικνύντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσιν εὐθὺς ἐπέξεισιν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλὰ δίδωσι χρόνον εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σφάλματος ἰασίν τε καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν.

106 XXXV. “Καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὀφεὶ Ἴπικατάρατος σὺ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς” (Gen. iii. 14). ὥσπερ ἡ χαρὰ εὐπάθεια οὕσα εὐχής ἐστὶν ἐπαξία, οὕτως κατάρας ἡδονή, τὸ πάθος, ἡ μεταθεΐσα τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατασκευάσασα αὐτὴν ἀντὶ φιλαρέτου | φιλοπαθή· φησὶ δὲ Мωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀραισ, ἐπικατάρατον εἶναι τὸν μετατιθέντα τὰ ὅρια τοῦ πλησίου (Deut. xxvii. 17). ὁρὸν γὰρ ἔθηκε καὶ νόμον ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ξύλον· τοῦτον δὲ μετατέθεικεν <ὁ> τῆς ἤθεωτάτης ἡδονῆς· τυφλὸν γὰρ φύει, καὶ ἀθεωθεῖ
are those that sin. But here too observe the goodness of Him who is. The treasury of good things He opens, those of evil things He closes. For it is God's property to hold out good things and to be beforehand in bestowing them, but to be slow to inflict evil things. But Moses, magnifying God's love of giving gifts and granting favours, says that the treasuries of evil things are sealed up not only at other times, but also when the soul fails to direct its steps in keeping with the right principle; and yet then it might justly have been deemed worthy of punishment. For he says that the treasuries of evil things were sealed in the day of vengeance, the sacred word thus showing that not even against those who sin will God proceed at once, but gives time for repentance and for the healing and setting on his feet again of him who had slipped.

XXXV. "And the Lord God said to the serpent, Cursed art thou from among all cattle and from among all the beasts of the earth" (Gen. iii. 14). Just as joy, being a good condition of soul, deserves prayer, so pleasure, the passion par excellence, deserves cursing; it shifts the standards of the soul and renders it a lover of passion instead of a lover of virtue:—"Accursed," says Moses in the Curses, "is he who removes his neighbour's landmarks" (Deut. xxvii. 17):—for God set as a landmark and law for the soul virtue, the tree of life. This is removed by the man who has fixed as landmark in its stead wickedness, the tree of death. "Cursed again is he who causes a blind man to go astray in the way" (Deut. xxvii. 18), "and he that smiteth his neighbour craftily" (ibid. 24). And these also are acts of pleasure, the utterly godless one; for sense by itself
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άτε ἀλογος οὖσα, ἐπεὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐξομματοῦται·
παρὸ καὶ μόνω τοῦτῳ τὰ πράγματα καταλαμ-
βάνομεν, αἰσθήσει δ' οὐκέτι, μόνα γὰρ τὰ σώματα
109 φαντασιούμεθα δι' αἰσθήσεως. τὴν οὖν πηρὰν
αἴσθησιν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντιλήψεως ἔξ-
ηπάτηκεν, εἰ γε δυναμένην ἐπὶ νοῦν τρέπεσθαι καὶ
ήμιοχείσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκώλυκεν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς
αἰσθητὸν ἀγαγούσα καὶ λίχνων αὐτὴν ἀπεργασαμένη
tοῦ ἑαυτῆς ποιητικοῦ, ἢν ἢ μὲν αἰσθητὸς πηρὸς
οὖσα ἀκολουθή τυφλῷ ποδηγῷ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, ὁ
dε νοῶς, ὑπ' ἁμφοτέρων ποδηγούμενος οὐ βλεπόν-
tων, ἐκτραχηλίζεται καὶ ἀκρατῆς ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται.
110 εἰ γάρ τις ἢν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία, τῷ
βλέποντι λογισμῷ τὰ πηρὰ ἔχρην ἔπεσθαι, οὔτως
gὰρ ἢν τὰ βλαβερὰ έπεκουφίζετο· νῦνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον
ἔστησε μηχάνημα κατὰ τῆς πνευμῆς, ὥστε ἢγεμόσων
ἀυτὴν χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς ἤνάγκασε, παρακρο-
σαμένη καὶ ἀναπέσασα κακῶν ἀρετὴν ἀλλάξαι καὶ
ἀντίδοται πονηρῶν ἀκακίων. XXXVI. ἀπείρηκε
δὲ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀντίδοσιν ὁ ιερός λόγος,
ὅταν φῆ· "οὐκ ἀλλάξεις καλὸν πονηρῷ" (Lev.
111 xxvii. 33). ἐπικατάρατος δὴ διὰ ταῦτα
ἡ ἡδονὴ. ἢ δὲ καταράται αὐτῇ, ὦδωμεν ως
προσφυα. ἀπὸ πάντων φησὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ἐπάρατον
ἐίναι (Gen. iii. 14). οὐκοῦν κτηνώδες μὲν ἐστὶ
τὸ ἀλογον καὶ αἰσθητικόν, ἐκάστῃ δὲ αἰδθητικός
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is a blind thing, inasmuch as it is irrational, for it is the reasoning faculty that confers sight. Accordingly it is with the reason only that we apprehend matters; sense does not carry us so far; for by means of sense we gain impressions only of the material forms of things. Pleasure, then, has cheated poor maimed sense of the power of apprehending matters, inasmuch as, when it could have had recourse to mind and have secured it for its charioteer, it has prevented it, leading it to what can be perceived externally only, and by giving it a craving for that which produces pleasure, to the end that sense, being a maimed thing, may follow a blind guide, namely that which sense can perceive, and that the mind, led by this pair of blind guides, may be brought to the ground and robbed of self-control. For if there had been any correspondence with what nature prescribes, it would have been incumbent upon the maimed faculties to follow the reasoning faculty which has eyes, for in this way the damage incurred would have been diminished. As it is, pleasure has organized such a shrewd device against the soul, that it has compelled it to employ blind guides, inducing it by delusive wiles to change virtue for evil things, and to surrender its innocence and receive wickedness in lieu of it. Such an exchange too is forbidden by the holy word, when it says, “Thou shalt not change good with evil” (Lev. xxvii. 33). Accursed on these grounds is pleasure. Let us see how appropriate the curses are which He pronounces upon it. He says that it is cursed from all cattle (Gen. iii. 14). Our irrational faculty of sense-perception, then, is of the cattle kind, and each of our senses curses
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ηδονή καταράται ως πολεμωτάτη και έχθιστή και γάρ έστι τῷ οὖντι πολέμιος αἰσθήσει· τεκμηριών
δέ, οταν ήδονής ἀμέτρου κορεσθώμεν, οὐθ' ὅράν οὐτ' ἀκούειν οὐτ' ὀσφραίνεθαι οὔτε γεύεσθαι
οὐθ' ἀπτεσθαι εἰλικρινῶς δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀμινδράς καὶ ἁσθενεῖς ποιοῦμεθα τὰς προσβολάς. καὶ
tοῦτο μὲν, οταν ἐπίσχωμεν τὴν χρήσιν αὐτῆς, πάσχομεν· ἐν αὐταῖς δ' ὄντες ταῖς τῆς ήδονῆς
ἀπολαύσεις κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν συνεργουσῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀντίληψιν ἀφαιρούμεθα,
ως δοκεῖν πεπηρώσθαι. πώς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως
ἀράς θείτο αἰσθήσις τῇ πηρούσῃ αὐτήν ἡδονή;

XXXVII. | ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ πάντα
tὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτων
γὰρ νοὸς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται. διὰ τὰ
οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν παθῶν χεῖρων εἶναι δοκεῖ;
ὅτι σχεδὸν ύποβέβληται πᾶσιν, ὡσπερ τὸς ἁρχὴ
cιαθεμέλιος· ἡ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία γέγονε δι’ ἐρωτος
ἡδονῆς, ἢ τε λύπη συνίσταται κατὰ τὴν ταύτης
ἀφαίρεσιν, φόβος τε αὕ γεννᾶται δι’ εὐλάβειαν
ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς· ώστε δὴλον εἶναι, ὅτι πάντα
ἐφορμεῖ τὰ πάθη τῇ ἡδονῇ, καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν συνέστη
tὸ παράπαν ἰσως ἐκεῖνα, εἰ μὴ προκατεβλήθη τὸ
οἰςτικὸν αὐτῶν ἡδονή.

XXXVIII. "Ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ
πορεύσῃ" (Gen. iii. 14). περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα φωλεύει
tὰ μέρη τὸ πάθος, τὰ τε στέρνα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα,
ὅταν μὲν ἔχη τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ τὰς ὀλασ ἡ ἡδονή,
περὶ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ μετ’ αὐτήν, ὅταν ἑ幸福感
ἀπορή, περὶ τὰ στήθη, ὅποιον ὁ θυμὸς· οἱ γὰρ

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pleasure as a most deadly enemy: for it is in very deed hostile to sense, as is proved by the fact that, when we have glutted ourselves with immoderate pleasure, we cannot see nor hear nor smell nor taste nor feel with clearness, but our contact with objects of sense is dim and feeble. This is what we experience when we have ceased from indulging in pleasure; but when we are in the very midst of the enjoyments it affords, we find ourselves utterly deprived of the support that we obtain through the co-operation of the senses, to such an extent that we seem to have been maimed. How, then, should not sense rightly lay curses on pleasure that maims it?

XXXVII. It is cursed also beyond all the wild beasts. By these I mean the passions of the soul, for by these the mind is wounded and destroyed, Why, then, is it accounted worse than the other passions? Because it is, we may say, at the bottom of them all, like a kind of starting-point and foundation. Lust comes into play through love of pleasure; pain arises as pleasure is withdrawn; fear again is engendered owing to a dread of being without pleasure. It is clear, then, that all the passions depend on pleasure, and these would perchance never have taken shape at all, if first there had not been deposited that which is productive of them, pleasure.

XXXVIII. "On thy breast and belly shalt thou go" (Gen. iii. 14). For passion has its lair in these parts of the body, the breast and the belly. When pleasure has the materials it needs to produce it, it haunts the belly and the parts below it. But when it is at a loss for these materials, it occupies the breast where wrath is; for lovers of pleasure when
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φιλήδονοι στερόμενοι τῶν ἡδονῶν ὄργιζονται καὶ 115 παραπικραίνονται. ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἰδωμεν τὸ δηλούμενον. τριμερὴ συμβέβηκε τὴν ψυχὴν ἠμῶν εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν μέρος μὲν ἐν λογιστικόν, δεύτερον δὲ θυμικῶν, τρίτον δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ μέρη ταῦτα δυνάμει μόνον διέκριναν ἅλληλων, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τόποις: εἶτα ἕνεμαν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ τὸν περὶ κεφαλῆς χῶρον εἰπόντες, ὡστε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη ἀν ἐκεῖ, ὡσπερ ἀκραν ἐν πόλει λαχῶν οἰκεῖν, τῷ δὲ θυμικῷ τὰ στέρνα, παρὸ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὁχυρώσαι τὸ μέρος πυκνότητι καὶ κραταιότητι συνεχῶν οστῶν ὡσπερ στρατιώτην ἀγαθὸν καθοπλίσασαν θώρακι καὶ ἀσπίδι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντιομένων ἁμυναν, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικῷ τὸν περὶ τὸ ἃτρον καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν τόπον, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κατοικεῖ ἐπιθυμία, ὅρεξις 116 ἄλογος.

XXXIX. ἐὰν οὖν ποτε ζητήσῃ, ὦ διάνοια, τίνα χῶρον ἡδονῆς κεκλήρωται, μὴ σκέπτου τὸν περὶ κεφαλῆς τόπον, ὅπου τὸ λογιστικόν, οὐ γὰρ μὴ εὑρήσεις, ἐπεῖ μάχεται ο λόγος τῶν πάθει καὶ ἐν ταῦτῳ μένειν οὐ δύναται. κρατοῦντος μὲν γὰρ λόγου φροῦδος ἡ ἡδονῆ, νικώσης δὲ ἡδονῆς φυγὰς ο λόγος· ζήτει δ' ἐν στήθει καὶ κοιλία, ὅπου ο θυμός καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, μέρη τοῦ ἄλογον· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἡ

a See App. p. 478, note on L. A. i. 70.
deprived of their pleasures grow bitter and angry. Let us look still more carefully at the thing signified. Our soul consists of three parts, and has one part given to reasoning, a second to high spirit, a third to desire. Some philosophers have distinguished these parts from each other in regard to function, some in regard also to the places which they occupy. These have gone on to assign to the reasoning part the region of the head, saying that, where the king is, there are also his bodyguards, and that the senses which are in the region of the head are bodyguards of the mind, and that it follows that the king must be there too, having had it allotted to him, like a castle in a city, for his dwelling. To the spirited part they assign the breast, pointing out that nature has given that part firmness by means of a strong and solid array of continuous bones, as though she were arming a good soldier with shield and breastplate for defence against opponents. To the lustful portion of the soul they assign the quarter about the abdomen and the belly, for there it is that lust, irrational craving, has its abode.

XXXIX. If, therefore, O mind, thou art ever inquiring what quarter pleasure has for her portion, do not consider the place occupied by the head, where the reasoning faculty resides, for thou wilt assuredly not find it there, since reason is at war with passion, and cannot remain in the same place with it. For when reason prevails pleasure is gone, and when pleasure conquers, reason is an exile. But look for it in the breast and belly, where high spirit and desire are, portions of the irrational: for in the irrational is to be found alike our faculty of
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117 ημετέρα καὶ τὰ πάθη. οὐ κεκόλυται οὖν νοῦς ἐκβὰς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιβολῶν ἐκ-

118 δοθῆναι τῷ χείρον. τούτο δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν ὁ

119 ψυχῆς κρατήσῃ πόλεμος· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δορυάλωτον

[111] γίνεσθαι τὸν μὴ μάχιμον ἔν ἦμιν λογισμόν.

118 XL. Εἰδὼς γοῦν ὁ ἑρῶς λόγος ὅσον ἡ ἑκατέρου

119 δύναται ὑμᾶς, θυμὸς τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας,

120 ἐκατέρον ἐπιστομίζει, ἡμῖνοι καὶ κυβερνήτην

ἐφιστά τῶν λόγων. καὶ πρότερον περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ,

θεραπεύων αὐτῶν καὶ ιῶμενος, διαλέγεται οὕτως·

119 "καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῶν κρίσεων τὴν

120 δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄληθεν, καὶ ἔσται ἔπι τοῦ

119 στήθους Ἀαρών, ὅταν εἰσέρχηται εἰς τὸ ἄγιον

120 ἐναντίον κυρίου " (Exod. xxviii, 30). λόγιον οὖν

120 ἐστὶν ἐν ἦμιν τῷ φωνητήριων ὀργανῷ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν

120 ὃ γεγωνὸς λόγος· οὕτως δὲ ἡ ἀκριτόμυθος ἐστι καὶ

120 ἀδόκιμος ἡ κεκριμένος καὶ δόκιμος· εἰς ἐννοιαν δὲ

120 ἦμᾶς ἄνει λόγου τοῦ κατὰ διάκρισιν· τὸ γὰρ λόγιον

120 φῆσιν οὐ τὸ ἀκριτὸν ἡ κίβδηλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν

120 κρίσεων, ἰσόν τῷ διακεκριμένου καὶ ἐξητασμένου.

120 τούτου δὲ τοῦ δόκιμου λόγου δύο ἀρετάς φῆσιν

120 εἴναι τὰς ἀνωτάτας, σαφῆνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα, καὶ

120 πάνυ ὀρθῶς· ὁ γὰρ λόγος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρῆκε
tου σαφῆ ποιῆσαι καὶ ἄλα τὰ πράγματα τῷ

120 πλησίον, μὴ δυνηθέντων ἦμῶν τὸ ἐγγενόμενον τῇ

α By emphasizing "our" Philo perhaps means that the faculties of the Soul of the Universe are not hampered, as are ours, in choosing what course to take, by desire or ambition or shrinking from pain. Plutarch says that in face of the fact that human faculties are thus hampered, some philosophers said that our πάθη are λόγοι or κρίσεις, i.e. exercises of reason in choosing; while others said that every virtue has in it an
choice and the passions. Well, there is nothing to prevent the mind from going out from the purely intellectual interests which are proper to it and giving itself up to its inferior. This happens when war prevails in the soul; for then reason, that is in us not as a combative but as a peaceful inmate, cannot fail to become a prisoner of war.

XL. For look now: the Sacred Word knowing how strong is the impulse of either passion, of both high spirit and lust, puts a curb on each of them, by setting over them reason as a charioteer and pilot. And in the first place this is how it discourses concerning high spirit, aiming at curing and healing it: “And thou shalt put on to the oracle of the judgements the Showing and the Truth, and it shall be upon Aaron’s breast, whenever he enters into the Holy Place before the Lord” (Exod. xxviii. 30). The “oracle,” then, is in us the organ of speech, which is the uttered word: and this may either be rejected as spoken at random or may be approved as well-judged: but the sacred writer is leading us to think of the word spoken with judgement and discernment; for he tells us that the oracle is not the untested or counterfeit one, but “the oracle of the judgements,” an expression tantamount to “well tested and examined.” To this approved word he says that the two virtues belong, the highest possible, clearness and truthfulness. Quite rightly does he say so. For reason at the outset fell short of making matters clear and evident to another, since we have no power to exhibit the affection called out in the element of fear, or desire for pleasure or for gain. See Plutarch, De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo, 26 (=ii. 1025 d).

b Literally “when the soul’s war shall have prevailed” (over peace).
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ψυχή πάθος υπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπιδείξασθαι οὐδ’ οἶον ἢν παραστήσατο. XLI. διόπερ ἡναγκάσθημεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ διὰ φωνῆς σύμβολα, ὅνόματα καὶ ρήματα, ἀ δεὶ πάντως εἶναι γνώριμα, ἵνα σαφῶς καὶ ἐκδήλως ὁ πλησίον ἐκλάβηται ἐπειτα τοῦ

121 ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· τί γὰρ ὀφελος τρανήν μὲν καὶ σαφῆ τὴν ἐρμηνεύαν ποιεῖσθαι, ψευδὴ δὲ ἀλλως; ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀπατᾶσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴ καὶ μεγίστην καρποῦσθαι συμφοράν, μετὰ ἀγνοίας ἀπαντούσιαν· τί γὰρ, ἂν λέγω τῷ παιδὶ τρανῶς καὶ σαφῶς δείξας τὸ ἀλφα στοιχεῖον ὃτι ἐστὶ γάμμα ἢ τὸ ἦτα ὃτι ἐστὶν ὀ; ἦν οὔτως λέγη τῷ πρώτῳ εἰσαγομένῳ δεικνύς τὸ ἐναρμόνιον ὃτι χρώμα ἐστὶν, ἢ τὸ χρωματικὸν ὃτι διατονικὸν, ἢ τὴν υπάτην ὃτι μέση, ἢ τὸ συνημμένον ὃτι διεζευγμένον, ἢ τὴν υπερβολαίαν ὃτι

122 προσλαμβανόμενον; τρανῶς μὲν ἰσως καὶ σαφῶς ἐρεῖ, οὐκ ἀληθῶς δέ, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ κακίαν ἐργάσεται τὴν ἐν λόγῳ· ὅταν δὲ ἀμφότερα καὶ σαφῆνειαν καὶ ἀληθότητα ποιῆται, ἄφελμον παρέξει τῷ μανθάνοντι τὸν λόγον, χρησάμενος ταῖς δυσϊν ἀρεταῖς αὐτοῦ, ὃς καὶ μόνας σχεδὸν εἶναι συμβεβηκέ που.

123 XLII. Φησίν οὖν ἱδρύσθαι τὸν κεκριμένον λόγον ἔχοντα τὰς ἴδιας ἀρεταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους δηλονότι Ἄαρών, τοιτέστιν ἐπὶ τὸν θυμὸν, ἦν οὕτως ἦνιοχῆτα λόγῳ τὸ πρώτον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ

* Or “which need to be thoroughly known.”
soul by external things nor to convey an idea of its character. XLI. Wherefore we were compelled to resort to signs given by means of the voice, nouns and verbs, which cannot fail to be intelligible, that the other may get a clear and unmistakable idea of our meaning. (This was reason's first inadequacy.) In the second place, it was inadequate to report things truly. For what is the good of giving a clear and distinct expression, if it be in other respects false? For under these circumstances the hearer must needs be deceived and incur a very great misfortune, being not merely ignorant but ill-taught into the bargain. For what if, pointing to the letter alpha I say to the boy clearly and distinctly that it is gamma, or to eta and tell him that it is omega? Or what if the music-master tells the beginner as he points to the enharmonic genus that it is the chromatic, or says of the chromatic that it is the diatonic, or of the note on the highest string that it is the central, or of the conjunct that it is the disjunct tetrachord, or of the highest tone in the tetrachord scale that it is the lowest? He will speak clearly and distinctly, it may be, but not truly. But in this way he will be a doer of evil—of the evil that belongs to speech. But when he attains both of these requisites, both clearness and truthfulness, he will render the word beneficial to the pupil, bringing into play its two virtues, perhaps the only virtues indeed which it possesses.

XLII. It says, then, that the tested word, having the virtues which are peculiarly its own, was enthroned upon the breast (Aaron's namely), that is, upon the spirited element, that this might first of all be guided by reason, and not injured by its own
άλογίας βλάπτηται, εἶτα δὲ σαφηνεία, οὐ πέφυκε
gάρ ὁ θυμός σαφηνείας εἶναι φίλος. τῶν γὰρ ὀργιζομένων οὐ μόνον ἡ διάνοια ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ταραχῆς καὶ συγχύσεως γέμει. οἰκεῖον οὖν ἢν τῇ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀσάφειαν ἐπανορθώθηναι

124 σαφηνεία: ἐπὶ τούτων ἀληθότητι, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τούτο ἔχει ὁ θυμὸς ἰδιὸν, τὸ συνεισθανόντος γαῖς χρωμένων τῷ πάθει τούτῳ σχέδον οὐδεὶς ἀληθεύει, ἀπὸ μέθη κεκρατημένος ψυχῆς, οὐ σώματος. ταῦτα ἀλεξιφάρμακα τοῦ θυμικοῦ μέρους ἐστὶ. λόγος, σαφήνεια λόγου, ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦ. ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶ δυνάμει τὰ τρία, λόγος σὺν ἀρεταίς ἀληθότητι καὶ σαφηνείᾳ θυμοῦ νόσημα χαλεπὸν ψυχῆς ἱώμενος.

125 XLIII. Τίνος οὖν ἐστὶ φέρειν ταῦτα; οὐχὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἢ τῆς <τοῦ> τυχόντος διανοίας, ἄλλα τῆς ἱερωμένης καὶ θυόσης καθαρῶς, τῆς Ἀαρών καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀεί, πολλάκις γὰρ τρέπεται, ἄλλα ὅταν ἀτρέπτως διάγη, ὅταν εἰσπορεύθηται εἰς τὸ ἄγιον, ὅταν συνεισπορεύθηται ὁ λογισμὸς ταῖς ἀγίαις γνώμαις καὶ μὴ τούτων ἀποδιδράσκῃ.

126 ἄλλα πολλάκις συνεισέρχεται μὲν ὁ νοῦς εἰς ἱερᾶς καὶ ὀσίους καὶ κεκαθαρμένας δόξας, ἄλλα ἀνθρωπεῖους ταύτας, οἶνον τὰς περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων, τὰς περὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὰς περὶ τῶν θέσει νομίμων, τὰς περὶ τῆς κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῆς· οὐδ’ ὁ τούτων διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον ἰκανός ἐστι
irrationality; in the next place by clearness, for it is not the nature of anger to be a friend of clearness. Do we not see in those who are enraged how not their understanding only but their words also are full of disturbance and confusion? It was appropriate therefore that anger’s lack of clearness should be set right again by clearness. It must be guided in the third place by truthfulness, for together with its other faults anger has this one also as peculiarly its own, that of lying. As a matter of experience, of those who give way to this passion, hardly one speaks the truth. They are victims of an intoxication not of body but of soul. These are antidotes for the region of anger; reason, clearness of speech, truth of speech. For the three are virtually one, since reason, accompanied by the two virtues of truthfulness and distinctness, acts as a healer of anger, that sore sickness of the soul.

XLIII. To whom, then, does it pertain to bear these? Not to my understanding or to that of any chance comer, but to that which exercises its priesthood and offers sacrifices in purity, that of Aaron, and not even to this always, for many a time it turns and fails, but when it continues free from turning, when it enters into the Holy Place, when the reasoning faculty enters in together with holy resolves and does not abandon these. But full often does the mind enter with these into sacred and holy and purified opinions, but these are mere human opinions, as for instance those concerning simple duties, those concerning high-standard actions, those concerning usages resting on human enactment, those concerning virtue conforming to human standards. Not even he who is in such case as this
τὸ λόγιον φέρει ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους μετὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος ὁ ἐναντίον κυρίου εἰσιῶν, τούτεστιν ὁ ἔνεκα θεοῦ πάντα πράττων καὶ μηδὲν τῶν μετὰ θεῶν ὑπερτιμῶν, ἀλλὰ νέμων μὲν καὶ τούτως τὰ κατ’ αξίαν, μη ἴστάμενοι μέντοι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀνατρέχων ἐπὶ τὴν γνώσιν καὶ ἐπὶ-κεκμένων ἡμιοχθήσεται ὁ θυμὸς ὑπὸ τε λόγου κεκαθαρμένου τὸ ἄλογον αὐτοῦ περιμοῦντος καὶ ὑπὸ σαφηνείας τὸ ἁσαφὲς καὶ συγκεχυμένον θεραπευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ ἀληθοῦσῃ τὸ θεόου ἀπο-κοπτούσης. XLIV. Μεν οὖν Ἀαρών—δεύτερος γάρ ἐστι Μωυσῆ ἐκτέμνοντος τὸ στήθος, ὡπερ ἐστὶ τὸν θυμόν—οὐκ ἐὰν αὐτῶν ἀκριτοὺς ὀρμαὶ ἐκφέρεσθαι, δεδώσ μὴ ποτε ἄφεθείς ὑπὸ τὸν ἄγονον ἀνασκυρτῆσας ὅλην πατήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει καὶ ἐπιστομίζει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγῳ, ἵνα ἴδιον τυμέας ἂριστος μὴ σοφόρα ἀφηνάς, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῦ λόγου, σαφηνεία καὶ ἀλήθεια: εἰ γὰρ παιδευθεὶς ὁ θυμὸς οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ λόγῳ εἶκεν καὶ σαφηνεία καὶ τὸ ἀφευδὲς ἀσκεῖν, ἐαυτὸν τε τῆς πολλῆς γενεσεως ἀπαλλάξει τὴν θ' ὀλην ψυχὴν ἰλεων κατασκευάσει. 128 XLV. Ἁλλ' οὗτος μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἐχων τὸ πάθος ἰάσθαι αὐτὸ πειράται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι σωτηρίως φαρ- 

[113] Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁλον τὸν θυμον ἐκτεμνει καὶ ἀποκοπτειν οντα της ψυχης, ου μετριο-πάθειαν ἀλλα συνόλως ἀπάθειαν ἀγαπῶν. μαρτυρεῖ

* See App. p. 483.
is sufficient to bear the oracle upon his breast with the virtues that belong to it, but he only who goes in in the sight of the Lord, that is he who does all things for God's sake, and overvalues none of the things that are of less importance than God, but accords to these also all they deserve, not, however, stopping at them, but mounting up in the endeavour to acquaint himself with and know and honour the One. For he who is in this case will have his spirited element charioteered by purified reason, which will abolish all that is irrational in him, and by clearness, which will heal all that is uncertain and confused, and by truthfulness, which will eliminate falsehood.

XLIV. Aaron, then, being inferior to Moses who cuts the breast, that is the spirited element, clean out—suffers it not to be carried away by random impulses, for he is afraid that, if it be given the rein, it may some day get unmanageable, as a horse does, and trample down all the soul. No, he curbs and controls it, first by reason, that being driven by an excellent charioteer it may not get too restive; next he employs the virtues of speech, distinctness, and truth. For if high spirit be trained in this manner, so as to yield to reason and distinctness, and also to exercise itself in eschewing falsehood, it will not only rid itself of much ferment, but will render the whole soul gentle.

XLV. Well, Aaron, as I have said, having this passion, attempts to cure it by the saving medicines that have been mentioned. Moses, on the other hand, thinks it necessary to use the knife on the seat of anger in its entirety, and to cut it clean out of the soul, for no moderation of passion a can satisfy him; he is content with nothing but complete
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dé mou τῷ λόγῳ ὁ ἱερώτατος χρησμός. "λαβὼν" γάρ φησὶ "Μωυσῆς τὸ στηθύνιον ἀφεῖλεν αὐτὸ ἐπίθεμα ἐναντίον κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελεώσεως, καὶ ἐγένετο Μωυσεῖ ἐν μερίδι." (Lev. viii. 130 29): πάνυ καλώς· τοῦ γὰρ φιλαρέτου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἔργον ἢν τὴν ὀλην ψυχὴν θεασάμενον λαβέσθαι τοῦ στήθους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκόψαι, ἵνα τοῦ πολεμικοῦ μέρους ἐκτιμηθέντος εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν ἄγγ. ἀφαιρεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ζώου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελεώσεως, καὶ τοὺς καὶ μόσχος ἐρευνήθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν κριόν ἤλθε, διότι κρονστικὸν φύσει ζώον ἄστι καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ὀρμητικὸν, παρὸ καὶ οἱ μηχανοκοποῖ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων ὀργάνων κριοῦ κατασκευάζουσι. τὸ κριῶδες οὖν καὶ ὀρμητικὸν καὶ ἀκριτὸν ἐν ἦμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐριστικὸν εἴδος· ἐρίς δὲ μήτηρ ἐστὶ θυμοῦ· παρὸ καὶ οἱ φιλονεικότεροι ἐν τῇς συζητήσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαὶς ὀμιλίαις βάστα ὀργίζονται. τῆς οὖν ἐριστικῆς καὶ φιλονεικοῦ ψυχῆς πλημμελέσ γέννημα θυμὸν ἐκτέμνει δεόντως, ἵνα στειρωθῇ συνετάτα λεβερᾶ τίκτουσα καὶ γένηται μερὶς τοῦτο ἅμορφον τῷ φιλαρέτῳ, οὐ τὸ στῆθος οὐδ' ὁ θυμός, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀφελεῖν αὐτὸ· μοίραν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμεν ἄριστην τῷ σοφῷ τὸ ἐκτέμειν τὰ πάθη δύνασθαι. ὅρας πῶς τὸ τελειός τελείαν ἀπάθειαν

* Philo perhaps wrote κριῶς. That battering-rams were "adorned with" a ram's head may be seen in the illustration in Seyffert's Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 64 a.
absence of passion. That what I say is true Holy Writ testifies: for it says, "Moses took the breast and removed it as a crowning offering before the Lord from the ram of consecration and it became Moses’ portion" (Lev. viii. 29). Very good; for it was the business of the man who loved virtue and was beloved of God, when he had contemplated the entire soul, to seize the breast, which is the spirited element, and to cut it off and take it away, in order that, through the excision of the warlike part, the remainder might have peace. He removes it, not from this or that animal, as it may happen, but from the ram of consecration, although there was a heifer offered too. But he passed this by and went to the ram, because it is a creature naturally prone to butt, owing to its being full of spirit and ready for the fray. It is owing to this that engineers make most of the engines of war in the shape of rams.\textsuperscript{a} The part of us, then, that resembles a ram in his reckless readiness for a fight is the wrangling species; and wrangling is the mother of anger; accordingly it is those who contend most eagerly in debates and other gatherings that most easily lose their tempers. So Moses cuts out, as he needs must, anger, discordant offspring of the soul that loves wrangling and contention. He does this that she may be rendered barren, and cease bearing hurtful progeny, and that \textit{this} may become a portion befitting the lover of virtue, not the breast nor the seat of high spirit, but the removal of these: for God assigned to the wise man a share of surpassing excellence, even the power to cut out the passions. You observe how the perfect man always makes perfect freedom from passion his study. But Aaron,
132 αἰεὶ μελετᾷ. ἀλλ' ὁ γε προκόπτων δεύτερος ὡς Ἀαρὼν μετριοπάθειαν, ὡς ἐφη, ἀσκεῖ, ἐκτεμεῖν γάρ ἐτι τὸ στήθος καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἄδυνατεὶ· φέρει δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἤνιοχον σὺν ταῖς προσφυέσιν ἀρεταῖς λόγον, τὸ λόγιον, ἐφ' οὖ δὴλωσίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλήθεια.

133 XLVI. Παραστήσει δὲ σαφέστερον τὴν διαφορὰν καὶ διὰ τοῦτον· "τὸ γὰρ στηθύνιον" φησὶ "τοῦ ἐπιθέματος καὶ τὸν βραχίονα τοῦ ἀφαιρέματος εἰληφα παρὰ τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ σωτηρίου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐδωκα αὐτὰ Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοῖς

134 νιῶσ αὐτοῦ" (Lev. vii. 34). ὅρας ὅτι οὖν εἰσιν οὗτοι ἰκανοὶ τὸ στήθος μόνον λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ βραχίονι, Μωυσῆς δὲ χωρίς τοῦ βραχίονος. διὰ τί; ἢ τι ὁ μὲν τέλειος ὡν βραχύ καὶ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν φρονεῖ οὐδὲ μετριοπαθεῖν βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ὁλα τὰ πάθη δι' ὅλων ἀπέκοφεν, οἵ δὲ βραχέως καὶ οὐ μεγάλως ὀρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν παθῶν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καταλλάττονται καὶ σπονδάς πρὸς

[114] αὐτὰ τίθενται τὸν συμβατήριον λόγον | προτείνοντες, ὦ ν ὅτι οὐνόχον τρόπον ἐπιστομίζη τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον

135 αὐτῶν φοράν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ὁ βραχίων πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας· τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ θεραπευτὴς καὶ λειτουργὸς τῶν ἀγίων, ἀσκῆσε καὶ πόνω χρώμενος· ἄπονος δ' ἐστὶν ὃ ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τέλεια· βραχύτερος δ' εὐρίσκεται καὶ ἀτελέστερος ὁ πόνω κτώμενος τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀπόνως καὶ εὐμαρής αὐτὴν παρὰ θεοῦ λαβόντος Μωυσῆ. ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ πονεῖν βραχύ-
the man who is making gradual progress, holding a lower position, practises moderation, as I have said; for his power does not go so far as to enable him to cut out the breast and the high-spirited element, but he brings to it, as charioteer and guide, reason with the virtues attached to it, and this is the oracle on which is Clear-showing and Truth.

XLVI. But he shall bring out the difference more clearly by means of the following words: "The breast of the offering put on, and the shoulder of the part removed, I have taken at the hands of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of your salvation, and have given to Aaron and his sons" (Lev. vii. 34). You see that these are not capable of taking the breast by itself, but must take it with the shoulder, whereas Moses takes it without the shoulder. Why is this? Because he, being perfect, has no small or petty aims, nor any desire to moderate his passions, but goes so far as to cut off all passions everywhere; while those others set out to wage war on the passions on an insignificant, not on a grand, scale, but seek to come to terms and arrange a truce with them, putting forward the word of pacification, that this like a charioteer may curb their excessive impetuosity. Furthermore the shoulder is a symbol of toil and hardship; and this is the character of him who attends to and ministers in holy things, subject to toil and discipline. But the man on whom God bestows in overflowing measure his good things in perfection is free from toil. He who acquires virtue by toil is found to come short of full achievement, as compared with Moses, who received it easily and without toil from the hands of God. For, as toiling itself falls short of the toilless achieve-
τερον καὶ ἐλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ ἀπόνου, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀτελὲς τοῦ τελείου καὶ τὸ μανθάνον τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς. διὰ τοῦτο σὺν μὲν βραχίονι λαμβάνει τὸ στήθος 136 Ἀαρών, ἀνευ δὲ βραχίονος Μωυσῆς. τὸ στηθύνιον δὲ ἐπιθέματος καλεῖ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπικείσθαι δεῖ τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ἐφιδρύσθαι τὸν λόγον ὅσαν ήνίοχον εὐθύνοντα σκληραύχενα καὶ ἀφηνιαστὴν ἵππον· τὸν δὲ βραχίονα οὐκέτι ἐπιθέματος ἄλλ' ἀφαιρέματος διὰ τόδε, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υπὲρ ἄρετὴς πόνον μὴ έαυτῇ προσάγειν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἄλλ' ἀφελεῖν ἀφ' έαυτῆς καὶ θεῷ ἀνενεγκεῖν, ὁμολογοῦσαν ὅτι οὐχ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ἡ δύναμις περιεποίησε τὸ καλὸν, ἀλλὰ ὁ καὶ 137 τὸν ἔρωτα χαρισάμενος. οὔτε δὲ στηθύνιον οὔτε ὁ βραχίων λαμβάνεται πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ σωτηρίου· κατὰ τὸ εἰκός· τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώζεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἦνιοχή υπὸ λόγου καὶ ὁ πόνος μὴ οὕσων ἐγκατασκευάσῃ ἀλλὰ παραχώρησιν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ θεῷ.

138 XLVII. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ἡδονὴν εἴπομεν ἑκόσιον ἂν, οὐκειότατον δηλοῦντες ἡδονὴ χωρίον τὴν γαστέρα, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἄγγεῖον τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀπασω ἂντὴ ἐστὶ· πληρωθείσης γὰρ τῆς γαστρὸς ὀρέξεως καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἡδονῶν γίνονται σύντονοι, κενωθείσης δὲ 139 ἂραι ἡμαῖαι καὶ σταθηρότεραι. διὸ καὶ φησιν ἐτέρωθι.

* i.e., taught directly by God or by Virtue’s self.
ment and is inferior to it, so does the imperfect fall short of the perfect, and that which learns of that which is self-taught. This is why Aaron takes the breast with the shoulder, but Moses without the shoulder. The reason why he calls it the breast of “the special offering put on” is that it is necessary that the reason should be put and set firmly on the seat of anger, as though it were a kind of charioteer keeping straight a stiff-necked and restive horse. But when he comes to the shoulder he speaks of it not as in the case of the breast, as belonging to “the offering put on,” but as belonging to “that which was removed.” The reason he does so is this. It is necessary that the soul should not ascribe to itself its toil for virtue, but that it should take it away from itself and refer it to God, confessing that not its own strength or power acquired nobility, but He who freely bestowed also the love of it. Neither breast nor shoulder is taken except from the sacrifice of salvation. That is fitting. For only then does the soul begin to be saved, when the seat of anger has received reason as its charioteer, and toil has come to create in it, not self-satisfaction, but a readiness to yield the honour to God, the Bestower of the boon.

XLVII. We have already mentioned that pleasure goes not only on its breast but also on its belly, and pointed out that the stomach is a place most appropriate to pleasure, for we may almost describe it as a reservoir of all the pleasures. For when the belly has been filled, cravings after the other pleasures also become vehement, but when it has been emptied, these are quieted and become more still. And so the prophet says in another passage, “Whatsoever
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“πᾶς ὁ πορεύομενος ἐπὶ κοιλία καὶ πᾶς ὁ πορεύομενος ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διὰ παντὸς, ὃς πολυπληθεὶ ποσίν, ἀκάθαρτός ἐστι’” (Lev. xi. 42). τοιοῦτος δ’ ὁ φυλήδονος ἀεὶ χωρῶν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταύτην ἰδονᾶς. τῷ δὲ ἔρποντι ἐπὶ κοιλίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τεσσάρων βαδίζοντα ἦνωκεν· εἰκότως· τέτταρα γάρ ἐστὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ἐν ἰδονῆ, ὡς τις κατ’ ἔξαιρετον λόγος μέμνηται. ἀκάθαρτος οὖν καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐνι χρώμενος τῇ ἰδονῇ καὶ ὁ πᾶσιν ἐφορμῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι.

140 Τούτων εἰρημένων ἵδε διαφορὰν πάλιν τελείου καὶ προκόπτωτος. ὥσπερ οὖν πρότερον εἰρίσκετο ὁ μὲν τελείος ὅλον ἐκτέμνων τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἐριστικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τιθασόν καὶ τελείον καὶ εἰρημένων καὶ ἔλεον πρὸς πάντα ἐργῆ τε καὶ λόγῳ, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων | οὐ δυνάμενος μὲν ἀποκόψαι τὸ πάθος—φέρει γὰρ τὸ στήθος—παιδεύων δὲ αὐτὸ λόγῳ κεκριμένω, ἔχοντι δύο ἀρετὰς, σαφῆνειαν καὶ ἁλήθειαν, XLVIII. οὕτως καὶ ἔννεφη ἐν ἀρκετός ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἰδονᾶς ἀπορρυπάντων καὶ ἀποσείόμενος Μωυσῆς, ὁ δὲ προκόπτων οὐχ ἀπασάν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ ἄπλην προσίμενον, τὴν δὲ περίεργον καὶ περιττήν κατὰ τὰς ἐπεντρώσεις παραυτούμενος.

141 ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέως φησὶν οὕτως· “καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἐπλύνετο ὕδατι τοῦ ὀλοκαυτώματος” (Lev. ix. 14). πάνυ καλῶς· ὅλην γὰρ τῆν ψυχῆν

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*a ἐπὶ with dative.  
*b ἐπὶ with accusative.  
*c ἐπὶ with genitive.  
*d This treatise was never written or is lost.  
*e Lev. vii. 3. Literally “for he bears away the breast.”

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goeth upon the belly, and whatsoever goeth all the time upon four feet, which hath many feet, is unclean" (Lev. xi. 42). The lover of pleasure answers to this description, always going after the belly and the pleasures of the adjoining parts. With that which creepeth after the belly he has associated that which walketh upon four feet; and quite naturally; for the passions that come under the head of those in the realm of pleasure are four in number, as has been mentioned in a treatise specially devoted to that subject. Accordingly a man is unclean who is given up to the one thing, pleasure, as well as the man who has all four passions for his stay.

Now that we have said this, note once more how a perfect man differs from one making gradual progress. We have already discovered the perfect man cutting out the seat of anger entirely from the wrangling soul, and so rendering it gentle and submissive and peaceable, and cheerfully ready to face every demand both in act and word; while the man of gradual improvement was found powerless to cut away the passion, for the breast is Aaron's portion, but schooling it by well-tested speech, attended by two virtues, clearness and truth. XLVIII. In a corresponding manner we shall now find Moses, the wise man, in his perfection, scouring away and shaking off pleasures, but the man of gradual improvement not so treating pleasure in its entirety, but welcoming simple and unavoidable pleasure, while declining that which is excessive and over-elaborate in the way of delicacies. For in the case of Moses he uses this language: "And he washed with water the belly and the feet of the whole burnt-offering" (Lev. ix. 14). It is excellently said; for
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άξιαν οὖσαν θεῶ προσάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἐκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον ὁ σοφὸς καθ-αγιάζει· οὕτως δὲ διακείμενος ὅλην τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς καὶ μετ' αὐτῆν ἡδονὰς ἐκπλύνει καὶ ἀπολούεται καὶ ἀπορρύπτεται, οὐχὶ μέρος τι, ἀλλ' οὕτω καταφρονητικῶς ἔσχηκεν αὐτῆς, ὡστε οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σιτία ἦ ποτὲ προσέται θεωρίᾳ τῶν θείων τρεφόμενοι. διὸ καὶ ἐν ἐτέρους μαρτυρεῖται αὐτῷ· "τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄρτον οὐκ ἔφαγε καὶ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔπιεν" (Exod. xxxiv. 28), ὅτε ἐν τῷ θείῳ ὅρει γενόμενος χρησμῶν θεοῦ νομοθετοῦντος ἦκουεν. ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον ὅλη τῇ γαστρί ἀποτάττεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῇ συναπορρύπτεται, τουτέστι τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἐπιβάσεις δὲ ἡδονῆς εἰσὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτῆς· ὁ [τε] γὰρ προκόπτων λέγεται τὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας λούειν (Lev. i. 9), οὐ τὴν ὅλην κοιλίαν· ἰκανὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν διώσασθαι, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ, ἐὰν τὰ ἐγκοίλια αὐτῆς τουτέστι τὰ ἐπεντρώματα, ἀ φασὶν οἱ φιλήδονοι ἐπιλεάνσεις εἰναὶ τινας τῶν προηγουμένων ἡδονῶν, ἀ γίνεται ὀφαρτυτῶν καὶ σιτιστῶν πλήρων περιεργία. XLIX. καὶ προσεπιτείνει τὴν τοῦ προκόπτοντος μετροπάθειαν τῷ τῶν μὲν ἀνευ προστάξεως παρατείνουσι οἷς τὴν γαστρός ἡδονῆν, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα μετὰ προστάξεως· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ λέγεται οὕτως: "τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ τοὺς πόδας ὑδατὶ ἐπλυνεν" (Lev. ix. 14), ἀνεπικελεύστως κατὰ τὴν ἐκούσιον

a Or "means of approach."
the wise man consecrates his whole soul as being worthy to be offered to God, owing to its freedom from voluntary or involuntary blemish; and, being in this condition, he washes out and bathes away and scours off the whole belly and the pleasures that it and the parts adjoining it yield, not so dealing with some part of it, but filled with such contempt for the whole, that he rejects even necessary food and drink, being fed by the contemplation of things divine. And therefore witness is borne to him in another place also: "for forty days he ate no bread and drank no water" (Exod. xxxiv. 28), when he was in the holy mount and listened to the divine communications made by God as He declared His laws. But not only does he renounce the whole belly, but with it he scours away the feet, that is, the supports of pleasure; but the things that create pleasure are its supports, for the man of gradual improvement is said to wash the inwards and the feet (Lev. i. 9), not the whole belly: for he is not sufficient to thrust from him pleasure in its completeness, but is content if he can get rid of its inwards, that is, of the delicacies, produced by the elaborate skill of dainty cooks and confectioners, of which we are told by the epicures that they serve, if we may so speak, as a means of giving succulence to the principal pleasures. XLIX. He lays further stress upon the mere moderating of passion in the man of gradual advance, by representing the wise man as declining without any bidding all the pleasures of the belly, while the man of gradual advance acts under orders; for in the wise man's case what is said is "he washed with water the belly and the feet" (Lev. ix. 14), spontaneously and unbidden,
γνώμην, ἔπὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων οὕτως: “τὰ δὲ ἐγκοίλια καὶ τοὺς πόδας” οὐχὶ ἐπλυναν, ἀλλὰ “πλυνοῦσι” (Lev. i. 9). σφόδρα παρατετηρημένως· δεὶ γὰρ τὸν μὲν τέλευον εἴ ἐαυτοῦ κυνείσθαι πρὸς τὰς κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐνεργείας, τὸν δὲ ἀσκητὴν μετὰ τοῦ ύφηγουμένου τὰ πρακτέα λόγου, ὃς προστάττοντι πείθεσθαι καλόν.

Οὐ δὲ ἔξω, ὅτι Μωυσῆς ὡλὴν τὴν κοιλίαν τούτην γαστρός ἐκπλήρωσιν παρατηροῦμεν σχεδὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοις πάθεσιν ἀποτάττεται, τοῦ νομοθέτου ἀπὸ μέρους ἐνὸς τὸ σύμπαν ἐναργῶς παριστάτος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεκτικώτατον περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἡσύχασε, δυνάμει διεξούσιος· L. συνεκτικώτατον <γάρ> ἡ γαστρός ἐκπλήρωσις καὶ ὡσανεὶ θεμέλιος τις τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν· οὐδὲν γοῦν ἑκεῖνων δύναται συστῆναι μὴ ἐπερειδόμενον γαστρὶ, ἢ πάντα ἐφίδρυκεν ἡ φύσις. διὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λείας προτέρων τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ἰουδα (Gen. xxix. 35), μέλλων ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὰς σώματος προκοπᾶς Βάλλαν τὴν Ῥαχήλ παιδίσκην καὶ πρὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τίκτειν παρασκευάζει· Βάλλα δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκατάποσις· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σωματικῶν ἀνευ καταπόσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ὑποστήναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ ἤγεμονεύει παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν ψιλόν ὁγκοῦ.

145 φαστρῇ, ἢ πάντα ἐφίδρυκεν ἡ φύσις. διὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λείας προτέρων τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ στάντων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως Ἰουδα (Gen. xxix. 35), μέλλων ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν καὶ τὰς σώματος προκοπᾶς Βάλλαν τὴν Ῥαχήλ παιδίσκην καὶ πρὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τίκτειν παρασκευάζει· Βάλλα δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκατάποσις· ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σωματικῶν ἀνευ καταπόσεως καὶ γαστρὸς ὑποστήναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ αὕτη κρατεῖ καὶ ἤγεμονεύει παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν ψιλόν ὁγκοῦ.

146 παρατήρει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν λεπτολογίαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ
but in the case of the priests it is on this wise: "the inwards and the feet," not "they washed" but "they shall wash" (Lev. i. 9). This shows great exactness. For it must needs be that while the perfect man moves of himself towards virtuous actions, the man who is practising should do so with the aid of reason which gives him guidance what he should do, obedience to whose directions is a noble thing.

We must not fail to notice that Moses, when he refuses the entire belly, that is the filling of his stomach, practically renounces the other passions too. The lawgiver uses one portion to give from it a clear presentation of the whole; and having mentioned the most essential matter, virtually treats of the rest about which he has been silent. L. For the filling of the belly is the most essential matter, and the foundation, so to speak, of the other passions. None of them, as we see, can take shape unless it have the belly to support it, for nature has made the belly the basis of all things. Hence it comes that when Leah's sons, the good things of the soul, had been born before Jacob's other sons, and had ceased with Judah, who is "praise" (Gen. xxix. 35), God, being about to create representatives of the forward striving of the body as well, causes Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, to bear children even before her mistress. Now Bilhah is "swallowing." For the prophet knew that no part or organ of the body can subsist without "swallowing" and the belly, but this holds sway and sovereignty over all the body and over all the material frame whose concern is with mere living. Do not let any subtle point escape your notice, for you will not find a
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λεχθὲν παρέργως εὐρήσεις. Μωυσῆς τὸ μὲν στηθυνόν ἀφαιρεῖται, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖ μὲν, πλύνει δὲ (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14). διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ τέλειος σοφὸς ὅλον μὲν τὸν θυμὸν ἰσχύει παραιτήσασθαι καὶ ἀποκόψαι ὁργῆς κατεξαναστάς, τὴν δὲ κοιλίαν ἐκτεμέν ἄδυνατεῖ· τοῖς γὰρ ἀναγκαίοις συτίοι καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ φύσις βιάζεται χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸν ὀλυγοδέστατον καὶ καταφρονητικὸν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἁσιτίαν αὐτῶν μελετῶντα· πλυνέτω οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ καθαιρέτω ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν· ἐκατομηγυρία γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ θεοῦ τῷ φιλαρέτῳ δωρεά.

148 ΛΙ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπονοηθείσης διεφθάρθαι ψυχῆς φησιν (Num. ν. 27), ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀπολελοιποῖα τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀνήρ νόμιμος, εὑρεθῇ προσκεχωρηκυῖα τῷ μιαντοῖ τῇ ψυχῇ πάθῃ, "πρησθήσεται τῇ γαστέρᾳ," ὀπερ ἢν, ἀπληρώτους καὶ ἀκορέστους ἔξει τἀς γαστρός ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ οὐδέποτε παύσεται ἀπληρότος οὕσα ὑπὸ ἀπαδευσίαν, ἀλλ' ἀμυθήτων ἐπιρροές τῶν ἀδικίων ἔζει τὸ πάθος. οἴδα γοῦν πολλοὺς οὕτω πταίοντας περὶ τὴν τῆς γαστρός ἐπιθυμίαν, ὡστ' ἐμέτοιχος χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκρατόν καὶ τᾶλα ἀγάμησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀναλογεῖ τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὄγκοις ἡ τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄτε ἀγγεία ὄντες μεμετρημένα ἀμετρον οὐδὲν προσίεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιττὸν ἐκβάλλοντο, ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία πληρούται μὲν οὐδέποτε, μένει δὲ ἐνδεής καὶ δυσμάλεα ἀεί.
single pointless expression. Moses removes the breast; the belly he does not remove, but washes (Lev. viii. 29, ix. 14). Why is this? Because the perfect wise man can, by wholly renouncing anger, utterly avert and drive off the uprising of the spirited element in him, but to excise the belly he is powerless. Even the man of fewest needs who scorches the very necessaries of life and trains himself in abstinence from them, is forced by nature to take necessary food and drink. Let him therefore wash the belly and cleanse it from superfluous and unclean provisions; for this too is a sufficiently great gift from God to the lover of virtue. LI. It is owing to this that when treating of the soul suspected of adultery he says (Num. v. 27), that if it have forsaken the right principle, which is the lawful husband, and be discovered to have had intercourse with soul-defiling passion, “it will swell up in the belly,” which signified that it will have ever unfilled and insatiable the pleasures and desires of the belly, and will never cease to be insatiate owing to gross stupidity, but, with a countless throng of them pouring in, will keep its passion for ever. To cite an instance, I know many brought to such disaster over the craving of the belly, that after resorting to emetics they fly back again to strong drink and all the rest. For the craving of the soul that is out of control is not restricted as the bodily organs are by their size. These are vessels of a fixed capacity admitting nothing that exceeds it, but ejecting all that is superfluous. Desire is never filled up, but continues always thirsty and in want of more.

\( \delta \iota \alpha \tau \omega \tau \omicron \) seems to refer to § 146. The intervening § 147 is of the nature of a note.
άκόλουθον προστίθεται τῷ πρησθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα τῷ "διαπεσεῖν τὸν μηρόν"· διαπίπτει γὰρ τότε τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ γεννητικὸς τῶν καλῶν λόγος ὥρθος· "ἐὰν" γοῦν φησί "μὴ μιανθῆ καὶ καθαρὰ ἐσται καὶ ἃθως έκσπερματεῖ σπέρμα" (Num. v. 28), ἐὰν ὑπὸ πάθους μὴ μιανθῆ, καθαρεύῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἄνδρα, τὸν ύγίη καὶ ἰγκέμονα λόγον, γόνων ἔξει ψυχήν καὶ καρποφόρον, φέρουσαν γέννημα φρονήσεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς συμπάσης ἀρετῆς.

151 LII. Ἀρ’ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνδεδεμένους σώματι οἶδόν τε σωματικάς ἀνάγκαις μὴ χρῆσθαι; καὶ πῶς ἐνεστῶ; ἀλλ’ ὅρα, ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὸν τρόπον παραγγέλλει τῶν ἀγομένων ὑπὸ σωματικῆς χρείας αὐτῶν μόνῳ χρῆσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. πρώτον μὲν φησὶ "τόπος ἐστω σοι ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς" (Deut. xxiii. 12), παρεμβολὴν καλὸν τὴν ἀρετῆν, ἐν ἣ ἐστρατοπέδευκεν ἡ ψυχή· οὔ γὰρ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν κρατεῖν χώρον φρόνησις καὶ σωματικῆς ἀνάγκης ἀπόλαυσις. εἶτα "ἐξελεύσῃ" φησίν "ἐκεῖ ἐξώ"· διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ ψυχὴ καταμένουσα μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ διατρίβουσα τῆς σοφίας χρῆσθαι των τῶν φίλων σώματος· τρέφεται γὰρ τότε θεοτέραις τροφαῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστῆμαις, δι’ ὅσα καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμελεί· ἐπειδ’ ἐξέλθῃ τῶν ιερῶν ἀρετῆς οἴκων, την καύτα ἐπὶ τᾶς τὸ σῶμα πλημμελοῦσας καὶ πιεζοῦσας ὑλὰς τρέπεται. πῶς οὖν αὐταῖς χρή-

a See on De Op. 43.
This explains "the breaking up of the thigh," being added as the sequel to the swelling of the belly. For then it is that the soul experiences the breaking up of the right principle, the principle that is the seed whence all noble things are begotten. We see this from the words that follow, "If she have not been defiled and be pure, she shall be free and shall conceive seed" (Numb. v. 28), if she have not been defiled by passion, but have been chaste and faithful to her lawful husband, the princely and wholesome principle, she will have a soul fruitful and productive, yielding the offspring of sound sense and righteousness and all excellence.

LII. Is it possible, then, that we, tied as we are to a body, should not comply with bodily requirements? How can it be possible? But look. The sacred guide tells the man who feels the pressure of bodily necessity the way to deal with it, namely, to comply with it only so far as he is actually obliged to do so. First he says, "Let there be to thee a place outside the camp" (Deut. xxiii. 12), meaning by "the camp" virtue, in which the soul has pitched its camp. For good sense and indulgence of a bodily necessity cannot occupy the same quarters. Next he says, "Thou shalt go forth there without." Why go forth? Because the soul cannot have dealings with any of the body's friends while it abides with good sense and spends its days in the house of wisdom. For then it is nourished by food more divine, which it finds in all knowledge, and for the sake of this it actually disregards the flesh. For when it has gone forth from the sacred dwellings of virtue, it is then that it turns to material things which treat the body ill and weigh it down.
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153 σομαι; “πάσσαλος ἔστω σοι” φησίν “ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης σου, καὶ ὀρύξεις ἐν αὐτῷ” (Deut. xxiii. 13), τοντέστι λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐξορύττων καὶ ἀναστέλλων καὶ ἀπαμφιενύς αὐτῷ· ἀνεξώσθαι γὰρ βουλεῖται ἡμᾶς τὰ πάθη, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνεμένα καὶ κεχαλασμένα φορεῖν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως αὐτῶν, ὁ καλεῖται Πάσχα, προστάτει τὰς “ὅσφυς περιεξώσθαι” (Exod. xii. 11), ήτοι συνεστάλθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. πάσσαλος οὖν, τοντέστι λόγος, ἐπέσθω τῷ πάθει, κωλύων αὐτὸ κείσθαι: οὔτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μόνοις χρησόμεθα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ἀφεξόμεθα. ΛΠ.

154 καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις ὄντες καὶ μέλλοντες εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρήσιν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐλθεῖν σὺν λόγῳ παραγενώμεθα ὡσπερ ὅταν τῷ ἀμυντηρίῳ, οὔτε πέραν τοῦ μετρίου σιτίων ἐμφορηθῆσθαι αἰθεῖον τρόπον ὀὔτε ἀκράτους ἀμέτρους μέθη ληραίνειν ἀναγκαζόμεθα· ἐπιστομεῖ [118] γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐγχαλίνωσε τὴν ρύμην καὶ 155 φοράν τοῦ πάθους. ἐγὼ γοῦν αὐτὸ πολλάκις παθών οἶδα· εἰς γὰρ ἄδιάγωνον συνουσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ πολυελή δεῖπνα, ὅποτε μὴ ἀφικόμην σὺν λόγῳ, δοῦλος ἐγενόμην τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν ἀτιθάσων, θεαμάτων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὅσα διὰ μυκτήρους καὶ γεύσεως ἥδινας ἀπεργάζεται· ὅποτε δὲ μετὰ τοῦ αἴροντος λόγου, δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλου γίνομαι καὶ ἀνά κράτος νυκῶ καλὴν νίκην καρπερίας

* Or "ill-regulated."
then shall I deal with them? "Let there be to thee, he says, a shovel upon thy girdle, and thou shalt dig with it" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is to say, reason shall be upon the passion digging it out, tucking it up, not suffering it to clothe thee about. For God would have us gird up our passions, not wear them flowing and loose. So at the crossing over from them, which is called Passover, He bids that their "loins should be girded up" (Exod. xii. 11), in other words that their desires should be restrained. Let a shovel then, that is, reason, follow the passion, preventing it from spreading abroad, for by this means we shall comply only with demands which are urgent, but from all that goes beyond this we shall abstain. LIII. When we are present at entertainments and are about to take and enjoy the viands provided, if we take our places at table with reason like some weapon to parry blows, we shall neither gorge ourselves with food beyond measure like cormorants, nor overdosed with unlimited strong drink shall we succumb to intoxication with its resultant foolish talk; for reason will curb and bridle the impetuous rush of the passion. I, to mention myself in proof of what I say, know by frequent experience how true it is. Many a time have I been present at a gathering with little that was sociable about it or at costly suppers. When I did not arrive with reason for my companion, I found myself the slave of the enjoyments provided, at the mercy of harsh masters, entertainments for eye and ear and all that brings pleasure by way of taste or smell. But whenever I arrive with convincing reason at my side, I find myself a master not a slave, and, putting forth all my strength, win
καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἀντιβαίνων καὶ ἀντιφιλονεικῶν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναρρηγνύσι τὰς ἀκράτορας ἐπιθυμίας. 157 "διορύξεις" φησὶ γοῦν "τῷ πασσάλῳ" (Deut. xxiii. 13), τουτέστιν, ὃν ἔκαστον ἔχει φύσιν, τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν, τὸ τοῖς μετὰ γαστέρα χρήσθαι, τῷ λόγῳ γυμνώσεις καὶ διαστελεῖς, ἵνα διακρίνας γνῶς τάληθες· τότε γὰρ εἰση, ὅτι ἐν οúdeι τούτων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον μόνον καὶ 158 χρήσιμον. "καὶ ἐπαγαγὼν καλύψεις τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου" (ib.)· πάνυ καλῶς· ἐπαγε γάρ, ὡς ψυχή, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πάντα, ὃ καλύπτεται καὶ συσκίαζει καὶ συγκρύπτεται πᾶσα ἀσχημοσύνη σαρκὸς καὶ πάθους· τὰ γὰρ μὴ σὺν λόγῳ πάντα 159 αἰσχρά, ὦσπερ τὰ σὺν λόγῳ κόσμια. οὐκοῦν ὃ μὲν φιλόδονος ἐπὶ κοιλίαν βαδίζει, ὃ δὲ τέλειος τὴν κοιλίαν ὀλην ἑκπλύνει, ὃ δὲ προκόπτων τὰ ἐν κοιλίᾳ, ὃ δὲ ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος παιδευέσθαι ἐξω πρόεισιν, ὅταν μέλλῃ τῆς γαστρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἐπιφερόμενος λόγον ἐπιστομίεσθαι τὸ πάθος, ὃς εὑρηται συμβολικῶς πάσσαλος. 160 LIV. Εὐ προσθεῖναι· "πορεύσῃ ἐπὶ τῷ στῆθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ." (Gen. iii. 14). ἡ γὰρ ἤδονῃ οὐκ ἐστὶ τῶν ἠρεμοῦντων καὶ ἔσταμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κινομένων καὶ ταραχῆς γεμώντων· ὦσπερ γὰρ ἡ φλῶς ἐν κινήσει, οὕτως φλογμοῦ τὴν τρόπον τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κινούμενον ἠρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐὰ. διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι

* Strictly "after." See 139.
the noble victory of endurance and self-mastery, in a vigorous and pertinacious encounter with everything that excites the unruly desires. "Thou shalt dig," you see he says, "with the shovel" (Deut. xxiii. 13), that is, thou shalt lay bare and distinguish by means of reason, the nature which each passion possesses, eating, drinking, sexual indulgence, that thou mayest discern them and learn the truth about them. For then shalt thou know that in none of these is there the thing which is good, but that which is useful only and necessary. "And bringing the shovel to bear on it then shalt thou cover thine unseemliness" (ibid.). 'Tis well said. Bring then, O soul, reason to bear on all things, wherewith all unseemliness of flesh and passion is covered, and hidden, and put out of sight. For all that is unaccompanied by reason is unsightly, just as that with which reason is present is comely. We get this result. The lover of pleasure moves on the belly; the perfect man washes out the entire belly; the man who is making gradual progress washes out the contents of the belly, the man who is just beginning his training will go forth without, when he intends to curb passion by bringing reason (figuratively called a shovel) to bear upon the demands of the belly.

LIV. There is an excellent point in the next words too: "Thou shalt go upon thy breast and thy belly" (Gen. iii. 14). For pleasure does not belong to the category of things becalmed and stationary, but to that of things moving and full of turmoil. For as the flame is in movement, so, not unlike a blazing thing, passion moving in the soul does not suffer it to be calm. Thus the prophet does not agree
καταστηματικήν εἶναι τὴν ἠδονὴν οὔ συμφέρεται· ἡρεμία γὰρ λίθω μὲν καὶ ξύλω καὶ παντὶ ἄψυχω οἰκεῖον, ἀλλότριον δὲ ἠδονῆ· γαργαλισμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σπασμώδους ἐφίεται καὶ ἐπ' ἐνίων οὐκ ἡρεμίας ἀλλὰ συντόνου καὶ σφοδρᾶς κυνῆσεως ἐστὶ χρεία.

161 LV. Τὸ δὲ "γῆν φάγεσαι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου" (Gen. iii. 14), τοῦτο προσφυώς εὑρηται· τῆς γὰρ σώματος τροφῆς ἠδοναὶ γῆις καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· δύο <γάρ> ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ψυχῆ τε καὶ σῶμα· τὸ μὲν ὦν σῶμα ἐκ γῆς δεδημοῦργηται, ὡς καὶ ψυχὴ αἰθέρος ἐστίν, ἀπόστασιμα θειον ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνεύμα ζωῆς ο θεός, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀνθρωπός εἰς ψυχὴν ζωσαν" (Gen. ii. 7). εὐλόγως οὖν τὸ μὲν ἐκ γῆς διαπλασθὲν σῶμα συνγενεῖς ἔχει τροφᾶς ἃς ἀναδιδοσιν ἡ γῆ, ἡ δὲ αἰθερίου φύσεως μοῦρα οὖσα ψυχὴ πάλιν αἰθερίους καὶ θειον ἐπιστήμαις γὰρ τρέφεται καὶ οὐ σιτίοις ἡ ποτοίς, ὧν ἐπιδεές ἐστι τὸ σῶμα.

162 LVI. "Ὅτι δὲ οὐ γῆινοι ἀλλ' οὐράνιοι αἱ ψυχῆς τροφαί, μαρτυρήσει διὰ πλειόνων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· "ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὑπὶ ὑμῖν ἄρτους <έκ> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔξελεύσεται δ' ὁ λαὸς καὶ συνάξουσι τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμέραν, ὡς πειράσω αὐτούς, εἰ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου η ὦ" (Exod. xvi. 4). ὅρας ὅτι οὐ γῆινοι καὶ φθαρτοίς τρέφεται ἡ ψυχή, ἀλλ' οἷς ἃν ὁ θεὸς ὀμβρήσῃ λόγοις ἐκ τῆς μεταρσίου καὶ καθαρὰς φύσεως, ἣν οὐρανόν κέκληκεν· ἐξίτω

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with those who say that pleasure is tranquil. For stillness pertains to a stone and a log and to everything without life, but it is alien to pleasure. For pleasure hankers after an excitement that is actually convulsive, and in some people so far from its being an experience of tranquility, it is an indulgence in intense and violent movement.

LV. The sentence "Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (Gen. iii. 14) is an apt one. For the food of the body brings pleasures of earth; and fitly so, it would seem. For there are two things of which we consist, soul and body. The body, then, has been formed out of earth, but the soul is of the upper air, a particle detached from the Deity: "for God breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). It is in accordance with reason, therefore, that the body fashioned out of earth has food akin to it which earth yields, while the soul being a portion of an ethereal nature has on the contrary ethereal and divine food; for it is fed by knowledge in its various forms and not by meat and drink, of which the body stands in need.

LVI. That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the Sacred Word. "Behold I rain upon you bread out of heaven, and the people shall go out and they shall gather the day's portion for a day, that I may prove them whether they will walk by My law or not" (Exod. xvi. 4). You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such words as God shall have poured like rain out of that lofty and pure region of life to which the prophet has given the title of "heaven."
μέντοι ὁ λεώς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σύστημα καὶ συναγαγέτω καὶ ἀρχέσθω τῆς ἐπιστήμης, μὴ ἄθρόως ἀλλὰ "τὸ τῆς ἠμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν". πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἄθροόν οὐ χωρήσει τὸν πολὺν πλοῦτον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φορᾷ χειμάρρου τρόπον ἐπικλυσθῆσetai· ἐπεὶ ἐστὶν ἀμενον τὰ αὐτάρκη λαβόντας ἀγαθὰ καὶ μεμε-164 τημένα τῶν λοιπῶν ταμίαν οἰηθῆναι τὸν θεον. ὁ δὲ πάντα μετῶν ἄθροα δυσελπιστίαν καὶ ἀπιστίαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνοίας κτᾶται. δύσελπις μὲν γίνεται, εἰ νῦν μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ αὕθις ἐλπίζει τὸν θεὸν ὑμβρήσεν αὐτῷ ἀγαθά, ἀπιστος δὲ, εἰ μὴ πε-πίστευκε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἄει τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας ἀφθόνως τοῖς ἀξίοις προσνέμεσθαι, ἀνοὺς δὲ, εἰ οἶς τῶν συναχθέντων ἱκανὸς ἔσεσθαι φύλαξ ἀκοντος θεοῦ. μικρὰ γὰρ ῥοπὴ τὸν ἁσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα περιάπτοντα νουν ὑπὸ μεγα-165 φύλαξ ἐναι πάντων ἐποίησε. ΛVII. σύναγε οὖν, ὁ ψυχή, τὰ αὐτάρκη καὶ καθήκοντα καὶ μήτε πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν μήτε ἐλάττων πάλιν ὡς ἐνδεῖν, ἵνα μέτροις δυκαίοις χρωμένη μὴ ἀδικης. καὶ γὰρ διάβασιν γε μελε-τῶσαν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὸ Πάσχα θύουσαν δει τὴν προκοπῆν, τὸ πρόβατον, λαμβάνειν μὴ

* The Greek for "sheep" is ποῦβατον, which properly means anything that walks forward.
proceed. The people, and all that goes to make the soul, is to go out and gather and make a beginning of knowledge, not all at once but "the day's portion for a day." For to begin with it will be unable to contain all at once the abundant wealth of the gracious gifts of God, but will be overwhelmed by them as by the rush of a torrent. In the second place it is better, when we have received the good things sufficient of themselves as duly measured out to us, to think of God as Dispenser of those that still remain. He that would fain have all at once earns for himself lack of hope and trust, as well as great lack of sense. He lacks hope if he expects that now only but not in the future also will God shower on him good things; he lacks faith, if he has no belief that both in the present and always the good gifts of God arelavishly bestowed on those worthy of them; he lacks sense, if he imagines that he will be, though God will it not, a sufficient guardian of what he has gathered together; for the mind that vaingloriously ascribes to itself sureness and security has many a time been rendered by a slight turn of the scale a feeble and insecure guardian of all that it looked on as in its safe-keeping.

LVII. Gather together, therefore, O soul, what is adequate of itself and suitable, and neither more than sufficient so as to be excessive, nor on the other hand less so as to fall short, that dealing in right measures thou mayest do no wrong. For thou art required also, when making it thy study to cross over from the passions and when sacrificing the Passover, to take the forward step, whose symbol is the lamb, not without measure, for he
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άμέτρως· "ἐκαστός" γάρ φησὶν "τὸ ἄρκον ἅντω συναριθμήσεται¹ εἰς πρόβατον" (Exod. xii. 4).

166 Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μάννα οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης δωρεᾶς, [120] ἢν ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται | τῷ γένει ήμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐνάριθμον καὶ μεμετρημένον καὶ μὴ τὸ ύπερ ἡμᾶς λαμβάνειν· πλεονεξίας γὰρ τοῦτο γε. τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας οὖν εἰς ἡμέραν συναγαγέτω ἡ ψυχή (Exod. xvi. 4), ἵνα μὴ ἔαυτήν φύλακα τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν φιλόδωρον θεὸν ἀποφήγη. LVIII. καὶ διὰ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ προκείμενον λέγεσθαι· σύμβολον φωτός ἐστιν ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ παιδεία. πολλοὶ οὖν τὰ ἐν ψυχῇ φῶτα ἐκτῆσαντο εἰς νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς, οἶνον τὰ προπαideύματα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια λειγομένα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν τροφῆς ἕνεκεν ἡ ἀρχής τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. ὃ δὲ γε ἀστεῖος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνεκα ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐνεκα φωτὸς καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ κτάται μόνον, οὐχ ἐνεκα ἄλλου τινὸς. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· "ὅπως πειράσω αὐτοὺς, ἐὶ πορεύσονται τῷ νόμῳ μου ἢ οὔ" (Exod. xvi. 4). νόμος γάρ 167 θείος οὗτος, τῆς ἁρετῆς δι᾽ ἐαυτῆς τιμᾶν. τοὺς οὖν ἀσκητὰς ὥσπερ νόμισμα δοκιμάζει ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, πότερα κεκηλίδωνται ἐπὶ τὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀναφέροντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἁγαθὸν ἢ ὀς δόκιμοι²

¹ συναριθμήσεται (as in lxx.) is restored in accordance with Mangey's conjecture.
² δόκιμοι is substituted for δόκιμον (conj. Tr.)

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a Or "than luxurious living."
b πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. πρὸς seems to be used as in the phrase πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν, 'to live with reference to, dependent on another.
says "each man shall reckon what suffices for him as a lamb" (Exod. xii. 4).

Both in the case of manna then, and in the case of every boon which God confers upon our race, it is good to take what is fixed by strict measure and reckoning and not that which is above and beyond us; for to do this is to be over-reaching. Let the soul, then, gather the day's portion for a day (Exod. xvi. 4), that it may declare not itself but the bountiful God guardian of the good things. LVIII. And the reason for the injunction we are considering seems to me to be this. The day is a symbol of light, and the light of the soul is training. Many, then, have acquired the lights in the soul for night and darkness, not for day and light; all elementary lessons for example, and what is called school-learning and philosophy itself when pursued with no motive higher than parading their superiority, or from desire of an office under our rulers. But the man of worthy aims sets himself to acquire day for the sake of day, light for the sake of light, the beautiful for the sake of the beautiful alone, not for the sake of something else. And this is why he goes on with the words: "that I may prove them whether they will walk in My law or no" (Exod. xvi. 4); for this is the divine law, to value excellence for its own sake. The right principle, therefore, tests all aspirants as one does a coin, to see whether they have been debased in that they refer the soul's good to something external, or whether, as tried and approved men, they distinguish upon, at the beck and call of, another' (Cope, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, i. 9. 27). "A life of luxury or office-holding at the will of the powers that be."
Διαστέλλουσιν ἐν διανοίᾳ μόνη τούτῳ διαφυλάττοντες. τούτωσι συμβέβηκε μὴ τοῖς γηνοῖς ἄλλα ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐπιστήμμασι τρέφεσθαι.

169 ΛΔιΔ νοις δὲ καὶ δι' ἔτερων, ὅταν φη' "τὸ πρῶτ ἐγένετο καταπαυμένης τῇς δρόσου κύκλῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔπι πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου ὦσεὶ κόριον, λευκὸν ὦσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔτερους Τι ἐστι τούτο; οὐ γὰρ ἤδεισαν, τί ἢν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωυσῆς Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δεδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμά το συνετάξε κύριος" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). ὅρας τῆς ψυχῆς τροφῆν ὡσ' ἔστι· λόγος θεοῦ συνεχής, ἐοἰκώς δρόσῳ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν περιείληφῶς καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἐών. φαίνεται δ' οὐ πανταχοῦ ὁ λόγος οὖτος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐρήμου παθῶν καὶ κακῶν, καὶ ἐστὶ λεπτὸς νοηθῆναι καὶ σφόδρα διανυγῆς καὶ καθαρὸς δραμῆναι, καὶ ἐστὶν ὦσεὶ κόριον. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γεωπόνοι τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κορίου διαιρεθέν εἰς ἀπειρά καὶ τμῆσθαι καὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν καὶ τμημάτων σπαρέν βλαστάνειν οὖτος, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἡδύνατο· τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ δι' ὀλῶν ὦφελητικὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέρους καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος.

170 μὴποτε δὲ ὁμοιωταί καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κόρη· ὡς γὰρ αὕτη βραχύτατον οὖσα μέρος τὰς τῶν ὄντων ὃρα ἐκόμια ὀλας καὶ θάλασσαν ἀπειρον

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*a* The κόρης, coriander-seed, suggests the κόρη (pupilla) of the eye.
and guard this treasure as belonging to thought and mind alone. Such men have the privilege of being fed not with earthly things but with the heavenly forms of knowledge.

LIX. He gives a further elucidation of this point, when he says, "in the early morning when the dew ceased it appeared all round the camp, and lo! upon the face of the wilderness a fine thing as it were coriander seed, white like hoar-frost on the ground. And when they saw it, they said one to another, 'What is this?' for they knew not what it was. And Moses said unto them, 'This bread, which the Lord hath given us to eat, is this word, which the Lord hath prescribed'" (Exod. xvi. 13 ff.). You see of what sort the soul's food is. It is a word of God, continuous, resembling dew, embracing all the soul and leaving no portion without part in itself. But not everywhere does this word show itself, but on the wilderness of passions and wickednesses, and it is fine and delicate both to conceive and be conceived, and surpassingly clear and transparent to behold, and it is as it were coriander seed. Tillers of the soil say that if you cut a coriander seed and divide it into countless pieces, each of the portions into which you cut it, if sown, grows exactly as the whole seed could have done. Such too is the word of God, able to confer benefits both as a whole and by means of every part, yes any part you light upon. It is possible that a resemblance between the word of God and the pupil\(^a\) of the eye, is also intended. For as the pupil of the eye is a very small part of it and sees the zones of the universe in their completeness,
και ἀέρος μέγεθος καὶ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ ὅσον ἀνατέλλων καὶ δυόμενος ὁ ἤλιος ὀρίζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεοῦ λόγος ἐξιδερκέστατός ἐστιν, ὡς πάντα ἐφορᾶν εἶναι ἰκανός, ὡς ὁ ἤλιος ἐξελάσσεται. παρὸ καὶ λευκόν ἐστιν. τί γὰρ ἄν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἡ τηλαυγέστερον θείου λόγου, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλῦν καὶ τὸν ζόφον ἀπελαύνει φωτὸς κοινωνήσας ψυχικοῦ γλυκόμενα;

172 LX. "Ιδιον δὲ περὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον συμβαίνει πάθος. ὅταν γὰρ καλέσῃ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ψυχήν, πῆξιν ἀνεγείρει τῷ γεώδει καὶ σωματικῷ καὶ αἰσθητικῷ παντὶ. διό λέγεται τὸ "ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς" (Exod. xvi. 14). καὶ γὰρ ἦνίκα ὁ τὸν θεόν ὅρων φυγήν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν μελετᾶ, πήγνυται τὰ κύματα, τούτητιν ἡ φορὰ καὶ αὐξήσις καὶ τὸ μεγάλαυχον αὐτῶν. "ἐπάγη γὰρ τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης" (Exod. xv. 8), ἵνα διαβῆ τὸ πάθος ὁ βλέπων τὸν ὄντα. πυνθάνονται οὖν ἀλλήλων αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ πεπονθυόμενα μὲν ἰδῆ τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ "τί ἐστι" (Exod. xvi. 15). καὶ γὰρ γλυκανθέντες πολλάκις τὸν κεκινηκότα χυμὸν ἄγνωσομεν καὶ ἔρξαν ἄτμων ὀσφραίσμενοι τόνες εἰσὶν οὐκ ἵσμεν. οὕτως οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ γανωθεῖσα πολλάκις εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχει, τί τὸ γανῶσαν αὐτὴν ἐστι. διδάσκεται δὲ υπὸ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ προφήτου Μωυσέως, ὅσ

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and the boundless ocean, and the vast expanse of air and of the infinite heaven, all that is bounded by the rising and the setting sun, so the word of God also has keenest sight, and is able to survey all things, . . . wherewith they shall clearly see all that is worth beholding. Accordingly it is also white; for what could be brighter or more far-shining than the divine word, by communion with which even other things dispel their mist and their gloom, eagerly desiring to become sharers in the light of the soul?

LX. An affection peculiar to it is produced by this word. When it has summoned the soul to itself, it brings about a congealment in all that part of us that is earthly, bodily, sense-bound; and this accounts for the words “as it were hoar-frost on the earth” (Exod. xvi. 14). For we also find that when he that sees God is studying flight from the passions, the waves become fixed as if frozen, that is to say the rush and growth and vainglory of the passions; “for the waves became solid in the midst of the sea” (Exod. xv. 8), in order that he that seeth Him that is might pass beyond passion. The souls, therefore, that have indeed already had experience of the word, but are not able to answer the question, inquire one of another “What is it?” (Exod. xvi. 15). For it often happens that on finding a sweet taste in our mouths we are uncertain as to the flavour which has given rise to it, and that when we catch the scent of pleasant odours we do not know what they are. In the same way then the soul, when it has been gladdened, is often unable to say what the thing that gladdens it is. But it is taught by the hierophant and prophet Moses: he will tell it, This
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ἐρεῖ: "οὔτος ἔστιν ὁ ἄρτος" (ibid.), ἡ τροφή, ἣν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, προσενέγκασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ρῆμα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον. "οὔτος" γὰρ "ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν δέδωκεν ἦμῖν φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ρῆμα."

174 LXI. Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ. "καὶ ἐκάκωσε σε καὶ ἐλιμαγχόσε σε, καὶ ἐψώμισε σε τὸ μάννα, ὃ ὧν ἤδεισαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ὡς ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι ὧν ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ βήματι τῷ ἀρχηγῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ" (Deut. viii. 3). ἡ κάκωσις αὐτῆς ἔλασμός ἔστι· καὶ γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ κακων ἦμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἔλασκεται (Lev. xvi. 30). ὅταν γὰρ τὰ ἡδέα περισυλάτω, δοκούμεν κακοῦσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱλεών τὸν θεὸν ἕχειν.

175 περιποιεῖ δ' ἦμῖν καὶ λιμόν, οὐχ ἀρετής, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ πάθους καὶ κακίας συνυσταμένων τεκμήριον δὲ, διατρέφει γὰρ ἦμᾶς τῷ γενικώτατῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ. τὸ γὰρ μάννα ἐρμηνεύεται "τί;" τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ γενικώτατον τῶν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπέρων παντὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ πρεσβύτατος καὶ γενικώτατος τῶν ὁσα γέγονε. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἠδεισαν οἱ πατέρες, οὐχ οἵ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' οἵ χρόνως πολυῖ οἱ λέγοντες· "δῶμεν ἄρχηγόν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς" τὸ πάθος "Αἰγυπτοῦ" (Num. xiv. 4). ἀναγγελλέτων [122] οὐν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς ὁ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος" [κατ' εἰκόνα], "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ βήματι τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ," τούτεστι καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου τραφή—

*a As Heinemann points out, De Congressu eruditionis 418*
bread (ibid.) is the food which God hath given to the soul, for it to feed on His own utterance and His own word; for this bread, which He hath given us to eat, is "this word."

LXI. He says in Deuteronomy also: "And He afflicted thee and made thee weak by hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee, that not on bread alone shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 3). This afflicted is propitiation; for on the tenth day also by afflicting our souls He makes propitiation (Lev. xvi. 30). For when we are being deprived of pleasant things, we think we are being afflicted, but in reality thereby we have God propitious to us. He occasions famine also to us, not a famine of virtue, but a famine of the creations of passion and wickedness. We have a proof of this in His feeding us with His own most "generic" word; for "manna" means "something," and this is the most generic of all terms. And the word of God is above all the world, and is eldest and most all-embracing of created things. This word "the fathers knew not." This does not mean the real forefathers, but those whose hair was grey from age who said, "Let us appoint a leader and let us return to Egypt," that is, "to passion" (Numb. xiv. 4). Let God then proclaim to the soul, "Not on bread only shall men live, but on every utterance that goeth forth through the mouth of God," that is to say he shall be fed

gratia 172 proves that Philo wrote not τὸν συνιστάμενον but τῶν συνιστάμενων.  

b Or "all-embracing."

c Philo audaciously substitutes the indefinite for the interrogative pronoun ("something" for "what?"). See App. p. 483.
σεται καὶ διὰ μέρους αὐτοῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ στόμα σύμβολον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ δὲ ρῆμα μέρος αὐτοῦ. τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μὲν τελειοτέρων ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλω τῷ λόγῳ· ἀγαπήσαμεν δὲ ἂν ἤμεῖς, εἰ καὶ μέρει τραφείμεν αὐτοῦ.

177 ΛXII. Ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν εὐχονται θεοῦ λόγῳ τραφῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν λόγον ύπερκύψας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φησί τρέφεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγει δ’ οὗτως: “ὁ θεός, ὃ εὐνυμοῦσαν οἱ πατέρες μου Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ἐως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενος με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν, εὐσχησάμεν τὰ παιδία ταύτα” (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). ὥραῖος οὗτος ὁ τρόπος· τροφέα τὸν θεόν, οὐχὶ λόγον, ἤγεῖται, τόν δὲ ἄγγελον, ὃς ἔστι λόγος, ὅσπερ ιατρὸν κακῶν· φυσικωτάτα· ἄρέσκει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν προηγοῦμενα ἀγαθὰ αὐτοπροσώπως αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα διδόναι, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς ἄγγελους καὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ· δεύτερα δ’ ἔστιν ὡσα περιέχει κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν. 178 διὰ τοῦτ’ οἶμαι καὶ ὕγειαν μὲν τὴν ἀπλῆν, ἢς οὐ προηγεῖται νόσος ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ θεὸς χαρίζεται δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ γυνομένην κατὰ νόσου φυγῆν καὶ διὰ τέχνης καὶ διὰ ἰατρικῆς, ἑπιγράφων καὶ ἑπιστήμης καὶ τεχνίτη τὸ δοκεῖν ἰᾶσθαι, πρὸς ἀλλήλων αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ τοὺς καὶ ἀνευ τοὺς ἰόμενος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, τὰς τροφὰς, αὐτὸς χαρίζεται δι’ ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ ἄγγελων καὶ λόγων ὡσα ἀπαλλαγὴν περιέχει κακῶν.

a Or “verb.”
both by all the word and by a part of it; for the
mouth is a symbol of utterance or speech, and the
statement is a part of speech. The soul of the
most perfect is fed by the word as a whole; we may
well be content should we be fed even by a portion
of it.

LXII. Now those of whom we have been speaking
pray to be fed with the word of God. But Jacob,
looking even higher than the word, says that he is
fed by God Himself. He speaks on this wise: "The
God to Whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac were
well-pleasing, the God Who feedeth me from my
youth up unto this day, the Angel who delivereth
me out of all my ills, bless these boys" (Gen. xlviii.
15 f.). How beautiful is his tone and temper! He
looks on God as feeding him, not His Word; but the
Angel, who is the Word, as healer of ills. This is the
language of a true philosopher. He thinks it meet
and right that He that is should Himself in His own
Person give the principal boons, while His Angels
and Words give the secondary gifts; and secondary
are such as involve riddance from ills. For this
reason, I think, God bestows health in the simplest
sense, preceded by no illness in our bodies, by
Himself only, but health that comes by way of
escape from illness He bestows both through medical
science and through the physician’s skill, letting both
knowledge and practitioner enjoy the credit of
healing, though it is He Himself that heals alike by
these means and without them. Now His mode of
dealing is the same in the case of the soul. The good
things, the food, He Himself bestows with His own
hand, but by the agency of Angels and Words such
as involve riddance of ills.
PHILO

179  LXIII. Ταύτα δ’ ηὔξατο αιτιώμενος τὸν πολιτικὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ἐκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ”. “σπεύσαντες” γὰρ φησιν “ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ εἰπάτε αὐτῷ Τάδε λέγει” καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς, εἶτα “κατάβηθι πρὸς μὲ καὶ μὴ μείνῃς,” ἐπὶ πᾶσιν “καὶ εἰκθρέψω σε ἐκεῖ, ἐτη γὰρ πέντε λιμός” (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). ἔπιμεμφόμενος οὖν ἄμα καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δοκῆσισοφὸν λέγει· ὃ οὖτος, ἵσθι τὰς ψυχὰς τροφᾶς ἐπιστήμας ὑπαρχοῦσας, ὃς οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητὸς λόγος ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς δωρεῖται, ὁ τρέφων ἐκ νεότητος καὶ πρώτης ἀκμῆς μέχρι τελείου φωτὸς (cf. Gen. xlvi. 15) αὐτὸς ἐμπλήσει. έπαθεν οὖν ταύτῳ ὁ Ἰωσήφ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥαχήλ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐνόμισε δύνασθαι τι τὸ γενητὸν, διὸ λέγει· “δὸς μοι τέκνα” (Gen. xxx. 1)· ἀλλ’ ὃς οἰκτητίς αὐτὴν μουμησάμενος ἐρεί· πλάνον πεπλάνησαι πολύν, οὐ γὰρ ἄντι θεοῦ ἐγώ | [123] εἰμι τοῦ μόνου δυναμένου τὰς ψυχὰς μήτρας ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ σπείρειν εἰν αὐταῖς ἀρετῶς καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας καὶ τικτοῦσας τὰ καλά· κατάμαθε γέ τοι τὴν ἀδελφὴν του Λείαν καὶ εὐρήσεις ἐξ οὐδενὸς γενητοῦ λαμβάνουσαν τὴν στορὰν καὶ τὴν γονὴν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· “ἰδὼν γὰρ κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἥνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς· Ῥαχήλ δὲ ἤν στείρα” (Gen. xxix. 31). 181 ἀλλ’ ὃς ρα πάλιν τὴν ἐν τούτῳ λεπτομερ崦γίαν· τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ θεὸς τὰς μήτρας ἀνοίγει, σπείρων εἰν αὐταῖς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις, ἢ δὲ μήτρα, παραδεξαμένη τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ, οὐ τίκτει τῷ θεῷ· ἥρειω ἐξ ὀυδένος ἐστιν ὁ ὁ—ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ νιός· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐνεκα ἐσπείρεν ὁ θεὸς
LXIII. In offering this prayer Jacob passed a censure on Joseph the statesman, who had ventured to say “I will nourish thee there.” His words were, “Make haste and go up to my father and say to him ‘thus saith’” and so on, and then “come down to me and tarry not,” finishing with “and I will nourish thee there, for there shall be famine for five years” (Gen. xlv. 9, 11). So Jacob at once chides and instructs the man wise in his own conceit when he says: “You must know, fine Sir, that the foods which nourish the soul are various forms of knowledge, and that these are not bestowed by the word of bodily sense but by God. He who reared me from youth and early prime to full-grown manhood (cf. Gen. xlviii. 15) will Himself satisfy my needs.” Joseph therefore went through the same experience as his mother Rachel. She too imagined that a created being has some power, for she says “Give me children” (Gen. xxx. 1). But the Supplanter will find fault with her and say, ‘Thou hast greatly erred, for I am not in the place of God, who alone hath power to open the wombs of souls, and to sow virtues in them, and to make them pregnant with noble things, and to give birth to them. Take note of Leah thy sister, and thou wilt find her receiving seed and offspring out of no created being but by God’s own gift”; “for the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren” (Gen. xxix. 31). But note again the delicate subtilty here. God opens the wombs of virtue, sowing in them noble doings, but the womb, after receiving virtue at God’s hand, does not bear to God—for He that is is in need of no one—but bears sons to me Jacob; for it may well be that it
εν τῇ ἀρετῇ τάχα, οὐχ ἐαυτῷ. οὐκοίν ἄλλος μὲν ἀνήρ τῆς Λείας ὁ ἰπταχαζόμενος εὑρίσκεται, ἄλλος δὲ πατὴρ τῶν ἐκ Λείας τέκνων· ἀνήρ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὴν μήτραν ἀνοίγων, πατὴρ δὲ τῶν τέκνων, ὅ ταῦτα τίκτειν λέγεται.

182 LXIV. "Καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἁνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἁνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικὸς" (Gen. iii. 15). ὀντως ἐστὶν ἡδονὴ ἔχθρον αἰσθήσει, καίτοι δοκοῦν ἐνίοις μάλιστα εἶναι φίλον· ἀλλ' ὀσπερ τὸν κόλακα ὁκ ἃν τὶς ἑταίροιν εὑποινός γὰρ φιλίας ἡ κολακεία—οὐδὲ τὴν ἑταίρον εὑνον ἑραστῇ—τοῖς γὰρ διδομένοις, ὁκ αὐτῷ, προσπέπονθεν· ὅτω καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξετάζων εὑρίσειν νόθον οἰκείοτητα ύποδυομένην ἄρα αἰσθήσειν. ὅταν γὲ τοι κορεσθῶμεν ἡδονῆς, ἐκπίπτει τῶν τόνων ἡμῶν τὰ αἰσθητήρια· ἕτοις οὖν ἡ ἔρωτι μεθύοντας οὐ καταμανθάνεις, ὅτι ὀρῴεις οὖν ὁρῶσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ αἰσθέοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἀφήρηται τὰς ἄκριβες ἐνεργείας· ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε καὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἀμετρὸν τροφῆς ἀπαντεῖ τῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ύφειθησαν ὑπنو τοναμαβάνοντος, ὅς καὶ τοῦναμα ἐσχεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ύφεσεσας αὐτῶν· χαλάται γὰρ καὶ βασιλεύει τὸ πλῆκτον ἐνεργείας, ὁμώς ἐν ταῖς ἐγρηγόρσεσι ἐπίτειναται, μηκέτι κχωάς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκτῶς πλῆκσεως δεχόμενου ἀλλὰ γεγωνυνίας καὶ ἐναργεῖς τὴν τε ἥχην ἀκριφ τοῦ νοῦ διαδίδουσας· δεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν πληρεθέντα γνωρίσαι τὸ ἐκτῶς καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ

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a Philo connects ύφεσις ("relaxing") with ὑπνος ("sleep").

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was for my sake, not for His own sake that God sowed seed in virtue. Accordingly One is found to be husband to Leah, who is passed over in silence, and another to be father of the children born of Leah. For He that openeth the womb is husband, but father of the children is he to whom she is said to bear these.

LXIV. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman" (Gen. iii. 15). In reality pleasure is a foe to sense, albeit thought by some to be a close friend. But just as no one would call the flatterer a comrade, since flattery is friendship diseased, and no one would say that the courtesan is kindly to her lover, since her tenderness is not for him but for his presents, so when you put pleasure to the test you will find that she is disguised under a counterfeit semblance of friendship with sense. You know how when we have surfeited ourselves with pleasure, our organs of sense relax their vigour. Or do you not observe men intoxicated with wine or love, how seeing they do not see and hearing they do not hear and how they are deprived of the power to exercise their other senses with any precision? It sometimes happens that owing to much overeating the vigour of all the senses is relaxed as sleep overtakes the man. Indeed sleep got its name from this relaxing of the senses. For at such a time the organ of perception grows slack, just as when we wake up its intensity is heightened, and the impressions which we receive from without are no longer dull, but are clear and ringing, and carry the sound all the way to the mind; for the mind has to become cognizant of what is without by receiving a blow, and so to gain
τύπον ἐναργῆ.  

LXV. τίρηει δ' ὅτι οὐκ εἴπεν "ἐχθραν θήσω σοι καὶ τῇ γυναικί," ἀλλὰ "ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικός." διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν μεθορίῳ κείμενον ἡδονῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως γίνεται τούτων ὁ πόλεμος.

[124] τὸ δὲ μέσον ἀμφοῖν ἔστι τὸ πότιμον, τὸ ἐδώδιμον, τὸ εὐτρεπὲς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὅπως ἑκαστὸν αἰσθητόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς. ὅταν οὖν ἀπλήστως ἐμφορηθῇ τούτων ἡ ἡδονή, βλάβην εὐθὺς εἰργάσατο αἰσθῆσι. τὸ δ' "ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς" εὑρηται πάλιν φυσικῶς· σπέρμα γὰρ πάν ἐστὶ γενέσεως ἁρχή· ἁρχή δὲ ἡδονῆς μὲν [οὗ] τὸ πάθος, [ἀλλ'] ἀλογος ἀρμή, αἰσθήσεως δὲ ὁ νοῦς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου καθάπερ τῶν πηγῶν αἱ αἰσθητικαὶ τείνονται δυνάμεις, μᾶλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἤερωτατόν Μωυσῆν, ὅσ ἐκ τοῦ 'Αδὰμ πεπλάσθαι φησὶ τὴν γυναίκα, τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ. ὅπερ οὖν ἡδονή πρὸς αἰσθησιν, τοῦτο πάθος πρὸς νοῦν, ὥστε ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνα ἔχθρα, καὶ ταύτ' ἄν εἰπη πολέμια.  

186 LXVI. καὶ περιφανῆς ἐστιν ὁ τῶνδε πόλεμος· κατὰ γοῦν τὰς ἐπικρατεῖς τοῦ νοῦ, ὅτε τὸ ὑνοτοί καὶ ἀσωμάτως παραβάλλει, φυγαδεύεται τὸ πάθος· καὶ ἐμπαλιν όταν τοῦτο νικήσῃ νίκην κακήν, ἐκεῖ ὁ νοῦς κωλυόμενος προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πάσων ἔργοις. φησὶ γοῦν ἐν ἐτέρων, ὅτι "ἂν μὲν ἐπίρη τὰς χεῖρας Μωυσῆς, κατίσχυεν Ἰσραήλ, ὅταν δὲ καθήκε, κατίσχυεν Ἄμαλήκ" (Exod. xvii. 11), τοῦτο παριστάς ὅτι ὁ νοῦς ἐπειδῆ ἂν ἐξάρῃ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θυντῶν καὶ μετεωρισθῆ,
a vivid impression of it. LXV. Observe that the words are not "I will set enmity for thee and the woman," but "between thee and the woman." Now why is it put so? Because it is over that which is between pleasure and sense, over that which lies in their boundary so to speak, that the warfare of these two arises. But what is between them both are drinkables, eatables, what is adapted to all such purposes, each one of them being both an object of sense and a thing productive of pleasure. When pleasure, therefore, has indulged immoderately in these, it forthwith inflicts injury on sense. The expression again "between thy seed and her seed" is full of philosophical truth: for every seed is a starting-point of existence, but the starting-point of pleasure is passion, an irrational impulse, that of sense the mind; for from the mind as from a fountain the faculties of sense flow forth and extend. This is certainly taught by Moses, the holy prophet, who says that the woman was fashioned out of Adam, sense (that is) out of mind. What pleasure, then, is to sense, that passion is to mind. Since, therefore, the former pair are mutually hostile, the latter must also be at war with each other.

LXVI. And their warfare is patent. When mind is victorious, devoting itself to immaterial things its proper object, passion quits the scene: and on the other hand; when passion has won an evil victory, mind gives in, being prevented from giving heed to itself and to all its own occupations. Moses elsewhere says, "Whenever Moses lifted up his hands, Israel prevailed, but when he dropped them, Amalek prevailed" (Exod. xvii. 11), showing that when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things and is
ρώνυται τὸ ὄρων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐστίν Ἰσραήλ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθή τοὺς ἱδίους τόνους καὶ ἐξασθενήσῃ, αὐτίκα τὸ πάθος ἱσχύσει, ὃ Ἀμαλήκ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται λαὸς ἐκλείχων· ὄντως γὰρ διεσθίει τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν καὶ ἐκλιψάται, μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ σπέρμα ἢ

187 ζώπυρον ἀρετῆς ὑπολείπων. παρό καὶ λέγεται "ἀρχὴ ἐθνῶν Ἀμαλήκ." (Num. xxiv. 20), ὅτι τῶν μυγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων καὶ πεφυρμένων ἄβουλει τὸ πάθος ἄρχει καὶ κυριεύει. διὰ τούτου πᾶς ὁ ψυχής ἀναρριπίζεται πόλεμος· αἷς γοῦν χαρίζεται διανοιαίς ὁ θεὸς εἰρήνην, ταύταις ὁμολογεῖ ἀπαλείψειν "τὸ μνημόσυνον Ἀμαλήκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν." (Exod. xvii. 14).

188 LXVII. Τὸ δὲ "αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλῆν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν" (Gen. iii. 15) τῇ μὲν φωνῇ βαρβαρισμός ἐστι, τῷ δὲ σημαινομένῳ κατόρθωμα· τῷ γὰρ ὁφεὶ λέγεται περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ "αὐτὸς" οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ "αὐτή." τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς λόγου μετελήλυθεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκ τῆς οὐρανοῦ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὅρθως οὖν τῇ ἡδονῇ λέγεται, ὅτι ὁ νοῦς σου τηρήσει τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν δόγμα, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ, τὸν νοῦ, τὰς ἐπιθάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις τῶν ἄρεσκόντων, αἷς αὐτὸς πτέρναι κατὰ λόγον εἰκάσθησαν.

189 LXVIII. τὸ δὲ "τηρήσει" δύο δήλοι· ἐν μὲν τὸ οἶον διαφυλάξει καὶ διασώσει, ἐτερον δὲ τὸ ἴσον

a The technical term for an error affecting a single word.

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borne aloft, that which sees God, which is Israel, gains strength, but when it has lowered its special powers and grown weak, immediately passion, named "Amalek," which means "a people licking out," will become strong: for in very deed it eats up the whole soul and licks it out, leaving behind in it no seed or spark of virtue. In keeping with this are the words "Amalek the first of the nations" (Numb. xxiv. 20), because passion rules and lords it over promiscuous hordes that have drifted together without purpose or meaning. Through passion all the war of the soul is fanned into flame, and so God promises to minds to which He vouchsafes the gift of peace, that He will blot out "the memorial of Amalek from under heaven" (Exod. xvii. 14).

LXVII. The sentence "he shall watch thy head, and thou shalt watch his heel" (Gen. iii. 15) is a barbarism, but has a perfectly correct meaning. It is addressed to the serpent concerning the woman, but the woman is not "he" but "she." What is to be said then? He has left off speaking about the woman and passed on to her seed and origin; but the mind is the origin of sense; and mind is masculine, in speaking of which we should use the pronouns "he" and "his" and so on. Rightly, then, is it said to Pleasure, "the Mind shall watch thy chief and principal doctrine, and thou shalt watch it, the Mind, as it acts and rests upon its accepted tenets." This basing of conduct and principle on tenets is naturally represented by the word "heels." LXVIII. The word "shall watch" has two meanings, one like "shall guard and preserve," the other equivalent to "shall watch for to

\[ See\ App.\ p.\ 483.\]
τῷ ἐπειτηρήσει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἢ φαύλον ἢ σπουδαίον εἶναι· ο μὲν οὖν ἄφρων φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας ἄν γένοιτο τῆς ἰδιονῆς, χαίρει γὰρ αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος ἐχθρός, καραδοκῶν ὅτε ἐπιθέμενος ἴσχύσει καθελεῖν αὐτὴν εἰσάπαν. καὶ μὴν ἐμπαλιν ἢ ἰδιον ὁ μὲν ἄφρων διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐπίβασιν, τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ λύειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὴν ἐνοτασιν, ἡγουμένη τὸν μὲν κατάλυσιν αὐτῆς μελετᾶν, τοῦ δ’ ἄφρωνα δι’ ἀδικίας

190 σωθῆσεται· ἀλλ’ ὀμως πτερνίζειν δοκοῦσα καὶ ἀπατάν τὸν ἀστείον αὐτὴ πτερνισθῆσεται πρὸς τοῦ πάλην ἰσχικότος Ἰακώβ—πάλην δ’ οὐ την σώματος ἀλλ’ ἦν παλαιεῖ ψυχὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τρόπους αὐτῆς πάθει καὶ κακίαις μαχωμένη—καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνήσει πτέρναν τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ πάθους, πρὶν ἀπειπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ὀμολογήσαι, ὅτι ἐπτερνισται καὶ νενίκηται δίς, ἐν τοῖς πρωτοτοκίοις καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐλογιστεῖν.

191 "δικαίως" γὰρ φησιν "ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπτερνικὲ με γὰρ ἦδη δεύτερον τὸτε τὰ πρωτοτόκια μου εἰληφε, καὶ νῦν εἰληφε τὴν εὐλογίαν μου" (Gen. xxvii. 36). πρεσβύτερα δὲ ὁ μὲν φαύλος ἧγεταί τὰ σώματος, ὁ δ’ ἀστείος τὰ ψυχῆς, σ’ καὶ πρὸς ἀλῆθειάν ἐστιν, οὐ χρόνῳ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ ἀξιωματί πρεσβύτερα καὶ πρῶτα ὄντως, ὡς καὶ ἄρχων ἐν πόλει· ἡγεμονίς δὲ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἡ ψυχή.

192 LXIX. Εἰληφεν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα ὁ πρῶτος κατ’ ἀρετὴν, σ’ καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ· εἰληφε γὰρ καὶ <τὸ>
destroy." Now the mind must needs be either bad or good. The foolish mind will show itself a guardian and steward of pleasure, seeing that its delight is in pleasure; but the good mind will prove its enemy, watching eagerly for the moment when it shall set upon it and achieve its utter destruction. And mark this: Pleasure on the other hand watches over and preserves the procedure of the foolish mind, but endeavours to break up and destroy the way of life of the wise mind, holding that the latter is planning her ruin, while the former is devising the best means to preserve her. But in spite of her expecting to throw and cheat the good mind, she shall herself be thrown by Jacob who is practised in wrestling, not the bodily wrestling but that in which the soul engages against dispositions that are her antagonists, fighting as she does with passions and wickednesses. And Jacob shall not let go the heel of his adversary, passion, till it has given in, and acknowledged that it has been twice thrown and vanquished, both in the matter of the birthright and in the blessing. For says Esau, "Rightly was his name called Jacob, for he hath supplanted me twice already; then he took my birthright, and now he has taken my blessing" (Gen. xxvii. 36). The bad man regards bodily things as more worshipful, the good man the things of the soul, as they are in reality, not in age but in value and dignity more worshipful, and really first, as is a magistrate in a city; and it is the soul that is sovereign over our composite being.

LXIX. He therefore that is first in virtue has received the things that are first, which indeed were his portion; for he has received the blessing also
εὐλογιστεῖν σὺν εὐχαῖς τελείαις. μάταιος δὲ καὶ οἰησίσοφος ο λέγων “τὰς ἐμὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρωτοτόκια ἐἲληφεν”· οὐ γὰρ τὰ σὰ, ὦ οὗτος, λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σοῖς τὰ ἑναντία· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σὰ δουλείας, τὰ δ' ἐκεῖνον δεσποτείας ἧξισται. 193 καὶ εἰ ἀγαπήσεις δοῦλος γενέσθαι τοῦ σοφοῦ, νουθεσίας καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ κοινωνίσεις, ἀμαθίαν καὶ ἀπαιδευθείαν κήρας ψυχῆς ἀποβαλῶν· εὐχόμενος γὰρ ὁ πατήρ σοὶ φησιν, ὃτι “τὰ ἀδελφῶν σου δουλεύσεις” (Gen. xxvii. 40). ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν —οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεται σε ἁφημαζόντα—ἀλλ' ὅταν “ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου” (ib.), τὸ αὐχετημα καὶ φρύγαμα ἀποβαλῶν ὁ [126] ἐκτήσω ὑποζεύζασ | σεαυτόν ὑποζεύζασ | σεαυτόν. νυνὶ μὲν δοῦλος εἰ χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων τῶν ἐν σαυτῷ δεσποτῶν, ὅσ νόμος ἔστι μηδένα ἐλεύθερον ποιεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους δρασμοὺς χρησάμενος καταλήψῃς, ὑποδεξεῖται σε φιλόδοουλος δεσπότης ἐπ' ἐλπίδι καταλήψῃς ἐλευθερίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσῃ ἐτὶ τοῖς προτέροις δεσποταῖς, μαθῶν παρὰ Μωυσέως δίδαγμα καὶ δόγμα ἀναγκαῖον, “μὴ παραδίδομαι παιδα τῷ κυρίῳ, δς προστέθηται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου· μετὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν κατοικήσῃ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ὧν ἀρέσκῃ 194 αὐτῷ” (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16). LXX. ἀλλ' ἐως οὐκ ἀποδέδρακας, ἐτὶ δ' ἐγκεχαλίωσα ταῖς ἐκείνων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἥμισι, ἀνάξιος εἰ δουλεύειν σοφῶ· τεκμήριον μέγιστον ἥθους ἀνελευθέρου καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς παρέχεις, ὅταν λέγης “τὰ ἐμὰ 432
accompanied by perfect prayers. But vainly deeming himself wise is he who says, "My blessings and my birthright hath he taken": not thine, man, does he take, but those which are opposite to thine; for those which are thine have been accounted meet for slavery, but his for lordship. And if thou shalt consent to become a slave of the wise one, thou shalt cast from thee ignorance and boorishness, plagues of the soul, and be partaker of admonition and correction. For in his prayer thy father says to thee, "To thy brother shalt thou be a slave" (Gen. xxvii. 40); but not now shall this be, for he will not put up with thy restiveness, but when thou shalt have loosed the yoke from thy neck" (ibid.), casting from thee vaunting and insolence which thou didst acquire by yoking thyself to a chariot of passions, of which folly was the driver. Now indeed thou art a slave of the harsh and insufferable masters within thee, to whom it is a fixed law to set no one free. But if thou escape and abandon these, a master to whom his slaves are dear shall welcome thee, holding out bright hopes of liberty and shall not give thee up again to thy former masters. For he has learned from Moses a lesson and rule inviolable, "that a man deliver not up to his master a servant who has been handed over to him by the Lord; a for he shall dwell with him in whatever place it liketh him best" (Deut. xxiii. 15 f.). LXX. But so long as thou hast not run away, but art still governed by the bit and bridle of thine old masters, thou art unworthy to be slave to a wise man. Thou affordest most sure proof of a servile character unworthy of a free man by saying

\[^a\] i.e., "has taken refuge in Israel from a hard heathen master."
πρωτότοκία καὶ τὰς ἐμᾶς εὐλογίας” (Gen. xxvii. 36). εἰς ἄμετρον γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κεχωρηκότων αἰδὲ αἱ φωναὶ, ἐπειδὴ μόνῳ ἀρμόττει θεὸς λέγειν τὸ ἐμόν, αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὄντως κτήματα μόνου τὰ πάντα. 196 διὸ καὶ μαρτυρήσει, ὅταν φῆ “τὰ δώρα μου, δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσεις” (Num. xxviii. 2), ὅτι δώρα δομάτων διαφέρει τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμφάσιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῖ, ἀ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ θεὸς, τὰ δ’ εἰς βραχύ-

τατον ἔσταλται, ὅν μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφυεῖς ἀσκηταὶ

197 οἱ προκόπτοντες. οὐ χάριν καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ θεοῦ θελήματι τὰ μὲν υπάρχοντα, ἀπέρ ἣν αὐτῷ ἐκ θεοῦ, κατέχει, ἀποτρέπεται δὲ τὴν ἱππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), ὡς καὶ τὰ υπαρκτὰ τῶν παλλακῶν. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὰ μέγιστα δικαιονομεῖν ἀξίοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, τὰ δὲ βραχέα τῶν κριμάτων ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δευτερεύουσι σκοπεῖν (cf. Exod. xviii. 26). ὡστὶς δὲ τολμᾶ λέγειν ἑαυτῷ τι εἶναι, δούλος τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγράφεται, ἦσον ὁ λέγων “ἡγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδία μου· οὐκ ἀποτρέχω ἐλεύθερος” (Exod. xxi. 5). εὗ γε τὸ ἑαυτῷ ὀμολογήσει δουλεῖαν πῶς γὰρ ὁ λέγων οὐ δοῦλος ἢ Εμὸς ὁ κύριος νοὺς ἐστι, κύριος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ· ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ αἰσθήσις, αὐτάρκες τῶν σωμάτων κριτήριον· ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦτων ἐκγόνα, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ τὰ νοητά, τῆς δ’ αἰσθήσεως τὰ αἰσθητά. ἐπ’

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* See note on 24.

6 A reference to Gen. xxv. 6.

8 Literally, “do not run away.”
“my birthright and my blessings” (Gen. xxvii. 36); for these utterances are those of men who are sunk in boundless ignorance, seeing that to speak of “Mine” befits God only, for all things are in reality the property of Him alone. For this reason He shall also testify, when he says, “Thou shalt preserve My gifts, My grants, My fruits” (Numb. xxviii. 2), that “gifts” excel “grants.” For the term “gifts” brings out the sense of great and perfect boons, which God bestows upon the perfect; “grants” have shrunk to a very meagre compass: these are for those of natural excellence who practise and make progress. Because this is so, Abraham also in harmony with the will of God retains the property which had come to him from God, but gets rid of the horses of the king of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 21 ff.), as also of the possessions of the concubines. Moses, moreover, thinks fit to judge the weightiest cases and issues, but the investigation of the insignificant questions he commits to inferior officers (cf. Exod. xviii. 26). Whoever dares to say that anything is his own will thereby have registered himself a slave in perpetuity, even as the man who says “I have come to love my master and my wife and my children: I decline to go away free” (Exod. xxi. 5). It is well that he acknowledged himself a slave; for how can the man be other than a slave who says “mine is the master, even mind,” that is its own master and absolute lord; “mine also is sense-perception,” a means of judging material forms that is dependent upon none; “mine also are the offspring of these,” Mind’s proper objects being Mind’s offspring, and sensible objects the offspring of sense; “for in my power it is to exercise mind and
199 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἐαυτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταδικασθείς αἰώνιαν καὶ βεβαιωτάτην ὑπομενέτω δουλεῖαν κελεύοντος τὸ τε οὐς τρυπᾶσθαι, ἢν μὴ παραδέξηται λόγος ἁρετῆς, καὶ δουλεύειν τὸν αἰώνα τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει, κακοῖς καὶ ἀνηλέεσι δεσπόταις.

200 LXXI. "Καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ εἶπε Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὰς λύπας σου καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν σου" (Gen. iii. 16). τῆς γυναικὸς, ἥτις αἰσθήσις ἦν, ίδιον εστὶν ἀλγηδών πάθος, ἣ λύπη καλεῖται. τῆς γυναικὸς, ἥτις αἰσθήσις ἦν, ίδιον εστὶν ἀλγηδών πάθος, ἣ λύπη καλεῖται. περὶ δὲ γὰρ γίνεται τὸ ἤδεσθαι, περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀλγεῖν. ἡδόμεθα δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, ὥστε εἴανάγκη καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν δὲ αὐτῶν. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν σπουδαῖος καὶ κεκαθαρμένος νοῦς ἠλάχιστα ἀλγεῖ, ἦκιστα γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῷ αἱ αἰσθήσεις. τῷ δ’ ἀφρόνι περιτεῦει τὸ πάθος οὐδὲν ἔχοντι ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧ τὰς ἀν αὐτῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν κήρας ἀμνείται. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐτέρως τύπτεται ὁ ἄθλητὴς καὶ ὁ δοῦλος, ὁ μὲν καθ’ ὑπόπτωσιν ἐνδίδουσ πρὸς τὰς αἰκίας καὶ υπείκων, ὁ δ’ ἄθλητής ἀντέχει καὶ ἀντιστατῶν καὶ τάς ἐπιφερομένας <πληγὰς> ἀποσειόμενος, καὶ κείρεις ἐτέρως μὲν ἀνθρωπὸν, ἐτέρως δὲ τὸ κώδιον—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μόνον ἐξετάζεται, ὁ δ’ ἀνθρωπὸς καὶ ἀντιδρᾶ καὶ ὅσπερ ἀντιπέπονθε σχηματίζων ἐαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ κείρεσθαι—οὕτως ὁ μὲν ἀλόγιστος ἀνδραπόδων δίκην ἐτέρω υπείκει καὶ ὑποπτεῖ ταῖς ἀλγηδῶσιν ὡς ἀφορῆτοις δεσποίναις ἀντιβλέψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀδυνατῶν, ἀρρενασ

a 201 ff. are reproduced in an expanded form in De Cher. 79 ff.
to exercise the senses." But let him not only give evidence against himself. Let him be condemned also by God, and submit to a slavery eternal and inexorable when God bids his ear to be pierced, in order that it may not admit words of virtue, and bids him be slave for ever to Mind and to Sense, bad and pitiless masters.

LXXI. And to the woman He said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrows and thy groaning" (Gen. iii. 16). Woman, who is, as we have seen, Sense, is the subject of an experience peculiarly her own, namely grief, which is called "sorrow"; for there is a quarter of our being in which gladness takes rise, and in that same quarter does grief also take rise: but it is through the senses that we feel gladness, so that of necessity we feel grief also through them. But the excellent and cleansed Mind grieves least, for the senses assail him least. But the foolish Mind experiences grief abundantly, having no antidote in the soul, with which to repel the deadly ills that come from the senses and their objects.α The athlete and the slave take a beating in different ways, the one submissively giving in and yielding to the stripes, while the athlete opposes and withstands and shakes off the blows that are falling upon him. You crop a man in one way, a (sheep's) fleece in another. The sheep has the role of mere passivity, whereas, in the man's case, there is not only an active reciprocity, but his very submission is, so to speak, also reciprocal, as he adapts his position and posture to the process of being cropped. Just in the same way the man who does not reason yields to another as slaves do, and submits to sorrows as intolerable mistresses, and is powerless to look them in the face, not able to
καὶ ἐλευθέρους σπᾶν μὴ δυνάμενος λογισμοῦς,
παρὸ δὴ καὶ πλῆθος ἀπειρον διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων
αὐτῶ τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἐπαντλεῖται, ὡς ἡ ἐπιστήμην
ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ρώμης καρ-
τερᾶς ἀντιβας πρὸς τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα ἀντιπνεῖ,
ὡς μὴ τιτρώσκεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐξαδια-
φορεῖν ἐκαστον, καὶ μοι δοκεῖ νεανιευσάμενον ἂν
ἐπιφωνήσαι τὸ τραγικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀλγηδόνα οὕτως.

<Πίμπρη>, κάταθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
πίνουσα κελαινὸν αἶμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κἀτω
γῆς έίσων ἀστρα, γη ἔνεισι εἰς αἰθέρα,
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θώπ’ ἀπαντήσαι λόγον.

203 LXXII. ὠσπερ δὲ τῇ αἰσθήσει τὰ ἀλγεινὰ πάντα παραυζήσας τέθεικεν οὗ θεός, οὕτω
τῇ σπουδαίᾳ ψυχῆ πλῆθος ἀφθονὸν ἀγαθῶν δεδώ-
ρηται. φησι γούν ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου Ἀβραὰμ τὸν
τρόπον τοῦτον· "κατ’ ἐμαυτῷ ἄμμοσα, λέγει
κύριος· οὐ εἴνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ
ἐφείσω τοῦ νῦν σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι’ ἐμε, ὡς
μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω υπὲρ σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ
τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χείλος τῆς θαλάσσης”
(Gen. xxii. 16, 17). εὗ καὶ τὸ ὀρκῶ βεβαιῶσαι
τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ ὀρκῶ θεοπρεπεὶ· ὅπας γὰρ ὅτι
οὐ καθ’ έτέρου ὡμνύει θεός, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρείτ-
τον, ἀλλὰ καθ’ εαυτοῦ, οἳ ἐστὶν οὔτων ἄριστος.

204 "Εφασαν δὲ τινες, ὡς ἀνοίκειον ἂν ὤμνύναι· ὁ
[128] ὀρκὸς γὰρ πίστεως ἐνεκα παραλαμβάνεται, πιστὸς
δὲ μόνος ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἰ τις θεῷ φίλος, καθάπερ

ᵃ A Fragment of Euripides.
ᵇ By οὖ ἐνεκα LXX. means “because.” Philo ignores this un-Attic idiom. Cf. 209.

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draw forth free and manly reasonings, and accordingly a vast mass of painful experiences pours in upon him through the senses. The man of knowledge on the contrary, stepping out like an athlete to meet all grievous things with strength and robust vigour, blows a counter-blast to them, so that he is not wounded by them, but regards each of them with absolute indifference; and, methinks, he might with youthful spirit address to grief the proud vaunt in the play, saying:

Burn me, consume my flesh, drink my dark blood,
Take fill of me; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth, and earth go up to sky,
Than thou shalt from these lips hear fawning word.

LXXII. Now as for sense God has appointed all woeful things in larger measure, so on the earnest soul has He bestowed without stint an abundance of good things. For example in the case of perfect Abraham He speaks in this wise: “By Myself I have sworn, saith the Lord, for Whose sake thou hast done this thing, and on My account hast not spared thy son, thine only son, verily blessing will I bless thee, and multiplying will I multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is by the sea shore” (Gen. xxii. 16 f.). Good is it both that He confirmed the promise by an oath, and that He did so by an oath befitting God; you mark that God swears not by some other thing, for nothing is higher than He, but by Himself, who is best of all things.

Some have said, that it was inappropriate for Him to swear; for an oath is added to assist faith, and only God and one who is God’s friend is faithful,
Μωυσῆς λέγεται, "πιστός ἐν παντὶ τῷ οίκῳ" γεγενήθαι (Num. xii. 7). Ἀλλας τε καὶ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ὅρκοι καὶ νόμοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεσμοὶ ἱεροπρεπεστατοί: τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ἰσχυρότητος αὐτοῦ, δὲν εἴπῃ γίνεται, ὅπερ ἦν οἰκείο-τατον ὅρκῳ· ἀστ' ἀκολουθον ἂν εἰη λέγειν, ὅτι πάντες οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι εἰσιν ὅρκοι βεβαι-ομένοι ἐργῶν ἀποτελέσμασι. ΛXIII. φασὶ γε μὴν ὅρκον εἶναι μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περὶ πράγματος ἀμφισβητουμένου· εἰ δὴ ὄμνυσιν ὁ θεός, ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστίν ἀτοπον, ἔτερον γάρ δεὶ εἶναι τὸν ποιούμενον τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπέρ οὐ γίνεται. τί όντων λεκτέων; πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐστιν ὑπαίτιον ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν τὸν θεόν· τίς γάρ ἢν ἄλλος γένοιτο ἢκανὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσαι; ἐπειτα πάντ' ἐστιν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ τιμιώτατα, συγγενΗς οἰκείος φίλος ἀρετὴ εὐδαιμονία μακαρίωτης ἐπιστήμη σύνεσις ἄρχη τέλος ὅλον πᾶν δικαστής. 206 γνώμη βουλὴ νόμος πράξεις ἡγεμονία. Ἀλλως τε ἢν τὸ "κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ ὠμοσα" διν χρῆ τρόπον ἐκδεξώμεθα, παυσόμεθα τῆς ἄγαν σοφιστείας. μήποτ' οὖν ἐστι τοιοῦτον· οὐδὲν τῶν δυναμένων πιστοῦν δύναται παγίως περὶ θεοῦ πιστῶσαι, οὐδεν γὰρ ἐδειξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατον αὐτὴν παντὶ τῷ γενεὶ παρεσκεύασε· τίς ἢν ἰσχύσαι ἢ ὅτι ἀσώματον ἢ ἢ ὅτι σώμα ἢ ὅτι ποι Чи ἢ ὅτι ἀποιον τὸ αἰτιον εἰπείν ἢ συνόλως περὶ ὑμίας ἢ ποιότητος ἢ σχέσεως ἢ κινήσεως αὐτοῦ βεβαίως ἀποφήνασθαι; ἀλλα περὶ γε ἑαυτοῦ μόνος ἰσχυ-

a See App. p. 483.
even as Moses is said to have been found "faithful in all His house" (Numb. xii. 7). Moreover, the very words of God are oaths and laws of God and most sacred ordinances; and a proof of His sure strength is that whatever He saith cometh to pass, and this is specially characteristic of an oath. It would seem to be a corollary from this that all God's words are oaths receiving confirmation by accomplishment in act. LXXIII. They say indeed that an oath is a calling God to witness to a point which is disputed; so if it is God that swears, He bears witness to Himself, which is absurd, for he that bears the witness must needs be a different person from him on whose behalf it is borne. What then must we say? First that there is nothing amiss in God bearing witness to Himself. For who else would be capable of bearing witness to Him? Secondly He Himself is to Himself all that is most precious, kinsman, intimate, friend, virtue, happiness, blessedness, knowledge, understanding, beginning, end, whole, everything, judge, decision, counsel, law, process, sovereignty. Besides if we once take "by Myself have I sworn" in the right way, we shall quit this excessive quibbling. Probably then the truth of the matter is something like this. Nothing that can give assurance can give positive assurance touching God, for to none has He shown His nature, but He has rendered it invisible to our whole race. Who can assert of the First Cause either that It is without body or that It is a body, that It is of such a kind or that It is of no kind? In a word who can make any positive assertion concerning His essence or quality or state or movement? Nay He alone shall affirm anything regarding Himself since
ριείται, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ἀψευδῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἠκρίβωσε. βεβαιωτής οὖν ἰσχυρότατος ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἑργῶν αὐτοῦ μόνος ὁ θεός, ὡστ' εἰκότως ὄμνυε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ πιστούμενος ἑαυτὸν, ὁ μὴ δυνατὸν ἢν ἄλλω.

dιὸ καὶ ἁσβείς ἂν νομισθεῖεν οἱ φάσκοντες ὀμνύναι κατὰ θεοῦ· εἰκότως γὰρ οὖδεὶς ὀμνυσι κατ' αὐτοῦ, οτι γε οὐ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διαγνώναι δύναται, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητόν, ἕαν ἃ κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ δυνηθῶμεν, ὅτερ ἢ τοῦ ἐρμηνεύσεως λόγου· οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν ἂν εἶχ' θεός, τῶν δὲ σοφῶν καὶ τελείων ὁ πρῶτος. καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας τοῦ ἀγενήτου φησὶν· "καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὀμή" (Deut. vi. 13), οὐχὶ αὐτῷ· ἰκανὸν γὰρ τῷ γενήτῳ πιστοῦσθαι καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι λόγῳ θείῳ· ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῦ πίστις ἔστω καὶ μαρτυρία | βεβαιοτάτη.

209 LXXIV. Τὸ δὲ "οὗ εἶνεκα ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο" (Gen. xxii. 16) σύμβολόν ἐστιν εὐσέβειας· τὸ γὰρ ἑνεκα θεοῦ μόνον πάντα πράττειν εὐσέβειας. παρὸ καὶ ἀψευδομεν τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τέκνου τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοῦ εὐδαιμονήσαι, παραχώροντες αὐτὸ τῷ δημουργῷ, ἀξιον τὸ γέννημα κρίνοντες κτήμα θεοῦ νομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ γενητοῦ τινος. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι "εὐλογών εὐλογήσω" (ib. 17). πολλὰ γὰρ εὐλογίστα δρῶσι τινες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εὐλογίαις,
He alone has unerringly exact knowledge of His own nature. God alone therefore is the strongest security first for Himself, and in the next place for His deeds also, so that He naturally swore by Himself when giving assurance as to Himself, a thing impossible for another than He. It follows that men who say that they swear by God should be considered actually impious; for naturally no one swears by Him, seeing that he is unable to possess knowledge regarding His nature. No, we may be content if we are able to swear by His Name, which means (as we have seen) the interpreting word. For this must be God for us the imperfect folk, but, as for the wise and perfect, the primal Being is their God. Moses too, let us observe, filled with wonder at the transcendency of the Uncreate, says, “and thou shalt swear by His Name” (Deut. vi. 13), not “by Him,” for it is enough for the created being that he should be accredited and have witness borne to him by the Divine word: but let God be His own most sure guarantee and evidence.

LXXIV. The words, “for Whose sake thou hast done this thing” (Gen. xxii. 16) are a token of piety; for it is pious to do all things for the sake of God only. That is why we are unsparing of that only child of virtue, even the happiness we have attained, surrendering it to the Creator, deeming such offspring meet to be reckoned a possession of God, but not of any created being. Beautifully significant are the words, “blessing I will bless” (ibid. 17); for there are some people who do many things that are of the nature of benedictions, when their underlying character is not fraught with
έπει καὶ ὁ φαύλος ἔνια δρᾶ τῶν καθηκόντων οὐκ ἀφ’ ἐξεως καθηκούσης, καὶ ὁ μεθύων μέντοι καὶ μεμηνὼς ἔστιν ὅτε νηφάλια φθέγγεται τε καὶ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ’ οὕς ἀπὸ νηφούσης διανοίας, καὶ οἱ ἐτὶ κομιδὴ νήπιοι πάσες οὐκ ἀπὸ λογικῆς ἐξεως—οὕς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ φύσις λογικοὺς πεπαίδευκε—πολλὰ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ἃν οἱ λογικοί. βουλεταὶ δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν σοφὸν μὴ σχετικῶς καὶ εὐαλώτως καὶ ᾧς ἃν ἐκ τύχης εὐλόγιστον δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ ἐξεως καὶ διαθέσεως εὐλογίστου.

211 LXXV. Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν οὖν τῇ βαρυδαίμονι αἰσθήσει χρήσθαι πλουσίως ταῖς λύπαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ “τῷ στεναγμῷ.” ἐστὶ δὲ στεναγμὸς σφοδρὰ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένη λύπη· πολλάκις γὰρ ἀλγοῦμεν οὐχὶ στένωντες· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιστένωμεν, ἀνιαρῶς καὶ πάν ὀμβρηρῶς χρώμεθα ταῖς λύπαις. τὸ δὲ στένειν ἐστὶ διττὸν· ἐν μὲν δὲ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας καὶ ὀρεγομένους τῶν ἁδικῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοντας, ὅ δὴ καὶ φαύλον ἔστιν· ἐτεροῦν δὲ δὲ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἀχθομένους ἐπὶ τῇ πάλαι τροπῇ καὶ λέγοντας Κακοδαίμονες ἡμεῖς, ὅσον ἀρα χρόνον ἐλελήθημεν νοσοῦντες ἀφροσύνης νόσον καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ ἁδικίας ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοῦτο δ’ οὐ γίνεται, ἐὰν μὴ τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ο βασιλεύς

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* οὐκ ἐπ’ εὐλογίστοι. Cf. De Vita Mosis, i. 283, 2 Cor. ix. 6. In all three places the preposition probably marks the ground or motive. This is made clear here by ἀπὸ (‘from’) taking the place of ἐπὶ in each of the examples which follow. God meant blessing not cursing when He suffered Balaam to go to Balak. The giver in 2 Corinthians gives out of an overflowing heart. Those here in view might seem, if 444
blessing. Why, even the bad man does some things that it is his duty to do without acting from a dutiful character. Yes, and the drunken man and the madman now and then utter sober words and do sober deeds, but not from a sober mind; and those who are still quite young children not from a fixedly rational state (for nature has not yet trained them to be rational), do and say many things that rational men do and say. But the lawgiver wishes the wise man to be accounted a man of benediction not as the outcome of a passing mood, or of being easily led by others, or as though by chance, but as the result of a fixed state and disposition charged with benediction.

LXXV. To return to our text. It was not enough for ill-starred sense to experience sorrows in large measure, it must indulge in "groaning" also. Groaning is intense and excessive sorrow. For we often grieve without groaning; but when we groan over them, we let our sorrows bring on us a very storm of trouble and distress. Now groaning is of two kinds. One kind is found in men who desire and long for opportunities of wrongdoing and cannot get them, and this a bad kind. Another kind is that which is seen in those who repent and are vexed over their defection in former days and cry "Hapless we, how long a time had we, as is now evident, been ill all unaware of it with the illness of folly and senselessness and unrighteousness in our conduct." But this does not come about unless the king of Egypt, the godless and pleasure-loving judged by isolated acts, to be drawing upon a rich store of blessings, but are not really doing so.

See App. pp. 483, 484.
τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ ἄθεος καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος. "μετὰ γὰρ τάς ἥμερας τάς πολλὰς ἐκείνας ἐπε- λεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου"· εἰτ' εὐθὺς ἀποθανοῦσις κακίας στενάζει ὁ ὀρὼν τῶν θεῶν [καὶ] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τροπῆν, "κατεστέναξαν γὰρ οἱ ὦι Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἔργων" (Exod. ii. 23). ἔπει ζῶν γε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλήδονος τρόπος ἐν ἡμῖν γέγηθεν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπείθει ἐφ' οἷς ἀμαρτάνει, ὅταν δὲ τελευτήσῃ, στένει. διὸ καὶ ἐκβοᾶ πρὸς τὸν δε- σπότην ἰκετεύουσα, μηκέτι τραπῆναι μηδὲ ἀτελῆ τὴν τελείσων λαβεῖν πολλὰς γὰρ ψυχὰς μετανοίᾳ χρῆσθαι βουληθέσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἀσπέρ ὑπὸ παλιρροίας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν [130] τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Αώτ γυναικὸς (Gen. xix. 26) τῆς λιθουμένης διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἔραν καὶ εἰς τὰς κατεστραμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεις ἀνατρέχειν.

214 LXXVI. Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε φησίν ὅτι "ἀνέβη η' βοὴ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν" (Exod. ii. 23), μαρ- τυρῶν τῇ τοῦ ὄντος χάρις· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δυνατῶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἱκέτην λόγον, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέβη, τούτος οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβιβάσθη καὶ ἦνεθη καὶ μετεωρεῖν ἡρξατο φυγὼν τὴν ταπεινότητα τῶν γηῶν. διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς φησίν· "Ἰδοῦ κραυγὴ τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἤκει πρὸς μέ"" (Exod. iii. 9). πάνυ καλῶς τὸ φθάσαι μέχρι θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν· οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἐφθασεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ καλῶν χρηστὸς ἦν. ἐνίας δὲ ψυχαίς προσαπαντᾷ· "ἲξω πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐλογήσω σε" (Exod. xx. 24). ὅρας ὅση τοῦ αἰτίου ἡ χάρις φθάνοντος τὴν ἡμετέραν μέλ-
disposition, shall have met his end and died out of the soul: "for after those many days the king of Egypt died." Then straightway when wickedness has died, he that seeth God groans over his own failure, "for the children of Israel groaned by reason of their material and Egyptian works" (Exod. ii. 23). For while the king and pleasure-loving temper is alive in us it induces the soul to rejoice over the sins it is committing, but when he has died, it groans. And thus it is that it cries out to the Master beseeching that it may turn no more nor receive its consummation imperfectly. For many souls have desired to repent and not been permitted by God to do so, but have gone away backward as though drawn by a change of current. This befell Lot’s wife, who became stone owing to her being enamoured of Sodom and reverting to the characters that had been overthrown by God.

LXXVI. Now, however, he says "their cry ascended to God" (Exod. ii. 23), bearing witness by so saying to the grace of the existent One; for had He not powerfully called to Himself the suppliant word, it would not have ascended, that is, it would not have been caused to mount, and have grown in volume and begun to soar on high after escaping from the baseness of the things of the earth. Wherefore in the sequel He says, "Behold, the cry of the children of Israel hath come to Me" (Exod. iii. 9). Very beautiful is it that the entreaty reached as far as God: but it would not have reached so far, but for the kindness of Him that called. Some souls He anticipates and goes forth to meet: "I will come to thee and will bless thee" (Exod. xx. 24). Thou seest how great is the grace of the First Cause, as He is
Λησιν καὶ προαπαντῶντος εἰς εὐεργεσίαν παντελῆ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ χρησμός ἐστι δογματικὸς τὸ λεγόμενον· ἐὰν γὰρ ἠλθῇ εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐννοιαθεοῦ, εὐθὺς εὐλογοιστεῖ τε καὶ πάσας τὰς νόσους αὐτῆς ἱάται. ἢ δὲ για ἀισθησιος αἰεὶ λυπεῖται καὶ στένει καὶ τίκτει καὶ πάσας τὰς νόσους αὐτῆς ἱάται. ἢ δέ γε αἰσθησιος αἴει λυπεῖται καὶ στένει καὶ τίκτει μετ’ ὀδύνης καὶ ἄλγησις ἀνηκέστων τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φησιν· "ἐν λύπαις τέξη τέκνα." (Gen. iii. 16). τίκτει δὲ ἡ μὲν ὀρασὶς τὸ ὄραν, ἡ δὲ ἀκοήν τὸ ἀκούειν, ἡ δὲ γεύσις τὸ γεύεσθαι, καὶ συνόλως ἡ αἰσθησιος τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνευ χαλεπής ἀνιασιας τῷ ᾧφροι ἐκαστὸν τούτων ποιεῖται, ἐπιλύσις γάρ ὀράτως καὶ ὄρα ἀνευ ἀκούει καὶ γεύεται καὶ συνόλως αἰσθάνεται.

217 LXXVII. Ἔμπαλιν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐρήσεις μετὰ χαράς ὑπερβαλλοῦσης [καὶ] καυσοφοροῦσαν καὶ τὸν σπουδαῖον σὺν γέλωτι καὶ εὐθυμία γεννωντα καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀμφοῖν αὐτὸ γέλωτ’ ὅν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ὁ σοφὸς χαίρων ἀλλ’ οὐ λυποῦμενο γεννα, μαρτυρήσει λέγων ὀτι λυποῦντοι· "εἰπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ· Σάρα ἡ γυνὴ σου οὐ κληθήσεται Σάρα, ἀλλὰ Σάρρα αὐτής ἐσται τὸ ὄνομα· εὐλογησεν αὐτὴν καὶ δώσω σοι ἐξ αὐτής τέκνον" (Gen. xvii. 15, 16). εἰτ’ ἐπιλέγει· "καὶ ἐπες εἰς τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ εἰπεν Εἰ τῷ ἐκατονταετεῖ γεννησται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξηται"; (ib. 17) οὖτος μὲν ἂν φαίνεται γεγναθὼς καὶ γελών, ὅτι μέλλει γεννᾶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸν Ἰσαάκ· γελά δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα, μαρτυρήσει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγων ὄδε· "ἐξέλιπε Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναικεία, καὶ ἐγέλασε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰπεν Οὕτω μου γέγονε τὸ εὐ-
beforehand with our hesitation, and anticipates and meets us, bringing unlimited gain to the soul. And what is said is a divine intimation full of instruction. For if a thought of God come into the mind, He forthwith blesses it and heals all its sicknesses. Sense, however, is always sorrowing and groaning, and with pangs and incurable pain bringing forth perception, as God Himself says, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children" (Gen. iii. 16); sight brings forth seeing, the ear hearing, taste tasting, in a word sense perceiving: but not without sore distress to the foolish one does she do each of these things, for to such an one pain is caused as he sees and hears and tastes and smells and generally exercises any sense.

LXXVII. On the other hand, you will find virtue full of exceeding joy at her pregnancy, and the good man begetting with laughter and a glad heart, and the offspring of them both laughter itself. That the wise man begets with joy not sorrow, the Divine word shall testify in these words, "God said to Abraham, Sarai thy wife shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name: I will bless her and will give thee a child of her" (Gen. xvii. 15 f.); then he says further, "And Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said, Shall he that is a hundred years old have a son, and shall Sarah who is ninety years old bear?" (ibid. 17). Abraham evidently rejoices and laughs, because he is to beget Isaac (who is), Happiness; and Sarah, who is Virtue, laughs also. The same book shall witness to this when it says, "It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, and she laughed in her mind and said, Not a See App. p. 484.
δαιμονεῖν ἐως τοῦ νῦν· ὁ δὲ κύριός μου" θείος λόγος "πρεσβύτερος ἐστιν" (Gen. xviii. 11, 12), ὁ προσεῖναι τούτω ἀνάγκῃ καὶ πιστεύειν καλὸν ὑποσχυμένω. καὶ τὸ γέννημα δ’ ἐστὶ γέλως καὶ χαρά· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ἐρμηνεύεται. | [131] λυπεῖσθω τοιγαροῦν αἴσθησις, ἀρετὴ δ’ ἀεὶ χαι-
219 ρέτω· καὶ γὰρ γεννηθέντος τοῦ εὐδαιμονεὶν φησι σεμινυνομένη· "γέλωτα ἐποίησε μοι ὁ κύριος· ὃς γὰρ ἄν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖται μοι" (Gen. xxi. 6). ἀναπετάσαντες οὖν ὅτα, ὃ μύσται, παραδέξασθε τελετᾶς ἱερωτάτης· ὁ γέλως ἐστὶν ἡ χαρά, τὸ δὲ "ἐποίησεν ἵσον τῷ ἐγέννησεν, ὥστ’ εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πατήρ ἐστὶ τῆς τελείας φύσεως, σπει-
ρων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ γεννῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

220 LXXVIII. "Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου" φησίν "ἡ ἀποστροφή σου" (Gen. iii. 16). δ’ αἰσθή-
σεως ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ὁ μὲν νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ φθορεὺς· ἄνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ <φθορέως> τρόπον τὸ μὲν ὅρατον κινεὶ τὴν ὀρασίν, ἡ δὲ φωνὴ τὴν ἀκοήν, ὁ δὲ χυλὸς τὴν γεύσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστῶν· ταῦτα δ’ ἀποστρέφει καὶ καλεῖ τὴν ἀλογὴν αἰσθησίαν πρὸς ἐαυτὰ καὶ κατακρατεῖ καὶ κυριεύει· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος τὴν ὀρασίν ἐδουλώσατο ὃ τε ἦδος χυλὸς τὴν γεύσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸν αἰσθητῶν τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸ αἰσθησίαν· ἰδε γέ τοι τὸν λίχνον, ὡς δουλεύει ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν ὅσα ὅφαρτυνται καὶ σιτωτοῦν τεχνεύοντι, καὶ τὸν σεσοβημένον περὶ μέλος, πῶς ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπὸ κιθάρας ἢ αὐλοῦ ἢ καὶ ἱδειν ἐπισταμένον. τῇ δὲ γε πρὸς τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀποστραφείσῃ μεγίστῃ ἐστὶν ὑφέλεια αἰσθήσει. 450
yet hath happiness befallen me till now but my Lord (the divine Word) is greater \(^a\) (Gen. xviii. 11 f.), to whom this \(^b\) must needs belong and whom I must believe when he promises good.” Moreover, the offspring is laughter and joy, for that is what “Isaac” means. Let sense-perception therefore be sorrowful, but let virtue always rejoice: for again when Happiness has been born she says with pride “the Lord hath made laughter for me; for whosoever shall hear of it will rejoice with me” (Gen. xxi. 6). Therefore, O ye initiate, open your ears wide and take in holiest teachings. The “laughter” is joy, and “made” is equivalent to “beget,” so that what is said is of this kind, the Lord begat Isaac; for He is Himself Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men’s souls.

LXXVIII. “And to thy husband,” He says, “shall be thy resort” (Gen. iii. 16). Sense has two husbands, the one lawful, the other a seducer. After the fashion of a seducing husband the thing seen acts on the sight, the sound on the hearing, the flavour on the palate, and so with the rest one by one. And these turn away and invite to themselves the irrational sense and get the mastery of it and domineer over it. Beauty enslaves the sight, the pleasant savour the palate, and the several objects of sense enslave the sense corresponding to them. Look at that glutton, what a slave he is to the dishes prepared by the skill of cooks and confectioners. Mark that one wild with excitement over music, how he is swayed and held spellbound by harp or flute or it may be by a good singer. But to sense that has been turned from all else to Mind, her lawful husband, vast benefit befalls.

\(^a\) Literally, “elder.” \(^b\) *i.e.*, happiness.
LXXIX. "Idwmev oðn e'xh'ús, týna kai peri aútou
toû noû diez'érchetai para tòn orðon lógon kiono-
mévon. "tō dé 'Ada'm eîpen o ò theós. "Oti ñkoušas
tíz fow'ís títz gynaikós sou kai ëfayges apo toû
ëýlou, oû èneteivlâmhn sou mē faygeîn, âp' aútou
ëfayges, èpipatáratos ë gê en toîs ërgous sou"
(Gen. iii. 17). èlunstelêstatóvn èstîn àkoûèn
aîsthèsews noûv, allà mē aîsthèsewv noûv: ãei gâp
tó krêttoû arçhevn, tô ðè xêrôm ãrçhestaì dei.
223 noûs ðè krêttoû aîsthèsews. ãôster oðn ãrçontos
mên ënýôchn kai taîs ënîaîs tà ëwâ ãgonôs ñ
boulêtai ãgetai tô arma, ëphmiasántov ðè èkeînwn
kai krapthôsántov ð te ënýôchn kateúsûrî pollákîs
tà te ëwâ èstîn òte tî rûmê tîs fôrâs eis bôthron
kathnékhû phêmêlêwv te pànta férêtai, kai noûs
èuthûdrômeî mâv, ënìka tâs oîakôn laðômenov ð
kuveînthîs àkolôùthós ðiðalîouchêi, periþrépetai
dî òte pneûmâtos ènautîn periþnéusantov tît
224 thalâttê ðê klyûwôn ènôkhevon, ñûtovs èpeîdâv mâv
[132] ð tît ëphîchês ënýôchn ñ kuveînthîs | ð noûs ãrçhê
 tôû ëwôv ðlou kâthâper ëgeîmîv pórlews, èuthûneîa
ð bîos, ñtovm ðe ð élôgos aîsthèseis fêrêtaî tâ
prôteîa, sùghvusis katalambânêa devî, ñia dôûlw
deîpôstais èpitethêmênov: tôte gâp, eî ðeî tâlîthês
eîpeîv, èmîppratai phlêgômenov ð noûs, tâs aîsthè-
sèwv ðin phlôga ènegîrousvÔ tâ aîsthêtî ùpo-
bebîlhêmênov. LXXX. kai Mwûsûs mêntov ðêîlô
peri tîtis touautîs èmîprésews, ë gînêtaî diâ tâv
225 aîsthèsewv, tôû noû, õtovn lêgh: "kai aî ënvaîkes
ètî proseîkauvâs pûr èn Mwâb" —èrmhneûneîa gâp

a Heb. "for thy sake."
LXXIX. Let us observe in the next place how he discourses respecting Mind itself when acted upon in violation of the right principle. "To Adam God said, 'Because thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee not to eat [of it thou hast eaten], cursed is the ground in respect of thy labours a'" (Gen. iii. 17). Most profitless is it that Mind should listen to Sense-perception, and not Sense-perception to Mind: for it is always right that the superior should rule and the inferior be ruled; and Mind is superior to Sense-perception. When the charioteer is in command and guides the horses with the reins, the chariot goes the way he wishes, but if the horses have become unruly and got the upper hand, it has often happened that the charioteer has been dragged down and that the horses have been precipitated into a ditch by the violence of their motion, and that there is a general disaster. A ship, again, keeps to her straight course, when the helmsman grasping the tiller steers accordingly, but capsizes when a contrary wind has sprung up over the sea, and the surge has settled in it. Just so, when Mind, the charioteer or helmsman of the soul, rules the whole living being as a governor does a city, the life holds a straight course, but when irrational sense gains the chief place, a terrible confusion overtakes it, just as when slaves have risen against masters: for then, in very deed, the mind is set on fire and is all ablaze, and that fire is kindled by the objects of sense which Sense-perception supplies. LXXX. Moses, moreover, gives intimations of such a conflagration of the mind as this, occasioned by the senses, when he says: "And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab."
"έκ πατρός," ο τε πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς ἐστι—
"τότε" γάρ φησιν "ἔροδοιν οἱ αἰνιγματισταί·
"Ελθετε εἰς Ἑσεβῶν, ἵνα οἰκοδομηθῇ καὶ κατα-
σκευασθῇ πόλις Σηών. οτι πῦρ ἐξῆλθεν εξ Ἑ-
σεβῶν, φλὸς ἐκ πόλεως Σηών, καὶ κατέφαγεν ἕως
Μωάβ καὶ κατέπιε στῆλας Ἀρνών. οὐαὶ σοι,
Μωάβ· ἀπώλου, λαὸς Χαμώς. ἀπεδόθησαν <οἱ>
νῦν αὐτῶν σφέσθαι, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν
αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀμορραίων Σηών, καὶ τὸ
σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπολεῖται Ἑσεβῶν ἕως Δεβῶν,
καὶ <αἱ> γυναῖκες ἐτὶ προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ
Μωάβ." (Num. xxi. 27-30). Ἑσεβῶν ἐρμηνεύε-
ται λογισμοὶ οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν αἰνιγματα ἀσα-
φείας γέμοντα. ἦδε λογισμὸν ἰατρῶν· κενώσω τὸν
κάμυντα, θρέψω, φαρμάκοις ἰάσομαι <καὶ> διαίτη,
τεμὼ, καύσω· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἡ φύσις καὶ ἀνεῦ
τούτων ἑαυτὸ καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἀπώλεσεν, ὡς
τοὺς ἰατρὸν πάντας ἐπιλογίσαμεν εὐρε-
θήναι ἀσαφείας καὶ αἰνιγμάτων πλῆρη. πάλιν ὁ
227 γεωπόνος φησί· σπέρματα βαλοὺμαι, φυτεῦσω,
αὐξήσει τὰ φυτά, καρποὺς ταῦτα οἴσει, οἱ οὐ
μόνον εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσονται χρήσιμοι τὴν ἀναγ-
καίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιουσίαν ἀρκέσουσι· εἰτ’
ἐξαίφνης φλὸς ἡ ζάλη ἡ ἐπομβράει συνεχεῖς
dιέφθειραν πάντα· ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε τὰ μὲν ἐτελεσιο-
γήθη, ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λογισάμενος οὐκ ἄνατο, ἀλλὰ
προαπέθανε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πονηθέντων καρποῖς
μάτην ἀπόλαυσιν ἐμαντεύσατο.
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For "Moab" means "out of a father," and our father is the Mind. His words are, "Then shall they that propound riddles say, Come to Heshbon that it may be built, and that the city of Sihon may be constructed. For a fire hath gone forth from Heshbon and a flame from the city of Sihon, and it devoured as far as Moab and drank up the boundaries of Arnon. Woe to thee, Moab, thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. Their sons were given up as fugitives, and their daughters as prisoners of war to Sihon, king of the Amorites, and their seed shall perish, Heshbon unto Dibon, and their women yet further kindled a fire against Moab" (Numb. xxi. 27-30). "Heshbon" means "reasonings": and "reasonings" are riddles full of obscurity. Look at a doctor's reasonings: "I will purge the patient, I will feed him up, I will prescribe medicines and put him on a diet that will make him well, I will operate, I will cauterize." But many a time has nature either brought recovery without these means being used, or brought death when these have been resorted to, proving all the doctor's calculations to be vain dreams, nothing but guesswork in the dark. Again, the farmer says, "I will sow, I will plant, the plants will grow, seeds and plants will yield crops, not only useful as affording food that we cannot do without, but so abundant as to give us enough and to spare." Then all of a sudden a fire, or a storm, or persistent rain spoils everything. Sometimes all that he had reckoned on comes to pass, but the reckoner dies first without having had the benefits of them, and his expectation of enjoying the fruits of his toil proves a vain one.

* Literally, "to save themselves" (by flight).
"Αριστον οὖν τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀσαφέσι λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀβεβαιοῖς εἰκασίαις. "Ἄβραμ γέ τοι ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ δίκαιος ἐνομίθη" (Gen. xv. 6). καὶ Μωσῆς ἀρχεί μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἔστι "πιστὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ" (Num. xii. 7). ἔαν δὲ ἀποπιστεύσωμεν τοῖς ἱδίοις λογισμοῖς, κατασκευάσομεν καὶ οἴκο- 

dομήσομεν τὴν πόλιν τοῦ διαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλή-

θειαν νοῦ. Σηών γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται διαφθείρων.

καὶ ἀναστάσις, παρ ὧν ἦν ἐνύπνια, εὗρεν, ὦτι 

[133] αἱ κινήσεις ἀπασαι καὶ αἱ διατάσεις τοῦ ἀφρονὸς 

εἰσὶν ἐνύπνια ἀληθείας ἀμέτοχα—ἀυτὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς 

ἐνύπνιον εὐρέθη—, ὦτι ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔστι δόγμα τὸ 

πιστεύειν θεῷ, ψεῦδος δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τοὺς κενοὺς 

λογισμοῖς. ἄλογος δὲ ὑμη ἐξέρχεται καὶ φοιτά 

ἀφ’ ἐκατέρω τῶν τῆς λογισμῶν καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ 

dιαφθείροντος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· διὸ καὶ φησιν, ὦτι "πῦρ 

ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ Ἐσεβῶν, φλόξ ἐκ πόλεως Σηών" (Num. xxi. 28). οὕτως γὰρ ἄλογον τὸ 

πιστεύειν ἂ λογισμοῖς πιθανοῖς ἢ νῦ διαφθείροντι 

230 τὸ ἀληθὲς. LXXXII. "κατεσθίει γέ τοι καὶ 

ἐως Μωάβ," τοπτέστιν ἐως τοῦ νοῦ τίνα γὰρ 

ἄλλων ἢ τὸν ἄθλιον νοῦν ἢ ψεῦδης δόξα ἀπατᾶ; 

κατεσθίει καὶ βιβρώσκει καὶ μέντοι καὶ καταπίνει 

τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ στήλας, τοπτέστι τὰ κατὰ μέρος 

ἐνθυμήματα, ἀ καθάπερ ἐν στήλῃ τετύπωται καὶ 

ἐγκεχάρακται. Ἀρνῶν δ’ εἰσίν αἱ στήλαι, ὅπερ 

ἐρμηνεύεται "φως αὐτῶν," ἐπεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων 

231 ἐκαστὸν ἐν λογισμῷ σαφηνίζεται. ἀρχεῖ τοῖς 

οὐδ’ θηρνεῖν τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ φιλαντον νοῦν οὕτως: 

"οὐ αἰ σοι, Μωάβ, ἄπωλου". εἰ γὰρ αἰνίγμασι 

προσέχεις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν εἰκότων ἐπιβολήν, 

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LXXXI. So then it is best to trust God and not our dim reasonings and insecure conjectures: "Abraham believed God and was held to be righteous" (Gen. xv. 6); and the precedence which Moses takes is testified to by the words he is "faithful in all My house" (Numb. xii. 7). But if we repose our trust in our own reasonings, we shall construct and build up the city of Mind that corrupts the truth: for "Sihon" means "corrupting." Accordingly the dreamer finds on rising up that all the movements and exertions of the foolish man are dreams void of reality. Yea Mind itself turned out to be a dream. And this is so, because to trust God is a true teaching, but to trust our vain reasonings is a lie. An irrational impulse issues forth and goes its rounds, both from our reasonings and from Mind that corrupts the truth; wherefore also he says, "There went forth a fire from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon" (Numb. xxi. 28). In this way trust in plausible reasonings or in Mind corrupting that which is true, is irrational. LXXXII. "It devours even as far as Moab," that is to say as far as Mind. For whom else does false opinion deceive but wretched Mind? It devours and eats up yea and swallows down the boundary-stones in it, that is, each particular thought or judgement, which are graved and chiselled as though upon a boundary-stone. The stones are Arnon, which means "their light," since it is in reasoning that each matter is elucidated. This is how he begins the dirge over the headstrong and selfish Mind: "Woe to thee, Moab: thou art undone"; for if thou heedest guesses made according to what is probable, thou

* Philo takes πιστός actively, "believing."
ἀπολώλεκας ἀλήθειαν. "λαὸς Χαμώς" τούτεστιν ὁ λαὸς σου καὶ ἡ δύναμις εὑρηται πηρὸς καὶ τετυφλωμένος. Χαμὼς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται "ὡς ψηλάφημα". ἵδιον δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀρῶντος τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο. 232 τούτοις οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ <οί> κατὰ μέρος λογισμοὶ φυγάδες, αἱ δὲ γνώμαι θυγατέρων ἔχουσαι δύναμιν αἰχμάλωτοι τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ἄμορραίων, τούτεστι τῷ σοφιστῇ λαλοῦντων· οἱ γὰρ Ἄμορραίοι ἐρμηνεύονται λαλοῦντες, τοῦ γεγονότος λόγου σύμβολον ὄντες· ο ὃ δὲ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ὁ σοφιστὴς ἐστι καὶ δεινὸς λόγων ἀνερευνᾶν τέχνας, ὡς οὐ κατασοφίζονται οἱ τὸν ὄρον τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερβαίνοντες. 233 LXXXIII. Σηών οὖν ὁ διαφθείρων τὸν ψυχην κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἀπολείται καὶ Ἐσεβῶν τὰ αἰνίγματα τὰ σοφιστικὰ ἐως Δεβῶν, ὁ καλεῖται δικασμός· πάνω προσφυώς· τὰ γὰρ εἰκότα καὶ πιθανὰ οὐκ ἔχει περὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ δίκην καὶ ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ ἐριστικὴν ἀμιλλαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. 234 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤξηρκεσε τῷ νῷ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ νοητὰς ἔχειν κῆρας, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ, αἱ αἰσθήσεις, πυρκαίαν πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν. ἵδε μέντοι τὸ λεγόμενον οἶον ἔστι· πολλάκις νῦκτωρ ὁυδεμιᾷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνεργοῦντες ἀτόπους περὶ πολλῶν καὶ διαφερόντων λαμβάνομεν [134] ἐννοίας, τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεικινῆτου ὑπαρχούσης καὶ μυρίας τροπᾶς ἐνδεχομένης. ἢν οὖν ἴκανα πρὸς
hast lost truth. "The people of Chemosh," that is thy people and its power has been found to be maimed and blinded; for "Chemosh" means "as a groping," and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see. These find their sons, each particular reasoning, fugitives, while their judgements, corresponding to daughters, are captives of war to the king of the Amorites, that is "the lecturer of men fond of talking"; for the Amorites, if we translate the name, are "men fond of talking," being a figure of the uttered word, and the prince of these is the lecturer or sophist clever at searching after verbal artifices, and those who transgress the boundary of truth place themselves at the mercy of his quibbling.

LXXXIII. Sihon, therefore, the corrupter of the healthy rule of the truth, "and his seed shall perish together with Heshbon" (that is) the quibbling riddles "as far as Dihon," a name given to going to law, and quite appropriately, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve no knowledge concerning truth, but trial and disputation and wrangling conflict and contentiousness and everything of that sort.

It was not, however, enough for Mind to have the troubles that are peculiar to it and belong to its own sphere, but over and above these the women, the senses, that is, lit a fire, a huge conflagration, to add to its disasters. Prythee see what I mean by this. It often happens in the night when we are actively employing no single one of our senses, that we entertain strange notions on many different subjects, for the soul is perpetually in movement and can turn ten thousand different ways. This being so, what it produces by itself would have been
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διαφθοράν αυτή, όσα αυτή εξ έαυτῆς ἐγέννησε. 
235 νυνί δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν αἰσθήσεων όχλου ἐπεισωδίασαν
αυτή κηρῶν ἀμήχανον πλῆθος, τούτῳ μὲν ἐκ τῶν
ὄρατῶν, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν φωνῶν, εἶτα χυλῶν
<καὶ> ἀτμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὀσμήν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἡ
ἂν αὐτῶν φλὸξ καλεπώτερον τὴν ψυχήν διατίθησι
τῆς ἐγγυνομένης ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνεύ συμ
παραλήψεως αἰσθητηρίων.

236 LXXXIV. Τούτων μία τῶν γυναικῶν ἔστιν ἡ
Πεντεφρή τοῦ Φαραώ ἀρχιμαγείρου (Gen. xxxix.
1 ff.). οὐς πῶς ἔχει γυναῖκα εὐνοῦχος ὃν, ἐπι
σκεπτέον· τοῖς γὰρ τὰ βήματα τοῦ νόμου πραγ
ματευομένοι πρὸ ἀλληγορίας ἀκολουθήσει τὸ
δοκοῦν ἀπορεῖθαί· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος καὶ ἀρχι
μάγειρος ὄντως νοῦς μὴ ταῖς ἀπλαῖς μόνον ἄλλα
καὶ ταῖς περιταῖς χρώμενοι ἡδοναῖς εὐνοῦχος
κέκληται καὶ ἄγονος σοφίας, ὃν εὐνοῦχος οὐκ
ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ τῶν καλῶν Φαραώ·
ἐπεὶ τοι κατ’ ἄλλον λόγον ἀριστον ἂν εἴη τὸ
eὐνοῦχον γενέσθαι, εἰ δυνηστεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ
237 κακίαν ἐκφυγοῦσα ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος. διὸ καὶ
Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἐγκρατής τρόπος τῆς λεγοῦσθi ἡδονή·
"Κοιμήθητι μετ’ ἐμοῦ (Gen. xxxix. 7) καὶ
ἄνθρωπος ὃν ἀνθρωποπόθησαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν
τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τερπνῶν" ἐναντιοῦται φάσκων·
"ἀμαρτήσομαι εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν φιλάρετον, εἰ
genoίμην φιλήδονος· πωνηρὸν γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἔργον."
238 LXXXV. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀκροβολῖζεται, ἥδη δὲ καὶ
καρτερῶς ἀπομάχεται, ὅταν εἰσελθῇ εἰς τὸν έαυτῆς

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sufficient for its corruption. But as it is, the mob of the senses has introduced into it from outside an untold host of mischiefs, drawn partly from visible objects, partly from sounds, as well as from savours and scents that touch the sense of smell; and we may say that the flame arising from them affects the soul more disastrously than the flame that is kindled in it by the soul itself without calling in the organs of sense to assist it.

LXXXIV. One of these women is the wife of Potiphar, Pharaoh's head-cook (Gen. xxxix. 1 ff.). How, being a eunuch, he comes to have a wife, is a point to be considered: for those, who are occupied with the literal wording of the law rather than with its figurative interpretation, will find that it involves what appears to such a difficulty. For the Mind, that is really an eunuch and chief cook, dealing not in the simple pleasures only but in excessive ones also, deserves the title of eunuch as one who is incapable of begetting wisdom, seeing that he serves as eunuch none other than Pharaoh, the disperser of noble things. For you must bear in mind that from another point of view to become an eunuch would be a very good thing, if so our soul should be able to escape wickedness and unlearn passion. So Joseph too, the self-controlling character, when pleasure says to him "Sleep with me" (Gen. xxxix. 7) and being human indulge human passions and enjoy the delights that come in life's course," refuses to comply with her saying, 'I shall be sinning against God the Lover of virtue, were I to show myself a lover of pleasure; for this is a wicked deed.'

LXXXV. And now he is merely skirmishing, but before long he is stoutly fighting it out, when the
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οἴκον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀναδραμοῦσα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῆς τόνους ἀποτάξηται τοῖς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἵδια ὡς ψυχῆς ἔργα ἐργάσηται· οὔτε εἰς τὸν οἴκουν Ἰωσήφ ὀυτε Πεντεφρῆ, ἀλλὰ "εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν"—καὶ οὐ προστίθησι τὴν τίνος, ἦν σκεπτικῶς ἄλληγορίας—"ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ." (Gen. 239 xxxix. 11). ἦ μὲν οὖν οἰκία ἑστὶν ἡ ψυχή, εἰς ἣν ἀνατρέχει καταλιπὼν τὰ ἐκτός, ἦν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ γένηται· τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦ ἔργα μὴποτε θεοῦ βουλήματι ἐστὶ καὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἢν ἀλλότριος λογισμὸς τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατοικεῖν εἴσω. πλὴν οὔκ ἀφίσταται τυχομαχουσα ἡ ἡδονή, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἵματων λαβομένη φησί "Κοιμήθητι μετ' ἔμοι." σκεπάσματα δὲ ὦσπερ σώματος τὰ ἐσθήματα ἑστὶν, οὕτως τοῦ ζώου οὐτία καὶ ποτά. τούτῳ δὴ φησι' τί παραιτή 240 τὴν ἡδονήν, ἢς ἀνεύ οὐ δύνασαι ζῆν; ἵδιον ἐκλαμβάνομαι τῶν ποιητικῶν αὐτῆς καὶ φημί σε μὴ ἀν δυνηθήναι ὑποστῆναι, εἰ μὴ τῶν ποιητικῶν χρήσασθε. τι οὖν ὁ ἐγκρατής; εἰ μέλλω, φησί, [135] δουλεύων πάθει διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν | υλὴν, καὶ εξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔξω. "καταλιπὼν γὰρ τὰ ιμάτια ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτῆς ἐφυγε καὶ 241 ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω" (Gen. xxxix. 12). LXXXVI. τίς

1 ? βουλήματα. See note on translation.

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a θεοῦ βουλήματι. Cf. De Posteritate Caini 73 τῷ μὴ κατὰ βουλήμα τῷ θεοῦ ζωτί, De Vita Mosis 287 οὗ συνάδει τῷ θεοῦ βουλήματι. The absence of an article in our passage is suspicious; and the dative is somewhat harsh with ἐστι. These difficulties would be got over, and a stronger sense gained, by reading βουλήματα. The man of self-control carries out in act purposes of God learned in 462
soul has entered into her own house, and falling back on her own energies has renounced all that is regulated by the body, and has set to work at business properly belonging to her inasmuch as they are activities of the soul. He goes neither into Joseph’s house nor into that of Potiphar, but “into the house.” He does not go on to say whose house, that you may think and interpret. He simply adds, “to do his business” (Gen. xxxix. 11). The house then is the soul, into which he retires, abandoning all that is outside, to the end that he may, as we say, get within himself. The “business” of the man of self-control is, we may take it, done by God’s will; for indeed, among all the reasonings wont to have their abode in the soul within, there was not one such uncongenial reasoning found there. Meanwhile pleasure does not desist from struggling, but laying hold of his garments says “Sleep with me.” As clothes are coverings of the body, so are food and drink of the living being. This is what she says, “Why do you decline pleasure, without which you cannot live? See, I seize and carry off part of what goes to produce her, and I declare that you would be unable to exist without using something productive of pleasure.” What does the man of self-control do? “If,” he says, “I am going to be a slave to passion for the sake of the matter that is productive of it, I will even leave passion behind and go forth outside”; for “leaving his garments in her hands he fled and went forth outside” (Gen. xxxix. 12).

communion with his own heart. The following sentence seems intended to justify so high a claim.

See App. p. 484.
δὲ ἐνδον, φαῖη τις ἂν, εξέρχεται; οὐ πολλοὶ;
ἡ οὐ φυγόντες τινὲς τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν εῖ διωτικής
ἐκλεψαν οὐκίας, καὶ οὐκ ἄντες πατροτύπται ἄλ-
λότριον ύβρισαν; οὐτοὶ εξέρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀμαρτημάτων, εἰς ἄτερα δὲ εἰσέρχονται· τὸν δὲ
tελείως ἐγκρατη ἰδὶ πάντα φεύγειν τὰ ἀμαρτή-
ματα καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἔλαττω καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ
exētaeous bai to parapain.

242 Ἄλλ’ ο μὲν Ἰωσήφ—νέος τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῶ
Αἰγυπτίων σώματι οὐκ ἴχυσεν ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ
νικῆσαι τῆν ἥδονὴν—[καὶ] ἀποδιδράσκει. Φινεῖς
dὲ ὁ ίερεύς ὁ ζηλώσας τὸν ἤδειον ζηλοῦν οὐ
φυγῇ τὴν ἴδιαν σωτηρίαν πεπόρισται, ἀλλὰ τὸν
“σειρομάστην” τουτέστι τὸν ζηλωτικὸν λόγον
λαβὼν οὐκ ἀποστήσεται, πρὶν ἢ “ἐκκεντήσαι τὴν
Μαδιανῖτιν” τὴν ἐκκεκριμένην θείου χοροῦ φύσιν
“διὰ τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς” (Num. xcv. 7, 8), ἵνα
μηδέποτε ἴχυσῃ φυτὸν ἢ σπέρμα κακίας ἀνα-
teilai. LXXXVII. οὐ χάριν ἐκκοπείσῃς ἀφρο-
sunis athlon kai kalron ή ψυχή λαμβάνει διττόν,
eiríhēn kai ierwosúnh (ib. xii. 13), συγγενεῖς kai
αδελφᾶς ἀρετᾶς.

243 Τοιαύτης μὲν οὖν γυναῖκος οὐκ ἀκουστέον,
αισθήσεως μοχθῆρας λέγω, ἐπεὶ καὶ “τὰς μαίας
ev ἔποιει θεός” (Exod. i. 20), ὅτι τῶν προσ-
tάξεων τοῦ σκεδαστοῦ Φαραώ ἠλόγουν “τὰ
ἀρρενα” τῆς ψυχῆς “ζωογονοῦσαι,” ἀ ἐκεῖνος
ἠθέλε διαφθείρειν τῆς θηλείας ὀλής ἐραστῆς ὅν,
tὸ δ’ αὕτων ἀγνοῶν καὶ λέγων ὅτι “οὐκ οἶδα
244 αὐτόν” (Exod. v. 2). ἐτέρα δὲ πειστέον γυναίκι,
οἱαν συμβέβηκε Σάρραν εἶναι, τὴν ἄρχουσαν ἀρετήν.
someone may ask, "goes forth within?" Do not many? Or have not some who have avoided the robbing of temples stolen goods from a private house, and some who have not been father-beaters, committed violence on a stranger? These people do indeed come forth from the sins mentioned, but they come into others. But he that exercises perfect self-control must shun all sins, both the greater and the lesser, and be found implicated in none whatever.

Joseph, however, being but a youth and lacking strength to contend with the Egyptian body and vanquish pleasure, runs away. But Phinehas the priest, who was zealous with the zeal for God, has secured his own safety, not by flight, but grasping the "spear," i.e. the spirit of zeal, he will not desist before he has "pierced the Midianitish woman," the nature that has been sifted out of the sacred company, "through her womb" (Numb. xxv. 7 f.), that she may never be able to cause plant or seed of wickedness to shoot up: LXXXVII. in recompense for this, for the cutting out of folly, the soul obtains a twofold portion as its reward, peace and priesthood (ibid. 12 f.), virtues as near of kin as sisters.

To such a woman, therefore, we must not hearken, wicked sense I mean. For "God dealt well with the midwives" (Exod. i. 20), because disregarding the injunctions of Pharaoh, the scatterer, they "saved alive" the male offspring of the soul which he wished to destroy; for, enamoured of what is material and female, he knows not the First Cause and says, "I know Him not" (Exod. v. 2). Quite a different woman claims our compliance, a woman such as Sarah is seen to have been, even paramount
καὶ πείθεται γε ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ αὐτῇ παραινούσῃ ἡ δει πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὅτ' οὕτω τέλειος ἐγεγένητο, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὶν μετονομασθῆναι τὰ μετέωρα ἐφιλοσόφει, ἔπισταμένη ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύνατο γεννᾶν εἰς ἀρετῆς τελείας, συμβουλεύει ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης τούτης παιδεῖας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδοποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀγαρ (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.), ὁ λέγεται παροίκησις. ὁ γὰρ μελετῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ τελείας κατοικεῖν, πρὶν ἐγναταιρίσῃ τῇ πόλει αὐτῆς, τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μαθήμασι παροικεῖ, ἵνα διὰ τούτων 245 πρὸς τελείαν ἀρετήν ἀφέτως ὅμηρης ἔπειτα ὅταν ἴδῃ τετελειωμένοιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἢδη δυνάμενοιν σπείρειν, * * * καὶ ἔκεινοιν εὐχαρίστοι ὅν πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα, δι' ὅν ἀρετῇ συνεστάθη, χαλεπῶν ἢγίσται παρατήρησαι αὐτά, χρήσιμῷ πρακτικήσεται θεοῦ τῷ κελεύοντι, "πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἴη σάρρα, ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς" (Gen. xxi. 12). [136] νόμος ἴμων ἔστω ἕκαστῳ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀρετήν. εἰ γὰρ πάντων ὅσα παραίνει ἡ ἀρετή βουλόμεθα ἄκουειν, εὐθαμομνήσομεν. 246 LXXXVIII. Τὸ δὲ "καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μή φαγεῖν," ᾧ οὖν ἔστι τῷ συγκατέθου κακίᾳ, ἦν χρή σε ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπείργευς διὰ τοῦτο "ἐπικατάρατος" συχί ὧν, <ἀλλ' > "ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς έργοις σου" (Gen. iii. 17). τὸς οὖν ἡ αὐτία τούτων; ὁ ὥσπερ ἦν ἡδονή, ἔπαρσις ἄλογος ψυχῆς. αὐτή κατάρατος εὔ εὐαντής, μόνῳ γε τοῖς τῷ φαύλω προσγίνεται,

* See App. p. 484.
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virtue. The wise Abraham complies with her when she recommends the course to follow. For at an earlier time, when he had not yet become perfect but, before his name had been changed, was still only inquiring into supramundane things, being aware that he could not beget seed out of perfect virtue, she advises him to beget children out of the handmaiden, that is school-learning, even Hagar (Gen. xvi. 2 ff.). This name means “Sojourning,” for he that is studying to make his home in perfect virtue, before he is registered as a member of her city, sojourns with the subjects learned in the schools, that he may be led by these to apply his unfettered powers to virtue.a Afterwards, when she sees him brought to perfection, and capable now of begetting... And if he, filled with gratitude towards the education by means of which he was brought into union with virtue, thinks it harsh to reject it, he shall be brought to compliance by an oracle of God bidding him, “In all that Sarah saith to thee listen to her voice” (Gen. xxi. 12). Let that which seems good to virtue be law for each one of us; for if we choose to hearken to all that virtue recommends, we shall be happy.

LXXXVIII. The words “and thou didst eat of the tree of which alone I commanded thee not to eat” are equivalent to “thou didst consent to wickedness, which it is thy duty to keep off with all thy might”: because of this “cursed”—not “art thou” but “is the earth in thy works” (Gen. iii. 17). What then was the reason of this? The serpent, we saw, was pleasure, an irrational elation of soul. She is accursed on her own account, but mark well that she attaches herself only to the worthless man, not
σπουδαίως δ' οὐδενί. ὁ Ἀδὰμ δὲ ὁ μέσος ἐστὶν νοῦς, ὃς τοτὲ μὲν ἀμείων τοτὲ δὲ χείρων ἐξετάζεται· ἢ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστίν, οὔτε φαύλος οὔτε σπουδαῖος εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἀρέτη δὲ καὶ κακία πρὸς τε τὸ ἐν καὶ πρὸς τὸ χείρον εἰσὶν μεταβάλλειν.

247 εἰκότως οὖν οὐκ ἐστὶ κατάρατος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς οὔτε κακία οὔτε χείρον ὡς κατὰ κακίαν πρᾶξις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς αὑτοῦ ἡ γῆ κατάρατος· αἱ γὰρ πράξεις αἱ διὰ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς, ἡν κέκληκε γῆν, ἐπιληπτοὶ καὶ ὑπαίτιοι κατὰ κακίαν ἐκαστὰ δρῶντός εἰσι. παρὰ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, ὅτι "ἐν λύπῃ φάγεσαι αὐτήν," ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἵσον τῷ ἀπολαύσεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιλύπωσι· ἐπωδύνως γὰρ ὁ φαύλος πάντα τὸν βίον χρήται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆ μηδὲν ἔχων χαρᾶς αὐτίων, δ' πέφυκε γεννᾶν δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις καὶ αἱ σύνθρονοι ταύτης ἀρεταῖ.

248 LXXXIX. "Ἀκάνθας οὖν καὶ τριβόλος ἀνατελεῖ σοι" (Gen. iii. 18). ἀλλὰ τὸ φύεται καὶ βλαστάνει ἐν ἄφρονος ψυχῇ, πλὴν τὰ κεντοῦντα καὶ τιτρώσκοντα αὐτὴν πάθη; ἄ διὰ συμβόλων ἀκάνθας κέκληκεν, οἷς ἡ ἄλογος ὀρμή πυρὸς τὸν τρόπον πρῶτος ἐντυγχάνει, μεθ' ὅν ταχθείσα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς καταφλέγει καὶ διαφθείρει. λέγει γὰρ οὔτως· "ἐάν δὲ ἐξελθὼν πῦρ εὐρή ἀκάνθας καὶ προσεμπρήσῃ ἄλωνα ἡ στάχυας ἡ πεδίων, ἀποτίσει ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκαύσας" (Exod. xxii. 6).

249 ὅρᾶς οὖτι τὸ πῦρ ἐξελθὼν, ἡ ἄλογος ὀρμή, οὐκ ἐμπίπτει σὺν ἀκάνθας, ἀλλὰ εὐρίσκετι· ζητητική
to any good man. Adam is the neutral mind, which now proves better, now worse. For in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. It is then just as we should expect, that he is not accursed on his own account, inasmuch as he is neither wickedness nor conduct with wickedness for its rule, but the earth is accursed in his works; for the doings of which the whole soul, to which is here given the name of "earth," is the means and occasion, are blameworthy and faulty when he allows wickedness to regulate them in each case. Accordingly he goes on "in sorrow shalt thou eat of it." This is tantamount to "thou shalt sorrowfully get the benefit of being alive." For in pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality. He has no motive for joy. Such a motive is in the nature of things supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues that share her throne.

LXXXIX. "Thorns therefore and burrs shall it cause to spring up for thee" (Gen. iii. 18). Nay, what does grow and shoot up in the soul of a foolish man, but the passions which goad and wound it? To these, using figures, he has given the name of thorns. These the irrational impulse like a fire meets first, and ranging herself with them burns up and consumes all the soul's possessions. For this is what is said: "If a fire break out and find thorns and go on to burn threshing-floor or standing corn or field; he that kindled the fire shall make restitution" (Exod. xxii. 6). You see that the fire, the irrational impulse, when it has broken out does not burn the thorns but finds them; for being a
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γάρ τῶν παθῶν οὐσα δ ἐπόθει λαβεῖν εὑρεν· ὅταν δὲ εὑρη, καταφλέγει τρία ταύτα, ἀρετὴν τελείαν, προκοπὴν, εὐφυίαν· ἀρετὴν μὲν οὖν παραβέβληκε τῇ ἀλώ, συγκεκόμισται γάρ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ὁ καρπός, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῇ τὰ καλά· στάχυς δὲ τῆς προκοπῆς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκάτερον ἀτελές ἐφιέμενον τοῦ τέλους· πεδίῳ δὲ τῆς εὐφυίας, ὑπεράδεκτος ἀγαθὴς ἐστὶν. ἦκαστον δὲ τῶν παθῶν τριβόλια εἴρηκεν, ἐπειδὴ τριττά ἐστιν, αὐτὸ τε καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτέλεσμα, ὁποῖον ἰδονή, ἰδῦ, ἰδεσθαί· ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμητόν, ἐπιθυμεῖν· λύπη, λυπηρόν, λυπεῖσθαι· φόβος, φοβερόν, φοβεῖσθαι.

251 ΧC. "Καὶ φάγεσαι τῶν χόρτων τοῦ ἀγροῦ· ἐν ἱδρώτι τοῦ προσώπου σου <φάγεσαι τὸν ἄρτον σου>" (Gen. iii. 18, 19). χόρτον καὶ ἄρτον καλεῖ συνώνυμος, πράγμα ταύτον· χόρτος ἄλογου τροφῆ ἐστίν· ἄλογον τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγον, ἄλογον καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς οὕσα μέρος· ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐφιέμενος τῶν αἰσθητῶν διὰ τῶν ἄλογων αἰσθητῶν οὐκ ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἱδρώτι σφόδρα γὰρ ἰδνυμοῖς καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ὁ τοῦ ἄφρωνος βίος μετιόντος καὶ ἐπιλιχνεύοντος τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν ἰδονῶν καὶ τῶν ὀσα κακία ἀπεργάζεσθαι φιλεῖ. καὶ μέχρι τῶν; "μέχρι" φησίν "ἀποστρέψεις εἰς τὴν γῆν, εὖ ἦς
searcher after the passions it finds what it wanted to get; and when it has found them it burns up these three things, perfect virtue, gradual progress, goodness of natural disposition. Virtue he likens to the contents of the threshing-floor, for as the grain has been gathered together on it, so in the soul of the wise man have been gathered noble things. To the standing corn he likens gradual advance, since either is incomplete and is earnestly set on its completeness. He likens goodness of natural disposition to the field, because it is receptive of the seeds of virtue. He calls each of the passions "burrs" or "three-spiked caltrops," because they are threefold, the passion itself, that which produces it, and the finished result of these. For instance, pleasure, the pleasant, feeling pleasure; desire, the desirable, desiring; sorrow, the sorrowful, feeling sorrow; fear, the fearful, fearing.

XC. "And thou shalt eat the grass of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" (Gen. iii. 18 f.). He uses the terms grass and bread as synonyms; the thing meant is the same. Grass is food of an irrational creature; and such is a bad man with the right principle cut out of him; irrational also are the senses, being a part of the soul. But the mind striving to attain the objects of sense by means of the irrational senses, makes this striving not without toil and sweat. For exceeding painful and burdensome is the life of the foolish man, as he pursues with greedy desire all things that are productive of pleasures and of all things that wickedness loves to bring about. And how long is this to be? "Until," He says, "thou shalt turn back into the earth, from which thou wert taken" (Gen. iii.
ελήφθης” (Gen. iii. 19). νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
γεώδεσι καὶ ἄσυστάτοις ἔξετάζεται τὴν οὐράνιον
σοφίαν καταλπών; πῆ οὖν ἔτι ἀποστρέφεται, σκε-
πτέον. ἀλλὰ μήποτε ὁ λέγει τοιούτον ἔστιν, ὅτι ὁ
ἄφρων νοῦς ἀπέστραπται μὲν ἂεὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον,
εἰληπται δὲ οὖκ ἀπὸ τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, ἀλλ’
ἀπὸ τῆς γεωδεστέρας ὕλης, καὶ μένων δὲ καὶ
κυνούμενος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἐφιέμενος τε τῶν αὐτῶν.
253 διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει, “ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ”
(ibid.), ὅπερ ἵσον ἐστὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ. δηλοὶ
dὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἡ ἀρχή σου καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐν καὶ
tαυτόν ἐστιν· ἦρξε τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φθειρομένων
γῆς σωμάτων, τελευτήσεις δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐκεῖνα
τὴν μεταξύ τοῦ βίου τρῆσα τὸν οὐ λεωφόρον
ἀλλ’ τραχεῖαν, βάτων καὶ τριβόλων κεντεῖν τε
καὶ τυτρώσκειν πεφυκότων μεστὴν.

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19). For, having forsaken the wisdom of heaven, is he not now ranked with things earthly and chaotic? How then he turns back yet further, we have to consider. But perhaps what he means is of this kind, that the foolish mind has indeed always turned back from the right principle, but has been taken not from the sublime nature but from the more earthly substance, and, whether staying still or in movement, is the same and devoted to the same interests. And that is why he goes on to say, "Earth thou art and into earth shalt thou depart" (ibid.), which amounts to what I have already said. It signifies this also, "thine origin and thine end are one and the same, for thou tookest thine origin from earth’s decaying bodies, and into them shalt thou again come to thine end, after treading the way of life that comes between, along no high road but on a rough path, full of brambles and burrs whose nature is to prick and wound."
APPENDIX TO
ON THE CREATION

(N.B.—S.V.F. = Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta. The references are to sections in Arnim.)

§ 3. Philo starts off with two leading Stoic ideas, "living according to nature" and the "world-citizen." For the former cf. Diogenes Laertius vii. 87, "Zeno was the first to designate a (man's) end 'living according to nature.'" For the latter see S.V.F. i. 262. The first use of the actual word κοσμοπολίτης is ascribed to Diogenes the Cynic, who, when "asked whence he came, replied 'I am a citizen of the world'" (Diog. Laert. vi. 63).

§ 25. The words bracketed by Cohn are left so bracketed in the text but untranslated.

§ 26. Time is a measured space, etc. This is the accepted definition of the Stoics. See S.V.F. ii. 509 f. Philo refers to it as Stoic, De Aet. 4, and elsewhere in that treatise.

§ 43. Principles or nuclei, or perhaps "seed-powers"; οἱ λόγοι is equivalent to οἱ σπερματικοί λόγοι. The Stoics conceived of a single λόγος σπερματικός manifesting itself in innumerable λόγοι σπερματικοί, which give things their form. See S.V.F. Index, p. 93a.

§ 54. The thought of this section is based on Timaeus 47 A, B, where Plato says that "God bestowed sight on us that we might observe the orbits of reason which are in heaven, and make use of them for the revolutions of thought which are in our souls" (Archer-Hind's translation).

§§ 72 ff. The idea of these sections is suggested by, or at least receives support from, Timaeus 41, 42, where God creates "young gods" or subordinate ministers to carry on the work for the same reason as is given here, viz. that He might not be responsible for evil.

§ 80. And through the livelong year, or, putting the
comma after ἐκδεχόμενοι, "at the end of each year (at intervals of a year) they gather in."

§ 101. Equal to the sum of its own factors. Like 6 (see 13), 28 is the sum of its factors (1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14), as are 496 and 8128. The word "perfect" is in strictness applied to such numbers only (Nicomachus i. 10).

§ 102. Limits, or "terms." Ὄποιος is the technical word for a "term" in a series. In fact, having been translated into Latin as terminus, it is the progenitor of our own word.

§ 117. The remainder of our soul is divided, etc. This classification is Stoic. It is more usually stated in the form that the soul has eight parts, the ἡγεμόνικον being reckoned as one. See S. V. F. ii. 827 ff.

§ 142. Citizen of the world. See especially 3 and note. The first man fulfilled the Stoic ideal. This view of the superiority of early mankind, though not confined to the Stoics, was strongly held by them. The Golden Age, said Posidonius, was when "regnum fuit penes sapientes" (Seneca, Epistle 90. 5).

§ 148. Torch. The figure of the torch-race is very common. Considering, however, Philo's love for Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that he is thinking of the mention of it at the beginning of the Republic, 328 A. Cf. Laws 776 B.

§ 160. A human voice. Philo is here attacking Epicureanism. For the Epicurean doctrine that pleasure is the end aimed at by every living creature see Diogenes Laertius x. 128. Thus the serpent's use of a human voice is interpreted as an allegory showing how vocal and popular that School was. Philo, like most of its opponents, ignores the fact that Epicurus expressly refused to identify pleasure with material pleasures.

§§ 170, 171. The opinions here assailed are (1) that God's existence is doubtful, held by the Sceptics; (2) that the world is without beginning (ἄγεννητος), held, according to Philo's own statement in De Aet. 10, by Aristotle; the contrary was maintained by Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics (S. V. F. ii. 575); (3) the plurality of worlds, originally held by Democritus (see Timaeus 31 A, and Archer-Hind's note), and afterwards by the Epicureans; (4) that there is no such thing as Providence. This Epicurean tenet is too familiar from Lucretius and other writers to need illustration, but see Diogenes Laertius x. 77, 113, 139.
APPENDIX TO
ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, I

§ 3. Multiplication of two unequal factors. Έτερομήκης, though often used more widely by general writers, is a term reserved by the mathematicians for numbers of the form \( x(x + 1) \), i.e. \( 1 \times 2, 2 \times 3, 3 \times 4, \) etc. (See Nicomachus ii. 17.) This restricted use of the word obviously fits the present passage.

§ 30. Impressions . . . active impulse. The φαντασία, translated now by "presentation," now by "mental picture," conceived of as an imprint (τύπωσις) on the mind, is a thoroughly Stoic idea. (See e.g. Diog. Laert. vii. 45; S.V.F. ii. 52 ff.) So also is ὁρμή, "impulse" or "appetite." The sense of this section is given more fully and clearly in Quod Deus 43.

§ 57. Theoretical . . . practical. A more careful classification of the arts is given by Aristotle, Met. v. 1, viz.—θεωρητικαί, πρακτικαί and ποιητικαί ("productive"). Thus rhetoric and dancing are πρακτικαί, sculpture and poetry ποιητικαί. Cf. Quintilian ii. 18.

ibid. Its three parts. This division is claimed for the Stoics by Diogenes Laertius (vii. 39), though actually it appears incidentally in Aristotle, Topica i. 14, 105 b 20. The comparison quoted by Diogenes in vii. 40 of τὸ λογικὸν to the hedge (φραγμὸς), τὸ φυσικὸν to the field or trees, and τὸ ἠθικὸν to the fruit is adopted by Philo in De Agr. 14.

§ 60. Another suggestion may be made for emending this passage. Elsewhere Philo explains unexpected silences on Moses’ part by his desire to stimulate the mystic to discover some high truth for himself. E.g. L.A. ii. 55, iii. 239. Note in particular De Cherubim 121 fin., where the likeness of diction to this passage is significant. There the silence is stated to be ἵνα ὁ μὴ φυσιολογίας ἄμυντος εἰς
Aristotle, "επιστήμην ώφελήται. The stimulus to thought, that is to say, will be an actual assistance to the philosophical mind in its quest for knowledge. Here if we change the order of ὁ and μη we may perhaps leave the text otherwise undisturbed, translating "that the man versed in natural philosophy may discover the truth for himself and revere Him that is for His knowledge." Or we might read (for τὸν δύτα) τὸν <μεταδύτα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. The sense conveyed will then be that the stimulus to thought will lead to a higher knowledge, and so to reverence for Him who has imparted it.

§ 70. Our soul is threefold, etc. This theory is familiar to readers of Plato from the famous myth of the soul's chariot in the Phaedrus 246 ff., where τὸ λογικὸν appears as the charioteer, τὸ θυμικὸν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν as the nobler and baser horses respectively. Cf. Timaeus 69 c; Republic 439 d. Philo, in fact, reproduces the figure in 72 f., but without Plato's distinction of the character of the two horses. The location of the three in different parts of the body here mentioned is taken from Timaeus 69 e, 90 λ.

§ 80. Judah and Issachar. The idea seems to be that Judah, the mystic representing φρόνησις as a spiritual or mental condition, is ὁ φρόνιμος, while Issachar, who represents the same as carried into practical life, is ὁ φρονών. The somewhat unexpected use of ἀσκητής as applied to the mystic may perhaps be explained by laying stress on θεοῦ. He is a "practiser," but of a wisdom higher than that of practisers in general.

§ 91. We conceive of God as the soul of the universe. It is implied that it is not an accurate or adequate expression. Cf. De Migr. 179, where the possible danger of this expression, as tending to suggest that God is contained in the universe, is pointed out, and ibid. 181, where the thought is further developed. The expression is Stoic (S. V. F. ii. 774). The equivalent ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς is attributed to Cleanthes himself (S. V. F. i. 532).
APPENDIX TO
ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION, II

§ 6. Philo is alluding to the Stoic view that the πάθη are mental judgements. See Diogenes Laertius vii. 111 δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν* ἢ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψις ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. Here he may mean that he accepts this view in some cases, but not in all; or, perhaps, that his statement that the πάθη are ἄλογα might be doubted if the view that they are κρίσεις be accepted, but is certainly true if that view be rejected.

§ 15. Greek philosophers. Presumably this includes (a) Plato; see Cratylus 401 b, where we are told that the first name-givers must have been considerable persons. Cf. ibid. 390 d. (b) Pythagoras. In Tusc. Disp. i. 62 Cicero, speaking of the greatness of the task of assigning names, says “summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est.”

§§ 16, 18. Having in 16 prepared the way for his interpretation of Gen. ii. 19 by observing that τί = διὰ τί, “why,” Philo goes on to make καλεῖν = “invite,” “welcome,” to treat ψυχὴν ζωσαν as predicative, putting ὡς before it in his paraphrase, practically to ignore αὐτὸ as an otiose accusative, πᾶν δέ ἐὰν being the sufficient object of ἐκάλεσεν. The verse for him has to do, not with assigning names, but with proclaiming affinities. To welcome pleasure, desire, or cowardice as living souls is to proclaim affinity with them, and so to share their title or name.

§ 20. εἰ γε μὴν . . . σαρκίνη δήπον; “if one of the two sides was filled up with flesh, are we to presume that the one not so treated was not made of flesh?” Philo captiously presses the words of Gen. ii. 21, ἀνεπλήρωσεν.
σάρκα ἀντ’ αὐτῆς, to mean that in the filling up a different material, namely flesh, was substituted (ἀντί) for the material which was there before; which would of course imply that the other side was of a material other than flesh.

§ 22. The power of holding together, etc. This fourfold classification is Stoic (see S. V. F. ii. 457-460). It is explained more fully in Quod Deus 35 ff. It is difficult to see at first sight how the "naked" mind can have these powers, at any rate that of εξις, which is the characteristic of inorganic matter. But in Quod Deus 35 we find that the εξις which holds together a stone or a piece of wood is a breath or spirit, which extends itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes and then reverses its course. Thus εξις and the others are conceived of as powers distinct from the objects or persons in which they are found. In fact we are told (Themistius, De anima 72 b) that the Stoics held that God πού μέν εἶναι νοῦν, πού δὲ ψυχήν, πού δὲ φύσιν, πού δὲ εξις. Seneca translates εξις when used in this way by unitas. The sense seems different, and perhaps has a different origin, from that of "state" or "disposition" (Lat. habitus). Zeller, however, equates the two by regarding the εξις of this passage as = simple quality without any further characteristic (Stoics, p. 208).

§ 44. For the construction ταύτη κληθήσεται cf. Jer. xix. 6 οὐ κληθήσεται τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἔτι Διάπτωσις. In Judges xviii. 12 A has ἐκλήθη ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ Παρεμβολή Δάν, omitting ἐν found in some mss. before ἐκείνῳ. (Or, as the words that follow perhaps suggest, Philo may have taken ταύτη as an adverb and explained it as = διὰ τοῦτο.)

§ 46. Rachel, who represents sense-perception (or superficiality), takes her seat upon idols (E. V. "teraphim," Gen. xxxi. 33), and is rebuked by Jacob (or "Israel," the man of vision) when her words show that she imagines that mind is the author and originator of movements.

§ 63. The actual meaning of Num. xxx. 4 ff. is that a woman's vows hold if her father or husband silently acquiesce, but not if they forbid them; whereas those of a widow, seeing there is no such person to prohibit them, must hold. By taking "husband" or "father" to represent reason, Philo extracts the thought that our wishes are not guilty if our reasoned thoughts prohibit them, so that we do not translate them into action. The "widow" stands for the soul, which
has cut itself off from any such controlling influence, and whose guilt is abiding.

§ 65. *They were not ashamed.* The real meaning of the story is of course that they did not feel shame, but in 68 ff. Philo gives the words a sense, which they are capable of bearing, "they were not shamed," *i.e.* "brought to do anything shameful."

§ 67. *Intense and fixed, or 'full (or ' deep ') coloured."* The word κατακορής may be used of any colour. But as in the *Timaeus*, which Philo knew so well, it is associated (68 c) with μέλαν (= "intense black"), he probably uses it here with reference to the complexion of the Ethiopian woman. There may also be a play on its similarity to κόρη in the sense of "a pupil of the eye."

§ 78. 'Tis well that they say, etc. A clearer meaning could be obtained by reading οὐ ότι "κατελαλήσαμεν ὁτι ήμάρτομεν," ἀλλ' ὁτι "ήμαρτομεν ὁτι κατελαλήσαμεν." "It is well that they say, not 'we spake against the Lord (laying it to His charge) that we sinned,' but 'we sinned (in) that we spake against the Lord.'" This harmonizes with the next words. It was easy for scribes to confuse the ὅτι's.

§§ 83–87. The meaning of these sections seems to be as follows. We here deal with souls which are more blessed than those mentioned above, yet are subjected to a τροπή by God to convince them of their frailty and that of human kind (§ 83). These souls Philo takes to be described in Deut. viii. They are in contrast with those of Num. xxi. in the following ways. First these (the historical situation being ignored) are in Egypt (87 *init.*). As they were "craving for the habitations of Egypt," they are virtually (cf. *L.Ł.* i. 61) in Egypt. The others are in the wilderness, which is the reverse of Egypt. They too, indeed, are bitten by the serpent of pleasure and the scorpion of scattering, yet these bites are not deadly like those of Numb. xxi. And they do not need the brazen serpent of καρτερία to cure them; for they are already καρτερίας ἑρασταί (83). They have the higher spiritual food of the manna and the rock-water, and are thus brought back from their τροπή spiritually enriched. Philo evidently associates himself with these souls.

§ 99. *Four-legged.* The reference is to the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure. See *S. V. F.* iii. 381 ff.
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§ 2. Rustic. For the Stoic idea that the bad man or fool was essentially ἄγροικος cf. S. V. F. iii. 169 ff.

§ 7. The man with an issue (γονορρύης). Philo clearly alludes to the most famous of the dicta of Heracleitus, πάντα (or τὰ δλα) ἰεῖ. For illustrative quotations to this see Zeller, Presocratic Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 11 n.; for ἀμοιβὴ ibid. pp. 27-29. The phrase κόρος καὶ χρησμοσύνη is somewhat obscure, and the evidence conflicting. See Zeller, op. cit. pp. 17 n. 3, 38 n., 46 n. 1, 78 n. 1; Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phil. Graec. 36 a. Philo, who repeats the phrase in Spec. Leg. i. 208, evidently uses it here as another example of Heracleitus's belief that the world was a combination of opposites passing into each other without Divine agency.

§ 16. Jacob stole away, etc. So E.V. More literally “Jacob kept Laban in the dark, so that he did not tell him.” For the genitive of the infinitive in LXX. and N.T. see Moulton's translation of Winer's Grammar of N.T. Greek, pp. 410 ff.

§ 32. There is no blood-guiltiness for him. Or rather “to him” as in 35, “he shall be put to death for what he has done.” This more than usually perverse piece of allegorizing has a slight justification in the elliptical character of the Greek. Of course αὐτῶν really refers to the slayer of the thief, and this slayer is also the ἕνοχος who ἀνταποδώσεται, and the lawgiver's meaning is that the homicide of a thief in open daylight is murder. To get the allegorical interpretation which he wants Philo has to give a different sense to ἀποθανεῖν in the two clauses. To Philo the whole passage means that the self-exalting thought which claims what is God's is a thief. Such a thought is self-wounded, but if it is not carried into action it may be said to have died and in
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that case is comparatively guiltless; but if it is brought into open daylight, i.e. is definitely accepted and acted on, it incurs spiritual death in the fullest sense.

§ 65. Upon thy breast. These words, which are interpreted allegorically in 114 ff., are not in the Hebrew.

§ 97. Those whose philosophy, etc. For the Stoic argument to the same effect see S.V.F. ii. 1009. Philo reproduces much of what he says here in Spec. Leg. i. 32-35.

§ 104. Divine illumination or "luminaries," i.e. the heavenly bodies, often regarded as divine beings.

§ 129. Moderation of passion. For the Stoic ideal of ἀπάθεια see S.V.F. iii. 443 ff. On the other hand, according to Diogenes Laertius v. 31, Aristotle ἐφη τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαλῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῆ δὲ.

§ 160. With those who say, etc. Philo probably alludes to the Epicureans, particularly as he uses their distinctive word for the excitation of bodily pleasure (γαργαλίσμος. See Usener, Epicurea, pp. 279-281, 288. Cicero (De Natura Deorum, i. 113) translates it by titillatio, and adds Epicuri enim hoc verbum est). Philo, however, misrepresents them, as the quotation in the footnote shows. Epicurus distinguished between "static" or "negative" and "kinetic" or "positive" pleasure.

§ 175. "Manna" means "something." For the Stoic phraseology which adopted τι, i.e. "quiddity," as the most generic and all-embracing of terms in place of the Platonic ἄν and the Aristotelian ὅν see S.V.F. ii. 333 and 329. Seneca translated it by quid (ibid. 332).

§ 188. Philo treats "seed" as synonymous with "origin." For ἐπιβάσεις καὶ ἐφιδρύσεις cf. L.A. iii. 53 τότε ἐπίβησται ἢ ἐφ' ὦ ἢ ἐϕιδρύσεται, "find footing or settle himself."

§ 189. Way of life. ἔνστασις, a Stoic or Cynic term for a life lived according to principle, seems to repeat the ἐφιδρύσεις of the previous section. Julian (Or. 6, p. 201 B) contrasts the ἔνστασις of the true Cynic with the "wallet" and "beard" which were his outward marks.

§ 206. Who can assert, etc. Heinemann rightly notes that Philo in this section voices the Sceptical school rather than his usual views. Elsewhere he passionately affirms that God is ἄσωματος and ἄποιος.

§ 210. This thought of the necessity of a right motive for a right action, though common to all ethics, was especially
insisted upon by the Stoics (S.V.F. iii. 516, 517). Philo
recurs to it in De Cherubim 14 ff. and elsewhere.
§ 218. See Ryle, Philo and Holy Scripture, pp. 72 f., for this
and other references to Gen. xviii. 12.
§ 239. There was not one such uncongenial reasoning. Philo
is allegorizing the last words of Gen. xxxix. ff. καὶ οὐθέν ἦν
τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶσον.
§ 244. In this interpretation of Hagar’s name, Philo echoes
the common philosophical view that the study of the Encyclia
must not be permanent. Thus the author of the treatise on
Education, which is placed at the beginning of Plutarch’s
Moralia, and is written from a Stoic point of view, lays
down that such subjects must be taken ἐκ παραδρομῆς, and
goes on to say that “it is well to travel round many cities,
but to make our residence in the best” (i.e. philosophy),
De Liberis Educandis, 10.