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PREFACE TO VOLUME III

The death of Mr. Whitaker in May does not prevent his name from appearing as joint translator in this volume. Both the treatises for which he was primarily responsible, viz. De Agricultura and De Plantatione, were in print at the time, and had been examined and criticized by myself, as the other three, which fell to my share, had been by him. It has remained for me to carry out the final revision, and to draw up the Appendix and most of the footnotes. It should be added that his name will not disappear from Vols. IV. and V. The whole of Vol. IV., both his share and mine, was in typescript at the date of his death, and had been the subject of a certain amount of correspondence between us. His share of Vol. V. is in ms., though it has not been in any way revised.

The translators have to acknowledge, as in Vols. I. and II., the assistance they have received from the German translation still in progress. But Mr. Whitaker, like myself, felt that a special tribute was due to the admirable work of Dr. M. Adler on the treatises De Ebrietate and De Sobrietate, and his corrections of Wendland’s text. If our text of these treatises is, as we both have hoped, superior in places to that of Wendland, it is mainly due to him.

In a few cases, where I felt doubtful whether Mr. Whitaker would have accepted them, I have appended my initials.
PREFACE

The second and larger volume of Leisegang’s index to Philo, which had previously only reached to Zeta, appeared almost simultaneously with Mr. Whitaker’s death. Though neither volume deals with more than a selection of Philo’s words, the first volume was much valued by both translators, and the complete work, which has already been of considerable use to the survivor in his final revision, should greatly promote the accuracy of the translation.

F. H. C.

Oct. 1930.
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)
   Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)

II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)
   On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini)
   The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet)
   On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate Caini)

III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus immutabilis sit)
   On Husbandry (De Agricultura)
   On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)
   On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)
   On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)

IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Linguarum)
   On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione Abrahami)
   Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)
   On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae Eruditionis gratia)

V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)
   On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)
   On Dreams (De Somniis)

VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)
   On Joseph (De Iosepho)
   Moses (De Vita Mosis)

VOL. III
LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

VOLUME

VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
   On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)

VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)
   On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)
   On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)

IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)
   On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
   On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)
   Flaccus (In Flaccum)
   Hypothetica¹ (Apologia pro Iudaeis)
   On Providence¹ (De Providentia)

X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)

GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

SUPPLEMENT

I. Questions and Answers on Genesis² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)

II. Questions and Answers on Exodus² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)

GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.
ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

(QUOD DEUS IMMUTABILIS SIT)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This treatise,\(^a\) which is really a continuation of the *De Gigantibus*, discusses the following verses, Gen. vi. 4-12.

I. (1-19) And after this when the angels of God went in unto the daughters of men, and begat for themselves . . . (v. 4).

II. (20-73) But the Lord God seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied upon the earth and that every man is purposing in his heart carefully evil things every day, God had it in His mind that He had made man upon the earth and He bethought Him. And God said, I will blot out man whom I have made from the face of the earth . . . because I was wroth that \(^b\) I had made him (vv. 5-7).

III. (74-121) But Noah found grace before God. Now these are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man, being perfect in his generation, and Noah was well pleasing to God (vv. 8-9).

IV. (122-139) And the earth was “corrupted” (or destroyed) before God, and the earth was filled with iniquity (v. 11).

V. (140-end) And the Lord God saw the earth, and it was corrupted, because all flesh destroyed His way upon the earth (v. 12).

\(^a\) The title is not very appropriate and applies only to §§20-32.

\(^b\) Or “ in that.
I. Having suggested (1-3) that “after this” means “after the Spirit of God had departed,” Philo goes on to discuss what is meant by saying that these “angels,” which in the previous treatise he had taken to mean “evil angels” or “evil souls,” beget “for themselves.” This is shewn, first by contrast with Abraham (4) and (5-6) with Hannah, who gave her child as a thank-offering to God. This leads to a short meditation on the purifying power of thankfulness, and our need of such purification (7-9), and this is followed by a digression on the words of Hannah’s psalm: “The barren hath borne seven, but she that had many children has languished,” which are treated as contrasting the sacred number “seven” with selfish plurality (10-15). This brings back the thought of “begetting for themselves,” as mere selfishness which, as in the case of Onan, brings destruction (16-19).

II. The idea that the words “God had it in His mind,” etc. suggest that God had repented of making man is rejected as impious (20-22). God is unchangeable. Even among men the sage may live a life of constancy and harmony (23-25), and while most of us are the victims of fickleness and inconstancy, partly because we are unable to gauge the future, it is not so with God, for time is His creation and His life is eternity (27-32).

What then is the meaning of “God had in His mind that He had made man”? To explain this, Philo reproduces the Stoic theory of the four classes of things which we find in nature. First there is ἀέρ (coherence), i.e. inorganic objects such as stones and dead wood. This ἀέρ is conceived of as a “breath” (πνεῦμα) continually passing up and down,
and thus binding them together (33-36). Secondly there is φύσις (growth), as seen in plants, and here Philo takes the opportunity to dilate on the wonders of the annual resurrection (37-40). Third comes animal life (ψυχή) with its threefold phenomena (again Stoic) of "sense," "presentation" and "impulse" (41-44). All these have been mentioned to lead up to the fourth stage, that of the rational mind of man, which alone has free-will and is therefore alone liable to praise or blame, and it was this misunderstood freedom of man which God "had in mind" (45-50).

We have still to do with the concluding words, "I was wroth that I made man." Here Philo, who evidently had the variant ἔθυμωθην for ἐνεθυμήθην, is in great difficulty. He cannot allow anger to God and he repeats the explanation of such anthropomorphic phrases (which he gave in De Sac. 94 f.), namely that they are accommodated to our weaker natures, which require the discipline of fear (51-69). But this alone does not satisfy him. His further explanation is hardly intelligible, but seems to mean that as it is anger and similar passions which produce human wickedness, God's judgement on the wicked may be spoken of as caused by God's anger (70-73).

III. But we must observe that this phrase, "I was wroth," etc., is followed at once by the words, "Noah found grace," and this contrast brings us to the thought that God in His dealings mingles mercy with judgement, as our weak nature requires (74-76). This "mingling" in fact is a necessary condition before we can understand the divine at all (77-81), and the contrast of the mixed and the unmixed, which is the same as that of the One and the Many, is illustrated.
PHILO

by the words “God spake once and these two things have I heard” (for God’s speech is single, while our hearing is produced by different factors) (82-84), and also by the way in which Moses shews us the one just man side by side with the many unjust (85).

We can now consider more fully the phrase “Noah found grace with the Lord God.” The word “found” leads to reflections first on the differences between finding (εὑρέσεις) and “refinding” or “recovering” (ἀνεὑρέσεις) (86), and this difference is illustrated by an allegorical interpretation of the rules laid down for the “Great Vow” in Num. vi. (86-90), and then by the way in which the gifted by nature absorb knowledge without difficulty, while the efforts of the inapt come to disaster (91-93). This distinction extends to questions of conduct also, for those who with no good motive force themselves to right actions, against which their nature rebels, merely cause misery to themselves (94-103). Again the phrase “found grace” (χάρις) may be best interpreted as meaning that the just man “finds” that what we have is God’s free gift (also χάρις) (104-108). Yet Philo seems at once to ignore this forced interpretation and to identify the meaning of the words “found grace” with the subsequent “was well pleasing” (εὖ ἀρεστὴσαι) and after pointing out, as usual, that the double phrase “Lord God” represents God’s two aspects of “sovereignty” and “goodness” (109-110), proceeds to contrast Noah with Joseph, “who found grace with the ruler of the prison” into which he was thrown. This story of Joseph teaches us the lesson that if we are the prisoners of passion, we should at least avoid the friendship of our gaoler and not be-
come his satellites (111-116). This contrast between
Noah and Joseph brings us to the consideration of
the words "these are the generations (γενεσεως) of
Noah." Philo takes γενεσεως to mean "becoming"
or "development," and explains it in this case by
the words that follow, "just," "perfect" "well
pleasing to God" (117-118), and illustrates it from
the text, "Joseph was keeping sheep with his
brothers, being young, with the sons of Bilhah and
Zilpah," where the γενεσεως is from the higher nature
of Jacob to that of the "young" Joseph and the
bastard sons (119-121).

IV. Philo now turns to the words "the whole earth
was corrupted or destroyed" (122). The first view
put forward is that Goodness (i.e. Noah) necessarily
works the destruction of the Bad (123). But this
passes at once into a really different thought that
Goodness shews up the Bad in its true light. This
is illustrated from three points or rules in the law of
leprosy; first, that the appearance of "healthy
colour" makes the leper unclean (123-126); secondly,
that complete leprosy is clean, while the partial is
unclean, shewing that the completely and therefore
involuntarily immoral condition is innocence com­
pared with the partial enlightenment, by which the
soul knows that it is sinful but does not amend (127-
130); thirdly, that the infected house is pronounced
unclean by the priest who visits it, shewing again
that the entrance of divine reason will reveal the
impurity of the soul (131-135). The same moral is
found in the words of the widow of Zarephath to

a On the first interpretation ἐφθάρη means "was destroyed";
on the second "was corrupted," i.e. made to appear in its
real badness.
Elijah, "O man of God, thou hast entered to remind me of my sin" (136-139).

V. The important point here is that "destroyed his way" means "destroyed God's way" (140-143), and this reminds us of the passage in which Israel asked for leave to pass through Edom's territory, and said "we will go by the king's way" (144). But Philo cannot endure to be confined to these two words, but deals with the whole content of Num. xx. 17-20 in a way which, perverse as it is, shews much richness of thought as well as ingenuity. 

(a) When Israel says "I will pass through thy land" we have the resolve of the Wise both to test the life of the pleasure-lover, so as to reject it through experience and not mere ignorance, and also not to stay in it (145-153). 

(β) On the other hand, "we will not go through the fields and vineyards" means "we will abide in the fields of heavenly fruits and the vineyards of virtue and true joy" (154). 

(γ) "We will not drink of thy well" means that "we on whom God rains his mercies have no need of the scanty water of the wells of earthly pleasures" (155-158). 

(δ) "We will go by the king's way" is "we will tread the road of wisdom" (159-161). 

(ε) "We will turn neither to the right nor to the left" shews that this way of wisdom is in the mean, as e.g. courage is the mean between rashness on the right and cowardice on the left (162-165). 

(ζ) When in reply to Edom's refusal and threat of war Israel replies, "we will pass along the mountain," Philo by a strange play on ὀρος (the mountain) and ὀρος (definition) extracts the idea that the wise man's course is on lofty thoughts based on scientific analysis (166-167). 

(η) "If I drink of thy water, I will give thee its value"
THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

(τιμή) is turned into "If I truckle to you, I shall be giving to the worthless an honour which will lead the weak to honour it also" (167-171). (θ) The words "the matter is nothing" (see note on 145) are taken to mean the vanity of earthly things. And this leads to a meditation on the witness of history to the instability of national prosperity and indeed of all human aims (172-180). Thus we arrive at the conclusion that while Edom would bar the king's way, the divine reason will bar that of Edom and its associates (180).

This last word leads to some concluding thoughts about Balaam as one of these "associates." The sections (181-end), which otherwise have little connexion with the preceding matter, go back to the thought of 122-139, and describe Balaam as the type of those who reject the warning of divine reason as the inward judge and thus are past all cure.
ΟΤΙ ΑΤΡΕΠΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ

1. "Καὶ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον" φησίν "ὡς ἄν εἰσ-επορεύοντο οἱ ἀγγέλοι τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννων αὐτοῖς.1" οὐκοῦν ἄξιον σκέψασθαι, τίνα ἔχει λόγον τὸ "μετ’ ἐκεῖνο." ἔστι τοῖνυν ἀναφορὰ δεικνύουσα τι τῶν προ-2 ευρημένων ἐναργεστέρων. προείρηται δὲ περὶ θείου πνεύματος, δὲ καταμεῖναι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐν πολυσχιδεῖ καὶ πολυμόρφῳ ψυχῇ σαρκῶν ὄχλου βαρύτατον ἀχθος ἀνημμένη δυσεργότατον εἶπεν [273] εἶναι. μετ’ ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ πνεῦμα οἱ ἀγγέλοι πρὸς 3 τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίασιν. ἐως μὲν γὰρ ἑλλάμπουσι τῇ ψυχῇ καθαραὶ φρονίσεως αὐγαί, δι’ ὅν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὀρᾶ-doğ σοφός, ουδεῖς τῶν ψευδαγγελοῦντων ἐπεισ-έρχεται τῷ λογισμῷ, ἀλλ’ ἔξω περιρραντηρίων ἀπαντει ἐγρονται. ὅταν δὲ ἀμυδρωθὲν ἐπισκιασθῇ τὸ διανοιὰς φῶς, οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἑταῖροι παρ- ευμερήσαντες πάθει τοῖς κατεχόσι καὶ τεθη-λυμένοις, ἅς θυγατέρας ἐγρονεὶ ἀνθρώπων, συν-

1 Most mss. αὐτοῖς, but Philo’s argument shows that in accordance with the generally received text of the LXX he wrote εάντοις or αὐτοῖς.

a E.V. "and they bare children to them."

b or "horde." ὄχλος carries with it the idea both of a
ON THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD

I. "And after that," says Moses, "when the angels of God went in unto the daughters of men and begat for themselves" (Gen. vi. 4). It is worth our while to consider what is meant by the word "after that." The answer is that it is a reference back, bringing out more clearly something of what has been already stated. That something is his words about the divine spirit, that nothing is harder than that it should abide for ever in the soul with its manifold forms and divisions—the soul which has fastened on it the grievous burden of this fleshly coil. It is after that spirit that the angels or messengers go in to the daughters of men. For while the soul is illumined by the bright and pure rays of wisdom, through which the sage sees God and His potencies, none of the messengers of falsehood has access to the reason, but all are barred from passing the bounds which the lustral water has consecrated. But when the light of the understanding is dimmed and clouded, they who are of the fellowship of darkness win the day, and mating with the nerveless and emasculated passions, which he has called the daughters of men, mob and the trouble and confusion caused by it. The flesh (plural) is here and elsewhere conceived of as manifold.

\(^{a}\) See App. p. 483.
ήρχονται καὶ γεννώσων έαυτοῖς, οὐ τῷ θεῷ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήματα αἱ ὀλόκληροι ἀρεταί, τὰ δὲ συγγενῆ φαύλων αἱ ἀνάρμοστοι κακίαι. μάθε δ’, εἰ θέλεις, ὡ διάνοια, τὸ μὴ έαυτῇ γεννᾶν οἶδ᾽ ἐστι παρὰ ’Αβραὰμ τοῦ τελείου, ὃς τὸ ἁγαπητὸν καὶ μόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγγονον γνήσιον, τῆς αὐτομαθῆς σοφίας εἰκόνα ἑναρχεστάτην, ἐπίκλησιν Ἰσαάκ, ἀνάγει θεῷ καὶ ἀποδίδωσι μετὰ τάσης εὐθυμίας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἀρμόττον χαριστήριον συμποδίσας, ὡς φησιν ὁ νόμος, τὸ καίνουργήθην ἱερεῖον, ἦτοι παρόσον ἐπ’ οὐδὲνος θνητοῦ βαίνειν ἀπαξ ἐπιθεειάσας ἥξιον, ἡ παρόσον ἀνίδρυτον καὶ ἀστατον κατείδη την γένεσιν, ὅτε την περὶ τὸ ὁν ἀνενδοίαστον ἐγνω βεβαιότητα, ἢ λέγεται πεπιστευκέναι.

5 II. τούτου γίνεται μαθητρις καὶ διάδοχος "Αννα, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δώρημα σοφίας. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ χάρις αὐτῆς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγκύμων ἐγένετο παραδεξαμένη θείας γονᾶς καὶ τελεσφόρους ἑχρήσατο ὡδίσι, τὸν τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ τάξει τρόπον ἀποκυήσασα, διὸ ἐρμηνευθεὶς τεταγμένος θεῷ—, λαβοῦσα ἀνταπδίδωσι τῷ δόντι μηδὲν ἱδίον ἐαυτῆς κρίνουσα ἀγαθόν,

6 δὲ μὴ χάρις ἐστὶ θεία. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν βασιλεῶν αὐτῆ τοῦ τρόπον τούτου: "δίδωμι σοι αὐτὸν δοτόν," ἐν ὑψω τῷ δοτόν ὄντα, ὥστ' εἶναι "τὸν δεδομένον δίδωμι." κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτα-

* See App. p. 483.
beget offspring for themselves and not for God. For the offspring of God’s parentage are the perfect virtues, but the family of evil are the vices, whose note is discord. If thou wilt know, my mind, what it is to beget not for thyself, learn the lesson from the perfect Abraham. He brings to God the dearly loved, the only trueborn offspring of the soul, that clearest image of self-learned wisdom, named Isaac, and without a murmur renders, as in duty bound, this fitting thank-offering. But first he bound, as the law tells us, the feet of the new strange victim (Gen. xxii. 9), either because having once received God’s inspiration he judged it right to tread no more on aught that was mortal, or it may be that he was taught to see how changeable and inconstant was creation, through his knowledge of the unwavering stedfastness that belongs to the Existent; for in this we are told he had put his trust (Gen. xv. 6). II. He finds a disciple and successor in Hannah, the gift of the wisdom of God, for the name Hannah interpreted is “her grace.” She received the divine seed and became pregnant. And when she had reached the consummation of her travail, and had brought forth the type of character which has its appointed place in God’s order, which she named Samuel, a name which being interpreted means “appointed to God,” she took him and rendered him in due payment to the Giver, judging that no good thing was her own peculiar property, nothing, which was not a grace and bounty from God. For she speaks in the first book of Kings in this wise, “I give to Thee him, a gift” (1 Sam. i. 28), that is “who is a gift,” and so “I give him who has been given.” This agrees with the most sacred
τον Μωυσέως γράμμα τούτο· "τὰ δώρα μου,
δόματά μου, καρπώματά μου διατηρήσετε προσ-
θαν." τών γαρ εὐχαριστητέον ἄλλω
πλῆν θεώ; διά τίνων δὲ ὅτι μὴ διὰ τῶν
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δοθέντων; οὖδὲ γαρ ἄλλων εὐπορήσαι
dυνατόν. χρείας δ’ ούδενός ἂν κελεύει προσφέρειν
αὐτῷ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δ’ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς πρὸς τὸ
γένος ἡμῶν εὐεργεσίας: μελετήσαντες γαρ εὐ-
χαριστητικῶς ἔχειν καὶ τιμητικῶς αὐτοῦ καθ-
αρεύσομεν ἄδικημάτων ἐκνυψάμενοι τὰ καταρρυ-
παίνοντα τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ λόγῳ καὶ νοῆσει1 καὶ
[274] ἔργοις. καὶ γαρ εὐηθεῖς εἰς μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ ἢ
εἰς μὴ εξεῖναι βαδίζειν, ὅσ ὅτι ἡ πρότερον λουσάμενος
φαινόμενον τὸ σῶμα, εὐχεσθαι δὲ καὶ θύειν
ἐπιγειρεῖν ἐπὶ κεκληλωμένη καὶ πεφυμένη διανοία.
καίτοι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ λίθων καὶ ἐυλόγων ἄψυχον τῆς
ὕλης πεποίηται, καθ’ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄψυχον·
ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὃν ἄψυχον ἁψύχων οὐ προσάφεται μὴ
περιρραντηρίος καὶ καθαρσίος ἁγνευτικός χρησά-
μενον, ὑπομενεῖ δὲ τις τῷ θεῷ προσελθεῖν ἀκάθ-
αρτος ἢν ψυχήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ, καὶ
9 ταῦτα μὴ μέλλων μετανοήσειν; ὃ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
tῶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεξεργάσασθαι κακὸν καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ
ἐκνύψασθαι δικαιόν γεγηθός προσίτω, ὁ δὲ ἁνευ
τούτων δυσκάθαρτος ὃν ἁφιστάσθω· λήσεται γὰρ
οὐδέποτε τὸν τὰ ἐν μυχοίς τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ
καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐτῆς ἐμπεριστατοῦντα.
10 Π. τῆς μέντοι θεοφιλῶς ψυχῆς δείγμα ἐν-
arγεστάτον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἅσμα, ἐν ὃ περιέχεται τὸ
"στεῖρα ἐτεκεν ἐπτά, ἥ δὲ πολλή ἐν τέκνοις
11 ἡσθένησε." καίτοι γε ἐνὸς ἐστὶ μήτηρ τοῦ
1 Conj. Cohn for ms. ἰνείδεσιν or εἰδεσι: Wend. ἐννοιαίσ.
ordinance of Moses, "My gifts, My offerings, My fruits ye shall observe to bring to Me" (Num. xxviii. 2). For to whom should we make thank-offering save to God? and wherewithal save by what He has given us? for there is nothing else whereof we can have sufficiency. God needs nothing, yet in the exceeding greatness of His beneficence to our race He bids us bring what is His own. For if we cultivate the spirit of rendering thanks and honour to Him, we shall be pure from wrongdoing and wash away the filthiness which defiles our lives in thought and word and deed. For it is absurd that a man should be forbidden to enter the temples save after bathing and cleansing his body, and yet should attempt to pray and sacrifice with a heart still soiled and spotted. The temples are made of stones and timber, that is of soulless matter, and soulless too is the body in itself. And can it be that while it is forbidden to this soulless body to touch the soulless stones, except it have first been subjected to lustral and purificatory consecration, a man will not shrink from approaching with his soul impure the absolute purity of God and that too when there is no thought of repentance in his heart? He who is resolved not only to commit no further sin, but also to wash away the past, may approach with gladness: let him who lacks this resolve keep far away, since hardly shall he be purified. For he shall never escape the eye of Him who sees into the recesses of the mind and treads its inmost shrine. III. Indeed of the nature of the soul beloved of God no clearer evidence can we have than that psalm of Hannah which contains the words "the barren hath borne seven, but she that had many children hath languished" (1 Sam. ii. 5). And yet it
Σαμουήλ ἡ λέγουσα. πώς οὖν ἐπτὰ τετοκέναι φησίν, εἰ μὴ τι μονάδα ἐβδομάδι τὴν αὐτὴν φυσικῶτατα νομίζει, οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρμονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἐναρέτου λόγοις ψυχῆς; ὃ γὰρ τεταγμένος μόνῳ θεῷ Σαμουήλ, ἄλλω δὲ τὸ παράπαν συνών μνημεί, κατὰ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὴν μονάδα, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, κεκό-

12 σµηται. αὐτὴ δ' ἡ κατάστασις ἐστὶν ἐβδομάδος, ἀναπαυσομένης ἐν θεῷ ψυχῆς καὶ περὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ὑποκείμενης, κατὰ ἀπόλευψιν ἐξάδος, ἡν ἀπένειμε τοῖς τὰ πρωτεῖα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνηθείση, δευτερείων δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης μεταποιού-

13 μένους. τὴν μὲν οὖν στείραν, οὐ τὴν ἄγονον, ἀλλὰ τὴν στερράν καὶ ἅμα σφριγώσαν, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἑπὶ κτίσει τοῦ ἀρίστου διαθέσαν ἄθλους, ἐβδομάδι τὴν ἰσότιμον μονάδα τίκτειν εἰκὸς ἡν. εὐτοκός γὰρ καὶ εὐπαίς ἡ φύσις. τὴν δὲ πολλὴν ἀσθενεῖν ἐν τέκνοις εἶπεν ἀβένων καὶ σφόδρα ἐναργῶς· ὅταν γὰρ μία οὐσία ψυχῆ ἐν πολλῇ ωδίνῃ τοῦ ἐνός ἀποστάσῃ, μυρία κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γίνεται, κατεπείτε πλήθει τέκνων ἐξηρτιμένων καὶ πιεζόμενων—ἐστὶ δὲ ἐλεύθερη καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ πλείστα αὐτῶν—ἐξασθενεῖ, τίκτει μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸς σχήματα καὶ χρώματα δι' ὕφθαλμων ἐπιθυμίας, τίκτει δὲ τὰς πρὸς φωνὰς δι'

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a Cf. De Post. 64.  
b Or “since his soul rests.”  
c For Philo’s ideas about Six and Seven cf. Leg. All. i. 2-16.  
d In identifying στείρα, “barren,” with στερράν, “firm,” Philo is not so far out as in most of his philological vagaries. The two words may be the same in origin, “hard ground” being “barren ground.”
is the mother of one child—Samuel—who is speaking. How then can she say that she has borne seven? It can only be that in full accordance with the truth of things, she holds the One to be the same as the Seven, not only in the lore of numbers, but also in the harmony of the universe and in the thoughts of the virtuous soul. For Samuel who is appointed to God alone and holds no company with any other has his being ordered in accordance with the One and the Monad, the truly existent. But this condition of his implies the Seven, that is a soul which rests in God and toils no more at any mortal task, and has thus left behind the Six, which God has assigned to those who could not win the first place, but must needs limit their claims to the second. We might well expect, then, that the barren woman, not meaning the childless, but the “firm” or solid who still abounds in power, who with endurance and courage perseveres to the finish in the contest, where the prize is the acquisition of the Best, should bring forth the Monad which is of equal value with the Seven; for her nature is that of a happy and goodly motherhood. And when she says that she who had many children languishes, her words are as clear as they are true. For when the soul that is one departs from the one and is in travail with many, she naturally is multiplied a thousand-fold, and then weighed down and sore pressed by the multitude of children that cling to her—most of them abortions born out of due time—she languishes utterly. She brings forth the desires of which the eyes and the ears are the channels, these for shapes and colours, those for sounds; she

* Or “vast is the number of children born to her.” See App. p. 483.
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"oriously δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν γαστρός καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ὥστε πολλῶν ἐκκερεμμένων ἐγγόνων βαρύτατον ἂνθρωπόν φέρουσα πορίσεται καὶ χείρας ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας καθεῖσα ἀπολέγεται. τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἡττήσθαι συμβαίνει πᾶσιν, ὥσοι φθαρτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς φθαρτὰ γεννῶσιν.

[275] IV. "Εννοι δ’ | οὐχ ἦτταν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ θάνατον ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἀνεδέξαντο. ὃ γοῦν Ἀὐνάν,‘αἰσθόμενος δὴ οὐκ αὐτῷ ἦτται τὸ σπέρμα,’ οὐ πρότερον ἑπαύσατο τὸ λογικὸν, ὥσπερ ἄριστον τῶν òντων γένους ἐστὶ, διαφθειρόντος ἥ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο φθορὰν παντελῆ, σφόδρα ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκοῦντως.

16 εἰ γὰρ ἀπαντῇ πράξουσι τωσ αὐτῶν ἐνεκα, μὴ γονέων τιμῆς, μὴ παίδων εὐκοσμίας, μὴ σωτηρίας πατρίδος, μὴ νόμων φιλακῆς, μὴ ἑθῶν βεβαιότητος, μὴ ἱδίων μὴ κοινῶν ἑπανορθώσεως, μὴ ἔρων ἀγιστείας, μὴ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι,

17 κακοδαιμονήσουσιν. ἔνοι γὰρ ὅτι εἶπον χάριν ἀντικαταλάξασθαι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν εὐκλεές, οἱ δ’ ἀρα καὶ ἄθροί τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περιμαχητῶν φασίν, εἰ μὴ τυν ἡδονήν μέλλοι περιποιεῖν, κατολιγωρήσεως.

18 τουγάροις πονηρὰς ἐισήγησιν ἀδέκαστος θεὸς ἐκφύλου δόγματος, ἐπικλήσων Ἀὐνάν, ἐκποδών ἄνει." παραιτητέοι δὴ πάντες οἱ γεννώντες αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ὥσοι τὸ ιδιον λυσιτελές μόνον θηρώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερορῶσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς μόνοις φύντες, οὐχὶ δὲ μυρίοις ἄλλοις, πατρί,

\[a\] Or "gives up the fight."

\[b\] The sections 16-19 largely repeat De Post. 180, 181.

\[c\] See App. p. 483.
is pregnant with the lusts of the belly and those which have their seat below it, and thus, under the crushing load of the many children that hang upon her, she grows faint and dropping her hands in weakness sinks in prostration. This manner of defeat is the lot of all who engender things corruptible for their corruptible selves.

IV. Some through self-love have brought upon themselves not only defeat but death. Thus Onan "perceiving that the seed will not be his" (Gen. xxxviii. 9), ceased not to destroy the reasoning principle, which in kind is the best of all existing things, till he himself underwent utter destruction. And right just and fitting was his fate. For if there shall be any whose every deed is self-seeking, who have no regard for the honouring of their parents, for the ordering of their children aright, for the safety of their country, for the maintenance of the laws, for the security of good customs, for the better conduct of things private and public, for the sanctity of temples, for piety towards God, miserable shall be their fate. To sacrifice life itself for any single one of these that I have named is honour and glory. But these self-lovers—they say that if these blessings, desirable as they are, were all put together, they would utterly despise them, if they should not procure them some future pleasure. And therefore God in His impartial justice will cast out to destruction that evil suggestion of an unnatural creed, called Onan.

We must indeed reject all those who "beget for themselves," that is all those who pursue only their own profit and think not of others. For they think themselves born for themselves only and not for the innumerable others, for father, for
μητρί, γυναικί, τέκνοις, πατρίδι, ἀνθρώπων γένει, εἰ δὲ δὲι προελθόντας τι περαιτέρω φάναι, οὐρανῷ, γῆ, τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπιστήμαις, ἀρεταῖς, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων· ὃν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπονεμητέον τὸ ἀρμόττον μὴ τὰ πάντα προσθήκην ἐαυτοῦ, ἐαυτὸν δὲ τῶν πάντων νομίζοντα.

20 V. Τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄλις, τὰ δ' ἀκόλουθα τῷ λόγῳ συνυφήνωμεν. "ἰδὼν" οὖν φησιν "κύριος δὲ θεὸς ὁτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐνεθυμήθη οὖ θεὸς, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ διενοήθη· καὶ εἶπεν ο θεὸς· ἀπαλείψω τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὅτι προσώπῳ τῆς γῆς."

21 ἵσως τινὲς τῶν ἀνεξετάστων υποτοπήσουσι τὸν νομοθέτην αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δημιουργὸς μετέγνω κατιδών τὴν ἁσέβειαν αὐτῶν, ἂς χάριν αἰτίας ἐβουλήθη σύμπαν διαφθείραι τὸ γένος. ἀλλ' ἵσωσαν ὅτι ταῦτα δοξάζοντες ἐπελαφρίζουσι καὶ ἐπικουφίζουσι τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων ἀμαρτήματα.

22 δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀθεότητος. τί γὰρ ἄν ἁσέβημα μείζον γένοιτο τοῦ ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν ἀτρέπτουν τρέπεσθαι; καὶ τινῶν ἀξιοῦντων μηδὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ταῖς γνώμαις ἐπαμφοτερίζειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς φιλοσοφήσαται μέγιστον εκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἁγαθὸν εὑρασθαί τὸ μὴ τοὺς πράγμασι συμμεταβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ στερ- ρότητος ἀκλινοῦς καὶ παγιοῦ βεβαιότητος ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀρμόττουσιν ἐγχειρεῖν. VI. ἀρέσκει

a Lit. "unexamined," i.e. by themselves.

b See App. p. 483.
mother, for wife, for children, for country, for the
human race, and if we must extend the list, for
heaven, for earth, for the universe, for knowledge, for
virtues, for the Father and Captain of all; to each of
whom we are bound according to our powers to render
what is due, not holding all things to be an adjunct
of ourselves, but rather ourselves an adjunct of all.

V. Enough on this point. Let us extend our dis-
cussion to embrace the words that follow. "The Lord
God," says Moses, "seeing that the wickednesses of
men were multiplied upon the earth and that every
man intended evil in his heart diligently all his days,
God had it in His mind that He had made man upon
the earth, and He bethought Him. And God said, I
will blot out man, whom I made, from the face of
the earth" (Gen. vi. 5-7).

Perhaps some of those who are careless inquirers will suppose that
the Lawgiver is hinting that the Creator repented
of the creation of men when He beheld their impiety,
and that this was the reason why He wished to
destroy the whole race. Those who think thus may
be sure that they make the sins of these men of old
time seem light and trivial through the vastness of
their own godlessness. For what greater impiety could there be than to suppose that the Unchangeable
changes? Indeed some maintain that even among
men vacillation of mind and judgement is not uni-
versal; for those who study philosophy in guileless-
ness and purity, it is held, gain from their knowledge
this as their chief reward, that they do not change
with changing circumstances, but with unbending
st edfastness and firm constancy take in hand all
that it behoves them to do.

VI. It is a tenet of the lawgiver also that the perfect man seeks for
δὲ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸν τέλειον ἡρεμίας ἐφίεσθαι·
τὸ γὰρ εἰρημένον τῷ σοφῷ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ
θεοῦ "οὐ δὲ αὐτοῦ στῆθι μετ᾿ ἐμοῦ" τὸ
ἀκλίνες καὶ ἄρρεπτες τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἱδρυμένον
πάντη σαφέστατα παρίστατοι. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι θαυ-
μᾶσιον, ὥσπερ τινὰ λύραν τὴν ψυχήν μουσικῶς
ἀρμοσάμενον οὐκ ὅξει καὶ βαρέσι τοῖς φθόγγοις,
ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων,1 χρῆσαι δὲ τῶν
ἀμενῶν, μὴτε ἐπιτείναι προσυπερβάλλοντα μὴτε
ἀνεῖναι μαλθάξαντα τὴν ἄρετῶν καὶ τῶν φύσει
καλῶν ἀρμονίαν, δι’ ἰσού δ’ αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα
κροτεῖν καὶ ἐπυψάλλειν ἐμμελῶς. ὄργανον γὰρ
teleωτατον ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθὲν ἀρχέτυπον
τῶν χειροκμήτων τούτῳ γε· ὅπερ εἰ καλῶς ἀρμο-
θείη, τὴν πασῶν ἄριστην συμφωνίαν ἀπεργάσεται,
ητὶς οὐκ ἐν κλάσει καὶ τόνοις ἐμμελοὺς φωνῆς,
ἀλλ’ ἐν ὀμολογίᾳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων ἔχει
τὸ τέλος. ὅπου γοῦν ἄνθρώπων ψυχὴ τὸν πολὺν
κλύδωνα καὶ σάλον, ὁν καταρραγεῖν σφόδραν πνεύμα
τὸ κακίας αἰφνίδιον ἥγειρεν, ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας
ἀὑρας ἀποτίθεται καὶ τὸ κυμαῖν καὶ παρωδήκτος
ὑφείσα νηνέμω εὐθεία χρωμενή γαληνίας, εἰτ’
ἐνδοιαίεις, ὅτι ὁ ἀφθαρτος καὶ μακάριος καὶ τῶν
ἄρετῶν καὶ αὐτὴς τελειότητος καὶ ἐνδοιαίας
ἀνημένος τὸ κράτος οὐ χρῆται γνώμης μεταβολῆ, μένει δὲ ἐφ’ οὖν ἐξ ἄρχης ἐβουλεύσατο οὔδὲν αὐτῶν
27 metatithēs;
ἀνθρώπους μὲν οὖν τὸ εὐ-
μετάβολον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς
ἀβεβαιότητα συμβάνειν ἀνάγκη· οἶνον οὔτως φίλους
ἐλόμενοι πολλάκις καὶ βραχὺν τίνα αὐτοῖς συν-

1 Wend. approves of Mangey’s τῶν ἄγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων (cf. 49). But see App. p. 483.

22
quietude. For the words addressed to the Sage with God as the speaker, "stand thou here with Me" (Deut. v. 31), shew most plainly how unbending, unwavering and broad-based is his will. Wonderful indeed is the soul of the Sage, how he sets it, like a lyre, to harmony not with a scale of notes low and high, but with the knowledge of moral opposites, and the practice of such of them as are better; how he does not strain it to excessive heights, nor yet relax it and weaken the concord of virtues and things naturally beautiful, but keeps it ever at an equal tension and plays it with hand or bow in melody. Such a soul is the most perfect instrument fashioned by nature, the pattern of those which are the work of our hands. And if it be well adjusted, it will produce a symphony the most beautiful in the world, one which has its consummation not in the cadences and tones of melodious sound, but in the consistencies of our life's actions. Oh! if the soul of man, when it feels the soft breeze of wisdom and knowledge, can dismiss the stormy surge which the fierce burst of the gale of wickedness has suddenly stirred, and levelling the billowy swell can rest in unruffled calm under a bright clear sky, can you doubt that He, the Imperishable Blessed One, who has taken as His own the sovereignty of the virtues, of perfection itself and beatitude, knows no change of will, but ever holds fast to what He purposed from the first without any alteration? With men then it must needs be that they are ready to change, through instability whether it be in themselves or outside them. So for example often when we have chosen our friends and been familiar with them for

\[\text{See App. p. 483.}\]

\[\text{See App. p. 484.}\]
διατρόψαντες χρόνον, ούδὲν ἕγκαλεῖν ἐχοντες ἀπεστράφημεν, ὡς εἰς ἐχθρῶν η ἀγνοομένων γοῦν. 
28 τάξιν ἐμβιβάσαι. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον κοὐφὴν εὐχέρειαν ἦμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγχει τὰς ἐς ἀρχηὺς ὑποθέσεις ἀδυνατοῦντων κραταῖως διαφυλάττειν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐχ ἀψίκορος. καὶ μὴν ἔστω ὅτε διανοούμεθα μὲν ἐπιμένειν κριτηρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἴ δὲ προσελθόντες οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐν ὦμοιων, ἀν' ἐς ἀνάγκης καὶ αἱ ἡμέτεραι γνώμαι συμμετέβαλον. προϊδέσθαι γὰρ ἡ μελλόντων πραγμάτων συντυχίας ἡ γνώμας ἐτέρων ἀνθρωπον ὅντα ἀμήχανον, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ὡς ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρά πάντα ἀριδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ἄχρι [277] τῶν ψυχῆς μυχῶν | φθάσας, ἣ τῶν άλλων ἐστὶν ἀόρατα τηλαυγῶς πέφυκε καθορᾶν, καὶ προμηθεία καὶ προνοία χρώμενος, οἰκείας ἀρετὰς, οὐδὲν ἀπελευθεριάζειν καὶ ἐξω τῆς εἶναι καταλήψεως βαίνειν ἐξ ἐπειδήπερ ὅτι τῶν μελλόντων ἀδηλότης αὐτῷ συμβατή· οὔτε γὰρ ἄδηλον οὔτε μέλλον οὐδὲν θεῷ. δὴλον μὲν οὖν, ότι καὶ τῶν γεννηθέντων τὸν φυτεύσαντα καὶ τῶν δημιουργήθεντων τὸν τεχνείτην καὶ τῶν ἐπιτροπον τῶν ἐπιτροπευμένων ἐπιστῆμον [ἀναγκαῖον] εἶναι δει. ὁ δὲ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ τεχνείτης καὶ ἐπιτρὸπος τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐστὶν καὶ μὴν τὰ γε μέλλοντα συσκεῖσαι ὑπὸ τού αὖθις χρόνου, τοτὲ μὲν βεβαγεῖ, τοτὲ δὲ μακρῷ διαστήματι. δημιουργὸς δὲ καὶ χρόνου θεὸς· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πατήρ—πατὴρ δὲ χρόνον κόσμος—τὴν κύνησιν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν ἀποφήγας ἀξεῖνον· ὥστε νῦν χρόνου τάξιν ἐχειν πρὸς θεοῦ τὸν χρόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος οὖντος νεώτερος

*See App. p. 484.*
a short time, we turn from them, though we have no charge to bring against them, and count them amongst our enemies, or at best as strangers. Such action proves the facile levity of ourselves, how little capacity we have for stoutly holding to our original judgements. But God has no such fickleness. Or again, sometimes we are minded to hold to the standards we have taken but we find ourselves with others who have not remained constant, and thus our judgements perforce change with theirs. For a mere man cannot foresee the course of future events, or the judgements of others, but to God as in pure sunlight all things are manifest. For already He has pierced into the recesses of our soul, and what is invisible to others is clear as daylight to His eyes. He employs the forethought and foreknowledge which are virtues peculiarly His own, and suffers nothing to escape His control or pass outside His comprehension. For not even about the future can uncertainty be found with Him, since nothing is uncertain or future to God. No one doubts that the parent must have knowledge of his offspring, the craftsman of his handiwork, the steward of things entrusted to his stewardship. But God is in very truth the father and craftsman and steward of the heaven and the universe and all that is therein. Future events lie shrouded in the darkness of the time that is yet to be at different distances, some near, some far. But God is the maker of time also, for He is the father of time’s father, that is of the universe, and has caused the movements of the one to be the source of the generation of the other. Thus time stands to God in the relation of a grandson. For this universe, since we perceive it by our senses,
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υίος θεοῦ, ἀτε αἰσθητὸς ὥν· τὸν γὰρ πρεσβύτερον [οὐδένα εἰπε]—νοητός δὲ ἐκεῖνος—πρεσβείων ἀξιῶ· 32 σας παρ’ ἐαυτῷ καταμένει διενοήθη. οὔτος οὖν ὁ νεώτερος υίος ὁ αἰσθητὸς κινηθεὶς τὴν χρόνου φύσιν ἀναλάμβαναι καὶ ἀνασχέων ἐποίησεν. ὥστε οὐδὲν παρὰ θεῷ μέλλον τῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ὑπηγμένω πέρατα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παράδειγμα αἰών· 3 ο βίος ἐστίν αὐτῶ· ἐν αἰώνι δὲ οὐτέ παρελήλυθεν οὐδὲν οὔτε μέλλει, ἀλλὰ μόνον υφέστηκεν.

33 VII. Ἰκανῶς οὖν διειλεγμένοι περὶ τοῦ μή χρῆσθαι μετανοια, τὸ δὲ ἀκολούθως ἀποδώσομεν, τὶ ἐστι τὸ "ἐνεθυμήθη ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔποιησε τὸν 34 ἀνθρωπόν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ διενοήθη." ἔννοιαν καὶ διανόησιν, τὴν μὲν ἐναποκειμένην οὔσιν νόησιν, τὴν δὲ νοησεως διέξοδον, βεβαιοτάτας δυσώμεις ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων κληρωσάμενος καὶ χρώμενος ἀεὶ ταύτας τὰ ἔργα ἑαυτοῦ καταθέτει. τὰ μὲν δὴ μὴ λειποντα τὴν τὰξιν τῆς πειθαρχίας ἔνεκα ἐπανεῖ, τὰ δὲ μεθιστάμενα τῇ κατὰ λιτοτάκτων ὑρισμένη μετέρχεται δίκη.

35 τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐνεδήσατο ἐξει, τὰ δὲ φύσει, τὰ δὲ ψυχῆ, τὰ δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς. λίθων μὲν οὖν καὶ ξύλων, ὁ δὴ τῆς συμφυδος ἀπέσπασται, [278] δεσμὸν κραταῖοτάτου ἐξει | εἰργάζετο· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ πνεύμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ· ἀρχεῖται μὲν γὰρ

1 Wend. regards οὐδένα εἰπε as a Christian interpolation. The Translator suggests δὲ γὰρ πρεσβύτερον τοῦτο ἐνα εἰξε, which with the transference of τ and the substitution of χ for π is the same as the ms. 2 mss. δι' ὅν. 3 mss. αὐτῶν.

a See App. p. 484.
b The fourfold classification which follows has been already given shortly in Leg. All. ii. 22-23.

26
is the younger son of God. To the elder son, I mean the intelligible universe, He assigned the place of firstborn, and purposed that it should remain in His own keeping. So this younger son, the world of our senses, when set in motion, brought that entity we call time to the brightness of its rising. And thus with God there is no future, since He has made the boundaries of the ages subject to Himself. For God’s life is not a time, but eternity, which is the archetype and pattern of time; and in eternity there is no past nor future, but only present existence.

VII. Having now discoursed sufficiently on the theme that the Existent does not experience repentance, we will explain in due sequence the words “God had it in His mind that He had made men upon the earth and He bethought Him” (Gen. vi. 6). “Having in one’s mind” and “bethinking,” the former being the thought quiescent in the mind, the latter the thought brought to an issue, are two most constant powers, which the Maker of all things has taken as His own and ever employs them when He contemplates His own works. Those of His creatures who do not leave their appointed places, He praises for their obedience. Those who depart from it He visits with the punishment which is the doom of deserters. This is explained by consideration of the different conditions, which He has made inseparable from the various bodies. These are in some cases cohesion, in others growth, in others life, in others a reasoning soul. Thus, in stones and bits of wood which have been severed from their organism, He wrought cohesion, which acts as the most rigid of bonds. Cohesion is a breath or current ever re-

See note in App. on Leg. All. ii. 22.
PHILO

ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τείνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄκρας ἐπιφανείας ἀνακάμπτει πάλιν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίκηται τόπον, ἀφ’ ὅς τὸ πρῶτον 36 ὤρμηθη. ἐξεως δ’ ἰσοφυὴς οὗτος διάυλος ἀφθαρτος, διὸ οἱ δρομεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι ταῖς προπαγίσιν ἐκ τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων κοινῶς θεάτρους ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ περιμάχητον ἔργον ἐπι- 

δείκνυται.

VIII. Τὴν δὲ φύσιν ἀπένειμε τοῖς φυτοῖς κερα-

σάμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ πλείστων δυνάμεων, θρεπτικής τε καὶ μεταβλητικῆς καὶ αὔξητικῆς. καὶ γὰρ τρέφεται τροφῆς ὡντα χρεία, τεκμήριον δὲ· τὰ μὴ ἀρδόμενα φθίνει καὶ ἀφαναίνεται, ὡσπερ αὐ τὰ 

ποτιζόμενα ἐμφανὸς αὐξέται· τὰ γὰρ τέως διὰ 

βραχύτητα χαμαίζησα εξαιφνης ἀναδράμοντα ἔρνη 

γίνεται περιμηκέστατα. τά χρὴ λέγειν περὶ μετα-

βολῆς αὐτῶν; ταῖς μὲν γὰρ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς 

τὰ πέταλα μαρανθέντα εἰς τοῦδαφος χεῖται, οὐ τὸ 

ἐν ταῖς κληματίσι λεγόμενοι πρὸς τῶν γεωπόνων ὀφθαλμοὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς χρῶσι καταμύουσι, τὰ 

τε πρὸς τὰς ἐκφύσεις στόμια πάντα ἐξσφιγκτεῖ τὴς 

φύσεως ἐσώ τοῦτο συνελημμένης καὶ ἡσυχαζούσης, 

ίνα διαπνεύσασα οὐ τὰς ἀθλητής προηγείσθεν 

καὶ συλλεξαμένη τὴν ἰδία νικητὴν πρὸς 

τοὺς ἐθάδας ἀθλοὺς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀπαντᾷ. γίνεται δὲ 

τοῦτο ταῖς 

39 ἁρμαναῖς καὶ κατὰ θέρος ὀραιῳ· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκ 

βαθέος ὑπὸν περιαναστάσα τοὺς τιν ὀφθαλμοὺς 

διοίγνυσι τὰ τε μεμυκτὰ τῶν στομίων ἀναστείλας 

εὑρύνει, ὡν Δ’ ἐστὶν ἐγκύμων πάντα ἀποτίκτει, 

πέταλα καὶ κληματίδας, ἐλικας, οὐναρα, καρπὸ 

ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. ἔδ’ ὅταν τελεσθῇ, παρέχεται τὰς 

1 MSS. οίον ἄρα.
turning to itself. It begins to extend itself from the centre of the body in question to its extremes, and when it has reached the outermost surface it reverses its course, till it arrives at the place from which it first set out. This regular double course of cohesion is indestructible; and it is this which the runners imitate at the triennial festivals in the places of spectacle universal among men, and exhibit as a great and splendid feat, well worthy of their efforts.

VIII. Growth God assigned to plants. It is a compound of many capacities, that of taking nourishment, that of undergoing change and that of increasing. Nourishment plants receive as they need it, as the following proof shews. When they are not watered they decay and wither, just as their increase when watered is plain to see, for sprouts heretofore too tiny to rise above the ground suddenly shoot up and become quite tall. It is hardly necessary to speak of their function of change. When the winter solstice arrives, the leaves wither and shed themselves to the ground, and the "eyes," as the husbandmen call them, on the twigs close like eyes in animals, and all the outlets which serve to put forth life are bound tight, for Nature within them compresses herself and hibernates, to get a breathing-space, like an athlete after his first contest, and thus having regained her fund of strength, comes forth to resume the familiar conflict. And this comes to pass in the spring and summer seasons. For she arises as though from a deep sleep and unseals the eyes, opens wide the closed outlets, and brings forth all that is in her womb, shoots, twigs, tendrils, leaves and, to crown all, fruit. Then when the fruit is fully formed, she

*Or "power of growth."*
οία μῆτηρ τῷ γενομένῳ διά τινων ἄφανῶν πόρων, οὐ τοῖς ἐν γυναιξὶ μαστοῖς ἀναλογοῦσι, καὶ οὐ πρότερον παύεται τρέφουσα ἡ τῶν καρπῶν τελεσφορήν· τελεσφορεῖται δὲ ὁ πεπανθεῖς ἀκρῶς, ἤνικα, κἂν μηδεῖς δρέπηται, τῆς συμφυίας αὐτὸς ἐπείγεται διαζευγνυσάτε μηκέτι τροφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τεκούσης δεόμενος, ἰκανὸς δ᾿ ὄν, εἰ χώρας ἀγαθῆς ἐπιλάχου, σπείρειν καὶ γεννᾶν ὁμοια τοῖς φυτεύσασι.

IX. Ψυχήν δὲ φύσεως τρισὶ διαλλάττουσαν ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει, αἰσθήσει, φαντασία, ὁρμή· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φυτὰ ἀόρμητα, ἀφάνταστα, αἰσθήσεως ἀμέτοχα, τῶν δὲ ξών ἐκαστὸν ἀθρόων μετέχει τῶν εἰρημένων. αἰσθήσεις μὲν οὐν, ὡς αὐτὸ ποὺ δηλοῖ τοῦνόμα, εἰσθένεις τις οὔσα τὰ φανέντα ἐπεισφέρει τῷ νῷ· τούτῳ γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ μεγιστὸν ἐστὶν τούμενον καὶ πανδεχεῖς, πάνθ' ὁσα δι' ὀράσεως καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθητικῶν ὀργάνων ἐντίθεται καὶ ἐναποθησάθεται. φαντασία δὲ ἐστιν τύπωσις ἡ φυγὴ· ὃν γὰρ εἰσήγαγεν ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθηθεῖσων, ὡσπερ δακτύλιος τις ἢ σφραγις εναπεμάζατο τὸν οἴκεΐον χαρακτήρα· κηρώ δέ εοικώς ὁ νοῦς τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον δεξάμενος ἀκρῶς παρ' ἑαυτῷ φυλάττει, μέχρις ἢ ἀντίπαλος μνήμης τὸν τύπον λεάνασα λήθη ἀμυδρόν ἐργάσηται ἡ παντελῶς αφανίσῃ. τὸ δὲ φανέν καὶ τυπώσαν τοτὲ μὲν οἰκείως τοτε δὲ ὡς ἐτέρως διέθηκε τῇν ψυχῆν. τούτο δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ

`1 MSS. ἢν or ἐ or ἤ.
provides nourishment, like the mother to the infant, through some hidden channels, which correspond to the breasts in women, and she ceases not to minister this nourishment till the fruit is brought to its consummation. That consummation comes to the fully ripened fruit, when, if none pluck it, it automatically seeks to disengage itself from its organism, since it needs no longer the nurture which its parent supplies, and is capable, if it chance to drop on good soil, of sowing and producing other plants similar to those which gave it its existence.

IX. Life was made by its creator different from growth in three ways. It has sensation, "presentation," impulse. For plants have no impulse, no "presentation," no gift of sense-perception, while each living creature participates in all three combined. Sensation or sense, as the name itself shews, is "a putting in," and introduces what has appeared to it to the mind. For mind is a vast and receptive storehouse in which all that comes through sight or hearing and the other organs of sense is placed and treasured.

"Presentation" is an imprint made on the soul. For, like a ring or seal, it stamps on the soul the image corresponding to everything which each of the senses has introduced. And the mind like wax receives the impress and retains it vividly, until forgetfulness the opponent of memory levels out the imprint, and makes it indistinct, or entirely effaces it. But the object which has presented itself and made the impression has an effect upon the soul sometimes of an appropriate kind, sometimes the reverse. And this condition or state ‘presentation’ is nearer than ‘perception’ or ‘impression’ (Hicks on Diog. Laert. vii. 43; Loeb translation, vol. ii. p. 152).

b See App. p. 484.
πάθος ὀρμή καλεῖται, ἢν ὀριζόμενοι πρῶτην ἐφασαν εἶναι ψυχῆς κίνησιν.

45 Τοσούτοις μὲν δὴ ζώα προ乌克ε φυτῶν ἑδωμεν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὑπερβέβληκεν ἄνθρωπος. Χ. ἔξαφρις διαφαν εὐρείοι ἐλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς ἀπάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοῖα καὶ πραγμάτων εἰσε ήτοι καταλαμβάνειν. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώματι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὄμοι ἦσσω, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ ἢ τοῦ φωτὸς φῦσις, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ὑπὸ τῶν ἠμῶν τοῦ κρατιστέου ὁ νοῦς. ψυχῆς γὰρ ὄψις ὁμοίως ὁικείας περιλαμπόμενος αὐγάς, ὁ δὲν πολὺς καὶ βαθὺς ζόφος, ὑπὲρβέβληκεν ἄνθρωπος. Χ. ἔξαρεν τό έλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς απάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοία καὶ πραγμάτων εἴδοσ ἀνασκίδναται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τῶν ἐξαιρούμενον ἐλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς απάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοία καὶ πραγμάτων εἴδοσ ἀνασκίδναται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον ἐλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς απάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοία καὶ πραγμάτων εἴδοσ ἀνασκίδναται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον ἐλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς απάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοία καὶ πραγμάτων εἴδοσ ἀνασκίδναται. τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐξαιρούμενον ἐλαχε διάνοιαν, ἢ τὰς απάντων φύσεως σωμάτων τε ὁμοία καὶ πραγμάτων εἴδοσ ἀνασκίδναται. 

46 κόσμως ἀφθαρτὸν ἐπάγεν ἐνί πάντων. μόνη γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ γενήσας πατὴρ ἑλευθερίας ἥξισε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνεῖς δεσμὰ ἀφετο ἐασὲ, ἵππησάμενος αὐτῆς τοῦ πρεπωδεστάτου καὶ οἰκείου κτήματος αὐτῶ, τοῦ ἐκοινοῦ, μὸιραν, ἢν ἦματο δέξασθαι τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἱώα, ὅ ὡ ταῖς ψυχαίς τὸ ἔξαιρομενον εἰς ἑλευθερίαν, νοῦς, ὃκ ἔστι, καταζευχθέντα καὶ ἐγχαλινωθέντα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἄνθρωπος παραδέδοται ὅπερ οἰκέται διεπλασθη εὔθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐθελουργοῦ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστου γνώμης λαχῶν καὶ προαιρετικῶς χρώμενος τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις εἰκότως ψόγον μὲν ἔσχεν ἐφ' οίς ἐκ προνοιας ἀδικεῖ, ἔπαινον δὲ ἐφ' οίς ἐκὼν

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*a* See App. p. 484.  
*b* See App. p. 485.  
*c* i.e. the stars, cf. De Gig. 7. See App. Vol. II. p. 502.
of the soul is called impulse or appetite, which has been defined as the first movement of the soul.

In all these ways living creatures excel plants.

Let us now see where man has been made superior to other animals. X. We find that the special prerogative he has received is mind, habituated to apprehend the natures both of all material objects and of things in general. For as sight holds the leading place in the body, and the quality of light holds the leading place in the universe, so too in us the dominant element is the mind. For mind is the sight of the soul, illuminated by rays peculiar to itself, whereby the vast and profound darkness, poured upon it by ignorance of things, is dispersed. This branch of the soul was not formed of the same elements, out of which the other branches were brought to completion, but it was allotted something better and purer, the substance in fact out of which divine natures were wrought. And therefore it is reasonably held that the mind alone in all that makes us what we are is indestructible. For it is mind alone which the Father who begat it judged worthy of freedom, and loosening the fetters of necessity, suffered it to range as it listed, and of that free-will which is His most peculiar possession and most worthy of His majesty gave it such portion as it was capable of receiving. For the other living creatures in whose souls the mind, the element set apart for liberty, has no place, have been committed under yoke and bridle to the service of men, as slaves to a master. But man, possessed of a spontaneous and self-determined will, whose activities for the most part rest on deliberate choice, is with reason blamed for what he does wrong with intent, praised when he acts rightly of
κατορθοὶ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζῴων οὕτε αἱ εὐφορίαι ἐπαινεταὶ οὐθ' αἱ κακοπραγιαὶ ψεκταὶ—τὰς γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα κινήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀπροαιρέτους καὶ ἀκουσίους ἐλαβοῦν—, μόνῃ δὲ ἡ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ δεξαμένη παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν ἐκούσιον κίνησιν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ὅμωσθείσα αὑτῷ, χαλεπῆς καὶ ἄργαλεωτάτης δεσποίνης,

τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὡς οἶδ᾽ τῇ ἐλευθερωθείσᾳ | κατηγορίας ἀν δεόντως τυχόνοι, ὦτι τὸν ἐλευθερώσαντα οὐ περιέπει· τοιγάρτοι τῇ κατ' ἀπελευθέρων ἀχαρίστων ἀπαραίτητον δίκην ὁρθότατα τίσει.

"Ωστε " ἐνεθυμήθη καὶ διενοήθη ὁ θεός " οὐχ' νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἐξετὶ πάλαι παγίως καὶ βεβαίως, " ὦτι ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον," τουτέστων ὅποιον αὐτὸν εἰργάσατο· εἰργάσατο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄφετον καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἐκουσίοις καὶ προαιρετικαῖς χρησάμενον ταῖς ἐνεργείαις πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ὥστε ἐπιστάμενος ἁγαθὰ τε καὶ καλὰ καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν λαμβάνων ἐννοιαν καὶ δικαίους καὶ ἄδικους καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καθαρῶς ἐπιβάλλων αἱρέσει μὲν τῶν ἀμειωτῶν, φυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων χρήται.

παρὸ καὶ λόγον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐν Δευτερονομίῳ· " ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἁγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἐκλέξαι τὴν ζωήν." οὐκοῦν ἀμφότερα διὰ τοῦτο παρίσταται, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων γεγόνασιν ἀνθρωποί καὶ ὧφείλουσι πρὸ τῶν χειρόνων αἱρέσθαι τὰ κρείττων λογισμὸν ἔχοντες ἐν οὕτως ὅσπερ τινὰ δικαστὴν ἀδωροδόκητον, οἷς ἂν

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his own will. In the others, the plants and animals, no praise is due if they bear well, nor blame if they fare ill: for their movements and changes in either direction come to them from no deliberate choice or volition of their own. But the soul of man alone has received from God the faculty of voluntary movement, and in this way especially is made like to Him, and thus being liberated, as far as might be, from that hard and ruthless mistress, necessity, may justly be charged with guilt, in that it does not honour its Liberator. And therefore it will rightly pay the inexorable penalty which is meted to ungrateful freedmen.

Thus God “had it in His mind and bethought Him” not now for the first time, but ever from of old—a thought that was fixed and stedfast—“that He had made man,” that is He thought of what nature He had made him. He had made him free and unfettered, to employ his powers of action with voluntary and deliberate choice for this purpose, that, knowing good and ill and receiving the conception of the noble and the base, and setting himself in sincerity to apprehend just and unjust and in general what belongs to virtue and what to vice, he might practise to choose the better and eschew the opposite. And therefore we have an oracle of this kind recorded in Deuteronomy. “Behold, I have set before thy face life and death, good and evil; choose life” (Deut. xxx. 15, 19). So then in this way He puts before us both truths; first that men have been made with a knowledge both of good and evil, its opposite; secondly, that it is their duty to choose the better rather than the worse, because they have, as it were, within them an incorruptible
ο ὁρθὸς ὑποβάλλη λόγος πεισθησόμενον, οἷς δ' ἂν ὁ ἐναντίος ἀπειθήσοντα.

51 XI. Δεδηλωκότες οὖν ἀποχρώντως περὶ τούτων τὰ ἔξις ἱδωμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτα: “ἀπαλεύῳ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὅν ἐποίησα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐως κτήνους, ἀπὸ ἑρπετῶν ἐως πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὃτι ἔθυμώθην, ὃτι ἐποίησα αὐτὸν.”

52 πάλιν τινὲς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀκούσαντές ὑπολαμβάνουσι θυμοῖς καὶ ὅργαῖς χρῆσθαι τὸ ὅν. ἔστι δ' οὖν ὅτι ληπτὸν πάθει τὸ παράπαν ἀλογά τὸ κηραίειν ἰδιον, θεῶ δὲ οὕτε τὰ ψυχῆς ἀλογα πάθη οὕτε τὰ σώματος μέρη καὶ μέλη συν-όλως ἔστιν οἰκεία. λέγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον παρά τῷ νομοθετή μέχρι τινὸς εἰσαγωγῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ νοουθησαί χάριν τοὺς

53 ἐτέρωσ μὴ δυναμένους σωφρονίζεισθαι. τῶν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς προστάξεσι καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεσι νόμων, οἱ δὴ κυρίως εἰσὶ νόμοι, δύο τὰ ἀνωτάτω πρόκειται κεφάλαια περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν ὁτι “οὐχ ὃς ἀνθρωπὸς ὁ θεὸς,” ἐτερον δὲ ὅτι ὃς ἀνθρωπὸς.

54 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἀληθείᾳ βεβαιωθῆναι πεπιστῶται, τὸ δ' ύστερον πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διδασκαλίας. ταυτόν εἶναι λέλεκται. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν φυχῆς, οἱ δὲ σώματος γεγονὼς φίλοι οἱ μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς ἑταῖροι νοηταῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτως φύσεων ἑν-ομιλεῖν δυνάμενοι οὐδεμία τῶν γεγονότων ἱδέα παραβάλλουσι τὸ ὅν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιβάσαντες αὐτὸ πάσης

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* See App. p. 485.
judge in the reasoning faculty, which will accept all
that right reason suggests and reject the promptings
of its opposite.

XI. Having made this point sufficiently clear let us
consider the next words, which are as follows, "I
will blot out man whom I made from the face of the
earth, from man to beast, from creeping things to
fowls of heaven, because I was wroth in that I made
him" (Gen. vi. 7). Again, some on hearing these
words suppose that the Existent feels wrath and
anger, whereas He is not susceptible to any passion
at all. For disquiet is peculiar to human weakness, but
neither the unreasoning passions of the soul, nor the
parts and members of the body in general, have any
relation to God.

All the same the Law-giver uses such expressions, just so far as they serve
for a kind of elementary lesson, to admonish those
who could not otherwise be brought to their senses.
Thus, in the laws which deal with commands and prohibitions (laws, that is, in the proper sense of the word), there stand forth above others two leading statements about the Cause, one that "God is not as a man" (Num. xxiii. 19); the other that He is as a man. But while the former is warranted by grounds of surest truth, the latter is introduced for the instruction of the many. And therefore also it is said of Him "like a man He shall train His son" (Deut. viii. 5). And thus it is for training and admonition, not because God's nature is such, that these words are used. Among men some are soul lovers, some body lovers. The comrades of the soul, who can hold converse with intelligible incorporeal natures, do not compare the Existent to any form of created things. They have dissociated Him from every cate-
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ποιότητος—ἐν γὰρ τί τῶν εἰς τὴν μακαριότητα αὐτὸς καὶ τήν ἄκραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἢν τὸ ψιλὴν ἄνευ χρωματικὸς τὴν ὑπαρξίν καταλαμβάνει—τὴν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι φαντασίαν μόνην ἐνεδέξαντο μὴ μορφῶσαντες αὐτὸ. οἱ δὲ συμβάσεις καὶ σπονδάς πρὸς σώμα θέμενοι, ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀπαμφιάσασθαι τὸ σαρκῶν περίβλημα καὶ μόνην καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὴν ἀπροσδεδῶ καὶ ἀπλὴν φύσιν ἰδείν ἀμυγή καὶ ἀσύγκριτον, οὐδ’ ἐαυτῶν τουιάτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάντων αὐτίου διενοθήσαν, οὐ λογισάμενοι ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἐκ πλείωνοι συνόδου δυνάμεων γενομένω πλείων ἐδει μερῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν χρεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν, XII. ὁ δὲ θεὸς άτε ἀγένητος ἃν καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀγαγών εἰς γένεσιν οὐδὲν ἔδεσθή ὁ πάντων τοῖς γεννήμασι προσόντων ἐπει καὶ τί φῶμεν; εἰ κέχρηται τοῖς ὅργανοις μέρεσι, βάσεις μὲν ἔχει τοῦ προέρχεσθαι χάριν—βαδιεῖται δὲ ποὶ πεπληρωκὼς τὰ πάντα; καὶ πρὸς τίνα μηδενὸς ἄντοι ἱσοτίμου; καὶ ἐνεκα τοῦ; οὐ γὰρ ὑγείας τῆς φροντίζων αὐτοίς καὶ ἡμεῖς—καὶ χείρας μέντοι πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι· λαμβάνει μὲν δὴ παρ’ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν—πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἀνεπιδεεῖ καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα ἔχει κτήματα—, δίδωσι δὲ λόγω χρώμενος ὑπηρέτη δωρεῶν, ὁ καὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰργάζετο. ὁφθαλμῶν γε μὴν οὐκ ἐδείκτω, οῖς ἀνευ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ κατάληψις οὐ γίνεται· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητῶν, ἑώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέ—58 εἰργάζετο. ὁφθαλμῶν γε μὴν οὐκ ἐδείκτω, οῖς ἀνευ φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ κατάληψις οὐ γίνεται· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν φῶς γενητῶν, ἑώρα δὲ ὁ θεὸς καὶ πρὸ γενέ—59 σεως φωτὶ χρώμενος ἐαυτῷ. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ

a See App. p. 485.
gory or quality, for it is one of the facts which go
to make His blessedness and supreme felicity that
His being is apprehended as simple being, without
other definite characteristic; and thus they do not
picture it with form, but admit to their minds the
conception of existence only. But those who have 56
made a compact and a truce with the body are unable
to cast off from them the garment of flesh, and to
descry existence needing nothing in its unique soli­
tariness, and free from all admixture and composi­
tion in its absolute simplicity. And therefore they
think of the Cause of all in the same terms as of
themselves, and do not reflect that while a being
which is formed through the union of several faculties
needs several parts to minister to the need of each,
XII. God being uncreated and the Author of the
creation of the others needs none of the properties
which belong to the creatures which He has brought
into being. For consider, if He uses our 57
bodily parts or organs He has feet to move from one
place to another. But whither will He go or walk
since His presence fills everything? To whom will
He go, when none is His equal? And for what
purpose will He walk? For it cannot be out of care
for health as it is with us. Hands He must have to
receive and give. Yet He receives nothing from
anyone, for, besides that He has no needs, all things
are His possessions, and when He gives, He employs
as minister of His gifts the Reason wherewith also
He made the world. Nor did He need eyes, which 58
have no power of perception without the light which
meets our sense. But that light is created, whereas
God saw before creation, being Himself His own
light. Why need we speak of the organs of nourish- 59
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τῶν τῆς τροφῆς ὀργάνων; εἰ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἔχει, καὶ τρέφεται καὶ πληρωθεῖσι μὲν ἀποσταύεται,1 παυσάμενος δὲ δεῖται πάλιν, καὶ τάλλα ὡσα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα οὔκ ἂν εἰπομι· ἀσεβῶν αὕται μυθοποιεῖι λόγω μὲν ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνθρωποπάθες εἰσαγόντων τὸ θείον. Υποτις ὁ δὲ [282] ἑνεκε Μωσῆς βάσεις, χείρας, εἰσόδους, ἔξόδους φησὶν εἰναι περὶ τὸ ἀγένητον, ὁ δὲ χάριν ὄπλιον τὴν πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἁμμαν; ἐξηφυφοροῦντα γὰρ <εἰσάγει> καὶ βέλεις χρώμενον καὶ πνεύμασι καὶ φθοροποιῷ πυρί—καταγιὰδα καὶ κεραυνὸν ἔτεροις ὄνομασι ταῦτα ποιηταὶ προσαγορεύοντες ὅπλα τοῦ αὐτοῦ φασὶν εἰναι—, πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ξήλου, θυμὸν, ὄργας, ὡσα τούτοις ὁμοια ἀνθρωπολογῶν διεξέρχεται; ἀλλὰ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις ἀποκρίνεται.

61 ὡς στοι, τῷ ἁριστα νομοθετήσοντι τέλος ἐν δεὶ προκείσθαι, πάντας ὑβληθαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐμοῖρον φύσεως λαχόντες καὶ ἀγωγῆσ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνυπαιτίῳ, τὴν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁδὸν τοῦ βίου λειφόρον καὶ εὐθείαν εὐρίσκοντες, ἀληθεία συνωδούπορω χρώνται, παρ' ἣς μυθεῖτες τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἀθενδὴ μυστήρια τῶν γενέσεως οὐδὲν προσ-

62 αναπλάττουσιν αὐτῷ. τοὺς οἰκείωτατον προ-

κείται κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἠεροφαντηθεὶσι χρησμοῖς, ὅτι “οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπος ὁ θεός,” ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς σφραγὸς οὐδ' ὡς κόσμος· ποιά γὰρ εἴδη ταῦτα γε καὶ εἰς αἰσθήσιν ἔρχομενα, ὁ δ' ἃρα οὖδε τῷ νῷ καταληπτὸς ὅτι μή κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον· ὑπαρξίας

1 Wend. with some mss. ἀποσπατεῖ, but see App. p. 485.

a See App. p. 485.
THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 59-62

ment? If He has them, He eats and is filled, rests awhile and after the rest has need again, and the accompaniments of this I will not dwell upon. These are the mythical fictions of the impious, who, professing to represent the deity as of human form, in reality represent Him as having human passions.

XIII. Why then does Moses speak of feet and hands, goings in and goings out in connexion with the Uncreated, or of His arming to defend Himself against His enemies? For he describes Him as bearing a sword, and using as His weapons winds and death-dealing fire (thunderbolt and storm blast the poets call them, using different words, and say they are the weapons of the Cause). Why again does he speak of His jealousy, His wrath, His moods of anger, and the other emotions similar to them, which he describes in terms of human nature? But to those who ask these questions Moses answers thus: "Sirs, the lawgiver who aims at the best must have one end only before him—to benefit all whom his work reaches. Those to whose lot has fallen a generously gifted nature and a training blameless throughout, and who thus find that their later course through life lies in a straight and even highway, have truth for their fellow-traveller, and being admitted by her into the infallible mysteries of the Existent do not overlay the conception of God with any of the attributes of created being. These find a moral most pertinent in the oracles of revelation, that "God is not as a man" nor yet is He as the heaven or the universe." These last are forms of a particular kind which present themselves to our senses. But He is not apprehensible even by the mind, save in the fact that He is. For it is His
γάρ έσθ’ ἴν καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ γε

χωρίς ὑπάρξεως οὐδέν. ἩΧ. οἱ δὲ γε

νωθεστέρα μὲν καὶ ἀμβλεία κεχρημένου τῇ φύσει,

περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν παισὶ τροφὰς πλημμεληθέντες, ὃς

καθοράν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἰατρῶν δέονται νουθετη-

τῶν, οἱ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν πάθος τὴν οἰκεῖαν ἐπι-

νοῆσουσι θεραπείαν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀναγώγοις καὶ

ἀφροσις οἰκέταις φοβερὸς δεσπότης ὡφέλιμος, τὰς

γὰρ ἐπανατάσεις καὶ ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ δεδίότες

άκοντες φόβω νουθετούνται. μανθανέτωσαν οὖν

πάντες οἱ τουοῦτοι τὰ ψευδή, δι’ ὅν ὡφεληθῆσον-

ται, εἰ μὴ δύνανται δι’ ἀληθείας σωφρονίζεσθαι.

καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ σώματα κάμνουσιν

ἐπισφαλῶς οἱ δοκιμώτατοι 2 τῶν ἰατρῶν τάληθη

λαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν εἰδότες ἀθυμοτέρους μὲν

ἐκ τούτου γενησομένους καὶ οὐ ῥωσθησομένην 3

τὴν νόσον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων παρηγορίας

πρῶτερον τὰ ἐν χερσὶν οἴσοντας καὶ τὸ ἀρρώστημα

λαβήσων. τὸς γὰρ ἄν τῶν εἰς θεραπευομένων ἐπὶ τῶ

θεραπευομένων· ὃ οὗτος, τετμήσῃ, κεκαυσθῇ, ἀκρωτηριασθῇ, καὶ εἰ μέλλοι ταῦτα 4 εἰς ἀνάγκης

ὑπομένειν; οὐδεὶς ἔρει. προαναπεσῶν γὰρ τὴν

γνώμην ἐκείνος καὶ νόσον ἐτέραν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρ-

γαλεστέραν τῆς προϋπούσης τοῦ σώματος προσ-

lassen ἀπερεῖ πρὸς τὴν θεραπείαν, ἄσμενον | δὲ

ἐκ τοῦ τὰ ἐναντία ἀπάτη τοῦ θεραπεύοντος προσ-

dοκῆσαι τλητικῶς πάνθ’ ὑποστήσεται, καὶ ἀλ-

67 γενότατα ή τὰ σώζοντα. γενόμενος οὖν τῶν τῆς

1 MSS. νομοθετῶν, which Adler would retain.

2 MSS. νομιμώτατοι.

3 Perhaps, as Cohn suggests, omit οὐ—*the disease will gain strength.*
existence which we apprehend, and of what lies outside that existence nothing. XIV. But they whose natural wit is more dense and dull, or whose early training has been mishandled, since they have no power of clear vision, need physicians in the shape of admonishers, who will devise the treatment proper to their present condition. Thus ill-disciplined and foolish slaves receive profit from a master who frightens them, for they fear his threats and menaces and thus involuntarily are schooled by fear. All such may well learn the untruth, which will benefit them, if they cannot be brought to wisdom by truth.

Thus too in dealing with dangerous sicknesses of the body, the most approved physicians do not allow themselves to tell the truth to their patients, since they know that this will but increase their disheartenment, and bring no recovery from the malady, whereas under the encouragement, which the opposite course of treatment gives, they will bear more contentedly their present trouble, and at the same time the disease will be relieved.

For what sensible physician would say to his patient, "Sir, you will be subjected to the knife, the cautery or amputation" even if it will be necessary that he should submit to such operations. No one. For the patient will lose heart beforehand, and add to the existing malady of the body a still more painful malady of the soul and break down when faced with the treatment. Whereas if through the physician's deceit he expects the opposite, he will gladly endure everything with patience, however painful the methods of saving him may be. So then the lawgiver,
ψυχής παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἀριστός ἰατρὸς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ἔργον καὶ τέλος προθέτο, αὐταῖς ρίζας τὰς τῆς διανοίας νόσους ἐκτεμένω, ὡς μὴ τις ὑπολειφθείσα βλάστησιν ἀρρωστήματος ἐνέγκη δυσιάτου. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἠλπισεν ἐκκόψαι δυνήσθαι, εἰ χρώμενον ἀπειλαῖς καὶ ἀγανακτήσει καὶ ἀπαραντήτοις ὀργαῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ ἀμυντηρίως ὀπλοὶ πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐπεξόδους εἰσαγάγοι τὸ αἴτιον μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ἀφρός νουθετεῖται.

69 παρὸ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς προειρημένοις δυοὶ κεφαλαίως, τῷ τε "ὡς ἀνθρωπός" καὶ τῷ "οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπός ὁ θεὸς" ἔτερα δὺς συνυφῆναι ἀκόλουθα καὶ συγγενῆ, φόβον τε καὶ ἀγάπην τὰς γὰρ διὰ τῶν νόμων εἰς εὐσέβειαν ὑποκάθισμα ἀπάσις ἀναφερομένας ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἢ πρὸς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ὄντα. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μήτε μέρος μήτε πάθος ἀνθρώπου περὶ τὸ ὃν νοµίζουσιν, ἄλλα θεοπρεπῶς αὕτο δὴ αὐτὸ μόνον τιμῶσι τὸ ἀγαπᾶν οἰκείοτατον, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐπέροις.

70 Ἡμέν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἄφρων νουθετεῖται, τῆς ζητήσεως ἀρμόττον ἢν, τουαυτά ἔστω. ἐπανιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ἀρχὴς ἐκφημονεῖ, καθ’ ἢν ἣποροῦμεν, τίνα ὑπογράφει νόον τὸ "ἐθυμώθην ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτούς." ἰσως οὖν τοιοῦτον τι βούλεται παραστῆσαι, ὥστε οἱ μὲν φαύλοι θυμῶ γεγονόσι θεοῦ, οἱ δ’ ἀγαθοὶ χάριτα. καὶ γὰρ ἐξής φησιν "Νῶε δὲ εὑρε χάριν." τὸ δὲ κυριολογούμενον ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων πάθος ὁ θυμὸς εὐθυβόλως1 εὑρηται τροπικώτερον ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τὸν ἑπετεῖον ὁμολογεῖ ἀριστός ἰατρὸς, ὁ μεταφράστηκέν τις τῷ θεῷ ἐν συντάξει ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐν πλῆθει τῶν μοιχῶν ὑπολογίσκει ἀρφῶν νουθετεῖται καὶ ὁ μεταφρασθεῖσας ἀνθρώπων τις πειρατείας ἐπεὰν, ἄρα μὴ τοῖς προειρημένοις δυοὶ κεφαλαίως, τῷ τε ὡς ἀνθρωπός καὶ τῷ ὡς ἄγαθος στρατηγός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μὴ τίς μήτε μέρος μήτε πάθος ἀνθρώπου περὶ τὸ ὃν νοµίζουσιν, ἄλλα θεοπρεπῶς αὕτο δὴ αὐτὸ μόνον τιμῶσι τὸ ἀγαπᾶν οἰκείοτατον, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐπέροις.

1 εὐθυβόλως is omitted in some mss. It may be merely an addition to explain κυριολογούμενον.

* See App. p. 486.
thereby being now approved as the best of physicians for the distempers and maladies of the soul, set before himself one task and purpose, to make a radical excision of the diseases of the mind and leave no root to sprout again into sickness which defies cure. In this way he hoped to be able to eradicate the evil, namely by representing the supreme Cause as dealing in threats and oftentimes shewing indignation and implacable anger, or again as using weapons of war for His onsloughts on the unrighteous. For this is the only way in which the fool can be admonished. And therefore it seems to me that with the two aforesaid maxims, "God is as a man," and "God is not as a man," he has linked two other principles closely connected and consequent on them, namely fear and love. For I observe that all the exhortations to piety in the law refer either to our loving or our fearing the Existent. And thus to love Him is the most suitable for those into whose conception of the Existent no thought of human parts or passions enters, who pay Him the honour meet for God for His own sake only. To fear is most suitable to the others.

XV. Such are the points which needed to be established as preliminaries to our inquiry. We must return to the original question which caused us difficulty, namely, what thought is suggested by the words "I was wroth in that I made them." Perhaps then he wishes to shew us that the bad have become what they are through the wrath of God and the good through His grace. For the next words are "but Noah found grace with Him" (Gen. vi. 8). Now the passion of wrath, which is properly speaking an attribute of men, is here used in a more meta-
Επί τοῦ οὖντος εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτου πράγματος δήλωσιν, ὅτι πάνθ' ὧσα δι' ὁργήν ἢ φόβον ἢ λύπην ἢ ἡδονήν ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν πράττομεν, ὑπαίτια καὶ ἐπίληπτα ὀμολογοῦμένως ἔστων, ὧσα δὲ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἔπαινετά.

72 ὂρας ὅση καὶ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν κέχρηται προ-φυλακῆ, ὅτι "ἐθυμώθην, ὅτι ἐποίησα αὐτοὺς" εἰπὼν, ἀλλ' οὗ κατ' ἀναστροφήν. διότι ἐποίησα αὐτοὺς, ἐθυμώθην. τούτο μὲν γὰρ μετανοούντος ἤν, ὅπερ ἦ τὰ πάντα προμηθουμένη θεοῦ φύσις οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ἔκεινο δὲ δόγμα συνεκτικώτατον ἐσηγομένον, ὅτι πηγὴ μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων θυμός, λογισμὸς δὲ κατορθωμάτων. μεμημένος δὲ τῆς περὶ πάντα τελείας ἀγαθότητος ἐαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, κἂν τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος εξ ἑαυτοῦ δι' ὑπερ-βολὰς ἀμαρτημάτων περιπτῆ, τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ σωτηρίου χείρα ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐξαν-ίστησιν οὐκ ἔων εἰσάπαν φθαρῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ γένος.

74 XVI. διὸ νῦν φησι τὸν Νώε χάριν εὑρεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ὅτε οἳ ἄλλοι φανέντες ἀχάριστοι τίνειν μέλλουσι δίκας, ὡς τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον ἀνακέρασθαι τῇ κατὰ ἀμαρτανόντων κρίσει· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ὑμνωδὸς εἴπε ποῦ "ἔλεον καὶ κρίσιν ἀσομάτων σοι"· εἰ γὰρ βουλθεὶς ὁ θεὸς δικάσαι τῷ θνητῷ γένει χωρὶς ἔλεου, τὴν κατα-δικάζουσαν ψήφον οἰςει μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς βίων ἀπταίστον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δραμόντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐκουσίους, τὸ δὲ

1 MSS. ἀναγκαιοτάτην τοῦ.
2 περιπτῆ suspectum: fortasse πιπή (Wend.), but cf. Thuc. ii. 65 αὐτοί ἐν σφίσι... περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν.

* Or "(I will destroy him) because I was wroth in that I
pherical sense, yet still correctly, of the Existent, to bring out a vital truth, that all our actions by general consent are worthy of blame and censure, if done through fear or anger, or grief or pleasure, or any other passion, but worthy of praise if done with rectitude of reason and knowledge. Mark what caution he shows in his form of statement. He says "I was wroth in that I made them," not in the reverse order, "because I made them, I was wroth." The latter would show change of mind or repentance, a thing impossible to the all-foreseeing nature of God. In the former he brings before us a doctrine of great importance that wrath is the source of misdeeds, but the reasoning faculty of right actions. But God, remembering His perfect and universal goodness, even though the whole vast body of mankind should through its exceeding sinfulness accomplish its own ruin, stretches forth the right hand of salvation, takes them under His protection and raises them up, and suffers not the race to be brought to utter destruction and annihilation.

XVI. And therefore it now says that when the others who had proved ungrateful were doomed to pay the penalty, Noah found grace with Him, that so He might mingle His saving mercy with the judgement pronounced on sinners. And so the Psalmist said somewhere (Ps. c. [ci.] 1), "I will sing to thee of mercy and judgement." For if God should will to judge the race of mortals without mercy, His sentence will be one of condemnation, since there is no man who self-sustained has run the course of life from birth to death without stumbling, but in every case his foot-made him," i.e. the first ἐταί may (1) introduce the quotation, or (2) be part of the quotation.
άκουσίοις χρησαμένου τούς ἐν ποσὶν ὀλισθήμασιν. 76 ἣν οὖν ὑπάρχῃ τὸ γένος, κἂν πολλὰ τῶν εἰδικῶν βύθια χωρῆ, τὸν ἠλεον ἀνακήρυκαν, ὡς ἀπὸ εὐ-
εργεσίας καὶ τῶν ἀναξίων χρῆται, καὶ οὐ μόνον 
δικάσας ἠλεεὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠλεήσας δικάζει· προεβύ-
τερος γὰρ δίκης ὃ ἠλεος παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐστιν ἀτὲ 
τὸν κολάσεως ἄξιον οὐ μετὰ τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ 
77 δίκης εἰδότι.

XVII. διὰ τούτο ἐν ἐτέροις εἰρηται· "ποτήριον ἐν χεῖρι κυρίου, οὗν ἀκράτου πλῆρες κεράσματος;" καίτοι τὸ γε κεκρα-
μένον οὐκ ἀκρατον. ἄλλ’ ἔχει λόγον ταῦτα φυσι-
κῶτατον καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀκόλουθον· ὃ γὰρ 
θεὸς ταῖς δυνάμεσι πρὸς μὲν έαυτὸν ἀκράτους 
χρῆται, κεκραμέναις δὲ πρὸς γένεσιν· τὸς γὰρ 
ἀμυγεὶς θνητὴν ἀμήχανον φύσιν χωρῆσαι. ἦ νομί-

78 ζεις ἀκρατον μὲν τὴν ἡλίου φλόγα μὴ δύνασθαι 
θεαθῆναι—οβεσθήσεται γὰρ πρότερον ἡ ὀψίς μαρ-
μαρυγαῖς τὸν ἀκτίνων ἀμυδρῷ θεός ἐν ἐργοῖ 
θεοῦ, μοῖρα οὐρανοῦ, πίλημα αἰθέριον——, τὰς 
δὲ ἀγενήτους ἄρα δυνάμεις εἰκόνας, αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν 
οὗσαι λαμπρότατον φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσιν, ἀκράτους 
79 περινοήσαι δύνασθαι; ὦσπερ οὖν τὸς ἡλιακὸς 
ἀκτίνας ἐτεινε μὲν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ μέχρι τερμάτων 
γῆς τὸ σφοδρόν τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς θερμότητος ἀνεῖς 
καὶ χαλάσας ἄερι ψυχρῷ——τούτῳ γὰρ αὐταῖς 
ἀνεκεράσατο, ὅπως τὸ αὐγοειδὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογώ-
δους πυρὸς ἀνασταλέν, τὴν μὲν τοῦ καίειν μεθ-

a See App. p. 486.
steps have slipped through errors, some voluntary, some involuntary. So then that the race may subsist, though many of those which go to form it are swallowed up by the deep, He tempers His judgement with the mercy which He shews in doing kindness even to the unworthy. And not only does this mercy follow His judgement but it also precedes it. For mercy with Him is older than justice, since He knows who is worthy of punishment, not only after judgement is given, but before it. XVII. And therefore it is said in another place, “there is a cup in the hand of the Lord of unmixed wine, full of mixture” (Ps. lxxiv. [lxxv.] 8). But surely the mixed is not unmixed, and yet there is a meaning in these words most true to nature, and in agreement with what I have said before. For the powers which God employs are unmixed in respect of Himself, but mixed to created beings. For it cannot be that mortal nature should have room for the unmixed. We cannot look even upon the sun’s flame untempered, or unmixed, for our sight will be quenched and blasted by the bright flashing of its rays, ere it reach and apprehend them, though the sun is but one of God’s works in the past, a portion of heaven, a condensed mass of ether. a And can you think it possible that your understanding should be able to grasp in their unmixed purity those uncreated potencies, which stand around Him and flash forth light of surpassing splendour? When God extended the sun’s rays from heaven to the boundaries of earth, He mitigated and abated with cool air the fierceness of their heat. He tempered them in this way, that the radiance drawn off from the blazing flame, surrendering its power of burning but retaining that
εἰμένον δύναμιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ φωτίζειν περιέχον τῷ
tαμιευομένῳ ἐν ταῖς ὀψεις συνηγενεῖ αὐτοῦ καὶ
φίλῳ ὑπαντιάσαν ἀσπάσθηται· ἥ γὰρ τούτων ἔξ
ἐναντίας εἰς ταύτῳ σύνοδος τε καὶ δεξίωσις τὴν δι'
ὀράσεως ἀντίληψιν ἐργαζεῖται—, οὔτως ἐπιστήμην
θεοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ φρονήσεαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστην ἄρετῶν τίς ἂν ἀκραφνῇ
dέξασθαι δύνατο θυγήτος ὃν; ἀλλ' οOrNil' ὁ σύμπας
80 οὐρανὸς τε καὶ κόσμος. εἰδὼς τοῖς ὄ δημουργοῖς
τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπασι τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπερβολῶς
καὶ τὴν τῶν γεγονότων, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα μεγαλ-
[285] αὐχοῖεν, φυσικὴν ἀσθένειαν οὔτε ἐνεργεῖτείν οὔτε
κολάζειν ὃς δύναται βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔχοντα
81 ὁρὰ δύναμεως τοὺς ἐκατέρω θυμεύοντας. εἰ δὴ
tοῦ ἀνειμένου καὶ μεσότητας ἔχοντοι τῶν δυνάμεων
αὐτοῦ κράματος ἐμπιείν καὶ ἀπολαύσαι δυνηθεὶ-
μεν, ἀποχρῶσαν ἄν εὐφροσύνην καρπωσάμεθα, ἢς
tελειστέραν μὴ ἡτείωτω λαβείν τὸ ἀνθρόπων γένος.
edείδοσαν γὰρ αἱ ἀμυγεῖς καὶ ἀκρατοὶ καὶ τῶ
οντι ἄκροτήτες περὶ τὸ ὅν μόνον ὑπάρχουσαν.
82 XVIII. τοῖς δ' εἰρημένοις ὁμοίως ἐστὶ
kai τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθέν " ἄπαξ κύριος ἐλάλησε, δύο
ταῦτα ήκουσα." τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄπαξ ἔοικε τῷ ἀκράτῳ
—καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀκρατον μονὰς καὶ ἡ μονὰς ἀκρατον—,
tὸ δὲ δίς τῷ κεκραμένῳ· τὸ γὰρ κεκραμένον1 οὐχ
ἀπλοῦν ἄτε καὶ σύγκρισιν καὶ διάκρισιν ἐπιδεχόμε-
83 νον. μονάδας μὲν οὖν ἀκράτουσ ὁ θεὸς λαλεῖ· οὐ
γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ γεγονὼς2 ἀέρος πλήξεις ἄνα-
μιγνύμενοι ἄλλω τὸ παράπαν οὐδεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀσώματος

1 MSS. ἐκάτερον γάρ.
2 MSS. γεγονὼς.

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* See App. p. 486.

b E.V. "God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this,"
of giving light, might meet and hail its friend and kinsman, the light which is stored in the treasury of our eyes; for it is when these converge to meet and greet each other that the apprehension through vision is produced. Just in the same way if God's knowledge and wisdom and prudence and justice and each of His other excellences were not tempered, no mortal could receive them, nay not even the whole heaven and universe. The Creator then, knowing His own surpassing excellence in all that is best and the natural weakness of His creatures, however loud they boast, wills not to dispense benefit or punishment according to His power, but according to the measure of capacity which He sees in those who are to participate in either of those dispensations. If indeed we could drink and enjoy this diluted draught, wherein is a moderate measure of His powers, we should reap sufficient gladness, and let not the human race seek a more perfect joy. For we have shewn that these powers at their full height unmixed and untempered subsist only in the Existent.

XVIII. We have something similar to the above-mentioned words in another passage, "The Lord spake once, I have heard these two things" (Ps. lxi. [lxii.] 11). For "once" is like the unmixed, for the unmixed is a monad and the monad is unmixed, whereas twice is like the mixed, for the mixed is not single, since it admits both combination and separation. God then speaks in unmixed monads or unities. For His word is not a sonant impact of voice upon air, or mixed with anything else at all, but it is unbodied and unclothed and in where "once, twice" = repeatedly. The lxx probably meant the same.
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τε καὶ γυμνός, ἀδιαφορών μονάδος. ἀκούομεν δ' ἡμεῖς δύνασθε τὸ γὰρ ἀφ’ ἤγεμονικοῦ πνεύμα διὰ τραχείας ἀναπεμπόμενον ἀρτηρίας τυπούται μὲν ἐν στόματι ὀσπέρ υπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης, φερόμενον δ’ ἐξω καὶ ἀναμικθέν ἀέρι συγγενεῖ καὶ πλήξαν αὐτὸν τὴν δυάδος κράσιν ἀρμονίως ἀποτελεῖ· τὸ γὰρ συνηχοῦν ἐκ φθόγγων διαφερόντων δυάδι μεριστῇ τὸ πρῶτον ἀρμόζεται ὄχιν καὶ βαρὺν τόνον ἔχουσιν.

85 παγκάλως οὖν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀδίκων λογισμῶν ἀντέθηκεν ἕνα τὸν δίκαιον, ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἐλάττωνα δυνάμει δὲ πλείονα, ἢν μὴ ταλαντεύσαν ὀσπέρ ἐπὶ πλάστηγγος βρίση τὸ χείρον, ἄλλα κράτει τῆς ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ῥοπῆς ἀνακουφισθὲν ἀσθενήσῃ.

86 XIX. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ “Νῶε εὐρεχάριν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ,” συνεπισκεφώμεθα· τῶν εὐρισκόντων οἱ μὲν ἀ πρότερον ἔχοντες ἀπέβαλον αὖθις εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἢ πάλαι νῦν ὃ ἐμὲ πρῶτον περιεποιήσαντο. τοιτὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔργον εὐρεσίν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀνεύρεσιν οἱ ζητητικοὶ τῶν κυρίων ὁνομάτων καλεῖν εἰώθασι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν προτέρου παράδειγμα ἐναγγέλησαν τὰ περὶ τῆς μεγάλης εὐχῆς διατεταγμένα. ἔστι δὲ εὐχή μὲν αἰτησις ἀγαθῶν παρὰ θεοῦ, μεγάλῃ δὲ εὐχή τὸν θεὸν αἰτιον ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἕαυτοι νομίζουν ἰδειν ἐτέρου [τῶν] εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν ὧφελεῖν συνεργοῦντος, μὴ γῆς ὡς καρποτόκου, μὴ ὤετῶν ὡς σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ συναυξώντων, μὴ

a See App. p. 487.
no way different from unity. But our hearing is the product of two factors, of a dyad. For the breath from the seat of the master-principle driven up through the windpipe is shaped in the mouth by the workmanship, as it were, of the tongue, and rushing out it mixes with its congeners the air, and impinging on it produces in a harmonious union the mixture which constitutes the dyad. For the consonance caused by different sounds is harmonized in a dyad originally divided which contains a high and a low pitch. Right well then did the lawgiver act when he opposed to the multitude of unjust thoughts the just man as one—numerically less, but greater in value. His purpose is that the worse should not prove the weightier when tested as in the scales, but by the victorious force of the opposite tendency to the better cause should kick the beam and prove powerless.

XIX. Now let us consider what is meant by “Noah found grace before the Lord God” (Gen. vi. 8). Finders sometimes find again what they possessed and have lost, sometimes what they did not own in the past and now gain for the first time. People who seek exactitude in the use of words are wont to call the process in the second case “finding” or “discovery” and in the first “refinding” or “recovery.” We have a very clear example of the former in the commandment of the Great Vow (Num. vi. 2). Now a vow is a request for good things from God, while a “great vow” is to hold that God Himself and by Himself is the cause of good things, that though the earth may seem to be the mother of fruits, rain to give increase to seeds and plants, air to have the power of fostering them,
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άέρος ὡς τρέφειν ἵκανον, μὴ γεωργίας ὡς φορᾶς αὐτίας, μὴ ἱατρικῆς ὡς υγείας, μὴ γάμου ὡς γενεσεως παίδων. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δυνάμει θεοῦ μεταβολὰς | δέχεται καὶ τροπὰς, ὡς τάναντι πολλάκις τοῖς ἐξ ἐθους ἀποτελεῖν. τοῦτον οὖν φησι Μωυσῆς ἃγιον εἶναι, ἃ τρέφοντα κόμην κεφαλῆς, ὅπερ ἦν τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς τῶν ἁρετῆς δογμάτων κεφαλαώδεις ἀνατολᾶς συναύξοντα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κομώντα καὶ σεμνυνόμενον ἐπ’ αὐταῖς. ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν οτὲ ἀπέβαλεν αὐτάς αἰφνίδιον κατασκήψαντος οἷα τῶν τυφώνος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ καλὰ πάντα αὐτής ἐξαρπάσαντος. ο δὲ τυφών οὕτως τροπῆς τὸν νοῦν ἀκούσιον παραχρήμα τὸν νοῦν μιαύσουσα, ἦν καλεὶ θάνατον. ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἀποβαλὼν αὕθης καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀναιμησκότα οἷα τέως ὑπελείποντο, καὶ ἀπ’ ἀπέβαλεν εὑρίσκει, ὡς τὰς προτέρας τῆς τροπῆς ἡμέρας ἀλόγους ἐξετάζεσθαι, ἥ διότι παράλογον ἡ τροπή πράγμα, ἀπάδον ὀρθόν λόγον και φρονήσεως ἀμέτοχον, ἥ παρόσον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξία καταριθμεῖσθαι “ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων” ἔφη τις “ οὐ λόγος οὐδ’ άριθμός.”

XX. πολλάκις δὲ ἐνετύχουμεν

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a The translation follows Mangey in omitting τῶν before εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν ὑφελεῖν. This, however, is not quite satisfactory, as εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν would naturally mean “as regards semblance.” Perhaps retain τῶν and for ὑφελεῖν substitute ὑφελίμων.

b Literally “fostering the head’s hair as long locks.” In the allegory the “head’s hair” becomes the “growths of truths,” which are of the nature of heads or leading principles, and since κομᾶς, “to wear long hair,” also means “to be proud,” κόμη is interpreted as the pride which we should feel in virtue. For further elucidation see App. p. 487.

c In the original no doubt this means that as contact with
husbandry to be the cause of the harvest, medicine
the cause of health, marriage of childbirth, yet
nothing else is His fellow-worker that we may think
of them as bringing us benefit. For all these things, through the power of God, admit of change and transition, so as often to produce effects quite the reverse of the ordinary. He who makes this vow then, says Moses, must be "holy, suffering the hair of his head to grow" (Num. vi. 5). This means that he must foster the young growths of virtue's truths in the mind which rules his being; these growths must be to him as it were heads, and he must take pride in them as in the glory of the hair. But sometimes he loses these early growths, when as it were a whirlwind swoops suddenly down upon the soul and tears from it all that was beautiful in it. This whirlwind is a kind of involuntary defection straightway defiling the soul, and this he calls death (Num. vi. 9). He has lost, yet in time, when purified, he makes good the loss, remembers what he had forgotten for a while, and finds what he has lost, so that the "former days," the days of defection, are regarded as not to be counted (Num. vi. 12), either because defection is a thing beyond all calculation, discordant with right reason and having no partnership with prudence, or because they are not worthy to be counted. For of such as these there is, as has been said, no count or number.

the corpse cancels the vow, the days before the defilement must not be reckoned as part of the necessary period, and indeed Philo's Greek might be translated as "the days before the defection"; but the argument requires that the words should be taken as in the translation.

\* A proverbial expression. Cf. Theocritus, Id. xiv. 48 ἄμμες δ' οὕτε λόγω τινος ἀξιοὶ οὐθ' ἄριθματοι.

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τούτοις, ἃ μηδ οὖν πρότερον εἴδομεν· ὥσπερ γεωπόνοιν φασὶ τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν ἣμέρων δένδρων φυτεῦσαι σκάπτοντα χωρίον θησαυρῷ
92 περιτυχεῖν ἀνελπίστω χρησάμενον εὐτυχία. ὃ γοῦν ἀσκητής πυθομένου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ τρόπον τούτου· "τι τούτο δ ταχὺ εὑρεῖς, τέκνον;" ἀποκρίνεται καὶ φησιν· "ὅ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐναντίον μου." ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραδίδῳ τά τῆς άιδίου¹ σοφίας θεωρήματα καμάτων χωρίς καὶ πόνου, ταύτα ἦξαίφνης οὐ προσδοκήσαντες θησαυρὸν εὐδαιμονίας τελείας εὐρίσκομεν.

93 συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις τοῖς μὲν ἐπιπόνως ζητοῦσιν ἀποτυγχάνειν τοῦ ζητουμένου, τοῖς δὲ ἀνευρήσαντες θησαυρὸν εὐδαιμονίας τελείας οὐ προσδοκήσαντες οἱ μὲν γὰρ νοθέστεροι καὶ βραδεῖς τᾶς ψυχᾶς ὥσπερ ὁποῖος ὁμοίως ὑπομενόν τον τί τῶν κατ' ἐπιστήμην πόνον ἐσχούσιν ἀτελῆ, οἱ δὲ φύσεως εὐμορία δίχα ζητήσεως μυρίοις ἐνέτυχον εὐθυβόλῳ καὶ εὐθύκτῳ χρησάμενοι προσβολῇ, ὡς δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς μὲν μὴ σπουδάσαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μεθ' ὀρμῆς προαπαντήσαντα εἰς ὦτε δόξῃ ἐπειγθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτην εἵμποιήσαι κατάληψιν.

94 XXI. τούτοις δ' νομοθέτης φησὶ δίδοσθαι "πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς, ὡς οὐκ ἀκοδόμησαν, οἰκίας πλήρεις τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ὡς [287] οὐκ ἐνέπλησαν, λάκκους λελατομημένους, ὡς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησαν, ἀμπελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, ὡς οὐκ ἐφύτευσαν." πόλεις μὲν οὖν καὶ οἰκίας συμβολικῶς τὰς τε γενικὰς καὶ τὰς εἰδικὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπογράφει·

¹ mss. ἰδίου.
is a common experience that things befall us of which we have not even dreamed, like the story of the husbandman who, digging his orchard to plant some fruit-trees, lighted on a treasure, and thus met with prosperity beyond his hopes. Thus the Practiser, when his father asked him in this manner of the source of his knowledge, "What is this that thou hast found so quickly, my son?" answered and said, "It is what the Lord God delivered before me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). For when God delivers to us the lore of His eternal wisdom without our toil or labour we find in it suddenly and unexpectedly a treasure of perfect happiness. It often happens that those who seek with toil fail to find the object of their search, while others without thought and with the utmost ease find what had never crossed their minds. The slow-souled dullards, like men who have lost their eyesight, labour fruitlessly in the study of any branch of knowledge, while to others richly blessed by nature it comes unsought in myriad forms; theirs is a ready and unfailing grasp; it seems as though they trouble not to come in contact with the objects of their study, rather that these are impelled to take the lead and hurry to present themselves before the student's vision, and create in him the unerring apprehension which they have to give.

XXI. It is to these men that are given, in the law-giver's words, "cities great and beautiful which they built not, houses full of good things which they did not fill, pits hewn out which they did not hew, vineyards and olive-gardens which they did not plant" (Deut. vi. 10, 11). Under the symbol of cities and houses he speaks of the generic and specific virtues.

* Or "the father of his knowledge." See App. p. 487.
πόλει μὲν γὰρ ἐσκετο τὸ γένος, ὅτι κἂν μεῖζοσιν ἔξετάζεται περιγραφὰς καὶ πλειώνων κοινῶν ἔστων, εἶδος δὲ οὐκιά τῷ συνήχθαι τε μᾶλλον καί πεφευγέναι τὴν κοινότητα. προητομασμένοι δὲ λάκκοι τὰ χωρίς τῶν πόνων τούτων πρόχειρα ἄθλα, οὐρανίων καὶ ποτίμων δεξαμενά ταμάτων, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν προειρημένων ἀρέτῶν εὑτρεπεῖς θησαυροὶ, ἐξ ὅν εὐφροσύνη περιγίνεται ψυχῆ τελεία φῶς τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστράπτουσα. τοὺς μὲν οὐν ἀμπελῶνας εὐφροσύνης, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαιῶνας φωτὸς πεποίηται σύμβολον.

εὐδαίμονες μὲν οὖν οὕτω, παραπλησιόν τι πάσχοντες τοῖς ἐκ βαθεός ὑπνοῦ διανισταμένοι καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξαιφνηταν ἀπόνως καὶ χωρίς πραγματείας ὄρωσι, ἂθλιοι δὲ οἷς πρὸς ἅ μὴ πεφύκασιν αὐτῶν συμβαίνει, ἂριστο, ἀργαλεωτάτη νόσω, ἐπαφόμενοι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῦ τέλους ἀποτυγχάνειν ἐτί μετ’ οὗ μικρὰς ἀξίνης μεγάλην αἰσχύνὴν ὑπομένουσι, ὥσπερ αἱ πρὸς ἐναντία πνεύματα νῆαι ἐνθαλαττεύουσαί πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ τυγχάνειν ὑποδρόμων ἐφ’ οὕς ἐπείγοντας, πολλάκις αὐτῶις πλωτῆραι καὶ φορτίοις ανατραπείσαι λύπην μὲν φίλοις, ἣδονην δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐμπαρέσχοι.

XXII. λέγει οὖν ὁ νόμος, ὅτι "παραβιασάμενοι τNonNull τίνες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμορραιὸς τῶν κατοικῶν ἐν τῷ ὥριμον καὶ ἐτίτρωσεν αὐτούς, ὅσον μὲν συνήκτησαν αἰς καὶ μέλισσαι, καὶ καὶ εἰδίωξεν αὐτούς ἀπὸ Σηείρ ἐνω 'Ερμᾶ," ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀφυβός ἐχοντας πρὸς τὰς τῶν

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1 MSS. ἐτέροις.

a For the symbolism of oil = light cf. Quod Det. 118.

b See App. p. 487.

c E.V. "were presumptuous." The LXX may have in-
For the genus resembles the city, because its limits are marked out by wider circuits and it embraces a larger number. The species on the other hand resembles the house, because it is more concentrated and avoids the idea of community. The pits which they find provided are the prizes ready to be won without toil, cisterns of waters heavenly and sweet to drink, treasure-cells fitly prepared to guard the afore-mentioned virtues, from which is secured to the soul perfect gladness shedding with its beams the light of truth. And for that gladness and light he gives us a symbol in the vineyards for the former, in the olive-gardens for the latter. Happy then are these, and their case is as the state of those who waken from deep sleep, and suddenly without toil or active effort open their eyes upon the world. Miserable are those whose lot it is to compete earnestly for ends for which they were not born, urged on by the grievous poison of contentiousness. Not only do they fail to gain their end, but they incur great shame and no small damage to boot. They are like ships ploughing the seas in the face of contrary winds; for not only do they fail to reach the roadsteads to which they press, but often they capsize, vessel, crew and cargo, and are a source of grief to their friends and joy to their foes. XXII. So the law says that “some went up with violence into the mountain, and the Amorite who dwelt in that mountain came out and wounded them, as bees might do, and chased them from Seir to Hormah” (Deut. i. 43, 44). For it must needs be that if those, who have no aptness for the acquisition of tended the same by παρα-. But Philo’s argument turns entirely on “force” or “violence.”
τεχνῶν ἀναλήψεις, εἰ τι βιαζόμενοι πονοῖντο περὶ αὐτῶς, μὴ μόνον σφάλλεσθαι τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τῶν δεόντων ἀσυγκαταθέτω γνώμη πράπτοντας <μὴ> ἑθελουσίως βιαζόμενοι δὲ τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκούσιον μὴ κατ-ορθοῦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ συνειδότος τιτρώσκεσθαι τε καὶ διώκεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς τὰς ὀλυγοχρημάτους παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντας ἐπὶ θήρα στερήσεως μειζόνων εἴποις ἄν πίστει διαφέρειν <τῶν>⁵ οἱ καὶ ὦτε ἀπέδοσαν πολλὰ τὴν ἐμφυτον ἀποδιδέον ἐβιάσαντο, ύψος μὴ πάντοτε παύσαιντο⁶ κατακεν-101 τούμενον; θεραπεύειν δὲ ὄσοι τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ νόθον ἐπετῆδευσαν, ὦσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἱεροπρεπεστάτης⁷ ἀχρι τοῦ μόνου ἐπιδείξαθαι τοῖς συνεληλυθούσι θεαταῖς προαίρεσιν ἐνδύντες βίου, βωμολοχίαν πρὸ εὐσέβειας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες, οὐχ αὐτοὺς ὦσπερ ἐπὶ προχοῦ κατατείνουσι καὶ τούμενοι; βασανίζοντες ἐπιμορφάζοντες, ἐπισκιασθέντες διά τῶν δεισιδαιμονίας συμβόλων, ἡ κόλασις⁸ μὲν ἐστὶν ὀσιότητος, μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τοῖς εχουσί καὶ τοῖς συνιούσι ζημία, εἰτ’ ἀδικεῖ ἀπαμφισάμενοι τὰ περιάπτα γυμνῆν ἐπιδείκνυμι τῇ ὑπόκρισιν καὶ τότε ὦσπερ οἱ ξενίας ἁλόντες νοθεύονται τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλεων ἀρετῇ μηδὲν προσήκοντας ἐαυτοὺς παρεγγράμματες.

1 τῶν ins. Tr. See App. p. 488.
2 Some mss. παύσοιντο. The opt. in either tense may be explained as oratio obliqua dependent on εἰποῖς. But παύσονται which Wend. conjectures would be more usual.
3 So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἱεροπρεπεστάτης.
4 mss. κόλασις: conj. Cohn and Wend. κόλουσις, i.e. mutilation.
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the arts, use force or compel themselves to labour at them, they not only fail in their purpose, but also incur disgrace. Those, too, who perform any other right action without the assent of their judgement or will, but by doing violence to their inclination, do not achieve righteousness,” but are wounded and chased by their inward feelings. Would you say

there was any difference in the matter of honesty between those who repay an insignificant deposit in the hope of securing an opportunity to defraud on a larger scale, and those who actually make a large repayment but in doing so have to do violence to their natural inclination to dishonesty, which never ceases to prick them with the stings of regret? What of those who render an insincere worship to the only wise God, those who as on a stage assume a highly sanctified creed and profession of life, which does no more than make an exhibition to the assembled spectators? Are not these men, whose souls are filled with ribaldry rather than piety, racking and torturing themselves as on the wheel, compelling themselves to counterfeit what they have never felt? And therefore, though for a short time they are disguised by the insignia of superstition, which is a hindrance to holiness, and a source of much harm both to those who are under its sway and those who find themselves in such company, yet in course of time the wrappings are cast aside and their hypocrisy is seen in its nakedness. And then, like convicted aliens, they are marked as bastard citizens, having falsely inscribed their names in the burgess-roll of that greatest of commonwealths, virtue, to which they had no claim. For

* See App. p. 487.
PHILO

tὸ γὰρ βίαιον ὀλυγοχρόνιον, ὡς καὶ αυτὸ ποὺ δῆλοι τοῦνομα παρὰ τὸ βαιὸν εἰρημένον, βαιὸν δὲ τὸ ὀλυγοχρόνιον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ.

104 XXIII. Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ "Νῦν εὖρε χάριν παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ," διαπορητέον. ἄρ’ οὖν τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ δηλούμενον, ὅτι χάριτος ἐτυχεῖν, ἢ ὅτι χάριτος ἀξίως ἐνομίσθη; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρότερον οὐκ εἰκός ὑπονοεῖν τί γὰρ αὐτῷ πλέον δεδώρηται πάντων, ὥς ἔτοι εἰπεῖν, ὅσα οὐ συγκέκριται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στοιχειώδεις ἀπλαὶ φύσεις εἰσὶ, χάριτος

105 ἡξιωμένων θείας; τὸ δὲ υπερῆς ἔχει μὲν των οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον λόγον, κρίνοντος τοῦ αἰτίου δωρεῶν ἀξίως τοὺς τὸ θεῖον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς νόμισμα, τὸν ἱερώτατον νοῦν, αἰσχροῖς ἔπητιδέυμασι μὴ διαφθείροντας, ἵσως δὲ οὐκ ἀληθῆ.

106 πηλίκον γὰρ των εἰκός γενέσθαι τὸν ἄξιον χάριτος κριθησόμενον παρὰ θεῷ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι μόλις ἵνα καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦτου λαχεῖν· καίτοι τὸ γε πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ τελεωτατον τῶν θείων ἔργων ἐστιν οὕτως. μὴποτ’ οὖν ἁμείνον ἄς ἐκεῖ ἐκδύσασθαι τοῦτο, ὅτι ζητητικὸς καὶ πολυμαθὴς γενόμενος ὁ ἀστεῖος ἐν οἷς ἀπασὶν ἐξήτησε τοῦθ’ εὑρέν ἀληθεστάτον, χάριν ὡντα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, γῆν, ὕδωρ, άέρα, πῦρ, ἂλιον, ἀστέρας, οὐρανόν, ζών καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα. κεκάρισται δὲ ὁ θεός αὐτῷ μὲν οὐδὲν—οὐδὲ γὰρ δεῖται—, κόσμον δὲ κόσμω καὶ τὰ μέρη ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλληλοις, ἔτι δὲ τῷ παντί. οὐδὲν δὲ κρίνας ἀξίων χάριτος ἀφθονα καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι δεδώρηται τὰ ἀγαθά, ἀλλ’ ἀπιδών εἰς τὴν ἀίδιον

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violence is short-lived, as the very name (βίαιον) seems to shew, since it is derived from βιαίος; for that was the word used in old times for short-lived.

XXIII. But we must deal fully with the difficulty in the words “Noah found grace with the Lord God.” Is the meaning that he obtained grace or that he was thought worthy of grace? The former is not a reasonable supposition. For in that case what more was given to him than to practically all creatures, not only those who are compounded of body and soul, but also simple elementary natures, all accepted as recipients of divine grace?

The second explanation is founded on a not unreasonable idea, that the Cause judges those worthy of His gifts, who do not deface with base practices the coin within them which bears the stamp of God, even the sacred mind. And yet perhaps that explanation is not the true one. For how great must we suppose him to be, who shall be judged worthy of grace with God? Hardly, I think, could the whole world attain to this, and yet the world is the first and the greatest and the most perfect of God’s works.

Perhaps then it would be better to accept this explanation, that the man of worth, being zealous in inquiring and eager to learn, in all his inquiries found this to be the highest truth, that all things are the grace or gift of God—earth, water, air, fire, sun, stars, heaven, all plants and animals. But God has bestowed no gift of grace on Himself, for He does not need it, but He has given the world to the world, and its parts to themselves and to each other, aye and to the All. But He has given His good things in abundance to the All and its parts, not because He judged anything worthy of grace, but looking to
ἀγαθότητα καὶ νομίσας ἐπιβάλλον τῇ μακάριᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονι φύσει ἐαυτοῦ τὸ ἐυεργετεῖν. ἰστε εἰ τίς μ’ ἑρωτο, τίς αἰτία γενέσεως κόσμου, μαθῶν παρὰ Μωυσέως ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ὅτι ἥ τοῦ ὄντος

[289] ἀγαθότης, ἢτις ἐστὶ | πρεσβυτάτη τῶν * * * χαρί-
109 τῶν οὕσα ἐαυτή.²

XXIV. παρατηρητέον δ’ ὅτι τὸν μὲν Νάε φησὶν εὐαρεστῆσαι ταῖς τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεσιν, κυρίω τε καὶ θεῶ, Μωυσῆς δὲ τῷ δορυφορουμένῳ πρὸς τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ δίχα αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον νουμένως· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προ-
σώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ’’ἐὕρηκας χάριν παρ’ ἐμο,’’ ἰδεχνύντος² εαυτὸν τὸν ἀνευ παντὸς ἑτέρον. οὗτως ἀρα τὴν μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν ἀκραν σοφίαν ἀξιοῖ χάριτος δ’ ὅ ὁ λο αὐτὸς δὲ ἐαυτοῦ μόνου, τὴν δὲ ἀπεικονισθεῖσαν ἐκ ταύτης δευτέρας καὶ εἰδι-
kωτέρας οὕσαν διὰ τῶν υπηκόων δυνάμεων, καθ’ ἀς καὶ κύριος καὶ θεός, ἀρχῶν τε καὶ εὐεργέτης
111 ἐστὶν. ἐτερος δὲ τις φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς πραθεὶς τῇ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ τοῦ συγκρίματος ὡς ἔτοι ἡδονὴ καὶ ἀξιοῖ χάριτος τα ἀρρενα καὶ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη πάντα, στάνει κεχρημένοις καλῶν ἑπιτηδευμάτων, ἀκοὴν παραδέξασθαι θείαν ἄδυνατῶν, ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπεσχουσυμένον εν ἡ [σύλλογοι καὶ]³ λόγοι περὶ ἀρετῆς αἰει μελετῶνται, εἰς μὲν τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῶν

¹ Wend. suggests for the correction of this passage πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θεοῦ δυνάμεων, τῶν χαρίτων οὕσα πηγή. The translator suggests and has rendered πρεσβυτάτη τῶν χαρίτων, πηγῆ στυλλογοι καὶ λόγοι περὶ ἀρετῆς αἰει μελετῶνται, εἰς μὲν τὸ δεσμωτήριον τῶν

² MSS. δεικνύσι, which Cohn would retain, and correct λέγεται to λέγει and ἐαυτόν to αὐτόν.
THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 108–111

His eternal goodness, and thinking that to be beneficent was incumbent on His blessed and happy nature. So that if anyone should ask me what was the motive for the creation of the world, I will answer what Moses has taught, that it was the goodness of the Existent, that goodness which is the oldest of His bounties and itself the source of others.

XXIV. But we must observe that he says that Noah was well pleasing to the Potencies of the Existent, to the Lord and to God (Gen. vi. 8), but Moses to Him who is attended by the Potencies, and without them is only conceived of as pure being. For it is said with God as speaker, "thou hast found grace with Me" (Exod. xxxiii. 17), in which words He shews Himself as Him who has none other with Him. Thus, then, through His own agency alone does He who is judge the supreme wisdom shewn in Moses to be worthy of grace, but the wisdom which was but a copy of that, the wisdom which is secondary and of the nature of species, He judges as worthy through His subject Potencies, which present Him to us as Lord and God, Ruler and Benefactor.

But there is a different mind which loves the body and the passions and has been sold in slavery to that chief cateress (Gen. xxxix. 1) of our compound nature, Pleasure. Eunuch-like it has been deprived of all the male and productive organs of the soul, and lives in indigence of noble practices, unable to receive the divine message, debarred from the holy congregation (Deut. xxiii. 1) in which the talk and study is always of virtue. When this mind is cast

\footnote{See App. p. 488.}

\footnote{See App. p. 488.}
παθών εἰσάγεται, χάριν δὲ εὐρίσκει τὴν ἀτιμίας

112 ἀδοξοτέραν παρὰ τῶ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι. δεσμώται
μὲν γὰρ κυρίως εἰσὶν οὐχ οὐς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
καταδικασθέντας ὑπὸ κλήρῳ ἀρχόντων ἢ καὶ χειρο-
τονηθέντων δικαστῶν ἀπάγουσι τινες εἰς ἀποδεδειγ-
μένον χῶρον κακοῦργων, ἀλλ' ὅν ἡ φύσις κατ-
edίκασε ψυχῆς τρόπων, οὕτως ἀφροσύνης <καὶ> ἀκολασίας καὶ δείλιας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας

113 καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων κηρῶν γέμουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ-
τροπος καὶ φύλαξ καὶ ταμίας τούτων, ὁ ἡγεμῶν
τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, σύστημα καὶ συμφόρημα κακῶν ἀθρόων καὶ ποικίλων εἰς ἐν εἰδος συνυφασμένων ἐστὶν, ὃ τὸ εὐαρεστήσασθαι μεγίστη ζημία. ἢν οὐχ ὀρῶντες ἐνιοί, ἀπατώμενοι δὲ περὶ τὸ βλάπτων ὡς ὑφελοῦν, προσίασί τε αὐτῶ μάλα γεγηθότες καὶ δορυφορόσων, ἵνα ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ διάδοχοι φυλακῆς ἀμαρτημάτων ἀκουσίων καὶ ἐκουσίων πιστοὶ

114 κριθέντες γένωνται. ἀλλὰ σὺ γε, ὃ ψυχή, τὴν
dεσποτείαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ταύτην ἀργαλεωτέραν
tῆς ἐπαχθοῦς δουλείας νομίσασα, μάλιστα μὲν ἀδέσμω καὶ λελυμένη καὶ ἔλευθερα χρήσαι προ-

115 αἰρέσει τοῦ βίου. ἄν δ' ἄρα ἀγκιστρευθῆς ὑπὸ πάθους, δεσμώτις μᾶλλον ἢ εἰρκτοφύλαξ ὑπό-
μεινον γενέσθαι· κακωθείσα μὲν γὰρ καὶ στενάξασα

[290] ἐλεον εὐρήσεις, | σπουδαρχίας δὲ καὶ λιμοδοξίας
ὑποβαλοῦσα σαυτὴν ἡδ' κακῶν τὸ εἰρκτοφυλακεῖν
καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδέξῃ, ὑφ' οὗ γενήση πάντα

116 ἀγώγιμος τὸν αἰῶνα ΧΧV. τὰς μὲν οὖν παρὰ
into the prison of the passions, it finds in the eyes of
the chief jailer a favour and grace, which is more
inglorious than dishonour. For, in the true sense of
the word, prisoners are not those who after con­
demnation by magistrates chosen by lot, or it may
be elected jurymen, are haled to the appointed place
of malefactors, but those whose character of soul is
condemned by nature, as full to the brim of folly and
incontinence and cowardice, and injustice and im­
piety and other innumerable plagues. Now the over­
seer and warder and manager of them, the governor
of the prison, is the concentration and congeries of
all vices multitudinous and manifold, woven together
into a single form, and to be pleasing to him is to
suffer the greatest of penalties. But some do not
see the nature of this penalty, but, being deluded
into counting the harmful as beneficial, become right
joyfully his courtiers and satellites, in the hope that
having judged them to be faithful he may make
them his subalterns and lieutenants to keep guard
over the sins which are committed with the will or
without it. My soul, hold such a mastery and cap­
taincy to be a lot more cruel than that slavery,
heavy though it be. Follow indeed, if thou canst, a
life-purpose which is unchained and liberated and
free. But, if it be that thou art snared by the hook
of passion, endure rather to become a prisoner than
a prison-keeper. For through suffering and groaning
thou shalt find mercy; but if thou put thyself in
subjection to the craving for office or the greed of
glory, thou shalt receive the charge of the prison, a
pleasant task indeed, but an ill one and the greatest
of ills, and its thraldom shall be over thee for ever.
XXV. Put away then with all thy might what may
τοῖς ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξιν εὐαρεστήσεις ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπόθου, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῶι διαφερόντως μετὰ σπουδῆς τῇς ἀπάσης ἐφίσεο. ἡδὲ ὅ ἀρα ἀδύνατῆς—ὑπερβάλλον γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιώματος μέγεθος—, ἦθι ἀμεταστρεπτὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτων ἱκέτης γενοῦ, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδεξάμεναι τὸ συνέχεσ καὶ γνήσιον τῆς θεραπείας ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐταῖς κατατάξωσι χώρᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Νῶε, οὗ τῶν ἐγγόνων θαυμαστότατον καὶ καυστοτατον πεποίηται τῶν κατάλογων.

117 φησὶ γάρ: "αὐταὶ αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε. Νῶε ἀνθρωπος δίκαιος, τέλειος ὃν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ· τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησε Νῶε."] τὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ συγκρίματος γεννήματα πέφυκεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ συγκρίματα: ὡσπο γὰρ ὅποις καὶ λέοντες λέοντας καὶ βόες ταύρους, ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπος

118 ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννῶσι: διανοίας δὲ ἀγαθῆς οὐ τὰ τοιαύτα οἰκεία ἐγγονά, ἀλλ' αἱ προειρημέναι ἀρεταῖ, τὸ ἀνθρωπον εἶναι, τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ τέλειον εἶναι, τὸ θεῷ εὐαρεστῆσαι· ὑπερ ἐπειδή καὶ τελεωτατὸν ἤν καὶ ὅρος τῆς ἄκρας ευδαιμονίας,

119 ἐφ' ἀπασιν εἰρηται. γένεσις δὲ ἢ μὲν ἀγωγὴ καὶ ὅδος τις ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι—ταύτη φυτὰ τε καὶ ξώα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν—ἐτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ βελτίων γένους εἰς ἔλαττον εἶδος μεταβολή, ἢς μέμνηται ὅταν φη: "αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ γενέσεις Ἱακώβι· Ἰωσήφ δέκα ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν ἡ πουμαίνων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὰ πρόβατα, ὄν νέος, μετὰ τῶν νῦν Βαλλᾶς καὶ

* Or (1) the honour which you seek; (2) such a purpose or ambition.
make thee well pleasing to the rulers of the prison, but desire exceedingly and with all zeal what may make thee pleasing to the Cause. But if so be that this is beyond thy powers—so vast is the greatness of His dignity—a—set thy face and betake thee to His Potencies and make thyself their suppliant, till they accept the constancy and fidelity of thy service, and appoint thee to take thy place amongst those in whom they are well pleased, even as they appointed Noah; of whose descendants Moses has given a genealogy of a truly strange and novel sort. For he says, "these are the generations of Noah. 117 Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, Noah was well pleasing to God" (Gen. vi. 9). The offspring indeed of creatures compounded of soul and body, must also themselves be compound; horses necessarily beget horses, lions beget lions, bulls beget bulls, and so too with men. Not such are the offspring proper to a good mind; but they are the virtues mentioned in the text, the fact that he was a man, that he was just, that he was perfect, that he was well pleasing to God. And this last as being the consummation of these virtues, and the definition of supreme happiness, is put at the end of them all.

Now one form of generation is the process by which things are drawn and journey so to speak from non-existence to existence, and this process is that which is always necessarily followed by plants and animals. But there is also another which consists in the change from the higher genus to the lower species, and this it is which Moses had in mind when he says, "But these are the generations of Jacob. Joseph was seventeen years old, keeping sheep with his brethren, being still young, with the
μετά τῶν νεών Ζελφᾶς τῶν γυναικῶν πατρός 120 αὐτοῦ·" ὅταν γὰρ ὁ ἀσκητικὸς καὶ φιλομαθὴς οὗτος λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν θειοτέρων ἐννοημάτων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ θυντὰς δόξας καταβιβασθῆ, ὁ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ χορευτῆς Ἰωσήφ εὐθὺς ἀπογεννᾶται, νέος ὃν ἔτι, κἂν μήκει χρόνου πολίδος γένηται, πρεσβυτέρας οὔτε γνώμης οὔτε ἁκοῆς εἰσάπαν ἐπισθημένοις, ἢν οἱ Μωσεῖος διασώταται κατασταθέντες κτῆμα καὶ ἀπόλαυσμα ὠφελιμώτατον ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὑραντο. διὰ τοῦτο μοι δοκεῖ τὸν τύπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἰδέαν ἐκδηλοτέραν ἐγγράφαι ποιμαίνοντα εἰσάγει μετὰ γνησίον μὲν οὐδένος, μετὰ δὲ τῶν νόθων ἄδελφῶν, οἳ παλλακίδων οἴντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος γένους, τοῦ πρὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος, τοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρῶν, χρηματίζουσιν υἱοὶ γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν Ηλλὰς καὶ Ζελφᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰσραήλ τοῦ πατρὸς νυνὶ καλοῦνται.

121 XXVI. Ζητήσαι δ' ἂν τὶς προσηκόντως, τίνος ἔνεκα μετὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἄρεταῖς τοῦ Νώε τελείωσιν εὕθως εἰρηται, ὅτι "ἐφθάρη ἡ γῆ ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἀδικίας." ἀλλ' ἦσως οἳ χαλεπὸν λύσεως εὐπορήσαι τῷ μὴ σφόδρα παιδείας ἀπείρῳ. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸ ἀφθαρτὸν εἴδος ἀνατείλη, τὸ θυτὸν εὐθέως φθειρεῖ: γένεσις γὰρ τῶν καλῶν θάνατος αἰσχρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐστὶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ φωτὸς ἐπιλάμψαντος
sons of Bilhah and with the sons of Zelpah, his father's wives” (Gen. xxxvii. 2). For when this reason, once so diligent of practice and filled with love of learning, is brought down from diviner concepts to human and mortal opinions, then at once Joseph is born, Joseph who follows in the train of the body and bodily things. He is still young, even though length of years may have made him grey-headed; for never have there come to his knowledge the thoughts or lessons of riper age, which those who are ranked as members of the company of Moses have learnt, and found in them a treasure and a joy most profitable to themselves and to those who hold converse with them. It is for this reason, I think, because he wished to portray Joseph's image and the exact form of his character in a clearer way, that Moses represents him as keeping sheep, not with any true-born brother, but with the base-born, the sons of the concubines, who are designated by the lower parentage, which is traced to the women, and not by the higher, which is traced to the men. For they are in this instance called the sons of the women Bilhah and Zilpah but not the sons of their father Israel.

XXVI. We may properly ask, why directly after the recital of Noah's perfection in virtues, we are told that "the earth was corrupt before the Lord and filled with iniquity" (Gen. vi. 11). And yet perhaps save for one who is especially uninstructed it is not difficult to obtain a solution. We should say then that when the incorruptible element takes its rise in the soul, the mortal is forthwith corrupted. For the birth of noble practices is the death of the base, for when the light shines, the darkness dis-
αφανίζεται τὸ σκότος.

διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς λέπρας ἀκριβέστατα διείρηται, ὅτι "εὰν ἀνατείλῃ χρῶς ζῶν ἐν τῷ λεπρῷ, μιαν-

τὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσεπισφίγγων αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὥσπερ ἐναποσημαινόμενος ἐπιφέρει "καὶ μιανὲ ὁ χρῶς ὁ υγιής," ἀντιταττόμενος τῷ εἰκότι καὶ συνήθει· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τὰ νοσοῦντα φθορᾶς τῶν ἡγιασμένων καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ζώντων, οὐκ ἔμπαιλιν τὰ ἐγιανυόντα καὶ ζώντα

125 τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ σωτηρία νομίζουσι. καινό-
tatos δ' ἐν ἀπασι τὴν σοφίαν ὁ νομοθέτης ὤν καὶ τοῦτο ἵδιον εἰσηγήσατο, ἡ ὑπόθεσιν ὃτι τὰ ἡγια-

νόντα καὶ ζώντα τὸ μὴ καθαρεύωνος μιασμάτων αὐτία γίνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἐγιανυόν καὶ ζῶν ἐν ψυχῇ χρῶμα ὡς ἀληθῶς φαινόμενον ἐπ' αὐτής ἐλεγχός

126 ἔστων. οὕτως ὅταν ἀνάσχη, κατάλογον ποιεῖται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῆς ἀπάντων, καὶ ονειδίζων καὶ δυσωπών καὶ ἐπιπλήττων μόλις παύεται· ἢ δ' ἐλεγχομένη γνωρίζει τὰ καθ' ἐκαστά, ὃν παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐπετήδευε, καὶ τότε ἀφρονα καὶ ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀδικον καὶ πλήρη μιασμάτων ἐαυτὴν

127 καταλαμβάνει.

XXVII. διὸ καὶ παρα-

dοξότατον νόμον ἀναγράφει, ἐν ὃ τὸν μὲν ἐκ μέρους ὄντα λεπρῶν ἀκάθαρτον, τὸν δὲ ὅλον δι' ὅλων ἀπὸ ἄκρων ποδῶν ἄχρι κεφαλῆς ἔσχάτης κατεσχημένον τῇ λέπρᾳ καθαρὸν φησίν εἶναι,

a E.V. “raw flesh”; χρῶς can mean either “flesh” or “colour.” The LXX no doubt meant the former. Philo, who in § 125 equates it with χρῶμα, took it as the latter.

b Variousely translated as “Convictor,” “Testing Power,” “Challenger.” It is almost equivalent to “Conscience”; compare the description in Quod Det. 23. Compare also 72
appears. And therefore in the law of leprosy it is most carefully laid down, that if a living colour arise in the leper, he shall be defiled (Lev. xiii. 14, 15). And by way of clinching this and so to speak setting a seal upon it, he adds “and the healthy colour will defile him.” This is quite opposed to the natural and ordinary view. For all men hold that things healthy are corrupted by things diseased, and living things by dead things, but they do not hold the converse, that the healthy and living corrupt their opposites, but rather that they save and preserve them. But the lawgiver, original as ever in his wisdom, has here laid down something distinctly his own. He teaches us that it is the healthy and living which produce the condition which is tainted with pollution. For the healthy and living colour in the soul, when it makes a genuine appearance upon it, is Conviction. When this Conviction comes to the surface it makes a record of all the soul’s transgressions, and rebukes and reproaches and calls shame upon it almost without ceasing. And the soul thus convicted sees in their true light its practices each and all, which were contrary to right reason, and then perceives that it is foolish and intemperate and unjust and infected with pollution.

XXVII. For the same reason Moses enacts a law, which is indeed a paradox, whereby he declares that the leper who is partially a leper is unclean, but that when the leprosy has taken hold of him throughout, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, he is clean (Lev. xiii. 11-13). One would the functions of the Paraclete in John xvi. 8, where the R.V. gives for ελέγχει “convict,” in the place of the “reprove” of the A.V.
τάχα ἂν τινὸς τὸ ἑναντίον, ὅπερ εὐλογὸν ἦν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἰκάσαντος, τὴν μὲν ἐσταλμένην καὶ περὶ τι βραχὺ τοῦ σώματος λέπραν ἦττον ἄκαθαρτον, τὴν δὲ κεχυμένην, ὡς ἂπαν περιλαβεῖν αὐτὸ, μᾶλλον. 128 δηλοὶ δ', ὥς ἐμοιγε φανεται, διὰ συμβόλων τούτων ἀληθέστατον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἀδικημάτων κἂν ἐπιμήκιστα ὄντα ἀνυπαίτια καὶ καθαρά, τὸ συνειδὸς βαρὺν κατήγορον ὅν ἔχοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐκούσια, κἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀναχένται πρὸς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐλεγχόμενα δικαστῷ, ἀνέρα [292] καὶ μιαρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα | δοκιμάζεται.

129 ἡ μὲν οὖν δυνῆς καὶ δύο ἐξανθοῦσα χρώματα λέπρα τὴν ἐκούσιον ἐμφαίνει κακίαν· ἐξούσια γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ ἐκούσιον καὶ ὀρθὸν ἐν ἑαυτῇ λόγον τῷ μὲν οὐ χρήται ὡς κυβερνήτη πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν σωτηρίαν, ἐκδοῦσα δ' αὐτὴν τοὺς ναυτιλίας ἀπείρους ὅλον τὸ τοῦ βίου δὴ σκάφος ἐν εὐδίαις καὶ γαλήνης δυνάμενον σώζεσθαι περιέτρεψεν. 130 ἡ δ' εἰς ἐν εἴδος λευκῶν μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν ἀκούσιον διασυνιστησε τροπὴν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ λογίζεσθαι ὁ νοῦς ἐκτιμηθεῖσα ὅλον δι' ὅλων, μὴ ἓνδοντο ὅπλων τῶν εἰς τὸ συνεῖναι σπέρματος ὑπολειφθέντος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἀχλίῳ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ μηδὲν ὃ ὅ ὁ ὑπάντηκαν πρὸς τῶν πρακτέων, ἀλλ' οὐ κυβερνᾶται ἀπορροήτως πᾶσιν ἐμπνεύσεις διόδος καὶ πτώματα ἐπάλληλα καὶ ἀκούσια ὑπομένῃ. 131 ἡ δ' εἰς ἐν εἴδος λευκῶν μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν ἀκούσιον διασυνιστησε τροπὴν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ λογίζεσθαι ὁ νοῦς ἐκτιμηθεῖσα ὅλον δι' ὅλων, μὴ ἓνδον ὅπλων τῶν εἰς τὸ συνεῖναι σπέρματος ὑπολειφθέντος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἀχλίῳ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ μηδὲν ὃ ὅ ὁ ὑπάντηκαν πρὸς τῶν πρακτέων, ἀλλ' οὐ κυβερνᾶται ἀπορροήτως πᾶσιν ἐμπνεύσεις διόδος καὶ πτώματα ἐπάλληλα καὶ ἀκούσια ὑπομένῃ. XXVIII. τούτῳ ὁμοίον ἐστι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας διάταγμα, ἐν ἡ γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει λέπραν πολλάκις· φησι γὰρ ὅτι "ἐὰν γένηται ὁφή λέπρας ἐν οἰκία, ἀφίζεται ὁ κεκτημένος καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ ἱερεῖ λέγων· ὥσ-

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a See App. p. 489.  
b Or “symptom.”
probably have conjectured the opposite, as indeed it would be reasonable to suppose that leprosy, if limited and confined to a small part of the body, is less unclean, but if diffused, so as to embrace all the body, is more unclean. But he is shewing, I think, through these symbols (and a very true lesson it is), that such wrongdoings as are involuntary, however wide their extent, are pure and devoid of guilt, for they have no stern accuser in conscience, but voluntary sins, even though the space they cover be not large, are convicted by the judge within the soul and thus are proved to be unholy and foul and impure. Thus then the leprosy, which is twy-natured and flowers into two colours, shews voluntary wickedness. For the soul has within it the healthy, lively upright reason, and yet it does not use it as its pilot to guide it to the safety which things noble give, but abandons itself to those who have no skill of seamanship, and thus swamps utterly the bark of life which might have reached its bourn safely in calm and fair weather. But the leprosy which changes into a single white appearance, represents involuntary error, when the mind is throughout reft of reasoning power, and not a germ is left of what might grow into understanding, and thus, as men in a mist and profound darkness, it sees nothing of what it should do, but, like a blind man tripping over every obstacle since he cannot see before him, it is subject to constant slips and repeated falls in which the will has no part. XXVIII. Similar again is the enactment about the house in which leprosy is a frequent occurrence. For the law says that "if there is an infection of leprosy in a house, the owner shall come and report it to the priest
περ ἄφη λέπρας ἐώραται μου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ". εἶτα ἐπιφέρει: "καὶ προστάξει ὁ ἱερεύς ἀποσκευάσαι τὴν οἰκίαν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθόντα τὸν ἱερέα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἱδεῖν, καὶ οὐ γενήσεται ἀκάθαρτα ὅσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεται ὁ ἱερεύς

132 καταμαθεῖν." οὐκοῦν πρὶν μὲν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, καθαρὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἐν εἰσ-έλθῃ, πάντα ἀκάθαρτα· καίτοι τούναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀνδρὸς κεκαθαρμένου καὶ τελείου, δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων εὐχὰς ἀγιοτείας ἱερουργίας ἐώθε ποιεῖ-σθαι, παρελθόντος εἰσώ βελτιώσθαι τὰ ἐνδον1 καὶ εὖ ἀκαθάρτων καθαρὰ γίνεσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένει χώρας, τρέπεται δὲ πρὸς μερίδα τὴν χείρω κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως.

133 ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν εἰ συνάδει τῇ ρήτῃ καὶ προχείρῳ διατάξει, σκέφτονται οἷς ἔθος καὶ φίλου-ήμων δὲ ἀντικρος λεκτέον, ὅτι συνωδῶν οὔτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ, ὡς τὸ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ ἱερέως τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν μιαίνεσθαι. ἦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν καθάπερ τινα ἐστίναν οὐκ ἀφίκται, πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ έργα ἀνυπαίτια· ὁ γὰρ ἐπίτροπος ἢ πατήρ ἢ διδάσκαλος ἢ τι ποτὲ χρῆ καλεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, ὃς' οὐ νουθετηθῆναι καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι μόνον δυνατόν, μακρὰν ἀφέστηκε. συγγνώμη δὲ τοῖς δ' ἀμαθίαν ἄπειρα τῶν πρακτέων ἀμαρτάνοντι οὐδὲ γὰρ ὃς ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται κατάληψιν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κατορθοῦν ἐν

1 mss. ὑπτα.
with the words 'what seems an infection of leprosy has appeared in my house,' and then it adds 'and the priest shall command that they empty the house, before the priest enters the house and sees it, and whatsoever is in the house shall not become unclean, and after that the priest shall go in to observe it' (Lev. xiv. 34-36). So then before the priest goes in, the things in the house are clean, but after he has gone in they are all unclean. And yet we should have expected just the opposite, that when a man who has been purified and fully consecrated, who is wont to offer prayers and litanies and sacrifices for all men, has come within the house, its contents should thereby be bettered and pass from impurity into purity. But here we find that they do not even remain in the same position as before, but actually shift into the inferior region at the entrance of the priest.

Now whether in the plain and literal sense of the ordinance these things are consistent with each other is a matter for those who are used to such questions and find pleasure in them. But we must say positively that no two things can be more consistent with each other than that, when the priest has entered, the belongings of the house are defiled. For so long as the divine reason has not come into our soul, as to some dwelling-place, all its works are free from guilt, since the priest who is its guardian or father or teacher—or whatever name is fitting for him—the priest, who alone can admonish and bring it to wisdom, is far away. There is pardon for those whose sin is due to ignorance, because they have no experience to tell them what they should do. For they do not even conceive of their deeds as sins, nay often they think that their most grievous
135 οἷς πταίουσι μεγάλα νομίζουσιν. ὅταν δὲ εἰσέλθη ὁ ἱερεὺς ὄντως ἐλεγχὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς ὦσπερ φωτὸς τις αὐγὴ | καθαρωτάτη, τηνικαύτα γνωρίζομεν τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἡμῶν οὐκ εὐαγή τῇ ψυχῇ βουλεύματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιλήπτους καὶ ὑπαιτίους πράξεις, αἷς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐνεχειροῦμεν. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαντά ὁ ἱερωμένος ἐλεγχός μιᾶς, ἀποσκευασθῆναι καὶ ἀπουσιληθῆναι κελεύει, ὅπως αὐτὴν καθαρὰν ἱδη τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οἴκιαν καὶ, εἰ τινὲς ἐν αὐτῇ νόσοι γεγόνασιν, ἰάσηται.

136 XXIX. μεμίμηται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις ἐντυγχάνουσα τῷ προφήτῃ γυνὴ <χήρα>· χήρα δ' ἐστίν, οὐχ ἦν φαμεν ἡμεῖς, όταν ἄνδρος ἐρήμη γένηται, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρεεύειν τῶν φθειρόντων καὶ λυμαινομένων παθῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὦσπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μωυσῆν Θάμαρ· καὶ γὰρ ταὐτῇ προστέτακται χηρευούσῃ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ μόνου καὶ σωτήρος οἰκω πατρός, δι' ὅν <εἰς> ἀεὶ καταλυοῦσα τὰς τῶν θυντῶν συνουσίας καὶ ὀμιλία ἤρημωται μὲν καὶ κεχήρευθε αἱρητῶν ἱδονῶν, παραδέχεται δὲ θείαν γονὴν καὶ πληρουμένη τῶν ἀρετῆς σπερμάτων κυοφορεῖ καὶ ὤδίνει καλὰς πράξεις: ἡς όταν ἀποτέκη, τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων αἴρεται βραβεία καὶ νικηφόρους ἀναγράφεται σύμβολον ἐπιφερομένη φοίνικα τῆς νίκῆς. Θάμαρ γὰρ ἐρμηνευεῖται φοίνιξ.

137 λέγει δὲ πρὸς τὸν προφήτην πᾶσα διάνοια χήρα καὶ ἐρήμη κακῶν μέλλουσα γίνεσθαι. "Αὖθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσῆλθες πρὸς μὲ ἀναμνῆσαι τὸ ἀδίκημα μου καὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημα μου." εἰσελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ ἐνθὸς οὗτος καὶ κατεσχημένος εξ ἐρωτοσ

* See App. p. 489.
stumblings are righteous actions. But when the true priest, Conviction, enters us, like a pure ray of light, we see in their real value the unholy thoughts that were stored within our soul, and the guilty and blameworthy actions to which we laid our hands in ignorance of our true interests. So Conviction, discharging his priest-like task, defiles all these and bids them all be cleared out and carried away, that he may see the soul’s house in its natural bare condition, and heal whatever sicknesses have arisen in it.

XXIX. We have a parallel to this in the widow in the Book of Kings who discourses with the prophet (1 Kings xvii. 10). She is a widow, not in our sense of the word, when the wife has lost her husband, but because she is widowed of the passions which corrupt and maltreat the mind, like Tamar in the books of Moses. Tamar was bidden to remain a widow in the house of her father, her one and only saviour (Gen. xxxviii. 11), for whose sake she has left for ever the intercourse and society of mortals, and remained desolate and widowed of human pleasures. Thus she receives the divine impregnation, and, being filled with the seeds of virtue, bears them in her womb and is in travail with noble actions. And when she has brought them to the birth, she wins the meed of conquest over her adversaries, and is enrolled as victor with the palm as the symbol of her victory. For Tamar is by interpretation a palm.

To return to the Book of Kings. Every mind that is on the way to be widowed and empty of evil says to the prophet, “O man of God, thou hast come in to remind me of my iniquity and my sin” (1 Kings xvii. 18). For when he, the God-inspired, has entered the soul—he who is mastered
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ολυμπίου καὶ δυνατευμένος τοῖς τῆς θεοφορήτου
μανίας ἀκατασχέτους ὥστες μυήμαν ἀδικημάτων
καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων ἄρχαιον ἐργάζεται, οὐχ ᾠν πάλιν
αὐτοῖς χρῆσηται, ἀλλ` ᾠν μέγα στενάξασα καὶ μέγα
κλαύσασα τῇ παλαιᾷ τροπῇ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνης
ἐγγονα μισήσασα ἀποστραφῇ, οἷς δ` ὑφηγεῖται ο
ἐρμηνεύς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος καὶ προφήτης ἐπηταί.

139 τοὺς γὰρ προφήτας ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον τοτὲ μὲν
ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ ὅρωντας, κύρια ὄνοματα
καὶ ἐμπρεπὴ τῷ ἐπιθειασμῷ καὶ τῇ περιαθρήσει τῶν
πραγμάτων ᾧ ἐκέχρηντο τιθέμενοι.

140 XXX. Προσηκόντως οὖν ὁ ἰερώτατος Μωυσῆς
τότε φθείρεσθαι τῇ γῇν εἶπεν, ὅτε αἱ τοῦ δικαίου
Νάω ἁρεταὶ διεφάνησαν· ᾧ δὲ ὁψι· κατεθαρ-
μένη, ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σάρξ τῇ ὅδὸν αὐτοῦ

141 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.” δόξει μὲν τυιν ἡ λέξις ἡμαρτηθαί
καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἀπταιστὸν
οὕτως ἐχεῖν· ὅτι κατέφθειρε πᾶσα σάρξ τῇ ὅδὸν αὐτοῦ

142 οὕτως· ἀναίκειον γὰρ ἐστὶ θηλυκῶ οὖν ὁμοίω,
τῇ σαρκὶ, ἁρρενικὴ ἐπιφέρεσθαι πτώσει, τῇ

143 θεοῦ ἁγιοῦσαν, ταύτην ἱσθι σοφίαν· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης
ὁ νοῦς ποδηγετούμενος εὐθείας καὶ λεωφόρου

80
by celestial yearning, stirred to his very depth by the irresistible goads of god-sent frenzy, he creates a memory of past iniquities and sins, and this not to the end that the soul should return to them, but that, with deep groaning and many tears for its old error, it should turn therefrom with loathing for all that it has engendered, and follow instead the guidance of that reason which is the interpreter and prophet of God. For the men of old days called the prophets sometimes "men of God" and sometimes "seers" (1 Sam. ix. 9). And the names they gave were names of literal truth and well suited, the former to their inspiration, the latter to the wide vision of reality which they possessed.

XXX. Thus apt indeed are these words of Moses, the holiest of men, when he tells us that the earth was being corrupted at the time when the virtues of just Noah shone forth. But he goes on, "it was destroyed because all flesh destroyed his way upon the earth" (Gen. vi. 12). Some will think that we have here a mistake in diction and that the correct phrase in grammatical sequence is as follows, "all flesh destroyed its way." For a masculine form like "his" (αὐτοῦ) cannot be properly used with reference to the feminine noun "flesh" (σάρξ). But perhaps the writer is not speaking merely of the flesh which corrupts its own way, thus giving reasonable grounds for the idea of a grammatical error, but of two things, the flesh which is being corrupted, and Another, whose way that flesh seeks to mar and corrupt. And so the passage must be explained thus, "all flesh destroyed the perfect way of the Eternal and Indestructible, the way which leads to God." This way, you must know, is wisdom. For wisdom is a straight
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ψαρχούσης ἀχρὶ τῶν τερμάτων ἀφικνεῖται· τὸ δὲ τέρμα τῆς ὁδοῦ γυνῶις ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιστήμη θεοῦ. ταύτην τὴν ἀτράπον μισεῖ καὶ προβέβληται καὶ φθείρειν ἐπιχειρεῖ πᾶσι τὰ πάσιν ἔταῖροι. οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀντίπαλον ὡς ἐπιστήμη σαρκός ἡδονῆ.¹

144 βουλομένοις γοῦν ταύτην πορεύεσθαι τῇ ὁδὸς βασιλικῆς οὕτως τοῖς τοῦ ὑμενίου γένους μετέχουσιν, ὅπερ Ἰσραήλ κέκληται, διαμάχεται ὁ γῆνος Ἐδώμ—τούτῳ γὰρ διερμηνευθεῖς ὄνομάζεται—μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς πάσης εἰρξέων ἀπελών τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀπόρευτον αὐτὴν κατασκευάσειν εἰσάπαν. XXXI.

οἱ μὲν οὐν πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις λέγουσι ταύτα· "παρελευσομέθα διὰ τῆς γῆς σου· οὐ διελευσόμεθα δι᾽ ἀγρῶν, οὐ δι᾽ ἄμπελων, οὐ πιὸν λάκκου σου· ὁδὸς βασιλικῆς πορευομέθα· οὐκ ἐκκλινῷμεν δεξιὰ οὐδὲ εὐώνυμα, ἐὼς ἄν παρέλθωμεν σου ὡς ὁ Ορος ἀποκρίνεται φάσκων· "οὐ διελεύσῃ δι᾽ ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐν πολέμῳ ἐξελευσομαι σου εἰς συνάντησιν." καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ νυμὸι Ἰσραήλ· "παρὰ τὸ ὄρος παρελευσόμεθα." ² ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ ύδατός σου πίω ἑγὼ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη, δῶσω σοι τιμήν· ἀλλὰ τὸ πράγμα οὐδὲν ἐστὶ, παρὰ τὸ ὄρος παρελευσόμεθα." ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· "οὐ διελεύσῃ δι᾽ ἐμοῦ." 

146 τῶν παλαιῶν τινα λόγος ἔχει θεασάμενον ἐσταλμένην πολυτελῆ πομπῆς πρὸς

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¹ Conj. Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιστήμη ... ἡδονη.
² mss. παρελευσῃ.
³ mss. διελευσόμεθα.

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¹ E.V. "Let me, without doing anything else, pass through
THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 143–146

high road, and it is when the mind’s course is guided along that road that it reaches the goal which is the recognition and knowledge of God. Every comrade of the flesh hates and rejects this path and seeks to corrupt it. For there are no two things so utterly opposed as knowledge and pleasure of the flesh. Thus those who are members of that race endowed with vision, which is called Israel, when they wish to journey along that royal road, find their way contested by Edom the earthly one—for such is the interpretation of his name—who, all alert and prepared at every point, threatens to bar them from the road and to render it such that none at all shall tread or travel on it.

XXXI. The envoys then who are dispatched to him speak thus, “We will pass by through thy land. We will not go through the cornfields nor through the vineyards. We will not drink water of any well of thine. We will journey by the king’s way. We will not turn aside to the right or the left, till we have passed thy boundaries.” But Edom answers, saying, “Thou shalt not pass through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee.” And the sons of Israel say to him, “We will pass along the mountain country. But if I and my cattle drink of thy water, I will give thee value. But the matter is nothing, we will pass along the mountain country” (Num. xx. 17-20). But he said, “Thou shalt not go through me.”

There is a story that one of the ancients beholding a gaily decked and costly pageant turned to some of his on my feet.” The LXX presumably meant “the thing which I ask is a trifle.” Philo’s interpretation of the words is given in § 171.

b Socrates. The story is told with some variations by Cic. Tusc. v. 91, and Diog. Laert. ii. 25.
τινας τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπιδόντα εἶπεῖν· "ὢ ἑταίροι, ἵδετε ὡς χρείαν οὐκ ἔχω," διὰ βραχείας φωνῆς μέγιστον καὶ οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάγγελμα αὐχή-
147 σαντα. τί λέγεις; τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγώνα κατὰ τοῦ πλοῦτου παντός ἐστεφάνωσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κεκράτηκας οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν τε καὶ χρήσιν ἃν αὐτὸ παραδέχεσθαι; θαυμάσσω μὲν ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δὲ ἡ γνώμη θαυμασιωτέρα τοσοῦτον πρὸς ἵσχυν ἐπιδεδωκυῖα, ὡς ἦδη καὶ ἀκοντὶ δύνα-
148 σθαι νικᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος. XXXII. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐξεστὶ μόνον αὐχήσαι παρὰ Μωυσῆ τὰ προ-
[295] τέλεια τῆς σοφίας ἀναδίδαξέντε, ἀλλὰ | καὶ ὁλῷ ἔθνει πολυανθρωποτάτῳ. τεκμήριον δὲ τεθάρρηκε καὶ ἐπιτετόλμηκεν ή ἐκάστου ψυχῆ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἱστιλέα τῶν φαινόμενων ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν τῶν γῆν τοῦ Ἐδώμ—ὅντως γὰρ τὰ τῷ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὰ πάντα γῆνα—λέγειν· "ἡδὴ παρελεύσομαι διὰ τῆς γῆς σου." ὁ ὑπερφυεστάτης καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς ὑποσχέσεως. πάντα, εἴπατε μοι, ὑπερβηνὶ παραδείσοι παραδραμεῖν τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ νομίζομένα γῆς [ὄντα] ἀγαθὰ δυνησθεῖν; καὶ οὐδὲν ἀρα τὴν εἰς τὸ πρός ὑμῶν ὄρμην ἀντιβιάσαμεν ἑφέξει καὶ στῆσει; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ πλοῦτου θησαυροὺς ἀπαντάς ἐξῆς πλήρεις ἱδόντες ἀποστραφήσεσθαι καὶ ἀποκλινεῖτε τὰς ὁψεῖς, τὰ δὲ τῶν προγόνων ἄξιώ-
149 ματα τῶν πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς καὶ τὰς ἀδομένας παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐγενείας ὑπερκύψετε; δόξαν δὲ, ἢς ἀντικαταλάττονται πάντα ἀνθρωποι, κατ- ὀπυν ὀσπερ τι τῶν ἀτμιοτάτων ἀπολείψετε; τί
disciples and said to them, “My friends, observe how many things there are I do not need.” And the vaunt conveyed in this short utterance is a great and truly heaven-sent profession. “What is it you say?” we ask him. “Have you won the Olympic crown of victory over all wealth, and so risen superior to all that wealth involves, that you accept nothing of what it brings for your use and enjoyment?” A wonderful saying! And yet far more wonderful is the resolution which has grown so strong, that now it need exert no effort to win its complete victory.

XXXII. But in the school of Moses it is not one man only who may boast that he has learnt the first elements of wisdom, but a whole nation, a mighty people. And we have a proof thereof in these words of the envoys. The soul of every one of his disciples has taken heart and courage to say to the king of all that is good in outward appearance, the earthly Edom (for indeed all things whose goodness lies in mere seeming are of earth), “I will now pass by through thy land” (or “earth”). What a stupendous, what a magnificent promise! Will you indeed be able, tell me, to step, to travel, to speed past and over those things of earth which appear and are reckoned good? And will nothing, then, that opposes your onward march stay or arrest its course? Will you see all the treasuries of wealth, one after the other, full to the brim, yet turn aside from them and avert your eyes? Will you take no heed of the honours of high ancestry on either side, or the pride of noble birth, which the multitude so extol? Will you leave glory behind you, glory, for which men barter their all, and treat it as though it were a worthless trifle? Will you pass unregarded the
δέ· ὑγείαν σώματος καὶ ἀισθήσεων ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κάλλος περιμάχητον καὶ ρώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ τάλλα ὅσοις ὁ τῆς ψυχής οἶκος ἢ τύμβος ἢ ὅτιον χρῆ καλεῖν κεκόσμηται παραδραμεῖσθε, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατατάξαι ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγαθῶν μερίδι; ὁλυμπίου καὶ οὐρανίου ταύτα ψυχῆς τὰ μεγάλα τολμήματα τὸν μὲν περίγειον χώρον ἀπολελούπνιας, ἀνευλυκυμόνης δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν θείων φύσεων διαιστώμενης· θέας γὰρ ἐμπιπλαμένη τῶν γνησίων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἁγαθῶν εἰκότως τοῖς ἐφημέροις καὶ νόθοις ἀποτάττεται. XXXIII. τὰ οὖν ὀφελοὶ παρελθεῖν πάντα τὰ θνητῶν θνητὰ ἁγαθά, παρελθεῖν δὲ μὴ σὺν ὄρθῳ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνοι δι' ὅκνον ἡ ῥαθυμίαν ἡ ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων; οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ πάντα, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρ’ ἀλλοις τετίμηται. 153 τούτου χάριν βουλόμενος τὸ μετ' ὀρθότητος λόγου καταφρονητικοὶ τῶν εἰρημένων γενέσθαι παραστήσαι τῷ “παρελεύσομαι” προστίθησι τὸ “διὰ τῆς γῆς σου”; τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀναγκαίοτατον ἢν, γενομένου ἐν ἀθόνοις τῶν φαινομένων ἁγαθῶν ὑλαῖς ἀπάσαις ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν προβληθέντων ὑφ' ἐκάστης δικτύων ἀλῶναι, πυρὸς μέντοι τὸν τρόπον ἵσχυσαι δῆμη μᾶ τάς ἐπαλλήλους καὶ 154 συνεχεῖς φορὰς διακλάσαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ τούτων φασὶ “παρελεύσεσθαι,” διὰ δὲ “ἀγρῶν καὶ ἀμπελῶνων” οὐκέτι· τὰ γὰρ ἥμερα ἐν ψυχῇ φυτὰ ἥμεροις ἀποτίκτοντα καρποὺς, ἀστεῖους μὲν

* i.e. they use διελευσόμεθα, which Philo takes to mean “to travel through” (at leisure) in contrast to παρελευσόμεθα “to pass through” (without stopping).
health of the body, the keenness of the senses, the coveted gift of beauty, the strength which defies opponents, and whatever else serves to adorn our soul's house, or tomb, or what other name it may be given, and rank none of them as belonging to the province of the good? Great ventures such as these betoken a celestial and heavenly soul, which has left the region of the earth, has been drawn upwards, and dwells with divine natures. For when it takes its fill of the vision of good incorruptible and genuine, it bids farewell to the good which is transient and spurious. XXXIII. Now what can it profit us to pass by all the good things which are mortal as their possessors are mortal, if we pass them by not under the guidance of right reason, but as some do through faint-heartedness or indolence or inexperience of them? For they are not all held in honour everywhere, but some value these, others those. And therefore to bring home to us that it is under the guidance of right reason that we should grow to despise these things which I have named, he adds to the words "I will pass by" these others "through thy land." For this he knew was the most vital thing of all, that we should see ourselves surrounded by a rich abundance of all that goes to provide these seeming forms of good, and yet be caught by none of the snares which each flings before us, but be nerved to break like fire with a single rush through their successive and ceaseless onslaughts. Through these then, they say, they will pass by. But they do not use the phrase "pass by" of the fields and vineyards. For it would be monstrous folly to pass by the plants within the soul, whose fruit is kindly as themselves,
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λόγους, ἐπανετὰς δὲ πράξεις, ωγύνιος\(^1\) εὐθεῖα παρέρχεσθαι· μένειν γὰρ ἡδεὶ καὶ δρέπεσθαι καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορεῖσθαι· κάλλιστον γὰρ ἢ ἐν ἀρεταῖς τελείαις ἀκόρεστος εὐφροσύνη, ἢς οἱ λεχθέντες ἁμπελώνες σύμβολα.

155 | Οἷς δὲ τὸ θέος ἐπινίφει καὶ ἐπομβρεῖ τὰς ἀγαθὰς πτηγὰς ἀνωθὲν, ἐκ λάκκου πίνομεν καὶ βραχείας [καὶ] κατὰ γῆς λυβάδας ἀναζητοῦμεν, ὄντος ἡμῶν ἀνεπισχέτως οὐρανοῦ τὴν νέκταρος καὶ ἀμβροσίας τῶν μεμυθευμένων ἀμείνω τροφῆς; XXXIV. ἐτί δὲ ποτὸν τεθησαυρισμένον ἐξ ἐπιτεχνήσεως ἀνθρώπων ἐξανιμῶντες ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν δυσελπιστίας ἐργὸν προσεέμεθα, οἷς τὸν ὀλύμπιον θησαυρὸν εἰς χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἢνοιξεν· εὐχεται γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, ἵνα ἀνοίξῃ κύριος ἡμῖν τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαθὸν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, δοῦναι ἐστὸν.

156 ἐπήκοοι δὲ αἱ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς εὐχαί. τί δ'; ὁ μηδ' οὐρανὸν ἢ θεὸν ἢ λάκκον ἢ συνόλος τὸ ἐν γενέσει νομίσας ἠκανῶν εἶναι τρέφειν έαυτόν, ὑπερβας δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ ὁ ἐπεαθεν εἶπὼν ''ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος'' ἀρα οὗ δοκεῖ σοι πάντα ὁσα κατὰ γῆς ὦδας συστήματα μηδ' ἂν ἀξιῶσαι προσιδεῖν; οὐκ ἀν οὖν ἐκ λάκκου πῖοι, ὃ δίδωσι τὸ θεὸς τὰς ἀκράτους μεθύσματος πόσεις, τοτὲ μὲν διὰ τινος ὑπηρετοῦντος τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἣν οἰνοχοεῖν ἡζίωσε, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ, μηδένα τοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος μεταξύ τιθεὶς.

1 The transference of the meaning of ωγύνιοι from "prim­eval" or "venerable" to "vast" (also found in De Post. 168) is difficult. Mangey suggested in both διωλύγιοι, cf. διωλύγιοι φλυαρία, Plato, Theaet. 161 D.

2 MSS. λόγον.
even worthy sayings and laudable actions. Rather it were well to stay and pluck them and feast upon them with the hunger that is never filled. For truly beautiful is that insatiable joy which the perfect virtues give, and of this the vineyards here mentioned are symbolic.

Again, shall we on whom God pours as in snow or rain-shower the fountains of His blessings from above, drink of a well and seek for the scanty springs that lie beneath the earth, when heaven rains upon us ceaselessly the nourishment which is better than the nectar and ambrosia of the myths? XXXIV. Or shall we draw up with ropes the drink which has been stored by the devices of men and accept as our haven and refuge a task which argues our lack of true hope; we to whom the Saviour of all has opened His celestial treasure for our use and enjoyment? For Moses the revealer prays that the Lord may open to us His good treasure, the heaven, to give us rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), and the prayers of him whom God loves are always heard. Or again, what of that Israel who thought that neither heaven nor rainfall or well, or any created thing at all, was able to nourish him, but passed over all these and told his experience in the words “God who doth nourish me from my youth up”? (Gen. xlviii. 15). Think you that all the waters which are gathered beneath the earth would seem to him worthy even of a glance? Nay, he will not drink of a well on whom God bestows the undiluted rapture-giving draughts, sometimes through the ministry of some angel whom He has held worthy to act as cupbearer, sometimes by His own agency, setting none to intervene between Him who gives and him who takes.

* See App. p. 489.
159 Ανυπερθέτως οὖν τῇ βασιλικῇ πειρώμεθα βαδίζειν ὁδῷ, οἱ τὰ γήινα παρέρχεσθαι δυκαιούντες· βασιλικὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ὁδός, ἂς δεσπότης ἰδιώτης μὲν ὅνδε εἰς, μόνος δὲ ὁ καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς ἀληθεία.

160 αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν, καθά καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐἴτον, σοφία, δι’ ὅς μόνης ἰκέτισι ψυχαῖς ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγένητον καταφυγὴ γίνεται· ἐικὸς γὰρ τὸν δι’ ὅνδον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀκωλύτως ἱόντα μὴ πρότερον καμεῖν ἢ έντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεί. τότε δὲ τὴν τε ἐκείνου μακαριότητα καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὔτελεια γνωρίζουσιν οἱ προσελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἑγγίσας τῷ θεῷ ἑαυτὸν εὐθὺς ἐγνως γῆν καὶ τέφραν οὖντα.

161 καμεῖν ἡ ἐντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. τότε δὲ τὴν τε ἐκείνου μακαριότητα καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὔτελεια γνωρίζουσιν οἱ προσελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἑγγίσας τῷ θεῷ ἑαυτὸν εὐθὺς ἐγνως γῆν καὶ τέφραν οὖντα. μήτε δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ μήτε ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀποκλινόμεθα σιν ὁδῷ, ἂλλ’ αὐτῇ τῇ μέσῃ προῆτωσαν. αἱ γὰρ ἑδ’ ἐκάτερα ἐκτροπαί τῇ μὲν ὑπερβολὰς εἰς ἐπίτασιν τῇ δὲ ἐλλείψεις πρὸς ἀνεσιν ἐχουσι ὑπαιτίου· οὐ γὰρ ἦττον τῷ εὐνυμῷ τῷ δεξιῶν ψεκτῶν ἐνταῦθα.

162 χειρίζοντες τῷ προπετῷ ζῷσι τὸ μὲν θράσος δεξιῶν, ἀριστερῶν δὲ ἡ δειλία, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀν-[297] ελευθέροις περὶ χρημάτων | διώκοντες δεξιῶν μὲν ἡ φειδωλία, εὐνυμοῦν δὲ αἱ ἀνειμέναι δαπάναι· καὶ ὁσοὶ μέντοι ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι περιττοί, κρίνουσι τὸ μὲν πανοῦργον αἰρέτον, τὸ δὲ εὐθυκὸν φευκτὸν· καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν μὲν ὡς δεξιῶν ἀλλοι μεταδώκουσιν, ἀποδιδράσκουσι δ’ ὡς φευκτῶν ἁσέβειαν. XXXV. ἢν οὖν μὴ ταῖς μαχομέναις κακίαις ἀναγκασθῶμεν ἐκτρεπόμενοι χρῆσθαι, τὴν μέσην ὁδὸν εὐθύνειν βουλώμεθα τέ καὶ εὐχώμεθα· μέση δὲ θράσους μὲν καὶ δειλίας ἀνδρεία, ραθυμίας δὲ

*a See App. p. 489.
So then brooking no delay should we essay to march by the king's high road, we who hold it our duty to pass by earthly things. And that is the king's road of which the lordship rests with no common citizen, but with Him alone who alone is king in real truth. This road is, as I said but now, wisdom, by which alone suppliant souls can make their escape to the Uncreated. For we may well believe that he who walks unimpeded along the king's way will never flag or faint, till he comes into the presence of the king. And then they that have come to Him recognize His blessedness and their own meanness; for Abraham when he drew nigh to God straightway knew himself to be earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27).

And let them not turn aside to the right or to the left of the king's way, but advance along the midmost line. For deviations in either direction whether of excess or of deficiency, whether they tend to strain or to laxity, are in fault, for in this matter the right is no less blameworthy than the left. In the case of those who lead a reckless life, rashness is the right and cowardice the left. To those who are churlish in money matters, parsimony is the right and extravagance the left. And all who are oversharpen calculating in business count the knave's qualities worthy of their choice, but the simpleton's of their avoidance. And others pursue superstition as their right-hand path, but flee from impiety as a thing to be shunned. XXXV. Therefore, that we may not be forced to turn aside and have dealings with the vices that war against us, let us wish and pray that we may walk straitly along the middle path or mean. Courage is the mean between rashness and cowardice, economy between
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έκκεχυμένης καὶ φειδωλίας ἄνελευθέρου σωφροσύνη, πανουργίας τε αὖ καὶ μωρίας φρόνησις, καὶ μὴν 165 δεισδαιμονίας καὶ ἀσεβείας εὐσέβεια. αὐταὶ μέσαι τῶν παρ’ ἐκάτερα ἐκτροπῶν εἰςι, βάσιμαι καὶ λεωφόροι ὄδοι πᾶσαι, αἷς οὐ θέμις ὁργάνοις σωματικοῖς ἄλλα ψυχῆς κινήσεων ἐφιεμένης τοῦ ἀρίστου συνεχῶς ἐμπεριπατεῖν.

166 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα δυσχεράνας ὁ γῆνος ’Εδώμ—δεδεὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δογμάτων ἀνατροπῆς τε καὶ συγχύσεως—ἀπειλήσει πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, ἐὰν ἐγγίζομεθα διερχεσθαι τέμνοντες καὶ κείροντες αἱ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ καρπῶν, διὸ ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ φρονήσεως σπέιρας οὐκ ἐθέρισε· φησὶ γὰρ· "οὐ διελεύση δι’ ἐμοῦ· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ἐν πολέμῳ ἐξελεύσομαι σοι εἰς ἀπάντησιν." ἀλλὰ μηδὲν αὐτοὶ τῶν ἑπανατάσεων φροντίσαντες ἀποκρινώμεθα, ὡς "παρὰ τὸ ὅρος πορευομέθα," τούτων ψυχαῖς καὶ μετεώροις ἐθος ἐχοντες εὐομιλεῖν δυνάμει καὶ ὀρκῶς ἑκαστα σκοτεῖν, τῶν παντὸς οὐτωσοσοῦν λόγον ἑρευνῶντες, δι’ οὐ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι γνωρίζεται, καταφρονητικῶς ἐχομεν πάντων ὅσα ἐκτὸς τε καὶ περὶ σώμα· ταπεινὰ γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ λίαν χαμαίζηλα, σοι μὲν φίλα, ἐχθρά δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐ χάριν οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν προσαφόμεθα.

168 εἰ γὰρ ἀκρω δακτύλῳ τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο μόνον ψαύσομεν, γέρας καὶ τιμὴν σοι παρέξομεν. φρυαττόμενος γὰρ αὐχήσεις, ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν φιλαρέτων δελέασιν ἡδονῆς ύπαχθέντων. 169 XXXVI. "εὰν γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος σου" φησί “πῖω

* We should expect θέμις οὐκ. Perhaps, however, θέμις is reduced in meaning, “in which we may walk with soul though not with body.”

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careless extravagance and illiberal parsimony, prudence between knavery and folly, and finally piety between superstition and impiety. These lie in the middle between the deviations to either side, all of them high roads meet for the traveller's use, wherein we are bound in duty to walk continually, not with the mechanism of the body, but with the motions of the soul which seeks the best.

Angered greatly at this, Edom, the earthly one, since he fears lest the principles of his creed be confounded and overthrown, will threaten to wage war to the bitter end, if we should force our way through his land, tearing and ravaging ever, as we go, the fruits of his soul which he has sown for the destruction of wisdom, though he has not reaped them. For he says, "Thou shalt not go through me, else I will come out in war to meet thee." But let us take no heed of his menaces, but make answer, "We will go along the mountain country." That is, "It is our wont to hold converse with powers that are lofty and sublime, and to examine each point by analysis and definition, and to search out in everything whatsoever its rationale, by which its essential nature is known. Thus we feel contempt for all that is external or of the body; for these are low-lying and grovelling exceedingly. You love them, but we hate them, and therefore we will handle none of them. For if we do but touch them with our finger-tips, as the saying is, we shall provide honour and 'value' to you. You will plume yourself and boast that we too, the virtue-lovers, have yielded to the snares of pleasure." XXXVI. "For if I or my cattle drink of your water," it runs, "I

\[b \text{ See App. p. 489.}\]
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ήγώ τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη μου, δώσω τιμήν σοι," οὗ τὸν λεγόμενον ὄνον παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τους πιπράσκοντας ἐδος τοῖς ὑνουμένοις ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τιμὴν τὸ

170 χέρας νυνὶ παραλαμβάνει. τῷ γὰρ οἷς πᾶς ἀκόλαστος ἢ ἄδικος ἢ δειλός, ὅταν ἤδη τινὰ τῶν αὐστηρότερων ἢ πόνον φεύγοντα ἢ λήμματος ἠττώμενον ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἧδων φίλτρων ἐκνενεκτοτα, χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ τετιμήσθαι | δοκεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπινεανευόμενος καὶ ἐπι- χειρονομῶν ἀρχεῖαι περὶ τῶν ἴδιων κακῶν ὡς σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖων καὶ χρησίμων φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἀ', εἰ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἢν, φάσκων ὑπομεῖναι ἀν τὸν

171 δὲνε εὐδόκιμον ἀνδρὰ χρήσθαι. λέγομεν οὖν πιντὶ μοχθηρῷ· εάν τοῦ ὕδατός σου πίωμεν, εάν τὸν σοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀκριτὸν φοράν φαύσωμεν, τ.μὴν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν ἀντὶ δυσκλείας καὶ ἀτιμίας —τούτων γὰρ ἀξίων ὃν τυγχάνεις—παρεξόμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἀμέλει τὸ πράγμα περὶ θ' ἐσπούδακας συνόλως οὐδὲν ἐστιν. ἢ νομίζεις τι τῶν ἠθίτων πραγμάτων οὕτως πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι καὶ υφεστάναι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄπειραν ἕπτα αἰῶνά των ψευδών καὶ ᾧβεβαιον δόξης φορεῖσθαι κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, μηδὲν ψευδών ὀνειρατῶν διαφέροντα;

172 εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις τὰς τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπων ἐξετάζειν τύχας, τὰς χωρῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐθνῶν πρὸς τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ χείρον μεταβολάς. ἤκμασέ ποτε ἥ 'Ελλάς, ἀλλὰ Μακεδόνες αὐτῆς τὴν

1 MSS. ἐτι νεανευόμενος.

* i.e. the ambiguous word τιμή is here used in the sense 94
shall give you value.” The writer does not mean the pelf, to use the poet’s word, silver or gold or aught else which the purchaser is wont to give in exchange to the vendor, but by “value” he here means honour. For in very truth everyone that is profligate or cowardly or unjust, when he sees any of the stricter folk shrinking from toil or mastered by gain or swerving aside to any of the love-lures of pleasure, rejoices and is glad and thinks that he has received honour. And then with swaggering airs and gestures of pride he begins to hold forth sagely to the multitude about his own vices, how necessary and profitable they are, “for,” says he, “were they not so, would So-and-so, that much respected gentleman, be willing to indulge in them?” Let us say, then, to everyone of this sorry sort, “If we drink of thy water, if we touch aught that thy confused and turbid current carries, we shall provide thee with honour and acceptance, instead of the ill-repute and dishonour that are thy true deserts.”

For in very truth “the matter” which has so engaged thy zeal is absolutely “nothing.” Or dost thou think that aught of mortal matters has real being or subsistence, and that they do not rather swing suspended as it were on fallacious and unstable opinion, treading the void and differing not a whit from false dreams? If thou carest not to test the fortunes of individual men, scan the vicissitudes, for better and worse, of whole regions and nations. Greece was once at its zenith, but the of an honour conferred (γέρας). The position of the τό, however, in the predicate is strange. Perhaps read τό “τιμήν” γέρας. A scribe failing to understand this use of τό before a quoted word or phrase might easily transfer it to before the neuter noun γέρας.
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ισχύν ἀφεΐλοντο. Μακεδονία πάλιν ἦνθησεν, ἀλλὰ διαμεθείσα κατὰ μοίρας ἠσθένησεν, ἐως εἰς τὸ 174 παντελὲς ἀπεσβέσθη. πρὸ Μακεδόνων τὰ Περσῶν ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μία ἡμέρα τὴν πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν αὐτῶν καθείλε, καὶ νῦν Παρθικαὶ Ἱπποδρόμια τῶν πρὸ μικροῦ ἡγεμόνων ἐπικρατοῦσιν οἱ τότε ὑπῆκοοι. ἐπνευσε̄ ποτε λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον Αἰγυπτος, ἀλλ' ὡς νέφος αὐτῆς ἡ μεγάλη παρῆλθεν εὐπραγία. τί δὲ Άιδίοπες, τί δὲ καὶ Καρχηδῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λιβύην; τί δ' οἱ 175 Πόντου βασιλεῖς; τί δ' Εὐρώπη καὶ Ἀσία καὶ συνελόντι φράσαι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη; οὐκ ἄνω καὶ κάτω κλονουμένη καὶ τυνασσομένη ὠσπέρ ναῦς θαλαττεύουσα τοτε μὲν δεξιοῖς τοτε δὲ καὶ ἐναν̄ 176 τίως πνεύμασι χρῆται; χορεύει γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ λόγος ὁ θείος, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζουσι τύχην· εἶτα ἀεὶ δέων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ χώρας τὰ ἄλλαν ἄλλοις καὶ πᾶσι τὰ πάντων ἐπινέμει, χρόνοις αὐτὸ μόνον ἄλλαττων τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις, ἵνα ως μία πόλις ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν άγη δημοκρατίαν. 177 XXXVII. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπουδασμάτων ἔργον καὶ πράγμα οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ σκιά ἡ οὗτη πρὸν ὑποστήναι παρατρέχουσα. ἔρχεται γὰρ καὶ πάλιν ἀπεισῶν ὠσπέρ ἐν ταῖς παλιρροίαις· τὰ γὰρ ἀμπωτίζοντα πελάγη ποτὲ μὲν µετὰ συρµοῦ καὶ πατάγον βία φέρεται καὶ ἀναχεοµενα λυµναζει τὴν τέως χέρσουν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐξαναχωροῦντα 178 πολλὴν τῆς βαλαττης µοιράν ἑπειροι οὕτως 96

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Macedonians took away its power. Macedonia flourished in its turn, but when it was divided into portions it weakened till it was utterly extinguished. Before the Macedonians fortune smiled on the Persians, but a single day destroyed their vast and mighty empire, and now Parthians rule over Persians, the former subjects over their masters of yesterday. The breath that blew from Egypt of old was clear and strong for many a long year, yet like a cloud its great prosperity passed away. What of the Ethiopians, what of Carthage, and the parts towards Libya? What of the kings of Pontus? What of Europe and Asia, and in a word the whole civilized world? Is it not tossed up and down and kept in turmoil like ships at sea, subject now to prosperous, now to adverse winds? For circlewise moves the revolution of that divine plan which most call fortune. Presently in its ceaseless flux it makes distribution city by city, nation by nation, country by country. What these had once, those have now. What all had, all have. Only from time to time is the ownership changed by its agency, to the end that the whole of our world should be as a single state, enjoying that best of constitutions, democracy.

XXXVII. So then in all wherewith men concern themselves there is no solid work, no "matter," only a shadow or a breath which flits past, before it has real existence. It comes and goes as in the ebb and flow of the sea. For the tides sometimes race violently, roaring as they sweep along, and in their wide-spread rush make a lake of what till now was dry land, and then again they retreat and turn into land what was a great tract of sea. Even so the good

\[ \text{See App. p. 489.} \]
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[299] οὖν ἐστιν ὅτε | μέγα καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος ἐπικλύσασα εὐπραγία ἐτέρωσε τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ῥεύματος παρατρέψασα οὐδὲ βραχεῖαν ἐδόκει τι ἰδιαίτερα, ἵνα μηδὲ ἰχνὸς ὑπολειφθῇ πιότητος ἀρχαίας.

179 τούτων δ' οὐχ ἀπαντεῖς ἀρτίους καὶ πλήρεις λαμβάνουσι λογισμοὺς, ἀλλ' οίς ἔθος συνομαρτεῖν ὀρθῶ καὶ πεπηγώτι ὅρω καὶ λόγῳ. οἴ γάρ αυτοὶ ἄμφῳ ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ γενέσεως πράγμα ὅλον οὐδέν ἔστι, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ὅρος πορευ-

180 σόμεθα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μὴ ταῖς ύψηλαῖς καὶ ὀρικαῖς χρόνωννον ὅδοῖς ἀπογνώναι μὲν τὰ θνητά, μετακλίναι δὲ καὶ μεταναστῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἀφθαρτά. Ὅ μὲν οὖν γῆνος ἔδωμ τὴν οὐράνιον καὶ βασιλικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιφράττειν ἄξιοι, ο δὲ θεῖος λόγου ἐμπαλιν1 τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοζήλων.

181 οὖν ένα καὶ τὸν Βαλαάμ ἀναγραπτέον· γῆς γὰρ θέρεμα καὶ οὗτος, οὐκ οὐρανοῦ βλάστημα. τεκμήριον δὲ· οἰωνοῖς καὶ ψευδές μαντείαις ἐπόμενος οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς μεμυκὸς ὀμμα ἀναβλέψαν2· εἰδε τὸν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθέστωτα, μετατραπόμενος ἐπέσχε τὸ άδικεῖν, ἀλλά πολλῷ τῷ τῆς ἀφροσύνης χρησάμενος ῥεῦματι ἐπικλυθεῖς κατεπόθη. τότε γὰρ ώς ἀληθῶς οὐ δυσθεράπευτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα γίνεται τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα, ὅταν ἐπιστάντος ἐλέγχοι— λόγος δ' ἐστὶ θείος, ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀναστέλλων, ἵνα ἀπταίστοι διὰ λεσφῷρον

1 MSS. ἐν τάσι.
2 So Mangey and old editions: mss. and Wend. ἀναβλέψας, presumably taking ὄμμα as acc. of respect. If so, it is of a type unusual in prose.

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fortune which has flooded a great and populous nation sometimes turns the stream of its current elsewhere and leaves not even a tiny trickle behind it, that no trace of the old richness may remain.

But it is not all who can estimate these truths justly and fully. Only they can do so who are wont to follow the rule of definition and reason which is straight and constant. The two sayings, "the matter of creation is all of it nothing" and "we will journey along the mountain country," come from the mouths of the same speakers. For it cannot be that he who does not walk in the upland paths of definition should renounce mortal things and turn aside therefrom and make his new home with things indestructible.

So then the earthly Edom purposes to bar the heavenly and royal road of virtue, but the divine reason on the other hand would bar the road of Edom and his associates. In the list of these associates we must write the name of Balaam. For he too is no heavenly growth, but a creature of earth. And here we have the proof. He followed omens and false soothsayings, and not even when the closed eye of his soul received its sight and "beheld the angel of God standing in his way" (Num. xxii. 31) did he turn aside and refrain from evil-doing, but let the stream of his folly run full course and was overwhelmed by it and swallowed up. For it is then that the ailments of the soul become not only hard to tend, but even utterly beyond healing, when though Conviction fronts us, Conviction, the divine reason, the angel who guides our feet and removes the obstacles before them, that we may walk without stumbling along the high road.
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βαίνωμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ—τὰς ἀκρίτους ἑαυτῶν γνώμας πρὸ τῶν ὑφηγήσεων τάττωμεν τῶν ἑκεῖνου, 

ας ἐπὶ νουθεσία καὶ σωφρονισμῷ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντός ἐπανορθώσει βίου συνεχῶς εἰσίδε ποιεῖσθαι. διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὃ μὴ πεισθεῖς, μὴ μετατρεπόμενος τῷ ἀντι- βαίνοντι ἐλέγχῳ φθορὰν τὴν "μετὰ τῶν τραυματιῶν" αὕτης ἐνδέξεται, οὐς κατεκέντησε καὶ κατέτρωσε τὰ πάθη. γενήσεται δ᾽ ἡ τοῦτον συμφορὰ τοὺς μὴ τελεως δυσκαθάρτος δίδαγμα αὐταρκέστα- 
ton τοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τὸν ἑνδὸν δικαστὴν ἔχειν εὐμενῆ· σχῆσουσι δέ, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν ὀρθῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γνωσθέντων ἀναδικάζοιεν.
THE UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD, 182–183

(Psalm xc. [xci.] 11, 12), we yet set our ill-judged purposes before those counsels of his which he is wont to give without ceasing for our admonishing and chastening and the reformation of our whole life. Therefore he who listens not, who is not turned from his course by the Conviction which stands in his path, will in time receive destruction "with the wounded" (Num. xxxi. 8) whom their passions stabbed and wounded with a fatal stroke. His fate will be to those who are not hopelessly impure a lesson which heeds no confirmation, that they should seek to have the favour of the inward judge. And have it they shall, if they do not remove or repeal aught of the righteous judgements which he has given.
ON HUSBANDRY
(DE AGRICULTURA)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

Gen. ix. 20 f. quoted at the beginning of De Agricultura is the text of this and the two following treatises. The part of it dealt with in the one before us is the words, "And Noah began to be a husbandman" or "gardener."

Having pointed out that this connotes scientific gardening, Philo describes scientific gardening in the literal sense (1-7), and then goes on to soul-gardening. This ministers to the Mind. Its aim is the fruit of virtue, and it is only for the sake of this that it occupies itself first with rudimentary subjects. What is harmful it prunes away. What is not fruit-bearing it uses for fencing. It deals in this way with mere theorizing, forensic speech, dialectics, and geometry, which all sharpen the intellect without improving the character (8-16). Soul-gardening sets out its programme (17 ff.). As such a soul-gardener righteous Noah is contrasted with Cain, who is a mere "worker of the earth" in the service of Pleasure (21-25).

There must surely be other pairs of opposites similar to this of the scientific tiller and the mere worker of the soil. Yes; there is the shepherd and the rearer of cattle. The organs of the body are the cattle of each one of us. A careless Mind is unfit to guard them; it will not check excess, or exercise needful discipline. These things a shepherd will do. So honourable is his calling that poets call kings "shepherds," and Moses gives this title to the wise,
ON HUSBANDRY

the real kings. Jacob was a shepherd. So was Moses; and he prays God not to leave Israel un-shepherded, *i.e.* to save it from mob-rule, despotism and licence. Well may each of us make his prayer our own on behalf of our inner flock. God, the Shepherd and King of the Universe, with His Word and Firstborn Son as viceroy, is extolled in the Psalm “The Lord shepherds me.” Only by the One Shepherd can the flock be kept together. This is our sure hope, and our sole need. So all who were taught by God made the shepherd’s science their study, and their pride; like Joseph’s brethren who, though hidden by him to tell Pharaoh that they were “rearers of cattle,” answered that they were “shepherds,” shepherding, *i.e.* the faculties of the soul; for Pharaoh, with royal and Egyptian arrogance, would have looked down on keepers of literal goats and sheep. The fatherland of these soul-shepherds is Heaven, and (as they told the King) they were but “sojourners” in Egypt, the land of the body and the passions (26-66).

We find in the Law a third pair of opposites. A sharp distinction is to be drawn between a “horseman” and a “rider.” The mere “rider” is at the horse’s mercy; the horseman is in control like the man at the helm. The horses of the soul are high spirit and desire, and their rider the Mind that hates virtue and loves the passions. Israel’s “Song by the Sea” celebrates the disaster that befalls the “four-footed throng of passions and vices.” It is clear that Moses’ words about horses are symbolic, for so great a soldier as he must have known the value of cavalry. Again, though literal racehorse breeding is a poor business, those who ply it have the excuse that the
spectators of a race catch the fine spirit of the horses; whereas the figurative trainer, who sets an unqualified jockey on the back of vice and passion, is without excuse (67-92).

A glance at the prayer of Moses in Gen. xlix. 17 f. will shew how different the "horseman" is from the "rider." To understand that prayer we must note that "Dan" means "judgement," and that the "dragon," which he is or has, is Moses' serpent of brass. (Of course neither Moses' serpent nor Eve's can be literal. Serpents do not talk, tempt, or heal.) So Moses prays that Dan (or his serpent) may be on the road ready to assail Pleasure, and "bite the horse's heel," i.e. attack and overturn the supports which hold up Passion (94-106).

Here we come upon a piece of interpretation very characteristic of Philo. The biting of Passion's heel brings about the horseman's fall. So far from being daunted by this, our author positively revels in it. It is a fall which implies victory, not defeat. For, should Mind ever find itself mounted on Passion, the only course is to jump or fall off. Yes, if you cannot escape from fighting in a bad cause, court defeat. Nay, do not stop there. Press forward to crown the victor. The crown at which you are aiming is not won in contests of pitiless savagery, or for fleetness of foot, in which puny animals surpass men, but in the holy contest, the only true "Olympic" games, the entrants for which, though weaker in body, are strongest in soul (108-119).

Having noted the difference between the members of each of these three pairs of opposites, suggested to him by the word γεωργός in his text, Philo turns to the word ἤρξατο, "began" (124).
"Beginning is half the whole." Yes, if we go on to the end. But good beginnings are often marred by failure to make proper distinctions. For instance, one says that "God is the Author of all things," whereas he should say "of good things only." Again, we are very scrupulous about rejecting priests or victims on the ground of physical blemish. We ought to be equally scrupulous to separate the profane from the sacred in our thoughts of God. And again Memory, of which the ruminating camel is a figure, is a fine thing, but the camel's undivided hoof makes him unclean, and that reminds us that Memory must reject the bad and retain the good; for practical purposes, not for sophistical hair-splitting. Sophists are swine; they divide ad nauseam, but for perfection we must con over and take in (125-146).

Sections 147 to 156 shew that the conditions of exemption from military service laid down in Deut. xx. 5 and 7 cannot be literally meant. In 157 ff. the acquired possessions which exempt a man are interpreted as faculties which must be enjoyed and fully realized, before he who has acquired them is trained and fit for the warfare with the sophists.

Right ending must crown good beginning. We miss perfection unless we own that that to which we have attained is due to the loving wisdom of God. And wilful refusal to acknowledge God as the Giver of success is far worse than involuntary failure.

"All this about start and goal has been suggested," Philo tells us, "by the statement that Noah began to be a husbandman or gardener."
ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΣ

1 Ι. "Καὶ ἦρξατο Νῶε ἀνθρώπος γεωργὸς γῆς εἶναι, καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἄμπελώνα, καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ ἐμεθύσθη ἐν τῷ οίκῳ αὐτοῦ."

Οἱ μὲν πολloi τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ εἶδότες καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄνομάτων θέους εἴη ἀνάγκης ἀμαρτάνουσιν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπίτηδε εξ ἀνατομῆς περινοηθεῖσα κύριαι προσφέρεις ἔπονται, τοῖς δὲ ὑποσυγκεχυμένοις οὐ σφόδρα ἡ κριβωμέναι. Μωυσῆς δὲ κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τῆς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιστήμης οὐκ ἐγκυβεῖται εὔθυβολωτάθηται καὶ ἐμφαντικωτάθηται εἰσι ξηρασθαι. πολλαχοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς νομοθεσίας τῆς ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπαληθεύουσαν εὐρήσομεν, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ κἀκ τῷ προτεθέντι κεφαλαίῳ, καθαδή γεωργὸς ἡ δίκαιος

2 Νῶε εἰσάγεται. τῶν γὰρ τῶν προχειροτέρων οὐκ ἔνομα ἑναὶ γεωργία τε καὶ γής ἐργασία, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ μόνον οὐκ ὄντα τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἀπειρημένα, ὡς ἀντιπαραθεῖν καὶ δυσμαχεῖν; δύναται μὲν γὰρ τὶς καὶ ἀνευ ἐπιστήμης περὶ τὴν γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν πονεῖσθαι, γεωργὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ ἱδιώτης ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπειρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῷ ονόματι πεπίστωτα, ὅπερ ἐκ τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης, ἢς φερώνυμός ἐστιν, εὑρηται. πρὸς δὲ τούτω κάκεινο

a The LXX has ἐμεθύσθη καὶ ἐγυμνώθη ἐν τῷ οίκῳ αὐτοῦ.
I. "And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and became drunken within his house" (Gen. ix. 20 f.).

Most men, not knowing the nature of things, necessarily go wrong also in giving them names. For things which are well considered and subjected as it were to dissection have appropriate designations attached to them in consequence; while others having been presented in a confused state receive names that are not thoroughly accurate. Moses, being abundantly equipped with the knowledge that has to do with things, is in the habit of using names that are perfectly apt and expressive. We shall find the assurance just given made good in many parts of the Lawgiving, and not least in the section before us in which the righteous Noah is introduced as a husbandman. Would not anyone who answers questions off-hand think that husbandry and working on the soil were the same things, although in reality they not only are not the same things, but are ideas utterly at variance with each other and mutually repugnant? For a man is able even without knowledge to labour at the care of the soil, but a husbandman is guaranteed to be no unprofessional, but a skilled worker by his very name, which he has gained from the science of husbandry, the science whose title he bears.
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[301] λογιστέον, ὦτι ὁ μὲν γῆς | ἔργατης πρὸς ἐν τέλος, τὸν μισθόν, ἀφορῶν—ἐμμυσθος γὰρ ὁ: ἐπίπαν οὗτος—οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φροντίδα τοῦ καλῶς ἐργάσασθαι, ὁ μέντοι γεωργὸς πολλὰ ἄν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἱδίων εἴσφέρει καὶ προσαναλίσκειν οἰκοθέν τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὐνῆσαι καὶ πρὸς μηδενὸς τῶν ἱδόντων μεμφθῆναι. βούλεται γὰρ οὐχ ἔτερωθὲν ποθὲν, ἀλλ' ἕκ τῶν γεωργηθέντων εὐτοκία χρωμένων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἕτος τοὺς καρποὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν. οὕτος τὰ μὲν ἀγρίᾳ τῶν δένδρων ἡμεροῦν, τὰ δ' ἡμερὰ ἐπιμελείαις συναύξειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς κεχυμένα τομαῖς στέλλειν, τὰ δ' ἐσταλμένα καὶ πεπιλημένα ἐπιφύσεως ἐκτάσεις μηκύνειν, καὶ ὅσα μὲν εὐγενὴς πολυκληματοῦντα κατὰ γῆς τείνειν ἐν οὐ πάνω βαθείαις τάφροις, ὅσα δὲ μὴ εὐκαρπα ἔτέρων εἰς τὸν πρὸς ταῖς βίζαις κορμὸν ἐνθέσει καὶ συμφυεστάτη ἐνώσει βελτιοῦν ἐθελῆσει—καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων τυγχάνει ταὐτὸν, ὡς τοὺς θετοὺς παῖδας γένεσιν ἀλλοτρίοις διὰ τὰς σφετέρας οἰκείους· μνεύοις ἑρετὰς παγίως ἐναρμόζεσθαι—· μυρία τοῖνυν καὶ ἀυτῶπρολογίας βίζαις αὐτῶς ἀναστάσας κατέβαλε τὰς εἰς εὐκαρπίαν ἐκφύσεως ἐστειρωμένα καὶ τοῖς φέρουσι μεγάλην ζημίαν ἐν τῷ παραπεφυτευθεῖν ἐνεγκόντα. τοιαύτη μὲν τὸν τοῖς ἐστιν

1 mss. πετι. 2 Cf. Quod Deus 38.
addition to this there is the further point to be considered, that the worker on the soil is as a rule a wage-earner, and as such has but one end in view, his wages, and cares nothing at all about doing his work well; whereas the husbandman would be willing not only to put into the undertaking much of his private property, but to spend a further amount drawn from his domestic budget, to do the farm good and to escape being blamed by those who have seen it. For, regardless of gain from any other source, he desires only to see the crops which he has grown yielding plentifully year by year and to take up their produce. Such a man will be anxious to bring under cultivation the trees that were before wild, to improve by careful treatment those already under cultivation, to check by pruning those that are over-luxuriant owing to excess of nourishment, to give more scope to those which have been curtailed and kept back, splicing on new growths to stem or branch; when trees of good kinds throw out abundant tendrils, he will like to train them under ground in shallow trenches; and to improve such as yield poor crops by inserting grafts into the stem near the roots and joining them with it so that they grow together as one. The same thing happens, I may remark, in the case of men, when adopted sons become by reason of their native good qualities congenial to those who by birth are aliens from them, and so become firmly fitted into the family. To return to our subject. The husbandman will pull up by the roots and throw away quantities of trees on which the shoots that should bear fruit have lost their fertility, and so, because they have been planted near them, have done great harm to those that are bearing fruit. The science,
ΠΗΛΟ

η περί τὰ βλαστάνοντα ἐκ γῆς φυτὰ τέχνη, τὴν δὲ ψυχῆς γεωργικῆν ἐν μέρει πάλιν ἐπισκεψόμεθα.

8 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν σπείρειν ἢ φυτεύειν ἂγονον οὔδὲν ἐπιτηδεύει, πάντα δὲ ἡμερὰ καὶ καρποτόκα

φόρους ἐτησίους οἴσοντα τῷ ἠγεμόνι ἀνθρώπων τούτων γάρ ἀρχόντα η φύσις δένδρων τε καὶ ζώων τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ θυντὰ ἀπαξ ἀπάντων ἀνέδειξεν.

9 ἀνθρωπος δὲ ὁ ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἠμῶν τῆς ἄνθρωπον τότε ἐπιτηδεύει, πάντα δὲ τοῖς ἀναχρίσιμοῖς, τῶν οἵσοντον τοῦ ἡγεμόνι ἀνθρώπων τὸν γάρ ἀρχόντα η φύσις δένδρων τε καὶ ζώων οἵσοντα τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ θυντὰ ἀπαξ ἀπάντων ἀνέδειξεν.

10 καλὰς καὶ ἐπανεικτὰς πράξεις. διὰ ταύτης τῆς

γεωργικῆς καὶ ὁσα παθῶν ἡ κακιῶν δένδρα ἀναβλαστόντα εἰς ψυχούς ἐξήρθη φθοροποιούσας φέροντα

καρπάς καὶ ἐπανεικτὰς πράξεις. διὰ ταύτης τῆς
ON HUSBANDRY, 7–12

then, that has to do with growths that spring out of the earth is of the kind I have described. Let us consider in its turn soul-husbandry.

II. First, then, it makes it its aim to sow or plant nothing that has no produce, but all that is fitted for cultivation and fruit-bearing, and likely to yield yearly tributes to man, its prince; for him did nature appoint to be ruler of all trees as well as of the living creatures besides himself that are mortal. But who else could the man that is in each of us be save the mind, whose place it is to reap the benefits derived from all that has been sown or planted? But seeing that for babes milk is food, but for grown men wheaten bread, there must also be soul-nourishment, such as is milk-like suited to the time of childhood, in the shape of the preliminary stages of school-learning, and such as is adapted to grown men in the shape of instructions leading the way through wisdom and temperance and all virtue. For these when sown and planted in the mind will produce most beneficial fruits, namely fair and praiseworthy conduct. By means of this husbandry whatever trees of passions or vices have sprung up and grown tall, bearing mischief-dealing fruits, are cut down and cleared away, no minute portion even being allowed to survive, as the germ of new growths of sins to spring up later on. And should there be any trees capable of bearing neither wholesome nor harmful fruits, these it will cut down indeed, but not allow them to be made away with, but assign them to a use for which they are suited, setting them as pales and stakes to surround an encampment or to fence in a city in place of a wall. III. For he says, “Every tree whose fruit is not edible thou shalt cut down and
"The modes . . . processes," lit. "dialectic and geometry" (or "logic and mathematics").

See App. p. 490.
shall make into a palisade to resist the city, which shall make war against thee” (Deut. xx. 20). The Scripture uses these trees to represent the purely intellectual activities which deal with theory alone. Among these we must place medical science dissociated from practical measures such as lead to the recovery of the sick; the kind of oratory practised by the hired advocate, that is concerned not to find out the rights of the case, but to influence the hearers by falsehood; and over and above these we must include all the modes of reaching conclusions by argumentative and rigidly deductive processes, that contribute nothing to the improvement of character, but whet the mind, compelling it to pay keen attention to each problem as it presents itself; and enabling it to draw clear distinctions, and to make the special character of the matter in hand stand out in bold relief against the background of the features which it has in common with others. Accordingly, they tell us that the men of old likened philosophic discussion with its threefold division to a field, comparing that part which deals with nature to trees and plants; that which deals with morality to fruits and crops, for the sake of which the plants exist; that part which has to do with logic to a fence enclosing it. For even as the wall built round it serves to protect the fruit and the plants that grow in the field, keeping off those who would like mischievously to make their way in with a view to plunder; in the same way the logical part of philosophy is, so to speak, a strong barrier guarding those other two parts, the ethical and the physical. For when it disentangles ambiguous expressions capable of two meanings, and exposes the fallacies created by tricks of argument, and using

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μέγιστον ψυχῆς δέλεαρ καὶ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀναιρῆ διὰ λόγων ἐμφαντικῶτάτων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἀνενδοίαστων, ὡσπερ κηρὸν λελειασμένον τὸν νοῦν ἀπεργάζεται ἐτοιμον δέχεσθαι τοὺς τε φυσιολογίας καὶ τοὺς ἥθοποιας ἀσινεῖς καὶ πάνω δοκίμως χαρακτήρας.

17. ΙV. Ταῦτα οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἐπαγγελλομένη γεωργικὴ προκηρύττει· τὰ ἀφροσύνης δένδρα καὶ ἀκολασίας ἀδικίας τε καὶ δειλίας πάντες ἐκκόψω, ἐκτεμὼ καὶ τὰ ἥδονης καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ὤργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων παθῶν, κἂν ἄχρις συρανοῦ μηκύνηται, τὰ φυτά, ἐπικαύσω καὶ τὰς ρίζας αὐτῶν ἐφιέσθη ἄχρι τῶν ὑστάτων τῆς γῆς φλογὸς ῥιπήν,

[303] ὡς μηδὲν ἡ μέρος ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἱχνὸς ή σκιὰν ὑπολειπόντας τὸ παράπαν. ἀνελῶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, φυτεύσω δὲ ταῖς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παιδικῆς ψυχαίς μοσχεύσαι, ὃν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτὰς τιθηνησει—ἐστὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ τῶν γράφεων καὶ ἀναγνώσκεων εὐτρόχως ἐπιτήδευσις, ἡ τῶν παρὰ σοφῶν ποιητῶν ἀκριβῆς ἔρευνα, γεωμετρία καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς ρητορικοὺς λόγους μελέτη καὶ ἡ σύμπασα τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας μουσικῆ—, ταῖς δὲ νεανιευμέναις καὶ ἀνδρουμέναις ἦδη τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ τελεωτέρα, τὸ φονίσσεως φυτὸν, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης, τὸ δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης. ἂν μὲντοι τι καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας λεγομένης ὤλης ¹ ἐδώδιμον μὲν μὴ φέρῃ καρπόν, δύναται δὲ ἐδωδίμου φραγμὸς εἶναι καὶ φυλακτήριον, καὶ τοῦτο ταμεύσομαι, οὗ δὲ ἐαυτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπηρετεῖν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρησίμων σφόδρα πέφυκε.

¹ MSS. μηκύνη.  ² MSS. μούση.
perfectly clear and unmistakable language and adducing proofs which admit of no doubt destroys plausible falsehood, that greatest snare and pest of the soul, it makes the mind like smoothed wax ready to receive the impressions made by the science that explores existence and that which aims at building character, impressions free from flaw and aught that is not genuine.

IV. These, then, are the offers held out by soul-husbandry in its inaugural proclamation: "The trees of folly and licentiousness, of injustice and cowardice I will wholly cut down; I will moreover extirpate the plants of pleasure and desire, of anger and wrath and of like passions, even though they be grown up to heaven; I will burn up their very roots, letting the rush of fire pursue them even to the depths of the earth, that no part or trace or shadow of them whatever be left behind. These I will destroy, but I will plant for souls in their childhood suckers whose fruit shall feed them. These suckers are the learning to write easily and read fluently; the diligent search of what wise poets have written; geometry and the practice of rhetorical composition; and the whole of the education embraced in school-learning. For souls at the stage of youths and of those now growing into men I will provide the better and more perfect thing suited to their age, the plant of sound sense, that of courage, that of temperance, that of justice, that of all virtue. If, again, some tree among those that belong to what is called wild wood does not bear edible fruit, but can be a fence and protection of such fruit, this tree also will I keep in store, not for its own sake, but because it is adapted to do service to another that is indispensable and most useful."
PHILO

20 V. Δια τούτο ο πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς τῷ μὲν δικαίω την τῆς ψυχῆς γεωργικῆν ὡς ἐναρμόνιον καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσαν τέχνην ἀνατίθησι λέγων " Ἰρξατο Νῶε ἀνθρωπός εἶναι γεωργός," τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ τὴν ἀει ἐπιστήμης φέρουσαι ἀχθη βαρύτατα γῆς ἐργασίαν.

21 "Κάν" γάρ φησιν " ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν," καὶ μικρὸν ύστερον, ἡνίκα τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ ἄγος ἐργασάμενος καταφωράται, λέγεται: "ἐπικατάρατος σοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἢ ἔχασε τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς δέξασθαι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου, ἢ ἐργὰ τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὐ προσήθησε τὴν ὁσχὺν αὐτῆς δοῦναι σοι." πῶς οὖν ἂν τὸς περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δύναται, ὅτι γῆς ἐργάζηται ἀλλ' οὐ γεωργὸν ὁ νομοθέτης νομίζει τὸν φαύλον, ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον; οὐ μὴν ὑποληπτέον ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου χερσί καὶ ποσὶ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργεῖν ἢ καὶ περὶ γῆς ὀρεινής καὶ πεδιάδος εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστον ἧμῶν δυνάμεως· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ φαύλου ψυχήν περὶ οὐδὲν ἂλλο πραγματεύεσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἢ τὸ γήινον σῶμα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀπάσας ἱδονᾶς. ὁ γοῦν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων τὰ γῆς ἐπ᾽ ὑπὸ κλίματα καὶ ἀχρὶ τῶν περιτῶν φθάνων αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πελάγη περαιούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς θαλάττης ἀναζητῶν καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἐν τῶν παντὸς ἀδιερεύνητον ἀεὶ καὶ πανταιχὸν πορίζει ταῦτα, δι᾽ ὅν ἠδονὴν συναυ- ξάζει· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ἀλειούμενοι δίκτυνα καθιᾶσων ἐστὶν ὅτε μήκιστα πολλὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλλόμενοι

* Or “earned from his working.” Philo plays with ἐργάζομαι which can mean either “to work” (till) or “gain by work.” So, too, ἄγος (pollution) carries with it the idea of a curse and explains the ἐπικατάρατος of the text.
ON HUSBANDRY, 20–24

V. It is for this reason that Moses, the all-wise, ascribes to the righteous man soul-husbandry as a science in keeping with him and rightly pertaining to him, saying ‘Noah began to be a husbandman,’ whereas to the unrighteous man he ascribes that working of the ground which is without scientific knowledge and carries very heavy loads. For he says, ‘Cain was one working the ground’ (Gen. iv. 2), and, a little later, when he is discovered to have incurred the pollution of fratricide, it is said: ‘Cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother’s blood from thy hand, with which thou shalt work the ground, and it shall not yield its strength to give it thee’ (Gen. iv. 12 f.). How, I ask, could anyone shew more clearly than in this manner that the lawgiver considers the bad man a worker of the soil and not an husbandman? We must not, however, suppose that what is here spoken of is either a man able to work with hands and feet and the other powers of the body, or that it is soil on hill or plain. No, the subject dealt with is the faculties of each one of us; for the soul of the bad man has no other interest than his earthy body, and all the body’s pleasures. At all events the majority of mankind traversing all the quarters of the earth and finding their way to its utmost bounds, and crossing its oceans, and seeking what is hidden in far-reaching creeks of the sea, and leaving no part of the whole world unexplored, are always and everywhere procuring the means of increasing pleasure. For even as fishermen let down nets, sometimes very long, taking in a large extent of sea,

* Or “add.” Cf. Quod Det. 112.
PHILO

θάλατταν, ἵν' ὡς πλείστους ἐντὸς ληφθέντας ἀρκύων οὐ τα τειχήρεις γεγονότας ἰχθύας συνλάβωσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡ πλείστη μοῦρα ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐπὶ μέρος θαλάττης μόνον, ὑ' ἐφ' ἀπασαν τὴν ὕθατος καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος φύσιν τὰ πάναγρα, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ ποὺ φασι, λίνα τείνασ' ἀπαντα πανταχόθεν δι' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν ἀγκιστρεύεται· καὶ γὰρ γῆν μεταλλεύουσι καὶ τὰ πελάγη διαβαίνουσι καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὅσα εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου ἐργα δρῶσιν, ύλας ἀφθόνους ὡς βασιλίδι ἡδονῆ πορίζοντες, οἱ γεωργίας μὲν ἀμύητοι ψυχικῆς, ἡ σπείρουσα καὶ φυτεύουσα τὰς ἀρετὰς καρπὸν δρέπεται τὸν εὐδαιμόνα βión ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐργασάμενοι δὲ καὶ μεθοδεύοντες τὰ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τὸν σύνθετον χοῦν, τὸν πεπλασμένον ἀνδριάντα, τὸν ἡδονῆς ἐγγιστα οἶκον, δὲν ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀχρι τελευτῆς, ἀχθος τοσοῦτον, οὐκ ἀποτίθεται νεκροφοροῦσα, μετὰ σπουδῆς τῆς πάσης οἰκείουμενο.

VI. Ὡς μὲν οὖν γεωργίας ἐργασία γῆς καὶ γεωργοῦ γῆς ἐργάτης διαφέρουσιν, εἴρηται. σκεπτέον δὲ, μὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὲς εἰσὶν ἰδέαι συγγενεῖς τῶν εἰρημένων, διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὁνόμασι κοινωνιῶν ἐπικρύπτουσι τὰ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι διαφόρασι εἰσὶ δὲ γε ἀς ἀναζητοῦντες εὗρομεν διτταί, περὶ ὅν τὰ προσήκοντα, ἐὰν οἰόν τε ἢ, λέξομεν. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ὡς γεωργόν καὶ γῆς ἐργάτην δόξαντας ἀδιαφορεῖν ἀλλήλων εὗρομεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν

1 Mangey οἴκον, which perhaps may be right. For οἴκον cf. Quod Deus 150. 120
in order that they may enclose within the toils as many fish as possible imprisoned as though by a wall: in just the same fashion the larger part of mankind stretching what the poets call, I think, “all-capturing nets,” not only over every part of the sea but over the whole realm of water, earth and air, ensnares from all quarters things of all sorts to satisfy and indulge Pleasure. They dig into the ground and cross the seas and do all works incidental to war or peace to provide lavish materials for Pleasure as for a queen. These people have not learned the secrets of soul-husbandry, which sows and plants the virtues and reaps as their fruit a happy life. They have made the objects dear to the flesh their business, and these they pursue methodically. With all earnestness they seek to make their own that composition of clay, that moulded statue, that house so close to the soul, which it never lays aside but carries as a corpse from birth to death, ah! how sore a burden!

VI. We have stated how working of the soil differs from husbandry and a worker of the soil from an husbandman. But we must consider whether there are not other cases like those which have been mentioned, in which the difference between the things signified is obscured by their passing under the same name. There are two such instances which we have found by careful search, and concerning which we will say, if we can, what ought to be said. For example, then, as in the case of “husbandman” and “soil-worker,” by resorting to allegory we found a wide difference in meaning to underly apparent

a Or “their work,” still continuing the thought of γῆς ἐργασία.
PHILO

άλληγοροῦντες μακρῷ διεστηκότας, οὕτως ποιμένα καὶ κτηνοτρόφον. μέμνηται γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν κτηνο-
τρόφος ποτὲ δ’ αὖ ποιμενικῆς ὅ νομοθέτης. καὶ οἱ
γε μὴ λίαν ἢκριβωμένοι τάχα που τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπι-
τευέσεσις συνωνυμοῦσας ὑπολήψενται προσρήσεις
eἶναι, εἰσὶ δὲ γε πραγμάτων διαφερόντων ἐν ταῖς
dι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσι καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς θρεμμάτων
προστάσεως ἀμφότερα ἐπιφημίζειν ἔθος κτηνο-
tρόφων καὶ ποιμένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ’ οὐ γε τῷ τὴν
ψυχῆς ἀγέλην ἐπιτεραμμένω λογισμῷ φαύλος
μὲν γὰρ ὅν ὁ ἀγελάρχης οὕτος καλεῖται κτηνο-
tρόφος, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ σπουδαῖος ὀνομάζεται
ποιμήν. ὅν δὲ τρόπον, ἐπιδείξωμεν αὐτίκα. VII. ἡ
ψύχη ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ κτήνη συγγεγέννηκε, τῆς
ψυχῆς ὀσπερ ἀπὸ μᾶς βίζης ἐρνη διττὰ ἀνα-
βλαστούσης, ὅπο τὸ μὲν ἀτμητὸν ὅλον δι’ ὅλων
εᾶθεν ἐπεφημίσθη νοὺς, τὸ δ’ ἐξαχῇ σχισθέν εἰς
ἐπτὰ φύσεις πέντε τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ δυεῖν ἄλλων
ὀργάνων, φωνητηρίου τε καὶ γονίμου. αὐτὴ δὲ
πάσα ἡ πληθὺς ἄλογος οὕσα κτήνεσιν ἀπεικάζεται,
πληθύν δὲ νόμω φύσεως ἡγεμόνος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεὶ. ¹
[305] ἐπειδάν μὲν οὖν ἄπειρος ἀρχής ἀμα καὶ | πλούσιος
ἐξανάστασις ἀρχοντα ἑαυτοῦ ἀποφήνη, μυρίων αὐτῶν
κακῶν γίνεται τοῖς θρέμμασιν φεῖτος μὲν γὰρ
ἀφθονα παρέχει τα ἐπιτήδεια, τὰ δὲ ἀμέτρως
ἐμφορούμενα ὑπὸ πλεοναζούσης τροφῆς εὔβριζει
—κόρου γὰρ ὥβρις ἐγγονὸν γνήσιον—, εὔβριζοντα

¹ mss. αἰ et alia.

* Cf. De Op. 117 and note.
identity, so shall we find it to be with "shepherd" and "cattle-rearer." For the lawgiver speaks in some places of "cattle-rearing," in others of "shepherding," and people who have not acquired real accuracy will perhaps suppose that these are synonymous descriptions of the same pursuit, whereas they denote different things when words are rendered in the light of their deeper meaning. For though it is customary to apply to those who have charge of animals both names, calling them "cattle-rearers" and "shepherds" indiscriminately, yet we may not do so when we are speaking of the reasoning faculty to which the flock of the soul has been entrusted: for this ruler of a flock is called a "cattle-rearer" when he is a bad ruler, but, when a good and sterling one, he receives the name of "shepherd." How this is, we will at once shew. VII. Nature has produced each one of us with "cattle" as part of our being. The living soul puts forth, as it were, from one root two shoots, one of which has been left whole and undivided and is called "Mind," while the other by a sixfold division is made into seven growths, five those of the senses and (two) of two other organs, that of utterance and that of generation. All this herd being irrational is compared to cattle, and by nature's law a herd cannot do without a governor. Now when a man at once without experience in ruling and possessed of wealth rises up and constitutes himself a ruler, he becomes the author of a multitude of evils to his charges. For he on his part supplies provender lavishly, and the animals gorging themselves beyond measure wax wanton from abundance of food, wantonness being the true offspring of excess, and in their wantonness they
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μέντοι σκιρτά καὶ ἀφηνάζει καὶ κατὰ μέρος σκιδνάζων διαλύει τὸ τῆς ἀγέλης συντεταγμένον
33 στίφος. ὁ δὲ τέως ἤγεμον καταλειφθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἰδιώτης ἀνεφάνη, καὶ ἐπιτρέχει μὲν
σπουδάζων, εἰ τι δύνατο συλλαβῆται ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ ὑπαγαγόσθαι. ὅταν δὲ ἀδύνατη, στένει καὶ
κλαίει τῇν ἴδιαν κακίζων εὐχέρειαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν τῶν
34 συμβεβηκότων αἰτωμένος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων θρέμματα, ἐπειδὰν ὁ
νοῦς υπτίως καὶ βαθύμως ἔχει, τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπλήστως ἐμφοροῦμενα ἀφθονίας ἀπαγχονίζει τε
καὶ σκιρτά καὶ πλημμελῶς ὅπῃ τύχοι φέρεται, καὶ
ὀφθαλμόι πρὸς πάντα ἀναπεπταμένοι τὰ ὅρατά, καὶ ἡ μὴ θέμις ὅραν, ἐξωκελειν, καὶ ἀκοάς πᾶσας
φωνὰς παραδεχόμεναι καὶ μηδέποτε πληροῦμενα,
διψώσαι δὲ ἀεὶ περιεργίας καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης,
35 καὶ σκηνῶν. VIII. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἀλλοθεν τὰ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης θέατρα νομίζομεν ἀμύθητων μυ-
ριάδων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πληροῦσθαι; οἱ γὰρ
ἀκουσμάτων καὶ θεαμάτων ἦττος καὶ ὅτα καὶ
ὀφθαλμοὶ χωρὶς ήνιῶν εὔσαντες φέρεσθαι καὶ
κιθαριστὰς καὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κεκλα-
σμένην καὶ ἀνανδρὸν μουσικῆν περέποντες, ἔτι δὲ
ὄρχηστας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μίμους ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὅτι
σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἐκτεθηλυμμένα ἴσχονται καὶ
κινοῦνται, τὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀεὶ πόλεμον συγκρο-
τοὺς μήτε τῆς τῶν ἴδιων μήτε τῆς τῶν κοινῶν

α Or “actively promoting the warfare of the stage,” i.e. encouraging by their partisanship the rivalries and intrigues of the actors. Mangey “factiones theatricas instaurant.”

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become frolicsome and refuse to be controlled, and getting separated in scattered groups they break up the compact array of the flock. The erstwhile ruler, forsaken by his subjects, is shewn to be a raw hand, and runs after them anxious if possible to get hold of some animal and bring it under control again. Finding that he cannot do this, he weeps and groans, cursing his own rashness, and blaming himself for what has happened. Precisely in this way does that other herd, our senses, act; whenever the mind gets lazy and careless, they gorge themselves insatiably with the lavish food brought in by the objects of sense, shake off restraint, and get unruly, going at random where they have no business to go. The eyes wide open to all things visible, even those which it is not right to look upon, meet with disaster. The ears welcome all sounds and are never satisfied; they are athirst all the time for particulars about other people’s business, in some cases for topics for vulgar jesting, and go far and wide on these errands. VIII. From what other quarter can we suppose that the theatres all over the world are filled every day with countless myriads? Those whom spectacles and musical performances have made their slaves, allowing ears and eyes to wander about unbridled; taken up with flute-players and harpers and the whole range of unmanly and effeminate music; delighting in dancers and other actors, because they put themselves into indelicate positions and make indelicate movements; ever organizing a warfare as mimic as that on the stage without a thought for their own betterment or

Philo frequently uses συγκροτέω with πόλεμον in the sense of “organize” or “wage”; otherwise it might be taken as “applaud.”
Επανορθώσεως πεφροντικότες, ἀλλὰ τῶν εαυτῶν οἱ
dυστυχεῖς διὰ τε ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ὠτῶν ἀνατρέποντες
βίοι. Ἀλλοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτων ἀθλιώτεροι καὶ
κακοδαιμονεύτεροι, οἱ τήν γεῦσιν ύστερο εἰς δεσμῶν
ἐλυσαν· ἢ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν συνεώς τε καὶ ποτῶν
<ἀπόλαυσιν> ἀφετος ὠδηγος ὀρμήσασα τά τε ἢδη
eὐτρεποιόντα ἐπιλέγεται καὶ πείναν αἰλήκτον καὶ
ἀπληστον ἔσχε τῶν ἀπόντων, ὡς, κἂν αἱ τῆς
gαστρῶν ἀποπληρωθώσι δεξαμεναί, σπαργώσας ἐτι
καὶ μαμώσας τὴν αἰεὶ κενὴν ἐπιθυμίαν περι-
βλέπεσθαι καὶ περιφοιτάν, μὴ τί που παροραθὲν
λείψανον ἀφεῖται, ὦν καὶ τοῦτο παμφάγου πυρὸς
δίκην ἐπιλιχμήσηται. γαστριμαργία τοῖνυν ἡ ὀπα-
δὸς εἰς φύσεως ἀκολουθεῖ συνομοσία ἡδονή μανίν
ἐκτοπον καὶ ὀλοτρον ἀνεπισχετον καὶ λύτταν
ἀργαλεωτάτην ἐπιφέρουσα· ὅταν γὰρ ὧπὸ ὕψο-
[306] φαγίας καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πολλῆς ἡ μέθης ἀνθρώποι
πιεσθῶσι, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν εαυτῶν δύνανται, πρὸς
dὲ τὰς ἑρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι κωμάζουσι καὶ
θυραυλοῦσι, μέχρις ἀν τὸν πολὺν τοῦ πάθους ἀπ-
38 οχετευσάμενον βρασμὸν ἡρεμήσαι δυνηθῶσιν. οὐ
χάρων καὶ ἡ φύσις ὡς οὐκεκὸν ὑπογάστρια τὰ
συνομοσία ὀργάνα ἐδημούργησε, προλαβοῦσα ὅτι
λιμῷ μὲν οὐ χαίρει, πλησμονῆ δὲ ἔπεται καὶ πρὸς
τὰς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ὑπανιστάτατοι.
39 IX. Τοὺς οὖν τοὺς θρέμμασι τούτους ἐπιτρέ-
pontas ἀθρόων δὲ ὅρεγονται πάντων ἐμφορεύσθαι
cτηνοτρόφους λεκτέουν, ποιμένας δὲ ἐμπαλών ὅσοι
τά τέ ἀναγκαία καὶ αὐτὰ μόνα τά ἐπιτήδεια παρ-
έχουσιν περιτεμονόμενοι καὶ ἀποκόπτοντες τὴν περιτ-
for that of the commonweal, but overthrowing (the poor wretches!), by means of eyes and ears their own life itself. Others there are more miserable and ill-starred than these, who have let loose their appetite like an animal which had been tied up. Thus left at large it at once makes for all kinds of enjoyment of eatables and drinkables, takes its pick of what has already been served up, and develops a ceaseless and insatiable craving for what is not on the table. So, even if the receptacles of the belly have been completely filled, taste still empty and still swelling and panting goes about looking everywhere to see whether haply there are any leavings that have been overlooked and let pass, that like an all-devouring fire it may pick up this as well. Gluttony is naturally followed by her attendant, sexual indulgence, bringing on extraordinary madness, fierce desire and most grievous frenzy. For when men have been loaded up with overeating and strong drink and heavy intoxication, they are no longer able to control themselves, but in haste to indulge their lusts they carry on their revels and beset doors until they have drained off the great vehemence of their passion and find it possible to be still. This is apparently the reason why Nature placed the organs of sexual lust where she did, assuming that they do not like hunger, but are roused to their special activities when fulness of food leads the way.

IX. So we must give the name of cattle-rearers to those who permit these creatures to gorge themselves wholesale with all that they crave after. The title of shepherds we must give on the other hand to such as supply them with the necessaries of life only and nothing more, pruning and cutting off all excessive
τὴν καὶ ἀλυσιτελῇ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν, ἣς ἀπορίας καὶ ἐνδείας οὐχ ἦκιστα βλάπτει, πρόνοιαν τε πολλὴν ἐχουσι τού μή ἕξ ἀμελείας καὶ ῥαθυμίας νοσῆσαι τὴν ἀγέλην εὐχόμενοι μηδὲ τὰς ἐξωθέν εἰωθύιας κατασκήπτειν νόσους ἐπιγενέσθαι. στοχάζονταί δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ τοῦ μή διασπασθείσαν αὐτὴν σποράδην διασκεδασθῆναι, φόβον ἐπανατευνόμενοι τὸν σωφρονιστὴν τῶν λόγως ἡμᾶς ἐπεκτεινόμενος νεωτεριζόμενοι συνεχείς, μετρία μὲν κατὰ τῶν ἑσμών νεωτεριζότων, ἀφορήτω δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἁνίατα. τὸ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦ άποεκτὸν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀφραίνοντον, ἢ κόλασις, ὡσπερ τοῖς τὰ σώματα κάμψονται αἱ ἱατρικὰ ἄλαι. χ. ταῦτα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ποιμένων ἑστίν, οἱ τῶν σώματα λαίτας και ποιμένων. οὔτως γοῦν σεμνὸν καὶ λυσιτελὰς νενόμισται τὸ ποιμαίνειν, ὡστε τὸ μὲν ποιητικὸς γένος τὸς ἀναξιότητας ποιμένας λαίτας εἰώθε καλεῖν, ὦ δὲ νομοθέτης τοὺς σοφοὺς, οἱ μόνοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλεῖς εἰσίν: ἄγοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀν ποῖμης εἰςάγει τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντως ἀλόγου φοράς.

42 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τελειωθέντι εἰς ἀσκήσεως Ἰακώβ τὴν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην περιήπισε· ποιμαίνει γὰρ οὕτος τὰ πρόβατα Λάβαν, τῆς τοῦ ἀφρόνου ψυχῆς τὰ αἰσθήτα μόνα καὶ φαινόμενα νομιζούσης ἀγαθά, χρώμασι καὶ σκιαῖς ἡπαντημένης καὶ δεδουλωμένης· λευκασμός γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει· ταῖς Λάβαν. καὶ Μωυσεῖ τῷ πανσόφω τὴν αὐτὴν

* See App. p. 490.
and hurtful luxuriance, a thing which does no less harm than straitness and dearth. "Shepherds" too are those who exercise much forethought that the flock may not contract disease as the result of negligence and laziness, praying too that there may be no occurrence of such plagues as are wont to come as a visitation which cannot be guarded against. No less do they make it their aim that the flock may not be broken up and scattered about. Fear is the corrector of those who never obey reason. This they hold over them, and have recourse to constant punishment, a mild form in the case of those whose rebellion is capable of being cured, but very severe in the case of those whose wrongdoings defy curative treatment. For that which is apparently much to be deprecated is a very great boon to people who act senselessly, just as physic is to people in bad bodily health.

X. These are the practices and ways of shepherds, who prefer what is distasteful but beneficial to what is pleasant but hurtful. So full of dignity and benefit has the shepherd's task been held to be, that poets are wont to give to kings the title of "shepherds of peoples," a title which the lawgiver bestows on the wise. They are the only real kings, and he shews them to us ruling, as a shepherd does his flock, over the irrational tendency common to all mankind.

This is why he ascribed to Jacob, who was perfected as the result of discipline, the shepherd's lore. For Jacob tends the sheep of Laban (Gen. xxx. 36), that is to say, of the soul of the foolish one which considers nothing good but sensible objects that meet the eye, and which is deceived and enslaved by colours and shadows; for the meaning of "Laban" is "whitening." He ascribes the same profession to Moses, the
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τέχνην ἀνατίθησι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ποιμὴν ἀποδείκνυται διανοιὰς τῦφον πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀσταζο-
[307]μένης καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν ἃ ἀποδεχομένης· περίσσος γὰρ Ἰοθὸρ ἐρμηνεύεται, περιττὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπεισηγημένον ἀπλανεῖ βίω πρὸς ἀπάτην τῦφος, ὃ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεις ἐτερα παρ’ ἐτέρους, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια παρὰ πάσιν, ἔθος εἰσηγεῖσθαι τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα οὐδὲ ὁνρι ἴδοντι· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "Μωυσῆς ἦν ποιμαίνων τὰ προ-
βατα Ιοθὸρ τοῦ ἱερέως Μαδιάμ.· ὃ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος εὐχεται, μὴ ὡς ἀνεπιτρόπευτον ποιμήν τὸν ὀχλον καὶ λεων. ἄπαντα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφεθήναι, τυχείν δὲ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος ἐξάγοντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ πάσης κακίας δικτύων, εἰσάγοντος δὲ εἰς τὰ παιδείας καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀρετῆς δόγματα· "ἐπισκεφάσθω" γάρ φησι "κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς ταύτης." εἰτα ὅλγα προσεπτων ἐπι-
φέρει· "καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμῆν." XI. ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἄξιον εὐχεταί μὴ χωρὶς ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνου ἐαθήναι τὸ συγγενές καὶ συμφυὲς ἡμῶν ἐκάστω ποιμιῶν, ὥσ μὴ τῆς φαυλότατης τῶν κακο-
πολιτειῶν ὀχλοκρατίας, ἢ παράκομμα τῆς ἁρίστης δημοκρατίας ἐστίν, ἀναπλησθέντες θρόβοις καὶ ταραχαῖς καὶ ἐμφυλίους στάσεσιν ἀεὶ χρώμενοι διατελῶμεν; οὐ μὴν ἀναρχία μόνον ὀχλοκρατίαν τίκτουσα δεινόν, ἄλλ’ ἢ καὶ παρανόμου καὶ βιαιον

1 mss. κλαίων et alia.

a See App. p. 490.
all-wise; for he also is appointed shepherd of a mind that welcomes conceit in preference to truth, and approves seeming in preference to being. For "Jethro" or "Iothor" means "uneven," and self-conceit is an uneven and adventitious thing that comes in to beguile a fixed and steady life. It is a quality whose way is to introduce principles of right varying city by city; of one kind in this city, of another kind in that; not the same rule of right in all. The ordinances of nature that apply to all alike and are immovable it has never seen even in a dream. What we are told is that "Moses was shepherding the sheep of Jethro the priest of Midian" (Exod. iii. 1). This same Moses prays that the whole multitude of the soul-folk may not be left as an untreated flock, but may be given a good shepherd, leading them forth away from the snares of folly and injustice and all wickedness, and leading them in to imbibe all that discipline and virtue in its other forms would teach them. For he says, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits and of all flesh, appoint a man over this congregation;" then, after adding a few words, he continues, "And the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep that have no shepherd" (Numb. xxvii. 16 f.). XI. Is it not well to pray that the flock linked to each one of us by a common birth and a common growth may not be left without a ruler and guide? So might mob-rule, the very worst of bad constitutions, the counterfeit of democracy, which is the best of them, infect us, while we spend our days in ceaseless experience of disorders, tumults and intestine broils. Anarchy, however, the mother of mob-rule, is not our only danger. We have to dread also the uprising of some aspirant to sovereign power, forcibly setting law
τινὸς ἠγεμόνιαν ἐπανάστασις· τύραννος γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως ἐχθρὸς, πόλεων μὲν ἄνθρωπος, σώματος δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἐκάτερον πραγμάτων ὁ τὴν ἄκροπολιν ἐπιτετειχίκως ἐκάστῳ θηριωδέ−
47 στατος νοῦς. ἀλυσιτελεῖς δὲ οὐχ αὐτῇ μόνον αἱ δεσποτεῖαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λίαν ἐπιεικῶν ἀρχαὶ τε καὶ προστασίαι· χρηστότης γὰρ πράγμα εὐκατα−
φρόνητον καὶ ἐκατέρως, ἄρχουσι τε καὶ ὑπηκόους, βλαβερῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ὀλυγώριας μηδὲν μὴτε ἰδιον μὴτε κοινὸν ἐπανορθώσασθαι δυναμένους. ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἀναγκαζομενοῖς ἀποτίθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ συνεχοῦς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ὀλυγώριας πειθοῦς ἠμεληκόσι καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπὶ μεγάλου κακοῦ κτήσει
48 περιποιησαμένοις αὐθάδειαν. τούτους μὲν <οὖν> θρεμμάτων, ἐκεῖνος δὲ κτηνοτρόφων ὡς ἐν τοῖς νομι−
στέον διαφέρειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρυφάν ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀλλὰ ἀναπείθουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν κόρον ἀδυνατοῦντες φέρειν ἐξουθησοῦν· χρῆ δὲ ὡσπερ αἰτώλον ἡ βουκόλον ἡ ποιμένα ἡ κοινῶς νομέα τὸν ἡμέτερον
[308] ἀρχεῖν νοῦν τὸ | συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἱδεός ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς θρεμμασιν αἱρούμενον.
49 XII. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίσκεψις πρῶτον σχεδὸν καὶ μόνον αὐτίον τοῦ τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς μὴ ἀν−
επιτρόπευτα ἀφεθῆναι, τυχεῖν δὲ ἀνυπατιόν καὶ πάντα ἄγαθοῦ ποιμένος· οὐ κατασταθέντος ἀμή−

1 mss. καταδεες or κατὰ δέος.
ON HUSBANDRY, 46–49

at naught. For a tyrant is a natural enemy. In cities this enemy is man; to body and soul and all the interests of each of these, it is an utterly savage mind, that has turned our inner citadel into a fortress from which to assail us. Nor is it only from these tyrannies that we derive no benefit. We gain nothing from the rule and governance of men who are too good and gentle. For kindness is a quality open to contempt, and injurious to both sides, both rulers and subjects. The former, owing to the slight esteem in which they are held by those placed under their authority, are powerless to set right anything that is wrong either with individual citizens or with the commonwealth. In some instances they are actually compelled to abdicate. Their subjects, as the result of habitual contempt for their rulers, have come to disregard their moral suasion, and undeterred by fear, have, at the cost of incurring a great evil, made the acquisition of stubbornness. These, therefore, we must regard as differing in no respect from cattle, nor their rulers from cattle-rearers. The latter induce them to luxuriate in abundance of material comforts; the former, powerless to bear the overfeeding, wax wanton. But our mind ought to rule as a goat-herd, or a cow-herd, or a shepherd, or, to use a general term, as a herdsman, as one who chooses both for himself and the creatures he tends what is advantageous in preference to what is agreeable.

XII. That which brings it about that the different parts of the soul are not left to drift with no one to watch over them, is, we may say, mainly, nay solely, God's care and oversight. It secures for the soul the benefit of a blameless and perfectly good shepherd. When He has been set over it there is no possibility
ΦΙΛΟ

χανον την σύνοδον της διανοίας γενέσθαι σποράδα.
υπό γάρ μίαν καὶ την αυτήν σύνταξιν εξ άνάγκης
φανείται πρὸς τὴν ένδο επιστασίαν ἀφορώσα, ἐπεῖ
τὸ γε πολλαῖς ὑπακούειν ἄρχαις ἀναγκαζόσθαι
βαρύτατον ἄχθος.

50 Οὕτως μὲντοι τὸ ποιμάνειν ἑστὶν ἀγαθόν, ὡστε
οὐ βασιλεῦσι μόνων καὶ σοφοῖς ἁνδραῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς
tέλεια κεκαθαρμέναις ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῷ τῷ πανηγεμόνι
δικαίως ἀνατίθεται. τούτου δὲ ἐγγυητῆς οὐχ ὁ
tυχών ἄλλα προφήτης ἑστὶν, ὦ καλὸν πιστεύειν, ὁ
τὰς ὑμνώδιας ἀναγράψας· λέγει γὰρ ὥδε· "κύριος

51 ποιμάνει με, καὶ οὐδὲν με ύστερήσῃ." τούτω
μέντοι τὸ ἄσμα παντὶ φιλοθεώ μελετάν ἐμπρεπές,
tῷ δὲ δὴ κόσμῳ καὶ διαφερόντως· καθάπερ γὰρ
tινα ποίμνην γῆν καὶ ὅψωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ
ὀσα ἐν τούτοις φυτὰ τε αὕ καὶ ξῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ
tὰ δὲ θειὰ, ἔτι δὲ οὐρανοὶ φύσιν καὶ ἥλιον καὶ
σελήνης περιόδους καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ἀστέρων τροπάς
tε αὕ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ
βασιλεὺς θεὸς ἀγεί κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προστησά-
μενος τοῦ ὀρθοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ πρωτόγονον ὦν,
ὅς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ιερᾶς ἀγέλης ὁλα
tις μεγάλων βασιλέων ὑπαρχός διαδέξεται· καὶ γὰρ
εἰρηταὶ ποὺ· "Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀποστέλλω ἄγγελον

52 μου εἰς πρόσωπον σου τῷ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ

όδῳ." λεγέτω τοῖνν καὶ τὸ κόσμος ἄπας, ἡ
megísth καὶ τελεωτάτη τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ ποίμνη.
"κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν με ύστερήσῃ."
of the union of the mind’s parts being dissolved. For, having been brought under one and the same direction, it will evidently have to look only to the guidance of a single chief. For to be compelled to give heed to many authorities is a very heavy burden.

Indeed, so good a thing is shepherding that it is justly ascribed not to kings only and wise men and perfectly cleansed souls but also to God the All-Sovereign. The authority for this ascription is not any ordinary one but a prophet, whom we do well to trust. This is the way in which the Psalmist speaks: “The Lord shepherds me and nothing shall be lacking to me” (Ps. xxiii. 1). It well befits every lover of God to rehearse this Psalm. But for the Universe it is a still more fitting theme. For land and water and air and fire, and all plants and animals which are in these, whether mortal or divine, yea and the sky, and the circuits of sun and moon, and the revolutions and rhythmic movements of the other heavenly bodies, are like some flock under the hand of God its King and Shepherd. This hallowed flock He leads in accordance with right and law, setting over it His true Word and Firstborn Son Who shall take upon Him its government like some viceroy of a great king; for it is said in a certain place: “Behold I AM, I send My Angel before thy face to guard thee in the way” (Exod. xxiii. 20). Let therefore even the whole universe, that greatest and most perfect flock of the God who IS, say, “The Lord shepherds me, and nothing shall fail me.” Let each individual person too utter this same cry, not with the voice that glides forth over tongue and lips, not reaching beyond a short space of air, but with the voice of the understanding that has wide scope and lays hold on the
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[309] ἀπτομένη περάτων. | ἀμήχανον γὰρ τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐνδεικνύει τινός ἐπιστατοῦντος θεοῦ πλήρη καὶ τέλεια τάγαθα τοῖς οὕσω αὕτων 54 εἰσθότος χαρίζεσθαι. ΧΙΙΙ. παγκάλη δὲ εἰς ὁσιότητα παραίνεσις ἢ διὰ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἄσματος· τῷ γὰρ ἄντι ο μὲν πάντα τὰ ἄλλα δοκῶν ἔχειν, τῇ δὲ ἕνος προστασία δυσχεραίνων, ἀτελῆς καὶ πένης· ἠτίς δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ποιμαίνεται ψυχὴ τὸ ἐν καὶ μόνον ἔχουσα, οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐκκρέμαται, ἀπροσδέχης εἰκότως ἐστὶν ἄλλων, οὐ τυφλὸν πλούτον, βλέποντα δὲ καὶ ὁφόδρα δεξιοδοκοῦντα θαυμάζουσα.

55 Τούτου πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ εἰς σύντονον καὶ δυσαπάλλακτον ἐρωτα ἤλθον, διὸ κτηνοτροφίαν γελάσαντες ἐξεπόνησαν ποιμενικὴν ἐπιστήμην. 56 τεκμήριον δὲ· ὁ τὴν περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰς κενὰς δόξας ὑπόθεσει αἰεὶ μελετῶν Ἰωσήφ, ἄρχειν μὲν καὶ ἐπιστατεῖν ἄλογον φύσεως οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος—προσβύτας γὰρ ἐθὸς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνυπευθύνους ἀρχὰς καλεῖσθαι, νέος δὲ ἐστὶν οὕτως αἰεὶ, κἂν τὸ χρόνον μὴκε γῆρας ἐπιγνώμενον ἐνέγκηται,—τρέφειν δὲ εἰσθὼς καὶ συναύξειν ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς φιλαρέτους πείσαι δυνήσεσθαι μεταβάλλειν ὡς αὐτὸν, ἵνα τῶν ἄλογων καὶ ἄφυχων περιεχόμενοι μηκέτ' ἐνευκαιρεῖν δύνωνται τοῖς λογικῆς ψυχῆς 57 ἐπιτηδεύμασι· φησί γὰρ· ἀν ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας πυνθάνηται, τὶ τὸ ἔργον ἤμων, ἀποκρίνεσθε· ἄνδρες κτηνοτρόφοι ἐσμέν. τοῦτο

1 MSS. ἀνυπαίτιον.
ends of the universe. For it cannot be that there should be any lack of a fitting portion, when God rules, whose wont it is to bestow good in fullness and perfection on all that is. XIII. Magnificent is the call to holiness sounded by the psalm just quoted; for the man is poor and incomplete in very deed, who, while seeming to have all things else, chafes at the sovereignty of One; whereas the soul that is shepherded of God, having the one and only thing on which all depend, is naturally exempt from want of other things, for it worships no blind wealth, but a wealth that sees and that with vision surpassingly keen.

An intense and unquenchable love for this wealth was entertained by all who belonged to its school, and this made them laugh cattle-rearing to scorn and spend labour on the lore of shepherding. The history of Joseph affords proof of this. Joseph, always having as the object of his thought and aim the rule of life based on the body and on the surmises of vain imagination, does not know how to govern and direct irrational natures. To offices such as this which are subject to no higher control older men are generally called; but he is always a young man, even if he have attained the old age that comes on us by mere lapse of time. Being accustomed to feed and fatten irrational natures instead of ruling them, he imagines that he will be able to win the lovers of virtue also to change over to his side in order that, devoting themselves to irrational and soulless creatures, they may no longer be able to find time for the pursuits of a rational soul. For he says, “If that Mind, whose realm is the body, inquire what your work is, tell him in reply, We are cattle-rearers” (Gen. xlvi. 33 f.). On hearing this
άκουσαντες κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς δυσχεραίνουσιν, εἰ ἥγεμόνες ὄντες ὑπηκόων τάξιν ἔχειν ὀμολογήσουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τροφὰς ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι διὰ τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀφθονίας εὐτρεπίζομενοι δοῦλοι γίνονται τῶν τρεφομένων καθάπερ δεσποίναις οἰκεῖαι φόρον τελοῦντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀναγκαῖον, ἄρχοντες δὲ οἱ τούτων ἐπιστατοῦντες καὶ τὰ περιττὰ τῆς ἐστὶ ἀπληστίαν ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῶν ἐπιστομίζοντες. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν λεχθέντος οὐ καθ' ἡδονήν ἀκουσάντας ἐκενθῆσοντες περιττῶν ἡγούμενοι τὸ μὴ μαθησομένοις διαφορὰν κτηνοτροφίας καὶ ποιμενικῆς ὕφηγεΐσθαι, αὖθις δὲ ὅταν ὁ περὶ τούτων ἁγίων ἀντική, διαγωνιζόμενοι πάση δυνάμει καὶ πρὶν ἀνά κράτους ἑλέων, οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἑλέοντον τε καὶ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἡγεμονικὸν τῷ ὑμῶν ἐπίδεικτο κυρία τοῦ Βασιλέως "τί τὸ ἐργον ὑμῶν;" ἀποκρίνονται· "ποιμένες ἔσμεν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν." XIV. εἰτ' οὐκ ἂν δόξαιεν ἐπὶ ποιμενικῆς τοσούτων αὐχείν, ὅσον οὐδεὶ ἐπὶ τῶ τοσούτω κράτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ προσομιλῶν αὐτοῖς βασιλεύσει· οἴ χεὶς οὕτως μόνος ἡ προαίροις τοῦ βίου τούτου μαρτυροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ὡς σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀπάσης ἱδίων· καϊ τοιούτως, εἰ μὲν ἂν περὶ αἰγῶν ἢ προβάτων ἐπιμελείας οἶ λόγος, κἀ πῶς ἡ ἡδονήν ὁμολογεῖν ἀτιμίαν φυγόντες· ἢδοξα γὰρ καὶ ταπεινὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τοῖς ὁγκον μὲν εὐτυχίας τῶν ἀνευ φρονήσεως περιβεβλημένοι καὶ μάλιστα βασιλεύσι νενομίσται.
they are vexed, as we might expect, that, being rulers, they are to admit that they occupy the position of subjects; for those, who prepare food for the senses by means of the lavish abundance of sensible objects, become slaves of those whom they feed, compelled day by day, like household servants to mistresses, to render the appointed due; whereas the place of rulers is held by those who exercise authority over the senses, and check their excessive impulse to greed. At first his brethren, though far from pleased at hearing what was said to them, will hold their peace, deeming it superfluous trouble to set forth to those who will not learn the difference between cattle-feeding and shepherding; but afterwards when the contest regarding these matters is upon them, they will engage in it with all their might, and, until they have carried the day, they will never relax their efforts to make manifest the free and noble and truly princely character that pertains to their nature. When the king asks them "What is your work?" they answer "We are shepherds, as were our fathers" (Gen. xlvii. 3). XIV. Aye indeed! Does it not seem as though they were more proud of being shepherds than is the king, who is talking to them, of all his sovereign power? They proclaim that not they only but their fathers also deliberately chose this course of life as worthy of entire and enthusiastic devotion. And yet, if the care of literal goats or sheep was what was meant, they would perhaps, in their shrinking from disgrace, have been actually ashamed to own what they were; for such pursuits are held mean and inglorious in the eyes of those who have compassed that importance, wholly devoid of wisdom, that comes with prosperity, and most of all in the eyes of mon-
62 τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτιακὸν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ διαφερόντως ἐστὶν ὑπέρανχον, ὅποτε μικρά τις αὐτὸ μόνον αὖρα καταπνεύσειν εὐπραγίας, ὡς χλεύην καὶ πλατὺν γέλωτα ἤγείσθαι τὰς τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων ἕστιν ύπέρανχον, οπότε μικρά τις αὐτό μόνον αὔρα καταπνεύσειν εὐπραγίας, ὡς χλεύην καὶ πλατὺν γέλωτα ἤγείσθαι τὰς τῶν δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων

63 περὶ βίου σπουδᾶς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ἔπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεων λογικῶν τε αὖ καὶ ἀλόγων πρόκειται σκοπεῖν, εἰκότως αὐχήσομεν οἱ πεπισμένοι ὅτι δύνανται κρατεῖν τῶν ἀλόγων

64 συμμάχους χρώμενοι ταῖς λογικαῖς. ἐὰν μέντοι τις βάσκανος καὶ φιλεγκλήσων αὐτώμονος φάσκῃ πῶς οὐν πομενικὴν τέχνην διαπονοῦντες καὶ τῆς συμφυοῦς ποίμνης ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ προστασίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι προσορμίσαι τῇ σώματος καὶ παθῶν χώρα διενοήθη, Αἰγύπτω, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρωσε τῶν πλοῦν ἐποίησαι τῇ παρακατοικίᾳ, μετὰ παρακατοικίας αὐτῷ λεκτέον, ὅτι "παρουκεῖν, ὦν κατοικεῖν

65 ἡλθομεν." τῷ γὰρ ὅτι πάσα ψυχὴ σοφοῦ πατρίδα μὲν οὐρανόν, ξένην δὲ γῆν ἔλαχε, καὶ νομίζει τὸν μὲν σοφίας οἶκον ἵδιον, τὸν δὲ σώματος ὀθνείον, ω καὶ παρεπιδημεϊὸν οἴεται. οὐκοὖν ἐπειδὰν ὁ ἀγελάρχης νοῦς παραλαβὼν τὴν ψυχῆς ἀγέλην νόμων φύσεως διδασκάλω χρώμενος εὐτόνως ἀφηγήται, δόκιμον αὐτὴν καὶ σφόδρα ἐπαινετὴν ἀπεργάζεται, ὅταν δὲ παρανομία ῥαθύμως καὶ ἀνειμένως προσφερόμενος, ψεκτὴν. εἰκότως τοίνυν ὁ μὲν βασιλέως ὄνομα ὑποδύεται ποιμῆν προσαγορευθεῖς, ὁ δ' ὀψαρτυτοῦ τινος ἐνοφότον οὐτοπόνον κτηνο-
archs. The spirit of the Egyptians too is by nature arrogant even beyond that of other men, whenever a feeble breath only of good fortune has blown over it, and this arrogance makes them treat the aims in life and the ambitions of more common people as matter for rude jesting and loud ridicule. But seeing that the subject propounded for consideration is that of the rational and irrational faculties in the soul, those will have ground for boasting who are convinced that they are able by employing the rational faculties as their allies to get the better of those which are irrational. If, however, some malignant and contentious person find fault with them and say, “How is it, then, that, devoting your labour to the science of shepherding, and professing to bestow the care of leaders on the flock that lives and grows with your life and growth, you conceived the idea of coming to anchor in Egypt, the land of the body and the passions, instead of voyaging to some different port?”—we may confidently say to him “We came to sojourn (Gen. xlvi. 4)—not to settle there”; for in reality a wise man’s soul ever finds heaven to be his fatherland and earth a foreign country, and regards as his own the dwelling-place of wisdom, and that of the body as outlandish, and looks on himself as a stranger and sojourner in it. Accordingly when Mind, the ruler of the flock, taking the flock of the soul in hand with the law of Nature as his instructor shews it the way with vigorous leadership, he renders it well worthy of praise and approval, even as he subjects it to blame if he disregard Nature’s law and behave slackly and carelessly. With good reason, then, will the one take on him the name of king and be hailed “shepherd,” but the other that of a sort
τρόφος ἐπιφημισθεῖς, εὐωχίαν καὶ θοίνην ἀδὴφαγεῖν
θρέμμασιν εἰωθόσιν εὐτρεπτίζομεν.

67 XV. "Ον δή τρόπον γεωργὸς μὲν ἐργάτου γῆς,
pοιμὴν δὲ κτηνοτρόφου διενήνοχεν, οὐκ ἀμελῶς
ἐπιδέδειχα. καὶ τρίτον δ’ ἐστὶ συγγένειαν τινα ἔχων
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα, περι οὖ νῦν ἐρούμεν· ὑπέα τε
γὰρ καὶ ἀναβάτην οὐ μόνον ἀνθρωπον ἐποχούμενον
ἐποχούμενον χρεμετιστικῷ ξύῳ μακρῷ διαφέρειν

68 ἤγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισμῶν λογισμοῦ. ὁ μὲν
τοίνυν ἄνευ τέχνης ἢππικῆς ἐπιβεβηκὼς λέγεται
μὲν εἰκότως ἀναβάτης, ἐκδέδωκε δὲ εαυτὸν ἀλόγῳ
καὶ σκιρτητικῷ θρέμματι, ὡσθ’ ἵππη ἄν ἐκεῖνο

[311] χωρῇ (7') κεῖσε πάντως ἀναγκαίον φέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ
προϊοόμενον χάσμα γῆς ἡ βαθύν τινα βόθρον ὑπὸ
tῆς ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ῥύμης κατακρημνισθῆναι [συν-
ηνέχθη] καὶ συγκαταποθῆναι τὸν φερόμενον. ὁ
δ’ ὑπὲρ πάλιν, οταν ἀνέρχεσθαι μέλλῃ, χαλινὸν
ἐντίθησι κάπετ' ἐφαλλόμενος τῆς περιαυχενίου
χαίτης ἐνείληπται καὶ φέρεσθαι δοκῶν αὐτὸς, εἰ
dei τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἄγει τὸ κομίζει τρόπον
κυβερνήτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄγεσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ
νεῶς τῆς κυβερνωμένης ἄγει πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν αὐτὴν

70 καὶ ἐφ’ οὖς ἐπείγεται παραπέμπει λυμένας. οταν
μὲν οὖν εὐηνίως προέρχηται, κατασχέω δ’ ὑπὲρ
ὡς ἄν ἐπαινῶν τὸν ὑπὸ, οταν δὲ σὺν πλείον
ὀρμῇ πέραν ἐκφέρηται τοῦ μετρίου, μετὰ βίας
eυτόνως ἀναχαίτιζει, ὡς ὑπανεῖν τοῦ τάχους·
εὰν δὲ ἀπειθῶν ἐπιμένῃ, λαβῶν τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὅλον
ἀντέσπασε καὶ ἀντιπερίήγαγεν αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα,

a Or “mounted man.”
Or “the man mounted on him.”
ON HUSBANDRY, 66–70

of cook or baker and be entitled "cattle-feeder," serving up rich fare as a feast for beasts who make a habit of gluttony.

XV. I have taken some pains to shew in what way a husbandman differs from a worker on the soil, and a shepherd from a feeder of cattle. There is a third head akin to those that have been dealt with, and of it we will now speak. For the lawgiver holds that a horseman differs greatly from a rider, not only when each is a man seated on a neighing animal but when each is a process of reasoning. Well then, he who being without skill in horsemanship is on a horse's back is naturally called a rider. He has given himself over to an irrational and capricious beast, the consequence being that, wherever the creature goes, thither he must of absolute necessity be carried, and that the animal, not having caught sight in time of an opening in the ground or of some deep trench, is hurled headlong owing to the violence of his pace, and his rider is borne to destruction with him. The horseman, on the other hand, when he is about to mount, puts the bit in the horse's mouth and then as he leaps on its back, seizes hold of its mane, and, though seeming to be borne along, himself in actual fact leads, as a pilot does, the creature that is carrying him. For the pilot also, while seeming to be led by the ship which he is steering, in reality leads it, and convoys it to the ports which he is anxious to reach. When the horse goes ahead in obedience to the rein, the horseman strokes him as though he were praising him, but when he gets too impetuous and exceeds the suitable pace, he uses force and pulls back his head strongly, so as to lessen his speed. If he goes on being refractory, he grips the bit and pulls his whole
71 ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης στήναι· καὶ πρὸς, σκιρτήσεις μὲν καὶ τοὺς συνεχεῖς ἀφηνιασμούς εἰσι μάστιγες καὶ μύωπες εὐτρεπεῖς καὶ τὰλλ' ὡσα τωλοδάμναι ἵππων κατεσκεύασται κολαστήρια. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· ἀνόντος γὰρ τοῦ ἵππεως καὶ ἵππικη τέχνη συνανέρχεται, ὥστε δύο ὄντες καὶ ἐποχούμενοι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες εἰκότως ἔνος καὶ ὑποβεβλημένου καὶ ἀπαραδέκτου τέχνης ζύμω περιέσονται.

72 XVI. Μεταβάς τούνν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεμετιζόντων καὶ τῶν ἐποχούμενων αὐτοῖς τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχῆν εἰ ἠθέλεις ἐρεύνησον· εὐφρήσεις γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἵππως καὶ Ἴπποι καὶ ἴππικη τέχνη συνανέρχεται, ὥστε δύο ὄντες καὶ ἐποχούμενοι καὶ ἐπιστήμονες εἰκότως ἔνος καὶ ὑποβεβλημένου καὶ ἀπαραδέκτου τέχνης ζύμω περιέσονται.

73 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός. ἵπποι μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμία καὶ θυμός εἰσιν, ὃ μὲν ἄρρην, ἡ δὲ θήλεια. διὰ τοῦτο ὃ μὲν γαυρώσων ᾠφετος εἰναι βούλεται καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐστιν ψυαύχην ὡς ἂν ἄρρην, ἡ δ' ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς καὶ πανουργία ἱππομαχεῖ εἰκόσιν, οἰκοθόρος· ἃθηλεια γάρ. ἀναβάτης δὲ καὶ ἴππος εἰς τὸ νοῦς ἀλλ' ἤνικα μὲν μετὰ φρονήσεως ἄνεισιν, ἴππος, ὡστε δὲ μετ' ἀφροσύνης, ἀναβάτης.

74 ἀφρων μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ ἀμαβίας κρατεῖν ἀδυνατεῖ τῶν ἴππων, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἱππῶν ἀπορρεῖσαι χαμαι πιπτουσι, τὰ δὲ ζῷα εὐθὺς ἀφηνιασάντα πλημμελή καὶ ἄτακτον ποιεῖται τὸν δρόμον. ὁ δ' ἐπιθυμητὴς οὐδενὸς ἐνειλημμένος, υφ' οὐ στηρυχθήσεται, πίπτει, περιδρυπτόμενος δὲ γόνω καὶ κείρα καὶ πρόσωπα μεγάλα κλαίει τὴν ἴδιαν κακοπραγίαν ὃ δείλαιος, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰς...
neck round the other way, so that he is forced to stop. To counter rearings and constant unruliness there are whips and spurs ready at hand and all the other contrivances with which breakers-in of colts are provided for punishing them. There is nothing to wonder at in all this, for when the horseman gets on the horse's back, skill in horsemanship gets up with him, so that there are really two, a seated man on the horse and an expert, and they will naturally get the better of a single animal who is not only underneath them but is incapable of acquiring skill.

XVI. Passing then from the neighing animals and those that ride upon them, search, if you please, your own soul; for you will find among its constituent parts both horses and one who wields the reins and one who is mounted, all just as in the outside world. Desire and high spirit are horses, the one male, the other female. For this reason the one prances and wants to be free and at large and has a high neck, as you might expect of a male. The other is mean and slavish, up to sly tricks, keeps her nose in the manger and empties it in no time, for she is a female. The Mind is alike mounted man and wielder of the reins; a wielder of the reins, when he mounts accompanied by good sense, a mere mounted man when folly is his companion. The foolish man, since he has never learnt, cannot keep hold of the reins. They slip from his hand and drop on the ground; and straightway the animals are out of control, and their course becomes erratic and disorderly. The fool behind them does not take hold of anything to steady him, but tumbles out barking knee and hands and face, and loudly bewails, poor miserable fellow, his own misfortune. Many a time his feet catch in the board, and he hangs
βάσεις πρὸς τὸν δύρον ἐξημμένος ἀνατραπεῖς
[312] ύπτιος ἐπὶ νῦτα | ἀπηγύρηται καὶ ἐν ἀρματοτροχίᾳς
αὐταῖς κεφαλὴς τε καὶ αὐχένα καὶ ὠμοὺς ἀμ-
φοτέρους περιβραύεται κατασφῡμενος, ἐλθὼ δὲ
κακείσε φορούμενος καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ποσὶ προσ-
76 αραττόμενος οἰκτρότατον ὑπομένει θάνατον. τὸ
μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβαίνει τὸ τέλος, τὸ δὲ ὀχῆμα
ἀνακουφιζόμενον καὶ ἐξαλλόμενον μετὰ βίας, όταν
ἐπὶ γῆν παλίσσυτον ἐνεχθὲν, βάστα κατάγνυται,
ὡς μηκέτοι ἀθικὸς ἀρμοσθῆναι καὶ παγνήνι δύνασθαι·
tὰ δὲ ἐξανάργυτον τῶν συνεχόντων ἀφειμένα
παρακεντᾶται καὶ οὐστρὰ καὶ οὐ παῦται φερόμενα,
πρὶν ὑποσκελισθέντα πεσεῖν ἢ κατὰ τινὸς ἐνεχθέντα.
77 κρημνοῦ βαθείος παραπολέσθαι. ΧVII. τοιτὸν οὖν
ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦς ἐπιβάταις τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀχήμα σύμπαν διαφθείρεσθαι πλημμέλησαν τὴν
ημύσκησιν. τοὺς δὴ τοιούτους ἱπποὺς καὶ τοὺς
ἐποχομένους ἀνευ τέχνης αὐτοῖς λυσιτελῆς καθ-
αγείρεσθαι, ἵνα τὰ ἀρετῆς ἐγείρηται· πυττούσης
γὰρ ἀφρόσυνης ἀνάγκη φρόνησιν ὑπανιστάσθαι.
78 Διὰ τοῦτ ἐν προτρεπτικῷς Μωυσῆς φησιν· "ἐὰν
ἐξέλθης εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ ἐχθροὺς σου καὶ ὕδης ἱπποὺς
καὶ ἀναβάτην καὶ λαὸν πλείον, οὐ φοβηθῆσῃ, ὅτι
κύριος ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ·" θυμοῦ γὰρ καὶ ἐπι-
θυμίας καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντην παθῶν, καὶ τῶν
ὁλων ἐποχομένων ἄσπερ ἱππὸς ἐκάστοις λογι-
σμῶν, καὶ ἀμάχω βίωμη κεχρῆσθαι νομισθῶσιν,
ἀλογητέον τοῦς ἔχοντας τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως
θεοῦ δύναμιν ὑπερασπίζουσαν καὶ προαγωνιζομένην
79 αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ. στρατὸς δὲ θείος αἰ ἀρεταῖς
ἐπιθέων ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῶν, αἰς, ἐπειδὰν ἵδωσι τὸν

a One of Philo’s names for Deuteronomy; cf. § 172.
suspended turned over back-downwards, and as he is dragged along in the very wheel tracks he gets head and neck and both shoulders battered and crushed, and in the end, tossed after this fashion in every direction and knocking up against everything that comes in his way, he undergoes a most pitiable death. For him such is the end that results, but the vehicle lifting itself up and making violent springs, when it reaches the ground in its rebound, too easily becomes a wreck, so that it is quite beyond being mended and made strong again. The horses, released from all that kept them in, become distracted and maddened and never stop tearing along until they trip and fall, or are swept down some steep precipice and perish. XVII. It is to be expected that the entire vehicle of the soul with all who are on it should come to ruin in this manner, if it has gone wrong in the matter of the driving. It is a gain that such horses and those who drive them without skill should be destroyed, that the products of virtue may be exalted; for when folly has a fall, wisdom is bound to rise up.

This is why Moses in his “hortatory discourse” says: “If thou shalt go out to war against thine enemies and see horse and rider and much people, thou shalt not be afraid, because the Lord thy God is with thee” (Deut. xx, 1). For high spirit and craving lust and all passions generally, and the whole array of reasoning faculties seated upon each of them as upon horses, even though they be held to have at their disposal resistless might, may be disregarded by those who have the power of the Great King acting always and everywhere as their shield and champion. There is a divine army consisting of the virtues who fight on behalf of souls that love God, whom it befits
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ἀντίπαλον ᾦτημένον, ἀρμότει πάγκαλον καὶ πρεπωδέστατον ὡμὸν ἄδεων τῷ νικηφόρῳ καὶ καλλινίκῳ θεῷ. δύο δὲ χοροῖ, ὥ μὲν τῆς ἄνδρωνίτιδος, ὣ δὲ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἔστίας, στάντες ἀντηχον 80 καὶ ἀντίφωνον ἀναμέλψουσιν ἀρμονίαν. χρήσεται δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν ἄνδρων χορὸς ἡγεμόνι Μωυσεῖ, νῦν τελεῖώ, ὣ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν Μαριάμ, αἰσθῆσει κεκαθαρμένην. δίκαιον γὰρ καὶ νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς τοὺς εἰς τὸ θείον ὡμονοι καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοὺς ἀνυπερθέτως ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐμμελῶς κρούειν ἐκάτερον, τὸ τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μόνου σωτήρος εὐχαριστία καὶ τιμῆ. τὴν γοῦν παράλοιπον ὥθην ἄδουσι μὲν πάντες ἄνδρες, οὐ μὴν τυφλὴ διανοία, ἀλλ' ἦν καθορῶντες Μωυσέως. ἄδουσι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρισται, τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγεγραμμέναι πολιτεύματι, Μαριάμ ἀφηγούμενης αὐταῖς.

82 XVIII. ὡμὸν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἄδεται τοῖς χοροῖς ἐπωδόν ἔχων θαυμασιώτατον, δὲν εφυμνεῖσθαι καλὸν· ἐστι δὲ τοιόσοδε "ἀςωμεν τῷ [313] κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ | δεδοξαστα· άππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρρυψεν εἰς θάλασσαν." ἀμείνονα γὰρ καὶ τελειοτεραν οὐκ ἂν τις ἑυρισκόμεν νίκην ἢ καθ' ἄν το τετράπον καὶ σκιρτητικὸν καὶ ὑπέραυχον ἠττηται παθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν ἄλκαμωτατον στίφος—καὶ γὰρ κακιῶν τῷ γένει τέτταρες καὶ πάθη ταῦτας ἰσάριθμα—, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐπιβάτης αὐτῶν μισάρετος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοὺς καταπεσῶν

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a See App. p. 490.
b The four vices are folly, cowardice, intemperance, injustice (corresponding to the four virtues). Diog. Laert. vii. 92. For the four passions, grief, fear, desire, pleasure, see S. V. F. iii. 381 ff.
when they see the adversary vanquished, to sing to God, gloriously triumphant and giver of victory, a hymn of beauty and wholly befitting Him. And two choirs, one from the quarters of the men, one from those of the women, with answering note and voice shall raise harmonious chant. The choir of the men shall have Moses for its leader, that is Mind in its perfection, that of the women shall be led by Miriam, that is sense-perception made pure and clean (Exod. xv. 1, 20). For it is right with both mind and sense to render hymns and sing blessings to the Godhead without delay, and tunefully to strike each of our instruments, that of mind and that of sense perception, in thanksgiving and honour paid to the only Saviour. So we find the Song by the seashore sung by all that are men, with no blind understanding but with keenest vision, with Moses as their leader; it is sung also by the women who in the true sense are the best, having been enrolled as members of Virtue's commonwealth, with Miriam to start their song. XVIII. The same hymn is sung by both choirs, and it has a most noteworthy refrain, the recurrence of which is strikingly beautiful. It is this: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for gloriously hath He been glorified; horse and rider He threw into the sea" (Exod. xv. 1, 21). No one who looks into the matter could find a more perfect victory than one in which that most doughty array of passions and vices, four-footed, restless, boastful beyond measure, has been defeated. So it is, for vices are four in kind and passions equal to these in number. It is a victory, moreover, in which their rider has been thrown and dispatched, even virtue-hating and
οίχεται, ὁς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀδικίαις τε καὶ πανουργίαις, ἐτι δὲ ἄρπαγαίς καὶ πλεονεξίαις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θρέμμασιν ἐγεγήθει.

84 Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ταῖς παραινέσεσιν ἐκδιδάσκει μηδ' ἄρχοντα χειροτονεῖν ἵπποτρόφον, ἀνεπιτήδειον οἷομενος εἰναι πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πάνθ' ὦς ἂν περὶ ἡδονᾶς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἐρωτα άκαθεκτος μεμηνῶς οἰα ἁχαλίνωτος καὶ ἁφηνιαστῆς ἰππὸς οἰστρα. λέγει γὰρ ὅδε: "οὐ δυνήσῃ καταστήσαι ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν άνθρωπον ἀλλότριον, ὦτι οὐκ ἄδελφος σοῦ ἐστι. διότι οὐ πληθυνεῖ ἐαυτῷ ἰππον, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃ τὸν λαὸν εἰς Αἰγυπτον."

85 οὐκοὶ τῶν ἰπποτρόφων πρὸς ἀρχὴν πέφυκεν οὔδεις κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν· καίτοι φαίνεται ἄν ἓσως, ὅτι μεγάλη χεῖρ ἐστι βασιλείως ἵππηκή δύναμις οὔτε πεζῆς οὔτε ναυτικῆς ἀποδεουσα, πολλαχοὶ δὲ καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἀνυπερθέτου καὶ συντόνου τάχους τῆς ἐπεξόδου δεῖ τῶν καιρῶν μέλλειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰσταμένων ἀκμῆς, ὥς μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τοῦς ὑστερηκότας μᾶλλον ἢ ἀποτυχεῖν ἃν εἴκότως εἰσάπαν νομισθῆναι, φθάντων παρελθεῖν ὡσπερ ἀνέποι. XIX. εἰπομεν δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς· οὐδεμίαν, ὦ γενναίοι, φρουράν ἄρχοντος ὁ νομοθέτης ὑποτέμνεται οὔδὲ τὸ συλλεχθέν αὐτῷ στρατευμα ἀκρωτηριάζει τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ ἀνυσιμώτερον, τῆν ἐπική δύναμιν, ἀποκόπτων, ἀλλ' ὡς

1 MSS. ἐπ' αὐτῶν.
2 MSS. ἀνυπερβέτω καὶ συντόμω τάχει.

a Another of Philo's names for Deuteronomy.
ON HUSBANDRY, 83–86

passion-loving mind, whose delight was in pleasures and cravings, acts of injustice and rascality, as well as in exploits of plundering and overreaching and all that stable.

Right well therefore does the lawgiver in his Charges give directions not to appoint a horse-rearer to be a ruler, regarding as unsuited for such high authority any man who resembles an unbridled and unruly horse, and, in his wild excitement over pleasures, lusts and amours, knows no restraint. These are the lawgiver's words, "Thou mayest not appoint over thyself a foreigner, because he is not thy brother; for the reason that he shall not multiply to himself horses, nor turn the people back into Egypt" (Deut. xvii. 15 f.). According, therefore, to Moses, that most holy man, a rearer of horses is by nature unfit to hold rule; and yet it might be urged that strength in cavalry is a great asset to a king, and not a whit less important than infantry and the naval force; nay, in many cases of greater service than these. These arms are especially important when it is requisite that the offensive should be instantaneous and vigorously pressed; when the state of affairs does not admit of delay, but is in the highest degree critical; so that those who are behind-hand would fairly be considered not so much to have been slow to gain the advantage as to have failed for good and all, since the other side has been too quick for them, and gone by them like a cloud.

XIX. We would say in answer to these criticisms, "My good sirs, the lawgiver is not curtailing any ruler's garrison, nor is he incapacitating the army which he has collected by cutting off the more effective part of the force, the cavalry. He is trying
οἶνον τε πειράται συναίζειν, ἵν' εἰς τε ἱσχὺν καὶ πλῆθος ἐπιδόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι βάστα τοὺς ἑναντίους καθαρωῦν. τίνι γὰρ οὕτω λοχίσαι στράτευμα καὶ τάξαι καὶ κατὰ φάλαγγας διανεῖμαι καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πλείονον ἡ ἑλαττώνον ἣγεμόνας καταστήσαι ἢ ὡσα τακτικὰ καὶ στρατηγικὰ εὐρηται [καὶ] τοὺς ὀρθῶς χρησομένους ὑφηγήσασθαι κατὰ πολλὴν τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἐ.

87 στήμης περιουσίαιν ἐξεγένετο; ἄλλα γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ νῦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ δυνάμεως ἵππηκῆς, ἢν συγκροτεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄρχοντος ἐπ' ἀναφέρεσε δυσμενῶν καὶ σωτηρίας φίλων ἀναγκαῖον, ἄλλα περὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχῆς ἀλογοῦ καὶ ἀμέτρου καὶ ἀπειθοῦς φορᾶς, ἢν ἐπιστομίζειν λυσιτελές, μὴ ποτὲ τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς ἀπανταί εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὴν τοῦ σώματος χώραν, ἀποστρέψῃ καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοπαθή μᾶλλον ἢ φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον ἀνὰ κράτος ἐργάσηται, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πλῆθος ἵππων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κτώμενον ἀνάγκη τῆς ἐν τούτῳ ἢπτα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφῆ, βαδίζειν ὅδόν. ὅταν γὰρ καθ' ἐκάτερον τοῖχον τῆς ψυχῆς νεὼς τρόπον, τὸν τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ὑπὸ βίας τῶν κατασκεύων ἐς αὐτῆς παθῶν τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἀντιρρεπόσης καὶ κλινομένης ἐξαιρόμενον ἐπιβαίνῃ τὸ κύμα, τὸθ' ὡς εἰκὸς ὑπέραντλος ὡς νοῦς γυνόμενος καταποντοῦται· βυθὸς δὲ ἦστιν, εἰς ὃν καταποντοῦται καὶ καταδυτείναι, σῶμα αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπευκασθένει Αἰγύπτων.

88 στήμης περιουσίαιν ἐξεγένετο; ἄλλα γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ νῦν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ περὶ δυνάμεως ἵππηκῆς, ἢν συγκροτεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄρχοντος ἐπ' ἀναφέρεσε δυσμενῶν καὶ σωτηρίας φίλων ἀναγκαῖον, ἄλλα περὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχῆς ἀλογοῦ καὶ ἀμέτρου καὶ ἀπειθοῦς φορᾶς, ἢν ἐπιστομίζειν λυσιτελές, μὴ ποτὲ τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς ἀπανταί εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὴν τοῦ σώματος χώραν, ἀποστρέψῃ καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ φιλοπαθή μᾶλλον ἢ φιλάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον ἀνὰ κράτος ἐργάσηται, ἐπειδή τὸν πλῆθος ἵππων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κτώμενον ἀνάγκη τῆς ἐν τούτῳ ἢπτα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφῆ, βαδίζειν ὅδόν. ὅταν γὰρ καθ' ἐκάτερον τοῖχον τῆς ψυχῆς νεὼς τρόπον, τὸν τε νοῦ καὶ αἰσθήσεως, ὑπὸ βίας τῶν κατασκεύων ἐς αὐτῆς παθῶν τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἀντιρρεπόσης καὶ κλινομένης ἐξαιρόμενον ἐπιβαίνῃ τὸ κύμα, τὸθ' ὡς εἰκὸς ὑπέραντλος ὡς νοῦς γυνόμενος καταποντοῦται· βυθὸς δὲ ἦστιν, εἰς ὃν καταποντοῦται καὶ καταδυτείναι, σῶμα αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπευκασθένει Αἰγύπτων.

90 ΧΧ. μὴ ποτ' οὖν περὶ τούτῳ σπουδάσῃς τῆς ἑπιτροφίας τὸ εἶδος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θάτερον μετιόντες ψεκτοὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτοί· πῶς γὰρ οὖ; παρ' οἷς ἄλογα ζώα μᾶλλον τετίμηται, ἢν ἐκ τῆς οἰ-
his best to improve it, that by an increase, both in strength and numbers, those who are fighting side by side may most easily overcome their enemies. For who was so capable as he, in virtue of abundant acquaintance with these matters, to marshal an army by phalanxes and draw it up in order of battle and to appoint captains and corps-commanders and the other leaders of larger or smaller bodies of men, or to impart to those who would make a right use of it all that has been found out in the way of tactics and strategy? But the fact is that he is not talking in this passage about a cavalry force, which a sovereign has to organize for the overthrow of an unfriendly power and for the safety of his friends. He is speaking about that irrational and unmeasured and unruly movement in the soul to check which is in her interest, lest some day it turn back all her people to Egypt, the country of the body, and forcibly render it a lover of pleasure and passion rather than of God and virtue. For he who acquires a multitude of horses cannot fail, as the lawgiver himself said, to take the road to Egypt. For when the soul is swaying and tossing like a vessel, now to the side of the mind now to that of body, owing to the violence of the passions and misdeeds that rage against her, and the billows rising mountains high sweep over her, then in all likelihood the mind becomes waterlogged and sinks; and the bottom to which it sinks is nothing else than the body, of which Egypt is the figure. XX. Never then give your mind to this kind of horse-rearing. Blameworthy indeed are those also who make a business of it in its literal form. To be sure they are so. With them irrational beasts are of greater value than human
κίας ἵππων μὲν ἀγέλαι κατευχημένων ἀεὶ προ­
έρχονται, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐπομένων οὐδὲ ἐἰς ἔρανον
εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐνδείας, οὔ διωρεάν εἰς περιουσίαν
91 εὐρισκόμενος. ἀλλ’ ὀμως κουφότερα ἀδικοῦσιν·
ἀθλητὰς γὰρ ἱππους ἀνατρέφοντες τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς
ἀγώνας καὶ τὰς πανταχῆ πανηγύρεις ἄγομένας φασὶ
kοσμεῖν καὶ οὐχ ἱδονῆς μόνον [ἀλλὰ] καὶ τῆς περὶ
tὴν θέαν τέρψεως αἴτιοι γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῆς τῶν καλῶν1 ἀσκήσεως τε καὶ μελέτης. οἱ
γὰρ τὸν τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι πόθον ἐνιδόντες2 θηρίους,
dιὰ τιμῆς ἕρωτα καὶ ζηλοῦ ἀρετής ἀλέκτω τινὶ
προτροπῆ καὶ προθυμία χρησάμενοι, πόνου ἢδεις
υποστάντες τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἐπιβαλλόντων οὐχ ἀφ·
92 ἔχονται, πρὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ’ οὕτω
μὲν εὖρεσιλογοῦσιν ἀδικοῦσις, οἱ δ’ άνευ ἀπολογίας
diαμαρτάνοντες εἰσιν οἱ τῶν ἀναβάτην νοῦν ἐποχον
ἀποφαίνοντες ἀπειρον ἱππικῆς ἐπιστήμης κακία
καὶ πάθει τετράποδι. ἐὰν μὲν τοι τέχνην τὴν
ήμιοχίαν ἀναδιδαχθεῖς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνομιλήσεις καὶ
ἐνδιάτριψης αὐτῆ καὶ ἡδη νομίσματι ἰκανὸς εἰσιν
dύνασθαι κρατεῖν ἵππων, ἀναβὰς ἔχου τῶν ἦμιῶν
οὕτως γὰρ οὐτε ἀνασκιρτώντων αὐτὸς ἀποπίπτων
μετὰ τραυμάτων δυσιάτων γέλωτα παρ’ ἐπιχαιρε·
κακοῦσιν ὁφλήσεις θεαται οὔτ’ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡ
κατόπω ἐπιτεχνόντων ἐξθρῶν ἀλώσῃ, τοὺς μὲν
τάχει φθάνων τῶ προεκδραμεῖν διώκοντας, τῶν

1 MSS. κακῶν. 2 MSS. ἑνδίδοντες.

α Whether ἢδεις is taken as nom. or acc., it is doubtful
Greek in this sense. Mangey’s ἢδεως is more natural.
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beings. From their mansions there continually come troops of well-fed horses leading the way, while of the human beings that come behind these not one can get out of them a contribution to supply his need, or a gift to provide him with some spare cash. Nevertheless the wrong done by these people is less heinous. For they contend that by training race-horses they both add lustre to the sacred race-meetings, and to the national festivals which are held universally; that they not only give the spectators pleasure and provide them with the enjoyment of the sight, but promote the cultivation and study of noble aims; for men (they say) who behold in animals the desire to carry off the victory, find themselves filled, by reason of their love of honour and enthusiasm for excellence, with an urgency and readiness beyond words, and so readily a submit to exertions in such contests as properly belong to them, and will not desist till they achieve their object. While these people find arguments in favour of their ill-doing, those who sin without excuse are those who take Mind, that rider who is a tyro in the science of horsemanship, and put him on the back of four-footed vice and passion. If, however, you have been taught the art of driving, and having become fairly familiar with it by persistent practice, have come to the conclusion that you can now manage horses, mount and hold on to the reins. By this means you will escape two disasters. If the horses rear you will not fall off, get badly hurt, and incur the ridicule of malicious spectators; nor, if enemies make a rush at you from in front or from behind, will you be caught; you will be too quick for those who come from behind and outstrip their pursuit; and you will
δὲ προσιόντων ἄλογῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιστήμην.

94 XXI. Οὐκ εἰκότως οὖν Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀναβατῶν ἄδων ἀπωλείᾳ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εὐχεταί σωτηρίαν παντελῆ; δύνανται γὰρ οὕτωι χαλινον ταῖς ἄλογοις δυνάμεις ἐμβαλόντες αὐτῶι ἐπίστομοὶς τῆς πλεοναζούσης τὴν ἐφορᾶν ὄρμης. τίς οὖν ἡ εὐχὴ, λεκτέων " γενέσθω " φησί " Δὰν ὁφι ἐφ ὄδου, ἐγκαθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσέται ὁ ἱππεύς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου." δ ν' αἰνίττεται διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς, μηνυτέον ἐρμηνεύεται Δὰν κρίσις.

95 τὴν | οὖν ἐξετάζουσαν καὶ ἀκριβοῦσαν καὶ διακρίνουσαν καὶ τρόπων τινὰ δικάλαισαν ἕκαστα τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμιν ὠμοίωσε δράκοντι—ζῷον δ' ἔστι καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ποικίλον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἔτοιμον καὶ τοὺς χειρῶν ἄρχοντας ἀδίκων ἀμύνασθαι δυνατῶτατον—, οὗ μὴν τῷ ψέω καὶ συμβούλῳ ἦως—Εὐαν πατρίω γλώττῃ καλεῖν ἀτῆς ἔθος—, ἄλλα τῷ πρὸς Μωυσεῶς ἐξ ὦλης χαλκοῦ δημιουργηθέντι, δν οἱ δηχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν θρόλων ὀφεῖν καὶ νυπότατοι πετυχέουν καὶ μηδέποτε ἀποθνῄσκειν λέγονται. XXII. τάτα δ' οὕτως μὲν λεγόμενα φάσμασιν ἐοικε καὶ τέρασι, δράκων ἀνθρώπου προϊέμενος φωνήν καὶ ἐνσοφιστεύων ἀκακωτάτοις θεσί καὶ πιθανότησιν εὐπαραγώγοις γυναῖκα ἀπατῶν, καὶ ἐτέρος αἰτίος σωτηρίας γενό-97 μενος παντελοῦς τοῖς θεασαμένοις. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δ'
make light of the frontal attack owing to your knowing the trick of backing without risk.

XXI. Does not Moses, then, when celebrating the destruction of the riders, naturally pray for complete salvation for the horsemen? For these are able by applying bit and bridle to the irrational faculties to curb the excessive violence of their movement. We must say, then, what his prayer is: “Let Dan,” he says, “be a serpent on the road, seated upon the track, biting the heel of the horse; and the horseman shall fall backwards, waiting for the salvation of the Lord” (Gen. xlix. 17 f.). What he intimates by the prayer, we must point out. “Dan” means “judgement” or “sifting.” The faculty, then, which tests and investigates and determines and, in a manner, judges all the soul’s concerns, he likened to a serpent. This is a creature tortuous in its movements, of great intelligence, ready to shew fight, and most capable of defending itself against wrongful aggression. He did not liken the faculty to the serpent that played the friend and gave advice to “Life”—whom in our own language we call “Eve”—but to the serpent made by Moses out of material brass. When those who had been bitten by the venomous serpents looked upon this one, though at the point of death, they are said to have lived on and in no case to have died (Numb. xxi. 8). XXII. Told in this way, these things are like prodigies and marvels, one serpent emitting a human voice and using quibbling arguments to an utterly guileless character, and cheating a woman with seductive plausibilities; and another proving the author of complete deliverance to those who beheld it. But when we interpret words by the
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υπονοιῶν ἀποδόσει τὸ μὲν μυθώδες ἐκποδῶν οὖχεται, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς ἀρίδηλον εὐρίσκεται· τὸν μὲν οὖν τῆς γυναικὸς ὄφων, αἰσθήσεως καὶ σαρκῶν ἐκκρεμαμένης ζωῆς, ἡδονῆν εἶναι φαμεν, ἅλυσπωμένην καὶ πολυπλοκωτάτην, ἀνεγερθήναι μὴ δυναμένην, αἰεὶ καταβεβλημένην, ἐπὶ μόνα τὰ γῆς ἐρπουσαι ἀγαθὰ, καταδύσεις τὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι ζητοῦσαι, ὥσπερ ὄργανα χάσματι ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐμφωλεύονται, σύμβουλον ἀνθρώπων, φονῶσαν κατὰ τοῦ κρείττονος, ἱοβόλοις καὶ ἀνωδύνους γλιχομένην δήγμασιν ἀποκτείναν· τὸν δὲ Μωυσέως ὅφον τήν ἡδονῆν ἐναντίαν διάθεσιν, καρτεριάν, παρὸ καὶ τῆς χαλκοῦ κραταιοτάτης

98 ὅλης κατασκευασμένος εἰσάγεται. τὸν οὖν ἄκρως καταθεασάμενον τὸ καρτερίας εἴδος, καὶ εἰ δεδηγμένος πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλτρων ἡδονῆς τυχόνων, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπανατείναται ψυχήθανατον ἀπαραίτητον, ἐγκράτεια δ’ ὑγείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν προτείνει βίου. ἀντιπαθὲς δ’ ἀκολοσίας

99 φάρμακον ἢ ἀλεξύκακος σωφροσύνη. παντὶ δὲ [316] σοφῷ τὸ καλὸν φίλον, δ’ καὶ πάντως ἐστὶ | σωτήριον. ὥσθ’ ὅταν εὐχηται Μωυσῆς γενέσθαι τῷ Δᾶν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὄφων—ἐκατέρως γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔκδεξαι—, παραπλήσιον τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέντι, ἀλλ’ οὖχ ὁμοιόν τῷ τῆς Εὐας εὐχηταῖ· τὴν γὰρ εὐχήν ἄγαθων αἰτησίων εἶναι συμβεβηκε.

100 τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς καρτερίας γένος ἄγαθὸν καὶ οἰστικὸν ἀφθαρσίας, ἄγαθὸν τελείου, τὸ δ’ τῆς ἡδονῆς κακῶν

a Cf. the lxx in Gen. iii. 20 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν 'Αδάμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναῖκος αὐτοῦ, Ζωή.

b This seems strange here, notwithstanding “friend and counsellor” above, § 95. Mangey proposed επίβουλον, Wend. <κακῶν> σύμβουλον.

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meanings that lie beneath the surface, all that is mythical is removed out of our way, and the real sense becomes as clear as daylight. Well then, we say that the woman is Life depending on the senses and material substance of our bodies; that her serpent is pleasure, a crawling thing with many a twist, powerless to raise itself upright, always prone, creeping after the good things of earth alone, making for the hiding-places afforded to it by the body, making its lair in each of the senses as in cavities or dug-outs, giving advice to a human being, athirst for the blood of anything better than itself, delighting to cause death by poisonous and painless bites. We say that the serpent of Moses is the disposition quite contrary to pleasure, even stedfast endurance, which explains why it is represented as being made of very strong material like brass. He, then, who has looked with fixed gaze on the form of patient endurance, even though he should perchance have been previously bitten by the wiles of pleasure, cannot but live; for, whereas pleasure menaces the soul with inevitable death, self-control holds out to it health and safety for life; and self-mastery, that averter of ills, is an antidote to licentiousness. And the thing that is beautiful and noble, which assuredly brings health and salvation, is dear to every wise man. So when Moses prays, either that there may be for Dan, or that Dan himself may be, a serpent (for the words may be taken either way), he prays for a serpent corresponding to the one made by him, but not like Eve’s; for prayer is an asking for good things. And we know that endurance is of a good kind that brings immortality, a perfect good, while pleasure is
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τὴν μεγίστην τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρον, θάνατον. διὸ λέγει· " γενέσθω Δὰν ὁφις" οὐχ ἔτερῳτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔφ᾽ ὁδοῦ"· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἀκρασίας καὶ λαιμαργίας καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα αἱ ἀμέτρητοι καὶ ἀπληστοὶ, πληροῦμεναι πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονίας, ὡδίνουσι καὶ τίκτουσιν ἡδοναῖ, κατὰ λεωφόρον καὶ εὐθυτενοὺς βαίνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει ψυχήν, φάραγξι δὲ καὶ βαράθρῳ ἐμπίπτειν ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ διαφθείραι παντελῶς αὐτὴν ἀναγκάζει· τὰ δὲ καρτερίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀλλής ἀρετῆς ἔχομεν μόνας; 1 μηδενὸς ὅντος ἐν ποσῷ ὀλυσθηροῦ, ἢ προσπταῖσασα κλιθήσεται. προσϕυεστάτα σαν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁρθῆς ὀδοῦ σωφροσύνην ἔπει, διότι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔξω ἀκολασίαν ἀνοδία χρῆσον συμβεβηκεν. XXIII. τὸ δὲ " καθήμενος ἐπὶ τρίβου" τουοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, ὡς γε ἐμαυτόν πείθω· τρίβος ἐστὶν ἡ τετριμμένη πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἵππες ὁδός. ταύτῃ φασὶν ἡδονήν ἐμφερεστάτην εἶναι· σχεδόν γὰρ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τοῦ μακροῦ γῆς ἐπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦσι καὶ μετὰ σχολῆς καὶ ῥαστῶνς ἐνδιατρίβουσι τῇ ὀδῷ ταύτῃ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἄδικαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσι πολλοὶ ἐνδιατρίβουσι καὶ ἐμφερεται τοῖς πολυπλοκωτάτοις δικτύοις αὐτῆς, τὸ πολὺς διεκδύναι πόνος. ταύτῃ φασὶν ἡδονήν ἐμφερεστάτην εἶναι· σχεδόν γὰρ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τοῦ μακροῦ γῆς ἐπιβαίνουσι καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦσι καὶ μετὰ σχολῆς καὶ ῥαστῶνς ἐνδιατρίβουσι τῇ ὀδῷ ταύτῃ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἄδικαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσι πολλοὶ ἐνδιατρίβουσι καὶ ἐμφερεται τοῖς πολυπλοκωτάτοις δικτύοις αὐτῆς, τὸ πολὺς διεκδύναι πόνος. 104 αἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ὁδοῖ, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄβατοι, ἀλλὰ τοί πάντως

1 The passage is evidently corrupt. Wendland’s conjecture that there is a lacuna after ἀρετῆς which he supplies with <εὐδίαιν ψυχήν παρ>έχεται μόνα has been followed in the
ON HUSBANDRY, 100–104

of an evil kind that inflicts the greatest penalty, even death. Wherefore it says, “Let Dan become a serpent” not elsewhere than “on the road.” For lack of self-control, and gluttony, and all else that issues from the womb of those immoderate and insatiate pleasures that ever conceive by the abundance of external comforts, never allow the soul to go along the straight course by the highway, but compel it to fall into pits and clefts, until they have utterly destroyed it. But only the practice of endurance and temperance and other virtue secures for the soul a safe journey where there is no slippery object under foot upon which the soul must stumble and be laid low. Most fitly therefore did he say that temperance keeps to the right road, since the opposite condition, that of licentiousness, finds no road at all.

XXIII. The sense suggested by the words “sitting on the track” is, I am convinced, something of this kind. By “track” is meant the road for horses and carriages trodden both by men and by beasts of burden. They say that pleasure is very like this road; for almost from birth to late old age this road is traversed and used as a promenade and a place of recreation in which to spend leisure hours not by men only but by every other kind of living creatures. For there is no single thing that does not yield to the enticement of pleasure, and get caught and dragged along in her entangling nets, through which it is difficult to slip and make your escape. But the roads of sound-sense and self-mastery and of the other virtues, if not untrodden, are at all events unworn; for scanty is the

translation, but it is a mere guess; and the ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὀδοῦ in the next sentence rather suggests that ἔχομενα should be kept.
άτριπτοι· ολίγος γάρ ἀριθμός ἐστὶ τῶν αὐτὰς βαδιζόντων, οἱ πεφιλοσοφήκασιν ἀνόθως καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἑταρίαν ἔθεντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαξ ἀλογίσαντες. “ἐγκάθηται” οὖν, καὶ οὐχ ἀπαξ, ὅτως ξῆλος καὶ φρονίς εἰσέρχεται καρτερίας, ἵν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιθέμενος τὴν ἑθάδα ἠδονῆν, πηγὴν ἁπνάων κακῶν, ἐπιφράξῃ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέλη χωρίου. τότε, ὡς φησὶν ἀκολουθία χρώμενος, ἀναγκαῖος “δῆξεται πτέρναν ἵππον”· καρτερίας γάρ καὶ σωφροσύνης ἱδιον τὰς τῆς ψυχοποιοῦσας κακίας καὶ τοῦ παρατεθηµενού καὶ ὀξυκινήτου καὶ σκιρτητικοῦ πάθους ἐπιβάθρας διασείσαι καὶ ἀνατρέψαι. XXIV. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῆς Εὐας οἶχν εἰσάγει κατ’ ἀνθρώπου φονῶντα—λέγει γάρ ἐν ταῖς ἁράϊς· “αὐτὸς σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σύ τηρήσει αὐτοῦ πτέρναν”—, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Δᾶν, περὶ οὐ νῦν ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, ἵππον πτέρναν, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀνθρώπου δάκνοντα· ὁ μὲν γάρ τῆς Εὐας ἡδονῆς ὃς σύμβολον, ὡς ἐδείχθη πρώτερον, ἀνθρώπω τῷ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθεται λογισμῷ—φθορὰ γάρ διανοιασὶ πλεοναζοῦσης ἠδονῆς ἀπόλαυσις τε καὶ χρήσις—· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Δᾶν, εἴκων τῆς ὃν ἐρρωµενεστάτης ἀρετῆς καρτερίας, ἵππον, τὸ πάθους καὶ κακίας σύμβολον, δῆξεται, διότι σωφροσύνη τὴν τούτων καθαίρεσιν τε καὶ φθορὰν μελετᾷ. δηχθέντων μέντοι καὶ ὀκλασάντων “ὁ ἱππεὺς” φησὶ “προσέται.” ὁ δὲ αἰνίτ-τεται, τουοῦτον ἔστι· καλὸν καὶ περιμάχητον εἶναι

*a i.e. “and remains there.”
*b Or “according to the natural sequence of the thought” (perhaps, as Mangey, read ἀναγκαῖο)
number of those that tread them, that have genuinely devoted themselves to the pursuit of wisdom, and entered into no other association than that with the beautiful and noble, and have renounced everything else whatever. To continue. There "lies in ambush," and that not once only, everyone into whom a zeal and care for endurance enters, in order that making his onslaught from his lurking-place he may block the way of familiar pleasure, the fountain of ever-flowing ills, and rid the domain of the soul of her. Then, as he goes straight on to say, he will as a matter of course "bite the horse's heel"; for it is characteristic of endurance and self-mastery to disturb and upset the means by which vaunting vice and passion, keen and swift and unruly, make their approach. XXIV. Eve's serpent is represented by the lawgiver as thirsting for man's blood, for he says in the curses pronounced on it, "He shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for his heel" (Gen. iii. 15); whereas Dan's serpent, of which we are now speaking, is represented as biting, not a man's, but a horse's heel. For Eve's serpent, being, as was shewn before, a symbol of pleasure, attacks a man, namely, the reasoning faculty in each of us; for the delightful experience of abounding pleasure is the ruin of the understanding; whereas the serpent of Dan, being a figure of endurance, a most sturdy virtue, will be found to bite a horse, the symbol of passion and wickedness, inasmuch as temperance makes the overthrow and destruction of these its aim. When these have been bitten and brought to their knees, "the horseman," he says, "shall fall."

What he conveys by a figure is this. He regards it as no worthy object of ambition for
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νομίζειν μηδενι των εκ παθους η κακιας τον ημετερον ἐποχείσθαι νον, ἀλλ' ὅποτ' ἐπιβηναι τινι αυτων βιασθει, σπουδάζειν καθάλλεσθαι και ἀποπίπτειν· τα γαρ τοιαῦτα πτώματα φέρει τας εὐκλεεστάτας νίκας. διὸ και των πάλαι τις προκληθεἰς ἐπὶ λοιδορίας ἀμιλλαν οὐκ ἂν εἰς τουοῦτον ἄγωνα ἐφη ποτὲ παρελθεῖν, ἐν ὃ χείρων ὁ νικὼν ἔστι τοῦ ἡττωμένου. XXV. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὥστος, μηδὲντ' εἰς κακῶν παρέλθης ἀμιλλαν μηδὲ περὶ πρωτείων τῶν ἐν τούτοις διαγωνίσῃ, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν, ἓν οἶον τε ἢ, σπουδάσον ἀποδράναι· ἐὰν δὲ ποὺ πρὸς ἐρρωμενοστέρας δυνάμεως βιασθεῖς ἀναγκασθῆς διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ μελλῆσθιν ἡττᾶσθαι· τότε γὰρ εὔ μὲν ἐσῃ νευκηκῶς ὁ ἡττώμενος, ἡττώμενοι δ' οὐ νευκηκότες. καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃς μηδὲ κήρυκι κηρύξαι μηδὲ βραβευτῇ στεφανώσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς παρελθὼν τὰ βραβεῖα καὶ τὸν φοίνικα ἀνάδος καὶ στεφάνωσον, εἰ θέλει, καὶ ταῖς ταύταις ἀνάδησαί καὶ κήρυξαν αὐτὸς μεγάλη καὶ ἀρρήκτως φωνῇ κήρυγμα τουοῦτον· τὸν ἐπιθυμιᾶς καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκολογίας ἀφροσύνης τε αὖ καὶ ἀδικιῶν προτεθέντα ἁγώνα, ὥ θεατη καὶ ἀθλοθέται, ἡττημαι μὲν ἐγὼ, νενίκηκε δ' οὔτος, καὶ οὔτως ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιώτοτος νενίκηκεν, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς ἡμῖν, οὕς εἰκός ὡν βασκαίνειν, μὴ φθονεῖσθαι· τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνιέρων τοῦτον ἁγώναν ἄθλα παραχώρησον ἄλλοις, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἰερῶν οὔτως αὐτὸς ἀνάδησαί· ἰεροῖς δὲ μὴ νομίσῃς ἁγώνας, οὕς αἳ πόλεις ἐν ταῖς

1 MSS. νομίζειν. 2 MSS. οὔτος εἰ. 3 MSS. ὃς νίκος.

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* Demosthenes; see Stobaeus, Flor. xix. 4.
our mind to ride on any of the progeny of passion or wickedness, but, should it ever be forced to mount one of them, he considers that it is best for it to make haste to jump down and tumble off; for such falls bring the noblest victories. This explains what was meant by one of the ancients a when challenged to a reviling match. He said that he would never come forward for such a contest, for in it the victor is worse than the vanquished. XXV. Do you then also, my friend, never come forward for a rivalry in badness, nor contend for the first place in this, but, best of all, if possible make haste to run away, but if in any case, under the pressure of strength greater than your own, you are compelled to engage in the contest, do not hesitate to be defeated; for then you, the defeated combatant, will have won a grand victory, and those who have won will be suffering defeat. And do not allow either the herald to announce or the judge to crown the enemy as victor, but come forward yourself and present the prizes and the palm, and crown him ("by your leave, sir"), and bind the headband round his head, and do you yourself make with loud and strong voice this announcement: "In the contest that was proposed in lust and anger and licentiousness, in folly also and injustice, O ye spectators and stewards of the sports, I have been vanquished, and this man is the victor, and has proved himself so vastly superior, that even we, his antagonists, who might have been expected to grudge him his victory, feel no envy." Yield, then, to others the prizes in these unholy contests, but bind upon your own head the wreaths won in the holy ones. And count not those to be holy contests which the states hold in their triennial Festivals,
τριετήρισιν ἀγονοι θέατρα ἀναδειμάμεναι πολλὰς
[318] ἄνθρωπον δεξίμενα1 μυρίαδας· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡ ὁ καταπαλαίσας τινὰ καὶ ὑπτιον ἡ πρηνὴ τεῖνας ἐπὶ γῆν ἡ ὁ πυκτεύειν2 καὶ παγκρατίαζειν δυνάμενος καὶ μηδεμᾶς μήτε ύβρεως μήτε ἀδικίας ἀπεχόμενος φέρεται τὰ πρωτεία. ΞΧΧ. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ σφόδρα καὶ κραταιότατα σιδηροῦ τρόπον3 ἀκονησάμενοι καὶ στομώσαντες έκατέραν τῶν χειρῶν περιάσσαντες κεφαλὰς καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀποσκάπτουσι καὶ τάλλα, ἐπεὶ τάχας τάς πληγὰς ἐνεγκόντες, ἀποθράγησαν καὶ στεφάνων τῆς ἀνθρεοῦσ ὀμότητος ἐνεκα μεταποιοϊν· ταῖ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ ἀγωνίσματα δρομέων ἡ πεντάθλων τίς οὐκ ἂν γελάσαι τῶν εὐ φρονοῦντων, ἐπιτετηδευκότων μήκισθαι καὶ μετρουμένων τὰ διαστῆματα καὶ περὶ ποδῶν ὁμαλλωμένων, οὐς οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀδροτέρων ἀγώνων δορκᾶς ἡ ἔλαφος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων σκυλάκων ἡ λαγωδάριον μὴ σφόδρα ἐπειγόμενον 115 ρύμη καὶ ἀπνευστὶ θέοντος παραδραμεῖται. τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸς ὀυδεὶς, καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι μαρτυρῶσιν, οὐς ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἐαυτῶν ψευδομαρτυρίων ἀλίσκεσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα ϑαυμάζοντες τοὺς νόμους τοὺς καὶ τηροῦσιν καὶ τιμωρίας τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰκίαις ἐθεσαν καὶ δικαστάς τοὺς περὶ ἐκάστων διαγνωσμένους ἀπ- 116 εκλήρωσαν. πῶς οὖν εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἱδία τινὰς αἰκισμένοις ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ δίκας κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀπαραπτητοὺς ὑφικέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοίς δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεάτρωις

1 mss. δεξίμεναι (-α).  
2 mss. παλαίειν.  
3 Conj. Tr.: mss. and Wend. σιδήρου τρόπον.
and have built for them theatres to hold many myriads of men; for in these prizes are carried away either by the man who has out-wrestled someone and laid him on his back or on his face upon the ground, or by the man who can box or combine boxing with wrestling, and who stops short at no act of outrage or unfairness. XXVI. Some give a sharp, strong edge to an iron-bound thong, and fasten it round both hands and lacerate the heads and faces of their opponents, and, when they succeed in planting their blows, batter the rest of their bodies, and then claim prizes and garlands for their pitiless savagery. As for the other contests, of sprinters or of those who enter for the five exercises, what sensible person would not laugh at them, at their having practised to jump as far as possible, and getting the several distances measured, and making swiftness of foot a matter of rivalry? And yet not only one of the larger animals, a gazelle or a stag, but a dog or hare, among the smaller ones, will, without hurrying much, outstrip them when running full pelt and without taking breath. Of these contests, in sober truth, none is sacred, and even if all men testify to that effect, they cannot escape being convicted of false witness by themselves. For it was the admirers of these things who passed the laws against overbearing persons, and fixed the punishments to be awarded to acts of outrage, and allotted judges to investigate the several cases. How, then, are these two things compatible? How can the very same persons be indignant at outrages committed in private and have affixed to them inexorable penalties, and at the same time have by law awarded garlands and public

* See App. p. 491.
στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ νομο-
θετήσαι; δυεὶν γὰρ ἐναντίων καθ’ ἐνὸς εἰτε
σώματος εἰτε πράγματος ὅρισθέντων ἢ εὑ ἢ
κακῶς εξ ἀνάγκης ἢν ἔχοι θάτερον· ἀμφω γὰρ
ἀμήχανον. πότερον οὖν ἐπαινοῖτ᾿ ἂν δεόντως;
ἀρ’ οὐ τὸ τοὺς χειρῶν ἀρχοντας ἀδίκων κολάζε-
σθαι; ψέγουτ’ ἂν οὖν εἰκότως τὸ ἐναντίον, τὸ
τιμᾶσθαι. ψεκτὸν δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντως

119 εὖκλείς. XXVII. ὁ τούνων Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγών
μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐνδίκως ἱερός, οὐχ ὅτι τιθέασιν
οἱ τὴν Ἡλιοκοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὅ περι κτήσεως τῶν
θεῶν καὶ ὀλυμπιῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν. εἰς
τοῦτον τὸν ἄγωνα οἱ ἄσθενεστάτου τὰ σώματα
ἐρρωμενεστάτου δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγγράφονται πάντες,
εἰτα ἀποδυσάμενοι καὶ κονισάμενοι πάνθ’ ὅσα καὶ
tέχνης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐργα δρώσι, παραλιπόντες
120 οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ νικηφορῆσαι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄντι-
πάλων οἱ ἄθληται περείσσον οὗτοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους
dὲ πάλιν περὶ πρωτείων διαφέρονται.: οὗ γὰρ ὁ
αὐτὸς τῆς νίκης τρόπος ἀπασιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄξιοι
τιμῆς ἀργαλεωτάτους καὶ βαρεῖς ἀνατρέψαντες
121 καὶ καταβαλόντες ἐχθροῦς. θαυμασιώτατος δὲ καὶ
tούτων ὁ διενεγκών, ω καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀθλῶν

[319] οὗ φθονητέον λαμβάνοντι. οἱ δὲ κἂν δευτερείων
ἡ τρίτων ἀξιωθώσι, μὴ κατηφείτωσαν καὶ γὰρ
ταῦτα ἐπ’ ἀρετῆς κτήσει προτίθεται, τοῖς δὲ μὴ

1 MSS. πότερον συνεπαινοῖτ᾿ ἂν.
2 MSS. διαλέγονται.
3 MSS. ἀθλητῶν.

a See App. p. 491. b Or “as a reward for.”

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announcements and other honours to those who have
done so publicly and at State festivals and in theatres?
For if two things, contrary the one to the other, have
been determined against one person or one action,
one or other must of necessity be right and the other
wrong; for it is out of the question that they should
both be right or both wrong. Which then, rightly,
would you praise? Would you not approve the
punishment of those who are guilty of unprovoked
violence and wrong? In that case you would censure,
as a matter of course, the opposite treatment of them,
the shewing honour to them. XXVII. And, since
nothing sacred is censurable, but wholly of good
report, it follows that the Olympic contest is the
only one that can rightly be called sacred; not the
one which the inhabitants of Elis hold, but the con-
test for the winning of the virtues which are divine
and really Olympian. For this contest those who
are very weaklings in their bodies but stalwarts in
their souls all enter, and proceed to strip and rub
dust over them and do everything that skill and
strength enables them to do, omitting nothing that
can help them to victory. So these athletes prevail
over their opponents, but they are also competing
among themselves for the highest place. For they
do not all win the victory in the same way, though
all deserve honour for overthrowing and bringing
down most troublesome and doughty opponents.
Most worthy of admiration is the one who excels
among these, and, as he receives the first prizes, no
one can grudge them to him. Nor let those be down-
cast who have been held worthy of the second or
third prize. For these, like the first, are prizes offered
with a view to the acquisition of virtue, and those
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τῶν ἀκρῶν ἐφικέσθαι δυναμένοις ἢ τῶν μέσων κτήσις ὡφέλιμος, λέγεται δὲ ὁτι καὶ βεβαιωτέρα τὸν ἐμφυόμενον ἂν τοὺς ὑπερέχουσιν ἐκφεύγουσα

122 φθόνον. παδευτικώτατα οὖν εἴρηται τὸ "πεσεῖται ὁ ἰππεύς," ἵνα εἰ τις ἀποπίπτοι [μὲν] κακῶν, ἐγείρηται [δὲ] ἄγαθοῖς ἐπερείδομενος καὶ συνορθιασθῆ. διδασκαλικώτατον δὲ κάκεινο, μηδὲ πρόσω φάναι, κατόπιν δὲ πίπτει, ἐπειδὴ κακίας καὶ

123 πάθους ύστερίζειν ἂν λυσιτελέστατον· φθάνειν μὲν γὰρ τὰ καλὰ ὑπερντά δεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀισχρὰ μέλλειν [καὶ] ἐμπαλῶν, κάκεινοι μὲν προσέρχεσθαι, τοῦτων δὲ ύστερίζειν καὶ μακρὸν ὅσον ἀπολεῖπησθαι. ὃ <γὰρ> τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγγίνεται <καὶ> παθῶν ύστερίζειν, ἀνοσὸς διατελεῖ. τὴν γοῦν "παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίαν περιμένειν" φησὶν αὐτὸν, ἕνα εφ' ὅσον ἀπελεύθηται τοῦ ἄδικεϊν, ἔπει τοσοῦτον τῷ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἐπιδράμη.

124 XXVIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἰππεύς καὶ ἀναβάτου, κτηνοτρόφου τε καὶ ποιμένος, ἔτι δὲ γῆν ἐργαζομένου καὶ γεωργοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα εἴρηται, καὶ αἰ καθ' ἐκάστην συζυγίαν ὡς οἵον τε ἦν ἀκρίβως ταῖς ακολούθαις. τὸν οὖν ἐφιέμενον ἀρετής ὡς οἰκρίβωνται διαφοραί. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ τὸν ἄτι τρέπεται. τὸν οὖν ἐφιέμενον ἄρετὴς οὐ παντελῆ κεκτημένον τὴν γεωργικὴν ἱ ψυχῆς ἐπιστήμην εἰς-άγει, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς πεπονημένον· λέγει γὰρ: "ἡξατο Νῶε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι

1 mss. γεωργικῆς; cf. ἡ γεωργικὴ ψυχῆς τέχνη Quod Det. 111.

* Or "meaning that he should be as eager for right-doing as he was backward for wrong-doing," the ἵνα expressing the purpose of the prophet's words, rather than that of the horseman, as in § 122.

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who cannot reach the topmost virtues are gainers by the acquisition of the less lofty ones, and theirs is actually, as is often said, a more secure gain since it escapes the envy which ever attaches itself to pre-eminence. There is, then, a very instructive purpose in the words, "the horseman shall fall," namely, that if a man fall off from evil things, he may get up supporting himself upon good things and be set upright. Another point full of teaching is his speaking of falling not forwards, but backwards, since to be behindhand in vice and passion is always most to our advantage; for we ought to be beforehand when doing noble deeds, but on the contrary to be tardy about doing base deeds: we should go to meet the former, but be late for the latter, and fall short of them by the greatest possible distance; for he, whose happiness it is to be late for sinful deeds and passion's promptings, abides in freedom from soul-sickness. You see, it says that he is "waiting for the salvation that comes from God." He looks out for it, to the end that he may run as far to meet right-doing as he was late for wrongdoing.

XXVIII. All that is pertinent to horseman and rider, cattle-rearer and shepherd, as well as to soil-worker and husbandman, has now been said, and the differences between the members of each pair have been stated with such minuteness as was possible. It is time to turn to what comes afterwards. Well, the lawgiver represents the aspirant to virtue as not possessing in its completeness the science of soul-husbandry, but as having done no more than spend some labour on the elements of that science; for he says, "Noah began to be an husbandman." Now
γεωργός." ἀρχῇ δὲ, τῶν παλαιῶν λόγων, ἦμων τοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἂν ἦμισει πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀφεστηκυία, ὥς μὴ προσγενομένου καὶ τὸ ἀρξασθαι 126 πολλάκις μεγάλα πολλοὺς ἔβλαψεν. ἦδη γοῦν τινες καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐαγών τῆς διανοίας κατὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς μεταβολὰς στροβουμένης ἐννοιαν χρηστοῦ τινος ἐλαβον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὄντως· ἐστὶ γὰρ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἥξαντων φορὰν ἀθρόου τῶν ἐναντίων καταραγείσαν ἐπικλῦσαι καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἑκεῖνο δια- 127 φθαρῆαι νόμημα. XXIX. οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι δόξαντι θυσίας ἀμέμπτους ἀναγαγεῖν τῷ Κάιν λόγον ἐξέπεσε μὴ θαρρεῖν ὡς κεκαλλιεργότι; μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τελείοις βουθυτῆσαι· τὸ δὲ λόγιον ἐστὶ τοιώνυμ . "οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσ-
128 ενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης." ὀρθὸν μὲν οὖν ἦ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμή, τὸ δὲ ἀδιαίρετον οὐκ ὀρθόν. ὃν δ' ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ἰδωμεν· εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὸ εὔσεβες ἐν τῷ πάντα φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι,
129 τά τε καλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία, περιγράφοντες· πρὸς [320] οὖς ἀν λέγομεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινετὸν ἐστὶ τῆς δόξης, τὸ δ' ἐμπαλιν ψεκτόν, ἐπαινετὸν μὲν, ὅτι τὸ μόνον θαυμάζετε τίμων, ψεκτὸν δὲ αὐτῷ παρόσον ἄνευ τομῆς καὶ διαιρέσεως. ἐδει γὰρ μὴ

1 mss. δὲ ἄν ... ἀφεστηκυίαν.

a Cf. Quod Det. 64.

b The main links of the thought from here to § 168 may be given as follows: Good ideas are often spoilt for want of proper analysis or “distinguishing,” but (§ 134) distinguishing by itself is useless, without remembering and meditating on what has been learnt (cf. De Sac. 82 ff.). In connexion with this we have the tirade against futile and exaggerated distinguishing (cf. §§ 136-141). The two together will give perfection, but till this is gained the beginner must not attempt 172
"a beginning is half of the whole," or "begun is half done," as was said by the men of old, as being half-way towards the end, whereas if the end be not added as well, the very making of a beginning has many a time done many people much harm. It has, as we all know, happened before now that even people far from guiltless, as their mind kept turning about in perpetual change, have hit upon an idea of something wholesome, but have got no good from it; for it is possible that ere they have come to the end, a strong current of contrary tendencies has swept over them like a flood, and that wholesome idea has come to nothing.

XXIX. Was it not owing to this, that, when Cain imagined that he had presented faultless sacrifices, a divine intimation was made to him not to be confident that his offering had met with God's favour; for that the conditions of his sacrifice had not been holy and perfect? The divine message is this: "<All is> not <well>, if thou offerest rightly, but dost not rightly distinguish" (Gen. iv. 7). So the honour paid to God is a right act, but the failure to divide is not right. What this means, let us see. There are some whose definition of reverence is that it consists in saying that all things were made by God, both beautiful things and their opposites. We would say to these, one part of your opinion is praiseworthy, the other part on the contrary is faulty. It is praiseworthy that you regard with wonder and reverence that which is alone worthy of honour; on the other hand, you are to blame for doing so without clear-cut distinctions. You ought never to have things beyond his capacity (§§ 146-165), or he will find himself supplanted by others (§§ 166-168).

c For Philo's way of taking this text see note on De Sobr. 50.
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φύραι καὶ συγχέαι πάντων ἀθρόως ἀποφήναντας αἰτίον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διαστολῆς μόνων ὀμολογήσαι τῶν ἁγαθῶν. ἀτοπον γὰρ ἰερέων μὲν πρόοιαν ἔχειν, ὡς ὀλόκληροι τὰ σώματα καὶ παντελεῖς ἔσονται, τῶν τε καταθυμομένων ζῶων, ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδεμιὰ τὸ παράπαν ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τῇ βραχυτάτῃ χρήσεται λῷβῃ, καὶ τινας διόπους ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χειροτονεῖν τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ’ ἐνιού μωμοσκόπους ὄνομάζουσιν, ἵνα ἄμωμα καὶ ἀσινή προσάγηται τῷ βωμῷ τὰ ἱερεῖα, τὰς δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξας ἐν ταῖς ἐκάστων ψυχαῖς ὑποσυγκεχύσθαι καὶ μὴ κανόνι ὁρθοῦ λόγου διακεκρίσθαι. XXX. τὸν κάμηλον οὐχ ὁρᾶς ὅτι ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησὶ ζῷον ὁ νόμος, ἑπειδὴ μηρυκάται μέν, οὐ διχηλεῖ δὲ; καίτοι γε πρὸς τὴν ῥήτην ἐπίσκεψιν οὐκ οἶδ’ δὲν ἔχει λόγον ἢ προσαποδόθεισα <αἰτία>, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δι’ ὑπονοιῶν ἀναγκαίοτατον ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μηρυκώμενον τὴν προκαταβληθεῖσαν ὑπανάπλεουσαν αὕτως ἐπιλείαιν τροφῆν, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς, ἑπειδὰν τινα δ’ ἀκοής δέχῃται θεωρήματα, λήθη μὲν αὐτὰ οὐ παραδίδουσιν, ἥρμησάσας δ’ καθ’ ἕαυτην ἐκαστὰ μεθ’ ἱσυχίας τῆς πάσης ἀναπολεί 132 καὶ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν πάντων ἔρχεται. μνήμη δ’ οὐ πᾶσα ἁγαθόν, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς, ἑπεὶ τὸ γε ἄληται εἶναι τὰ κακὰ βλαβερώτατον· οὐ ἔνεκα πρὸς τελειότητα χρεία τοῦ διχηλεῖν, ἵνα

1 MSS. δεὶ ὅσους.
2 MSS. ἐπισυγκεχύσθαι.

*See App. p. 491.
mixed and confused the matter by representing Him as Author of all things indiscriminately, but to have drawn a sharp line and owned Him Author of the good things only. It is a senseless thing to be scrupulous about priests being free from bodily defect or deformity and about animals for sacrifice being exempt from the very slightest blemish, and to appoint inspectors (called by some “flaw-spiers”) on purpose to provide that the victims may be brought to the altar free from flaw or imperfections; and at the same time to suffer the ideas about God in their several souls to be in confusion, with no distinctions made between true and false by the application to them of the rule and standard of right principles.

XXX. Do you not see that the Law says that the camel is an unclean animal, because, though it chews the cud, it does not part the hoof (Lev. xi. 4)? And yet, if we fix our eyes on the literal way of regarding the matter, I do not know what principle there is in the reason given for the camel’s uncleanness; but, if we look to the way suggested by latent meanings there is a most vital principle. For as the animal that chews the cud renders digestible the food taken in before as it rises again to the surface, so the soul of the keen learner, when it has by listening taken in this and that proposition, does not hand them over to forgetfulness, but in stillness all alone goes over them one by one quite quietly, and so succeeds in recalling them all to memory. Not all memory, however, is a good thing, but that which is brought to bear upon good things only, for it would be a thing most noxious that evil should be unforgettable. That is why, if perfection is to be attained, it is necessary to divide the hoof,
τοῦ μυθομονικοῦ δίχα τιμηθέντος ὁ λόγος διὰ στόματος, οὐ πέρατον ἡ φύσις δυττὰ εἰργάσατο χείλη, ρέων διαστείλῃ τὸ τε ἀφέλιμον καὶ τὸ ἐπιζήμιον
134 μνήμης γένους εἴδος. ἀλλ' οὔδὲ τὸ διχηλεῖν ἀνευ τοῦ μηρυκάσθαι καθ' έαυτὸ φαίνεται τυα ἐχειν ὄνησιν εξ αὐτοῦ. τί γάρ ὀφελοῦ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων τέμνειν ἀνωθεν ἀρξάμενον μέχρι τῶν λεπτοτάτων, εἰς τούσχατον <δὲ> αὐτὸ μηκέτι γίνεσθαι μηδὲ ἐχειν διαιρεταν τὰ μέρη, άπερ άτομα καὶ ἀμερὴ πρὸς ἐνίων εὐθυβόλων ὄνομαζεται;
135 ταῦτα γάρ συνέσεως μὲν καὶ περιττῆς ἄκριβείας ἡκονμένης εἰς ὀξύνατην ἀγχίνουαν ἑνεργὴ δείγματ' εστίν, ὄνησιν δὲ οὐδεμίας πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ

[321] ἀνεπιλήπτον βίον διέξοδον ἐχεί.
136 XXXI. καθ' ἐκάστην γοῦν ἠμέραν ὁ πανταχοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὄμιλος ἀποκναίει τα ὅτα τῶν παρατυχεόντων ἀκριβολογούμενοι καὶ τὰς διπλὰς καὶ ἀμφιβόλους λέξεις ἀναπτύσσεις καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀσα δοκεῖ μεμφήσθαι—πέτηγε δὲ καὶ πλειόνων—διακρύνων. ἢ οὐχ οἱ μὲν τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς εἰς τε ἀφωνα καὶ φωνήνετα τέμνουσιν; ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον εἰς τὰ ἀνωτάτω τρία, ὄνομα, 137 βήμα, σύνδεσμον; μονοκικό δὲ τὴν ἰδιὰν ἐπιστήμην εἰς ρυθμόν, εἰς μέτρον, εἰς μέλος, καὶ τὸ μέλος εἰς τὸ χρωματικὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ διατονικὸν εἴδος καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ διὰ πέντε

1 mss. ὀσπέρ ἀττα.
2 Perhaps read ἀδιαίρετα, i.e. "never finding that the parts we come to are incapable of division." See App. p. 492.
3 mss. μέρος.

Lit. "no longer to reach," i.e. "to fail to do what we do in other undertakings," a common extension of meaning in οὐκέτι or μηκέτι.

See App. p. 491.
in order that, the faculty of memory being cut in twain, language as it flows through the mouth, for which Nature wrought lips as twin boundaries, may separate the beneficial and the injurious forms of memory. But neither does dividing the hoof by itself apart from chewing the cud appear to have anything advantageous on its own account. For what use is there in dissecting the natures of things, beginning from the beginning and going on to the minutest particles, and yet failing to reach the absolute end, and finding before you defying division those parts which are happily named by some "atoms" or "partless"? For such a course is clear proof of sagacity and nicety of precision whetted to keenest edge of shrewdness; but it is of no advantage towards promoting nobility of character and a blameless passage through life. XXXI. See how true this is. Day after day the swarm of sophists to be found everywhere wears out the ears of any audience they happen to have with disquisitions on minutiae, unravelling phrases that are ambiguous and can bear two meanings and distinguishing among circumstances such as it is well to bear in mind—and they are set on bearing in mind a vast number. Do not some of them divide the letters of written speech into consonants and vowels? And do not some of them break up language into its three ultimate parts, noun, verb, conjunction? Do not musicians divide their own science into rhythm, metre, tune; and the tune or melody into the chromatic, harmonic and diatonic form, and into intervals of a fourth, a fifth

\textbf{c} Or "such as they think well . . . and even more" (i.e. than they themselves think worth remembering).  
\textbf{d} Or "main parts," as γενικώτατα § 138.
καὶ διὰ πασῶν, συνημμένων τε καὶ διεζευγμένων μελωδίας; γεωμέτραι δὲ εἰς τὰς γεωμετρίας δύο γραμμὰς εὐθεῖὰν τε καὶ περιφέρειαν; καὶ οἱ άλλοι τεχνίται εἰς τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιστήμην ἰδέας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀχρι τῶν δυστών; οἱ συνεπι- ηχεῖτων μέντοι καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων χορὸς ἀπας τὰ εἰωθότα διεξῆθων, ὅτι τῶν ὀντῶν τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ σώματα, τὰ δ' ἀσώματα καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀφυχα, τὰ δὲ ψυχὴν ἔχοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν λογικά, τὰ δ' ἀλογα. καὶ τὰ μὲν θνητά, τὰ δὲ θεία καὶ τῶν θνητῶν τὸ μὲν άρρεν καὶ τῶν τρυπτων τὸ δὲ θῆλυ, τὰ άνθρώπιν τημήματα καὶ τάλων τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὰ μὲν τέλεια, τὰ δὲ ἀτελήν καὶ τῶν τελειών τὰ μὲν ἐρωτήματα καὶ πύσματα ἀρατικά τε αὐτο καὶ ὅρκικα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλα, καὶ εἴδης ἐν ταῖς περὶ τούτων στοιχεῖωσεσιν ανα­γράφονται διαφοραί, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ά διαλεκτικοῖς ἐθος ὄνομαζειν αξιώματα καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀπλά, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἀπλά καὶ τῶν οὐχ ἀπλών τὰ μὲν συνημμένα, τὰ δὲ παρασυνημμένα τὸ μάλλων ἢ ἢττον, καὶ προσέτοι δὲ διεζευγμένα καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτα τροπα, ἐτι δ' ἀληθῇ τε καὶ ψευδῇ καὶ ἀδηλῇ, δυνατά τε καὶ ἀδύνατα καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτα καὶ ἀναγκαία καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαία, καὶ εὐπορά τε καὶ ἀπορά καὶ οὐκ συγγενείς τούτοις. πάλιν δὲ τῶν ἀτελῶν αἱ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα κατηγορήματα καὶ

1 mss. ἐρωτικά.
2 Perhaps (as in Diog. Laert. vii. 69) <τὰ διασαφούντα> (or some equivalent participle) τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἢττον.

α Or "from the primary (divisions) to the ultimate."

b The Stoics admitted four kinds of "incorporeal" things, viz. time, place, void, and λεκτόν or σημαινόμενον, i.e. the meaning conveyed by speech as opposed to the actual sound.
or an octave, and into melodies with united or dis­
joined tetrachords? Do not geometricians put all 138
lines under two main heads, the straight line and the
curve? Do not other experts place everything in
the principal categories that their several sciences
suggest, categories that start with the elements of
the science and go on until they have dealt with their
last and highest achievements a?

With their com-
pany let the whole choir of philosophers chime in,
harping on their wonted themes, how that of exist-
dences some are bodies, some incorporeal b; and of
bodies, some lifeless, some having life; some rational,
some irrational, some mortal, some divine; and of
mortal beings, some male, some female; a distinc-
tion which applies to man; and of things incorporeal 140
again, some complete, some incomplete c; and of those
that are complete, some questions and inquiries, im-
precations and adjurations, not to mention all the
other particular differences, all of which are set forth
in the elementary handbooks which deal with them.
Again, there are what dialecticians are accustomed to
call propositions. Of these, some are simple, some 141
not so; and of the non-simple, some hypothetical,
some inferential, some indicating more or less,
some moreover disjunctive; and suchlike distinctions.
They distinguish further things true, false, and doubt-
ful; possible and impossible; conclusive and in-
conclusive; soluble and insoluble; and all kindred
antitheses. Again, applying to incorporeal things
which are incomplete there are the subdivisions into
which was corporeal. See S. V. F. ii. 331. Philo ignores the
first three and deals with the subdivisions of λεκτόν.

For the explanation of these and the following terms
see App. p. 492.

Or "necessarily and not necessarily true."
συμβεβηκότα καὶ ὥσα τούτων ἐλάττων διαιρέσεις

142 προσεχεῖς. XXXII. κἂν ἐτι παραθήξας ὁ νοῦς εἰς τὸ λεπτότερον ἕαυτὸν, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς τὰ σώματα, τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεις ἀνατέμον, πλέον οὐδέν πρὸς ἅρτης κτῆσιν ἐργάσεται, ἀλλὰ διχηλήσει μὲν διαστέλλει καὶ διακρίνει ἕκαστα δυνάμενος, οὐ μηρυκηθῆσεται δὲ, ὡς ὕφελιμῳ χρῆσθαι προφή κατὰ τὰς ὑπομνήσεις τὴν ἐξ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐπιγεγενημένην τραχύτητα

ψυχῆ λευνούση καὶ | προσηνὴ καὶ λείαι τῷ ὅντι κίνησιν ἀπεργαζομένη. μυρίοι οὖν τῶν λεγομένων σοφιστῶν θαυμασθέντες κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἄτασαν ἐπὶ τιμὴν ἐπιστρέψαντες ἑνεκὰ ἀκριβολογίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς εὐρέσεις δεινότητος ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς πάθεσι ἐγκατεγράσαν καὶ ἐγκατέτρυψαν1 τὸν βιόν οὐδὲν ἰδιωτῶν ἰμελημένων καὶ φαυλοτάτων διενεκόντες ἀνθρώπων.

143 διὸ καὶ παγκάλως τοὺς οὖτω βιοῦτας τῶν σοφιστῶν ο νομοθέτης τῷ συνῷ παραβάλλει γένει διαγιγεῖ μὲν οὐδενὶ καὶ καθαρῷ θολορῷ δὲ καὶ βορβορώδει2 βίῳ καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις ἐμφερομένους.3

144 τὸν γάρ σὺν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησιν, ὅτι διχηλεῖ μὲν, οὐ μηρυκᾶται δὲ, ὡς τὸν κάμηλον διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν πρόφασιν, ὅτι μηρυκώμενος οὐ διχηλεῖ. ὡσα μὲν<τοι> τῶν ζώων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχει, καθαρὰ εἰκότως ἀναγράφεται, ὅτι τῷ περὶ ἐκατερον4 τῶν λεχθέντων ἀτόπιαν ἐκπέφευγε. καὶ γὰρ διαίρεσις ἄνευ μνήμης καὶ μελέτης καὶ διεξόδου

1 mss. κατεγήρασαν καὶ κατέτρυψαν, which perhaps might be retained and a participle like χρώμενοι inserted to govern πάθεσι.
2 mss. βαραθρώδει.
3 So mss.: perhaps ἐμφερομένων.
4 mss. θατέραν (-α).
ON HUSBANDRY, 141–145

“predicates” and “complements” and still more minute refinements. XXXII. And if the mind putting a still finer edge upon itself dissect the natures of things, as a surgeon does men’s bodies, he will effect nothing that is of advantage for the acquiring of virtue. It is true that, by reason of his power to distinguish and discriminate in each case, he will “divide the hoof,” but he will not “chew the cud” so as to have at his service beneficial nourishment with its wholesome reminders, smoothing out the roughness that had accrued to the soul as the result of errors, and producing an easy and truly smooth movement. And so multitudes of those who are called sophists, after winning the admiration of city after city, and after drawing wellnigh the whole world to honour them for their hair-splitting and their clever inventiveness, have with all their might worn their life out, and brought it to premature old age, by the indulgence of their passions, differing not at all from neglected nobodies and the most worthless of mankind. Excellently, therefore, does the law-giver compare the race of sophists who live in this way to swine. Such men are at home in a mode of life not bright and luminous but thick and muddy and in all that is most ugly. For he says that the pig is unclean, because, though it divide the hoof, it does not chew the cud (Lev. xi. 7). He pronounces the camel unclean for the opposite reason, because though chewing the cud he does not divide the hoof. But such animals as do both are, as we might expect, set down as clean, since they have escaped the unnatural development in each of the directions named. For indeed distinguishing without memory and with-

* See App. p. 493.
τῶν ἀρίστων * * 1 ἀγαθῶν ἀτελές, ή δ' ἀμφοῖν εἰς
taυτὸ σύνοδος τε καὶ κοινωνία τελειώτατον.

146 Τελειώτητα δὲ καὶ οἱ δυσμενεῖς τῆς
ψυχῆς καταπτήσσουσιν, ὥν μηκέτι ἐπανίστασθαι
dυναμένων ἡ ἀφευθής εἰρήνη κρατεῖ. Ἡμέργου
δ' ὁσοὶ σοφίας ἡ πάλιν ἡμιπαγούς ἔλαχον, ἀσθενέ-
στεροι ἢ ὡστε ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκ πολλοῦ συγκεκροτη-
μένων καὶ πρὸς ἁλκήν ἐπιδεδωκότων ἐναντιοῦσθαι

147 στίφεσι. διὰ τούθ' ὅταν ἐν τῷ τοῦ πολέμου καιρῷ
ποιήται τῆς στρατιᾶς κατάλογον, οὐχ ἀπασαν
καλεῖ τὴν νεότητα, κἂν μετὰ προθυμίας τῆς πάσης
αὐτοκελεύστω χρῆται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἀμυναν ἐτομο-
τητι, προστάτητε δὲ ἀπίοντας οὐκοὶ καταμείναι,
ὡς ἢν ἐκ συνεχοῦς μελέτης τὴν τοῦ ποτε δύνασθαι
νυκάν ἀνὰ κράτος ἵσχὺν τε καὶ ἐμπειρίαν εὑρωνται

148 κραταιώτατην. ἡ δὲ πρόστασις διὰ τῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς
γραμματέων γίνεται, ὅταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγγὺς καὶ
ἐπὶ θύραις ὃν ἢδη τυγχάνῃ ταυτὶ δὲ φήσοντι.

1 The translation follows Wend., who supplies after ἀρίστων
some such words as και μνήμη χωρὶς διαιρέσεως τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ
tῶν ἐναντίων; but see App. 493.
out conning and going over of the things that are best is an incomplete good (as is memory without distinguishing between good things and their opposites), but the meeting and partnership of both in combination is a good most complete and perfect.

XXXIII. Now even men of ill will cower before perfection of soul, and, when they can no longer resist it, genuine peace prevails. But men that have attained to a wisdom half-wrought or, to change the figure, half-baked, are too feeble to stand up against massed bodies of sins that have been long in training and have become increasingly formidable. This is why, when in time of war the lawgiver is mustering the army, he does not summon all the youth, even though it be filled with the utmost zeal and shew readiness that requires no spurring to repel the enemy, but bids them depart and stay at home, that as the result of constant practice they may acquire overpowering strength and skill, such as shall enable them one day to win a decisive victory. The command is given through the marshals or secretaries of the army, when war is near and already at the very doors. What they are to say is this: "Who is the man that has built a new house and has not hanselled it? Let him go and turn back to his house, lest he be killed in the war and another man hansel it. And who is there that has planted a vineyard and not been made joyous by its fruits? Let him go his way and turn back to his house, lest he die in the war and another have joy from it. And to whom has a wife been promised, whom he has not taken? Let him go his way and turn back to his house, lest he die in the war and another take her"

a E.V. "officers."
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149 | λήψεται αυτήν.” XXXIV. διὰ τὶ γὰρ, εἶπομ’ ἀν, ὃ θαυμασιώτατε, οὐχὶ τούτους μᾶλλον ἐτέρων εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα τοῦ πολέμου κατατάττεν ἄξιοῖς, οὐ γύναια καὶ οὐκίας καὶ ἀμπελώνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ἀφθονωτάτην περιπετεύονται; τοὺς γὰρ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους, καὶ εἰ πάντως εἶν θαρύτατοι, κουφότατα οἰσούσιν ἐπεὶ οἷς γε τῶν λεχθέντων οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν, ἄτε μηδὲν ἐχοντες ἀναγκαῖον ἐνέχυρον οἰκώ καὶ βαθυμία τὰ

150 πολλὰ χρῆσονται. ἢ παρόσον οὐδὲν τῶν κτηθέντων ἀπολελαύκασιν, εἰτά μηδ’ ύστερον δυνητῶς ἀπολαύσαι; τοῖς γὰρ κρατηθείσι τῷ πολέμῳ τίς ἀπολείπεται τῶν κτηθέντων ὅνησις; ἄλλ’ οὐχ ἀλώσονται.1 εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν τὸ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀστρατεύτοις πείσονται οἰκοί γὰρ καθεξομένων καὶ τρυφῶντων ἀνάγκη τοὺς τά τοῦ πολέμου συντόνως δρώντας ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἀναιμωτί μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἄκοιτει κρατεῖν. ἄλλα τὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πλήθος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀγώνα προθύμως ἀναδέχεται. πρῶτον μὲν ἀτοπον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐτέρων σπουδαῖς ἢ τύχαις ὁρμεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτε περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀναφροδισμοῦ καὶ πορθήσεως ἰδίος τε καὶ κοινὸς ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος, δυναμένους συνδιαφέρεσθαι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μηθ’ ὑπὸ νόσου μηθ’ ὑπὸ γήρως μηθ’ ὑπ’ ἀλλής κακοπραγίας μηδεμιᾶς κωλυόμενος. ἀρπάσαντας γὰρ δεῖ τὰ ὀπλα ἐν ταῖς πρώταις φάλαγξι τούτους καὶ

1 Wend. prints a mark of interrogation here and in §151 after ἀναδέχεται. The translators have substituted full stops, regarding the sentences in both cases as objections raised by the other side.

a The elaborate argument which follows to show that Moses must have intended an intellectual or spiritual warfare
(Deut. xx. 5-7). a XXXIV. "For what reason," I should be inclined to say, "my good friend, do you not think fit to assign these more than others to the conflict of the war, who have secured for themselves wives and houses and vineyards and other possessions in lavish abundance? They will bear very lightly, be they ever so heavy, the dangers incurred to keep them safe; while those who have none of the ties mentioned, having nothing vital at stake, will for the most part be sluggish and slack. Or, again, is the fact that they have derived no enjoyment from any of their acquisitions a good reason for depriving them of the possibility of doing so in the future? For what advantage from their possessions remains to the vanquished?

"Nay but," I think you urge, "they will not be prisoners."

On the contrary, they will at once incur the fate of non-combatants. For enemies vigorously carrying on operations of war are quite sure to become masters of men sitting at home at their ease, not merely without bloodshed but without a struggle.

"Nay," you urge again, "the large forces on their side will gladly undertake to fight for these as well."

In the first place, I reply, it is monstrous to rely on the efforts or good fortune of others, especially when there is the menace hanging over both individual citizens and the city itself of spoliation and deportation and enslavement, and that when they are able to do their part in bearing the burdens of war and are hindered from doing so neither by illness nor by old age nor by any other misfortune. It behoves these people to snatch up their weapons takes the form of a dialogue with the γραμματεῖς in which they raise objections in §§150, 151, and 155.
φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενους. XXXV.

152 ἐπειτ’ οὗ προδοσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἀναλγησίας ἐξενηνοχότες ἃν εἰν εἰς ἄχριμα, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προπολεμήσουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς οἰκείοις πράγμασιν ἔσονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας ἀγώνας ἀναρρίπτειν θελήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ΕΑΥΤῶΝ ἀναδέξονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀστυίας καὶ χαμενιας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας σώματος τε καὶ ψυχῆς κακώσεως ἀσμενοι διὰ τὸν τοῖος ἁρκησαὶ πόθον καταρείσουσιν, οἱ δὲ κοινάματα καὶ λήρους, κόσμον ἄψυχον, οἰκίας περιπεθέντες ἡ τῆν κατ’ ἀγρόν ὀπώραν δρεπόμενοι καὶ τάσπιλην’ ἄγοντες ἡ ταῖς ὁμολογηθείσαις ἐκπαλαὶ παρθένοι νῦν πρώτον εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ συνεναζόμενοι ως ἐν ἐπιτηδειοστάτῳ τοῦ γαμείν καρφί διατελοῦσι; 153 καλὸν γε τοῖχον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, προσόδους εκλέγειν, ἐστιάσθαι, μεθύειν, νυμφασθῆναι τας γεγερακυίας καὶ σατράς, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ’ εἰρήνης ἐργα, ἐν δ’ έτοι ἡβῶντος τε καὶ ἀνθοῦντος ἀκμὴ πολέμου ἀτοπα’ δραν. ἡ τούτων οὐχ ο’ πατήρ, οὐκ ἄδειφος, οὐ τῶν ἀφ’ αἴματος οὔδείς, οὐ γένους ἐστράτευται, ἀλλὰ πανοίκιος αὐτοίς ἐμ-

[324] πεφώλευκεν ἡ δελία; ἀλλὰ πάντως εἰςι μυρίοι τῶν συγγενῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι. τούτων οὖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον αἱρομένων οἱ χλιδών τε καὶ ἀβροδιάτισις ζώαντες τίνας οὐκ ἄν ἀπεθάνους θηρας δι’ ὑπερβολῆν ἦμοτητος παραδράμομεν; 155 ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἐτέρους ἀπονητὶ τῶν ἠμετέρων

1 Conj. Tr.: mss. πάντα: Cohn suggested ταῦτα δράν αἰσχιστον. Perhaps πολέμου (πολέμου) πάντα, i.e. in time of war
and taking their place in the front ranks to hold their shields over their comrades fighting with a courage that courts danger.

XXXV. In the next place, they would have given proof not only of treachery but of utter insensibility, if, while the others are to be fighting in their defence, they are to be about their private business; and while the others are to be willing to stand the hazard of the conflict for their safety, they are not to take the trouble to fight for their own; and, while the others in their desire for victory are gladly to put up with short rations and sleeping in the field and the other hardships of body and soul, they spend their time in decking their houses with stuccoes and trumperies, poor soulless display; or getting in the fruit of their orchards and celebrating the vintage festival; or now for the first time consummating their marriage with the maidens betrothed to them long before, as though this were an ideal season for weddings. 'Tis good to look after walls, to collect rents, to attend banquets, to get tipsy, to indulge in sexual intercourse, for the aged and as the saying is, decayed dames, to be escorted to the bridal chamber, but they are works of peace, and monstrous things to do when war is in full course. Has not a father, has not a brother, has no blood-relation, no member of the clan of these men enlisted? Has cowardice made their whole family its lair? Nay, there surely are a host of their kinsfolk at the front. Would not, then, those, who live in ease and luxury while these are imperilling their lives, far surpass in cruelty any savage beasts you can name?

"It is hard," you are thinking, "that other it is well that all that is done should be things of war. Possibly πολέμου <δεν πολέμου>, cf. §25 above.
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ἀπολαῦσαι πόνων. καὶ πότερον χαλεπώτερον ἐχθροὺς ἐτὶ ζώντων ἡ φίλοις καὶ συγγενεῖς τετελευτηκότων ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων ἐλθεῖν; ἡ καὶ τὸ συγκρίνειν τὰ οὕτως μακρὰν ἀφεστώτα εὕηθες;

καὶ μὴν εὐλογοῦν μὴ μόνον ὅσα τοῖς ἀστρατεύτοις πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους ἐχθρῶν κεκρατηκότων γενέσθαι κτήματα. τοῖς δὲ γε ἀποθνήσκοντων ύπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπώναντον1 πρότερον τῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἡδίστη τελευτή γίνεται λογιζομένους ὅτι πρὸς οὐς ἦξαντο διαδόχους τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔρχεται.

XXXVI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ νόμου ῥητὸν τοσαύτας καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἐπισκέψεις ἥσσος ἔχει. ὡς δὲ μηδείς εὐρεσιλογῶν ἥρασύνηται τῶν κακοτεχνούντων, ἀλληγοροῦντες φήσομεν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μόνον οἴεται δεῖν δ νόμος περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πονεῖσθαι τυχα τόκως, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν κτηθέντων ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ τὸ γε ειδαμονεῖν ἀρετῆς χρῆσει τελείας περιγενέσθαι νομίζει σῷον καὶ παντελῆ περιποιούσης βίον ἐπειθ’ ὅτι οὐ περὶ οἰκίας ἢ ἀμπελώνους ἢ τῆς καθ’ ὡς μηδενὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὅπως τὴν μὲν ὅσ μνητή ἀγάγηται, τοῦ δ’ ἀμπελώνος τὸν καρπὸν ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀποδρεψάμενος καὶ ἀποθλύσας, εἰτ’ ἐμπιων μεθύσματος ἀκράτου γανώθη, τὴν δ’ οἰκίαν ὁ ἀναδειμάμενος οἰκήσῃ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν

1 mss. ἀφ’ ὧν ἄν τὸ, which was formerly patched up by reading ἐι μηδενὸς ἀπέλαυσαν ἀφ’ ὧν ἄν τὸ πρότερον εἴχον.

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people without doing any work should get the benefit of our labours."

Pray, which is harder, that enemies should come into the property while we are still alive, or that friends and kinsfolk should do so when we are dead? Nay, 'tis silly even to compare things so wide apart. Again, it is probable not only that all that belongs to those who did not join up should become the property of the victorious enemy, but that they themselves should so become; while to those who are dying for the common salvation, even supposing that they had in former days derived no benefit from the family property, a happy ending comes as they reflect that the property is falling to the heirs to whom it was their prayer that it should fall.

XXXVI. The letter of the Law perhaps suggests all these considerations and more than these. But that no malicious critic may too daringly give rein to his inventive talent, we will leave the letter, and make one or two remarks about the inner meaning of the Law. Firstly, it considers that a man ought to concern himself not only with the acquisition of good things, but with the enjoyment of what he has acquired, and that happiness results from the practice of perfect excellence seeing that such excellence secures a life sound and complete in every way. Secondly, what the Law means is that a man's main consideration is not house or vineyard or the wife already betrothed to him; how he is to take to wife her whom he has wooed and won; how the planter of the vineyard is to cull and crush its fruit, and then drink large draughts of the intoxicating beverage and make his heart glad; or how the man that has built the house is to occupy it; but that the faculties of a
κατὰ ψυχὴν δυνάμεων, δι' ὅν συμβεβηκεν ἀρχὰς
tε λαμβάνει καὶ προκόπας καὶ τελειώτητας ἐν
praξεσιν ἑπανεταῖς; αἰ μὲν τοῖνυν ἀρχαὶ περὶ
μυηστήρα φιλούσι γίνεσθαι—καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ μνώ-
μενος γυναῖκα μέλλει ἔτι ἀνήρ 1 οὐ γεγονὸς ἦδη,
tὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ εὐφυὴς εὐγενὴ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰν
ἀξιοθαι παρθένον, παιδεῖαν, ἐλπίζει, μνᾶται δ' ἀντικα—,
αἰ δὲ προκοπᾶ περὶ γεωργὸν—ὡς γὰρ
ἐπιμελεῖς τῷ φυτουργῷ τὰ δένδρα αὐξεσθαι, καὶ
tῷ φιλομαθὲς τὰ φρονήσεως θεωρήματα πούσαι
μηκίστην λαβεῖν ἐπίδοσαν; αἰ δὲ τελειώτητες περὶ
dημιουργίαν οἰκίας τελειομένης μὲν, οὔπω δὲ
πῆξιν λαβουσίς. XXXVII. ἀρμόττει δὴ πᾶσι
τούτοις, ἀρχομένους, προκόπτουσι, τετελειωμένους,
βιοῦν ἀφιλονείκως καὶ μὴ τῷ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐπ-
apοδύεσθαι πολέμῳ δύσεριν ἐπὶ νοθεία
τάληθος δεὶ μελετῶντων· ἐπειδὴ τάληθες εἰρήνη
ίλον, ἢ δυσμενῆς αὐτοῖς. εἰ γὰρ εἰς τούτων
ἀφίζονται τὸν ἁγῶνα πρὸς ἐμπειροπολέμου ἰδιώ-
tαι, παντέλως ἀλώσονται· ο μὲν ἀρχόμενος, <ὅτι>
ἀπειρος, ο δὲ προκύπτων, ὁτι ἀτελής, ο δὲ τελείως,
ὅτι οὔπω ἀτριβὸς2 ἀρετὴς· δει δ' ὅσπερ τὰ κοινά-
ματα στηριχθῆναι βεβαιῶς καὶ λαβεῖν πῆξιν, οὔτως

1 Con. Tr.: mss. μέλλων ἔπαν ἀνήρ. Adler proposes μέλλων
ἔπαν<δρούσθαι> ἢ ἐπαν<δρός εἶναι>. Wendland suggested
μέλλει γενέσθαι ἀνήρ.
2 Sic mss. Emendations proposed are οὔπω ἐντριβῆς ἢ ἔτι
ἀτριβῆς (π ἀτριβῆς, the usage being perhaps defensible with
the implied negative in ἀτριβῆς).

Or the passage may be taken as follows: “The lawgiver
is not speaking of house or vineyard. . . . He does not wish
that he should take to wife . . . But he is speaking of the
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man's soul are a man's main consideration. Through these he can make a beginning, make progress, and reach perfection in praiseworthy doings. Beginnings are seen in a wooer, for, just as he who is wooing a woman has wedlock still in futurity not being already a husband, in the same way the well-constituted man looks forward to one day marrying Discipline, a high-born and pure maiden, but for the present he is her wooer. Progress is seen in the work of the husbandman, for, as it is the planter's care that the trees should grow, so is it the earnest student's care to bring it about that the principles of sound sense shall receive the utmost development. Perfection is to be seen in the building of a house, which is receiving its finishing touches, but has not yet become quite compact and firmly settled. XXXVII. It befits all these, the beginners, those making progress, and those who have reached perfection, to live without contention, refusing to engage in the war waged by the sophists, with their unceasing practice of quarrelsomeness and disturbance to the adulteration of the truth: for the truth is dear to peace, and peace has no liking for them. If our friends do come into this conflict, mere unprofessionals engaging trained and seasoned fighters, they will undoubtedly get the worst of it; the beginner because he lacks experience, the man who is progressing, because he is incomplete, the man who has reached completeness, because he is still unpractised in virtue. It is requisite, just as it is that plaster should become firm and fixed and acquire solidity, so too that the faculties of a man's soul;” cf. for this use of ὁ λόγος αὐτῆς, "he is not speaking about," § 88 above. b See App. p. 493.
τὰς τῶν τελειωθέντων ψυχὰς κραταυωθείσας παγωτερον ἵδρυθήναι μελέτῃ συνεχεί καὶ γυμνάσμασιν ἐπαλλήλους. οἳ δὲ μὴ τούτων τυγχάνοντες παρὰ τοὺς φιλοσόφους διαλεληθότες εἶναι λέγονται σοφοὶ τοὺς γὰρ ἄχρι σοφίας ἀκρας ἐληλακότας καὶ τῶν ὄρων αὐτῆς ἀρτι πρῶτον ἄφημένους ἀμήχανον εἰδέναι φασὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τελείωσιν μὴ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν χρόνων ἄμφω συνισταθαι, τὴν τε πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἄφιξιν κατάληψιν, ἀλλ' εἶναι μεθόριουν ἄγνοιαν, οὐ τὴν μακρὰν ἀπεληλαμένην ἑπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐγγύς καὶ ἀγχίθυρον αὐτῇ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν καταλαμβάνοντο καὶ συνιέντο καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις ἑπισταμένου ἀκρως γένοιτ' ἀν ἔργον πολεμῆσαι τῷ φιλέριδι καὶ σοφιστικῷ στίφει· νικήσειν γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἑλπὶς. ὁ δὲ ἐτὶ τὸ ἄγνοιας ἑπιπροσθεὶ σκότος, μὴ πω τοῦ τῆς ἑπιστήμης ἀναλάμψεως φέγγους ἴσχυκύτως, ἀσφαλὲς οὐκοι καταμεῖναι, τουτέστων εἰς τὴν περὶ ὅν ἄκρως οὐ κατείληψε τῷ παρελθεὶν ἀμιλλαν, ἀλλ' ἱρεμῆσαι καὶ ὑπνακάσαι. οὗ τῇ ἀυθαδεῖας ἐξενεχθεῖς, τὰ παλαιόσματα τῶν ἀντιπάλων οὐκ εἰδοὺς πρὶν δρᾶσαι παθεῖν φθήςσεται καὶ τὸν ἑπιστήμης θάνατον ἑνδεξεται, ὡς ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτερος τοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ σώμα διακρίνως. ὁφείλει δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν τοῖς πρὸς τῶν σοφισμάτων ἀπατωμένοις· ὅταν γὰρ τὰς λύσεις αὐτῶν εὑρεῖν μὴ δυνηθῶσιν, ὡς ἀληθείς τοῖς

* See App. p. 493.

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souls of those that have been perfected should become more firmly settled, strengthened by constant practice and continual exercise. Those who do not enjoy these advantages have the name among the philosophers of wise men unconscious of their wisdom. For they say that it is out of the question that those who have sped as far as the edge of wisdom and have just come for the first time into contact with its borders should be conscious of their own perfecting, that both things cannot come about at the same time, the arrival at the goal and the apprehension of the arrival, but that ignorance must form a border-land between the two, not that ignorance which is far removed from knowledge, but that which is close at hand and hard by her door. It will, then, be the business of him who fully apprehends and understands the subject and thoroughly knows his own powers, to go to war with the strife-loving band of sophists; for there is ground for expecting that such an one will be the conqueror. But for him whose eyes are still covered by the darkness of ignorance, the light of knowledge not being strong enough as yet to shine out, it is safe to stay at home, that is, not to come forward for the contest about matters which he has not fully apprehended, but to keep still and be quiet. But he who has been carried away by presumption, not knowing his opponents’ grips and throws, before he can be an agent will quickly be a victim and experience the death of knowledge, which is a far more woeful death than that which severs soul and body. This is bound to befall those who are cheated by sophistries; for they fail to find the way to refute these, and owing to their having regarded false statements as true and given
κατεφευσμένοις πεπιστευκότες ἀποθνήσκουσι βίον τὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ταύτων πεπονθότες τοῖς ὑπὸ κολάκων φενακιζομένοις· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγαίνουσα καὶ ἀληθῆς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσει νοσεράς 165 ἐξωθεῖται καὶ ἀνατρέπεται φιλίας. XXXVIII. συμβουλευτέον οὖν εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀγώνας μὴ παρέρχεσθαι τοῖς τε ἀρχομένους τοῦ μανθάνειν—ἀνεπιστήμονες γάρ—καὶ τοῖς προκόπτουσι, διότι οὐ τέλειοι, καὶ τοῖς πρῶτον τελειώθεισι, διότι λέληθεν 166 αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῇ τελειώτητι. τῶν δὲ ἀπειθησάντων ἄλλοις, φησίν, ἀνθρώπως τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν οἰκήσει, τὸν δ’ ἀμπελώνα κτήσεται, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἁζεται· τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἰδον τῷ αἱ λεχθεῖσαι δυνάμεις σπουδῆς, [326] βελτιώσεως, τελείωσεως | ἐπιλείψουσι μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλοις ἐνομιλήσουσιν ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφοιτώσαι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς * * * 1 167 ἀμείβουσαι, σφραγίσουσιν ὀμοιούμενα. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰς τὸν κηρὸν ἐπειδὰν τυπώσωσι, παθοῦσαι μὴ δὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἴδος ἐγχαράξασαι μένουσιν ἐν ὁμοίῳ· κἂν ὁ τυπωθεὶς συγχυθῇ κηρὸς καὶ ἀφανισθῇ, πάλιν ἔτερος ὑποβληθήσεται. ὡστε, ὃ γενναῖοι, μὴ νομίζοντες θεουρμένους συμφειρεῖσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις υμῶν ἀνθαίρετο γὰρ οὐσιν μερίσαν ἄλλως πρὸ υμῶν ἀσπάζονται τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εὐκλείας, 3 οὔς ἂν αἴσθωντας μὴ ἀκοῦσεν υμᾶς διὰ τὸ ρφοκίνδυνον ἱποδερακότας τῆς ὁμιλιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

1 The translation follows Wend., who suggests οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς <ἀδι κατοικοῦσαι, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἄλλων ἄλλας> ἀμείβουσαι. An alternative is to limit the corruption to ἀμείβουσαι. Mangey ἀποκάττουσαι.
2 MSS. σφόδρα γ’ εἰσιν.
3 The genitive is hardly defensible. Wend. proposes ἀσπάζονται <μεταδιδοῦσαι>, Cohn τῆς . . . εὐκλείας.

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them credence, they die so far as the life of knowledge is concerned. Their experience is the same as that of those who are taken in by flatterers: for in their case, too, the true and healthy friendship of the soul is thrust out and overturned by the friendship that is essentially unwholesome. XXXVIII. 165

We must therefore advise those, who are beginning to learn, to decline such contests, owing to their lack of knowledge; those who are making progress, owing to their not being perfect; and those who have just attained perfection, because they are to some extent unconscious of their perfectness. As for those who disregard this bidding, it says of each of them, another man shall live in his house, shall become owner of his vineyard, shall marry his betrothed. This is equivalent to saying, "the faculties mentioned of keenness to learn, of improvement, of becoming perfect, shall indeed never fail, but they associate with one man at one time, with another man at another time, going about and not tenanting the same souls always and changing from soul to soul. In this the faculties resemble seals; for these too, when they have stamped the wax, unaffected by the impressions they have made, after engraving an image on it remain as they were, and if the impression on the wax gets blurred and effaced, other wax will be substituted for it. So do not imagine, good sirs, that the faculties decay when you do. They are immortal, and ready to welcome ten thousand others in preference to you to the fame gained from them. These are all whom they perceive not to have shunned their converse as you did, owing to your foolhardiness, but to draw

*Or "talents."
ιόντας καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ἀσφαλείας ἔχοντας. εἰ δὲ τις ἀρετῆς φίλος, εὐχέσθω τὰ καλὰ πάντα ἐμφυτευθῆναι τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ψυχῆς φανῆναι καθάπερ ἐν ἀνδριάντι καὶ γραφῇ τελείᾳ τὰς εἰς εὐμορφίαν συμμετρίας, λογιζόμενος ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐφεδροὶ μυρίοι, οἷς ἡ φύσις ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ δωρήσεται ταῦτα πάντα, εὐμαθείας, προκοπάς, τελειότητας. ἀμεινὸς δὲ πρὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὸν ἐκλάμψει ταμιεύμενον τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθείσας ἀσφαλῶς χάριτας καὶ μὴ προενεγκόντα πόρθησιν ἐχθροῖς ἀφεώοσιν ἐτοιμοτάτην λείαν παρασχεῖν.

Οὐκοῦν βραχὺ ὁφελὸς ἀρχῆς, ἢν τέλος αὑσιον οὐκ ἐσφράγισται. πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ τελειωθέντες τινὲς ἀτελεῖς ἐνομίσθησαν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐπιφροσύνην θεοῦ βελτιωθῆναι δόξαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ ἐξοχος ἐξαρθέντες καὶ μετεωρισθέντες καὶ ἐζάρθεντες εἰς ἐσχατὸν κατενεχθέντες βυθόν ήφανίσθησαν. ἐάν γὰρ φῆσιν "οἰκοδομήσῃς οἰκίαν καινήν, καὶ ποιῆσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματί σου, καὶ οὐ ποιήσεις φόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου, ἐὰν πέσῃ οὐ πεσῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ." πτωμάτων γάρ ἀργαλεώτατον θεοῦ τιμής ἀποπεσεὶν ὅλισθοντα, στεφανώσαντα πρὸ ἐκείνου ἐαυτοῦ καὶ φόνον ἐμφύλιον ἐργασάμενον· κτείνει γὰρ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχῆν ὃ μὴ τὸ ὄν τιμῶν, ὡς ἀνόνυτον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παιδείας τὸ οἰκοδόμημα.
near and pay great heed to safety. If any man be a lover of virtue, let him pray that all fair things may not only be implanted in him, but may shew themselves upon the surface of his soul, as do the exquisite proportions of beauty in a statue and a perfect portrait. Let him consider that there are myriads waiting to follow him, on whom in his stead Nature will bestow all the boons of which we have been thinking, the gift of quickness to learn, that of making progress, that of attaining perfection. Is it not better that, instead of leaving it to them, he should himself shine out and be a retentive steward of God's gracious gifts, and that he should not, by gratuitously offering an opportunity for plunder, supply ruthless foes with booty lying ready to their hand?

XXXIX. Little advantage, therefore, is there in a beginning to which a right ending has not set its seal. Quite frequently persons who had attained perfection have been accounted imperfect owing to their fancying that their improvement was due to their own zeal and not to the directing care of God. Owing to this fancy they were lifted up and greatly exalted, and so came to be borne down from lofty regions into the lowest abyss and so lost to sight: for we read, "If thou shalt build a new house, then shalt thou also make a parapet round thy roof, and so thou shalt not cause death in thy house, if the faller from it falls" (Deut. xxii. 8). For there is no fall so grievous as to slip and fall away from rendering honour to God, through ascribing the victory to oneself instead of to Him, and so being the perpetrator of the murder of one's kin. For he that fails to honour That which IS slays his own soul, so that the edifice of instruction ceases to be of use to him. In-
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172 παιδεία δὲ φύσιν ἔλαχε τὴν ἀγήρω, διόπερ καίνην εἶπε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα χρόνων φθείρεται, ἢ δὲ ἐφ’ ὅσον προσεῖον, ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἦβα καὶ ἐπακμάξει τὸ ἀειθαλὲς εἶδος φαιορυνομένη. κἂν τοῖς συνεχέσων ἑπιμελείαις καϊνομένη. Κἂν

173 [327] τοῖς | προτρεπτικοῖς μὲντοι παραίνει τοὺς κτήσων ἀγαθῶν λαχόντας πλειστὴν μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγράφαι τῆς κτήσεως αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ "μνησθήναι θεοῦ τοῦ διδότων ἰσχύν ποιῆσαι δύναμιν." τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τὸ ευπραγίας ἢν πέρας, ἀρχαὶ δ’ ἔκειναι ἃ στερεότοις ἐκλαμβανομένους τοῦ τέλους μηδὲ τής τῶν κτηθέντων ἀρχής εὖ ἄν ἐτ’ ἀπόνασθαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐκούσια γίνεται διὰ φιλαυτίαν τὰ σφάλματα οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν φιλόδωρον καὶ τελεσφόρονθεοὰ ἀιτίον ἀποφήματο. κἂν τοῦτος οὐκ ἐνταῦθα νῦν ἀπόνασθαι. τοῖς μέν οὖν εκούσια γίνεται διὰ φιλαυτίαν τὰ σφάλματα οὐχ ὑπομένουσι τὸν φιλόδωρον καὶ τελεσφόρον θεοῦ αἰτίον ἀποφήματο. τοῦτος οὐκ ἐνταῦθα νῦν ἀπόνασθαι.

174 XL. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ πάντα κάλων εὐσεβείας ἀνασείσαντες ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς λιμέσις αὐτῆς ταχυναυτὸντες ἐσπονδαζοῦν, καθέτ’ οὐ μακρὰν ἀφετηκότων, ἄλλ’ ἦδη μελλόντων προσέχειν, αἰφνίδιον εὖ ἐναντίας καταρράγειν πνεύμα πλησίον εὐθυδρομοῦν τὸ σκάφος ἀνέσθαι, ως ὑποκείραι πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς ἐξανάσθαι τοῖς λιμέσις αὐτῆς ἐνορμίσασθαι. τούτους οὐκ ἐν τις ἄτερθαθεῖς αἰτίασαι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀρκετὸς, αἰθεῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπειγομένων γέγονεν ἡ βραδυτῆς; τίς οὖν ἀπεικαζητεῖ τούτους ἢ ὁ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην εὐξάμενος εὐξῆται εὐξήν (R.V. "a special vow"). For Philo's interpretation cf. Quod Deus 89, 90, where also the contact with the corpse is treated as an "involuntary" error.
struction has obtained the nature that never grows old, and for this reason her house is called "new." For whereas other things decay by lapse of time, she, however far she advances, retains the bloom of youth and is in her prime all along, radiant with unfailing loveliness, and renewing her freshness by her unceasing diligence. Moreover in his Exhortations the lawgiver charges those who have obtained large possession of good things not to inscribe themselves in their hearts as authors of their wealth, but "to remember God Who giveth strength to acquire power" (Deut. viii. 18). This remembrance, then, was in his eyes the goal of prosperity, the putting forth of power the beginning: the consequence of this being that those who forget the end of their acquisitions cannot any longer derive real benefit from their beginning. The disasters which befall these men are self-chosen, the outcome of selfishness. They cannot bear to acknowledge as the Author of the good things which they enjoy the God Who brings to perfection the gifts which He loves to bestow.

XL. But there are others who, with every stitch of piety's canvas spread, have used every effort to make a quick voyage, and to come to anchor in her harbours, and then, when they were no distance away, but on the very point of coming to land, a violent head-wind has suddenly burst upon them, and driven the vessel straight back, stripping her of much of the gear on which her seaworthiness depended. No one would find fault with these men for being still at sea; for the delay was contrary to their wish and befell them when they were making all speed. Who, then, resembles these men? Who but he who vowed what is called the great Vow? For he says:
ευχήν; "έαν γάρ τις" φησίν "ἀποθάνη ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀιφνίδιον, παραχρήμα μανθήσεται ἡ κεφαλὴ εὐχής αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕυφησεται" ἐίτα ὅλα γροσειτῶν ἐπιφέρει. "αἱ δὲ ἤμεραι αἱ πρότεραι ἄλογοι ἔσονται, ὅτι ἐμάνθη κεφαλὴ εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ." δὴ ἀμφοτέρων τούν, τοῦ τε "ἀιφνίδιον" καὶ τοῦ "παραχρήμα" εἰπεῖν, ἡ ἀκούσια παρίσταται τῆς ψυχῆς τροπῆ πρὸς μὲν <γὰρ> τὰ ἐκουσία τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι ποῦ καὶ πότε καὶ πῶς πρακτέον χρόνου δεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀκουσία ἔξαιρης, ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ, εἰ οἶνον τε τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ἀχρόνως κατασκήπτει. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὄσπερ τοὺς δρομεῖς ἀρξαμένους ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀπταίστος καὶ ἀπνευστὶ διευθύναι τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ μυρία ἐμποδῶν παντί τῷ γενομένῳ. πρότερον μὲν <οὖν>, δὲν καὶ μόνον εὐεργεσία, μηδενὸς τῶν κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικημάτων ἐφάμασθαι πᾶσαν τῇ τῆς ἀμῆχανον τῶν ἐκουσίων1 πληθὺν ἱσχύσαι διώσασθαι. δευτέρον δὲ τὸ μήτε πολλοῖς τῶν ἀκουσίων μήτ' ἐπι μήκιστον χρόνον εὐδιατρῆσαι. ἰἱγάλως δέ τὰς τῆς ἀκουσίου τροπῆς ἠμέρας εἰπεῖν ἄλογος, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἄλογον, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων λόγον οὐκ ἔστω ἀποδοῦναι. παρὸ καὶ πυνθανόμενων πολλάκις τᾶς τῶν [328] πραγμάτων αἰτίας φαμέν μήτ' εἰδέναι μήτ' εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι. μήτ' γὰρ γεγονομένων συμπαραληφθῆναι,

1 So mss. Wend. ἀκουσίων, i.e. the ideal course is to avoid both kinds of offence, the next best to avoid the "voluntary" and to minimize the "involuntary." But since the "occasions of the involuntary are infinite" (§ 179), the ideal can rarely be reached (§ 180).

a In Quod Deus 90 they are not worth counting.
"If someone die suddenly beside him, the head of his vow shall forthwith be defiled, and he shall shave it." Then, after a few more words, he adds, "The former days shall be void, because the head of his vow was defiled" (Numb. vi. 9, 12). The involuntary nature of the soul's failure is evidenced by both of the words which he uses, "sudden" and "forthwith," for whereas in the case of deliberate sins time is required for planning where and when and how the thing is to be done, unintentional sins swoop upon us suddenly, without thought, and if we may so say, in no time. For it is difficult for the runners, as we may call them, after starting on the way to piety, to finish the whole course without stumbling, and without stopping to draw breath; for every man born meets ten thousand obstacles. The first need then, which is the one and only thing that is "well-doing," is never to put hand to any deliberate wrong-doing, and to have strength to thrust from us the countless host of voluntary offences; the second not to fall into many involuntary offences, nor to continue long in the practice of them.

Right well did he say that the days of the involuntary failure were void (ἀλόγους) not only because to sin is void of reason (ἀλογον) but also because it is impossible to render an account (λόγον) of involuntary sins. Accordingly, when people inquire after the motives for things that have been done, we often say that we neither know nor are able to tell them: for that when they were being done we were not taken

b Apparently meaning "our motives for what we have done." Philo seems to be expressing in a curiously strong way the feeling that our "involuntary" errors are something quite independent of us. They treat us as strangers and we are taken aback when we find that they have happened.
180 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτῶν ἀγνοῆσαι. σπάνιον οὖν εἶ τῷ δωρήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους σταδιεύσαι τὸν βίον μήτ' ὀκλάσαντι μήτ' ὀλισθόντι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι φύσιν ἀδικημάτων, ἐκουσίων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων, ρύμη καὶ φορὰ τάχους ὡκυδρομωτάτου ὑπερπτῆναι.

181 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀρχῆς τε πέρι καὶ τέλους εἴρηται διὰ Νώε τὸν δίκαιον, ὅσ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ στοιχεῖα τῆς γεωργικῆς κτησάμενος τέχνης ἄχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἠθένησε· λέγεται γάρ ὅτι "ἐρύσατο γῆς εἶναι γεωργὸς," οὐ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ἄκρας ἐπιστήμης ἔλαβετο. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς φυτουργίας εἰρημένα αὐτοῦ λέγωμεν αὕθις.
into confidence, nay, that they arrived without our knowing it. 'Tis a rare event then if God shall vouch-safe to a man to run life's course from beginning to end without slackening or slipping, and to avoid each kind of transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, by flying past them, in the vehement rush of matchless speed.

These remarks on beginning and end have been made apropos of Noah the righteous man who, after making himself master of the elements of the science of husbandry, had not the strength to reach its final stages, for it is said that "he began to be a husbandman," not that he reached the furthest limits of full knowledge. What is said about his work as a planter let us tell at another time.
CONCERNING NOAH'S WORK
AS A PLANTER
(DE PLANTATIONE)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

The first part of this treatise, extending to the end of § 139, treats firstly of God’s planting and then of man learning to copy His work. The second part (§ 140 onwards) should be entitled Περὶ μέθης, for it deals with the vine only with respect to its fruit. The title of the treatise is, therefore, inappropriate.

A. 1-139

(a) 1-72. The first Planter and His plant.

(a) 1-27. The universe and its component parts planted.

(β) 28-31. Trees planted in man, the microcosm.

(γ) 32-46. The names of the two trees in Eden point to an allegorical interpretation. “Eden” is “delight” in the Lord. “Eastward” is “in the light.” “The tree of Life” is the man of Gen. i. 27 in the image of God. The earthly man of Gen. ii. is placed in Paradise to be tested amid the virtues, the plants of a rational soul.

(δ) 47 ff. That Israel, God’s special inheritance, may be planted in Eden is Moses’ prayer.

(e) 62-72. God the Portion of Inheritance of Levi and of those who have the Levite mind.
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(b) Lessons learned from the First Planter, and copies of His planting (73-139).

(a) 74-93. Abraham's planting (Gen. xxi. 33). The tree the "hide" of 10,000 cubits; the place the well, which is without water (Gen. xxvi. 32 Lxx), and so symbolic of the fruitless search for knowledge, and of the discovery of our own ignorance; the fruit the invocation of the Name "Eternal God," which connotes "Benefactor," whereas "Lord" connotes "Master."

(β) 94-139. Our planting (Lev. xix. 23-25). Ere we can plant fruit trees we must migrate to the God-given land, i.e. the mind must find the way of Wisdom. The beginner bidden to prune, i.e. cut out all hurtful things, e.g. the harlot and the toady from Friendship, superstition from Religion. Jacob's peeled rods and the leper's flesh, both white all over, serve as a pattern. Philo attempts to explain the command to prune the fruit itself.

The fourth year, in which the fruit is "holy for praise to the Lord" leads to a discourse on the number 4, on praise as the fruit of education, on thanksgiving as creation's chief duty, illustrated by the story of the birth of Mnemosyne. As the fifth year is ours for food, after the fourth year of thanksgiving, so "Issachar" or "Reward" was born next after "Judah" or "Praise."

B. 140-177

We now pass on to the vine-culture of Noah. As the vine is the means of Drunkenness (and the just man made himself drunk with it), we have to consider the subject of drunkenness. Moses' views will be given later (in De Ebrietate). Let us now examine 208
what the philosophical schools say about it. They put the question thus, "Will the wise man get drunk?" (139-141). But before stating the arguments on either side, we note that the term "get drunk" (μεθυσθ-ήσεται) may be used for hard drinking (οίνοσθαι) simply, or for drinking carried to the point of foolish behaviour (ληρειν). All condemn the latter, but one school holds that if μεθυσθ-ήσεται is used in the less offensive sense, the wise man may freely indulge in it; another, that he cannot safely do so, and will therefore avoid all carousals, unless social duties necessitate his participation in them.

Various opinions have been held as to the provenance of the disquisition which follows. It of course definitely disclaims originality, though as a matter of fact parts of it (e.g. §§ 168 f.) are evidently comments interpolated by Philo himself. Pearson in *Journal of Philology* 1907 regarded it as Peripatetic. Arnim, who discussed it very fully in his *Quellen-Studien zu Philo*, believes that Philo is here representing the views of a contemporary Stoic, but a Stoic of a free-thinking type, who had taken over a good deal of Peripateticism. Some of his reasons for this will be found in the Notes to §§ 171 f. The translators are rather inclined to agree with Heinemann that the discourse, at least from § 149 onwards, is rather of the rhetorical and epideictic type. We would suggest that the writer or speaker whom Philo is quoting or adapting, though conversant with philosophical terms, is not propounding a definite philosophical opinion, but merely endeavouring by a series of ingenious quibbles to show that the Stoic maxim the wise man will drink freely (οίνωθ-ήσεται), but will not get drunk (μεθυσθ-ήσεται), will not hold water.

*Cf. St. John ii. 10 ἀραν μεθυσθ-ῶσαι, where the A.V. translated "when men have well drunk," the R. V. "have drunk freely."* Arnim holds that three schools of thought are mentioned. See note on § 145.
The arguments of the thesis: "The wise man will get drunk" are now stated.¹

(1) As μέθυν and οίνος are admittedly synonyms, their derivatives μεθυεῖν and οίνοςθαι must be synonyms also. (This is preceded by a disquisition on "homonyms" and "synonyms." ) (§§ 149-155.)

(2) μεθυεῖν is properly μετὰ τὸ θύειν, ("after sacrificing"), and the ancient and right use of wine was orderly and religious in marked contrast to present custom. If μεθυεῖν is used in this sense, it is suitable to the wise man (§§ 156-164).

(3) Another derivation of μεθυεῖν is from μέθεσις (relaxation), and the blessings of relaxation and cheerfulness are pointed out.

(4) A dialectical argument, that, as soberness is found in the fool as well as in the wise man, its opposite, drunkenness, is common to both (§ 172).

(5) An argument from the use of the term μέθη in various writers, showing that they identified μεθυεῖν with οίνοςθαι, and did not associate it with λήρος (§§ 173 f.).

At this point the disputant professes to meet the arguments of the other side. The first of these is

¹ It will be observed (α) that of these arguments 1, 2, 3, and 5 merely attempt to show that μεθυεῖν may be used in the milder sense: (β) that no attempt is made to defend λήρος, which is definitely disclaimed in (5). The disputant, in fact, though professing to argue for the "wise man will get drunk," is really arguing for the first half of the Stoic maxim "the wise man will drink freely, but will not get drunk." Note further that little or no attempt is made to meet the view of the more rigid school described in § 143, which held that hard drinking, though not wrong in itself, might lead to evil.
the argument of Zeno, that, since no man could trust the drunken man with a secret, drunkenness is unsuitable to the wise man. This is refuted (§§ 175-177). The rest of the disquisition is lost.\textsuperscript{a}

\textsuperscript{a} It seems to be generally assumed that, after one or more further arguments had been disposed of, the debate ended; in other words, that Philo only quotes one speech (or treatise) which, though it professed to meet the arguments of opponents, was throughout in support of the thesis: "that the wise man will get drunk." It seems to the translators more likely that not only the end of the supporter's speech, but also the whole of the opponent's answer has been lost. It is a favourite device of rhetoricians to choose out the weakest arguments on the opposite side and demolish them beforehand. It is noteworthy that the argument refuted in §§ 176 ff. is one which, though put forward by Zeno, was rejected by the later Stoics (see note on § 176).
ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΝΩΕ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

1 [329] Ι. | 'Εν μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τὰ περὶ γεωργικῆς τέχνης γενικῆς, ὅσα καὶρὸς ἦν, εἴπομεν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ περὶ τῆς κατ' εἴδος ἀμπελουργικῆς, ὡς ἄν οἶόν τε ἦ, ἀποδώσομεν. τὸν γὰρ δίκαιον ὦ γεωργὸν μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ἑϊδικὸς ἀμπελουργὸν εἰσάγει φάσκων. “ἡρξατο Νῶε ἀνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργὸς γῆς καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελώνα.”

2 προσήκει δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος φυτουργῶν τε καὶ γεωργίων διεξεῖναι κατανοῆσαι πρῶτον τὰ τελειότατα τοῦ παντὸς φυτά καὶ τὸν μέγαν φυτούργον καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν. ὁ μὲν τοῖς τῶν φυτουργῶν μέγιστος καὶ τὴν τέχνην τελειότατος ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμόνων ἐστὶ, φυτὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἐαυτῷ τὰ ἐν μέρει φυτὰ ἄμα τιμώρια καθάπερ κληματίδας ἐκ μιᾶς ἀνα- τρασάντου νησίς ὡδὲ ὁ κόσμος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀτακτον καὶ συγκεκυμένην οὐδαίν εἰς αὑτῆς εἰς τὰξιν εἰς ἀταξίας καὶ ἐκ συγχύσεως εἰς διά- κρισιν ἄγων ὁ κοσμοπλάστης μορφοῦν ἦρξατο, [330] γῆν μὲν καὶ ὄδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον ἐρρίζου, τὰ | δὲ

1 MSS. φυτῶν. 2 MSS. οὐ. 3 MSS. ἄλλα.
CONCERNING NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER

BOOK II

I. We have said in the former book all that the occasion called for regarding the husbandman's art in general. In this book we shall give such an account as we can of the art of a vine-dresser in particular. For Moses introduces the righteous man not as a husbandman only, but specially as a vine-dresser; his words are: "Noah began to be a husbandman tilling the ground, and he planted a vineyard" (Gen. ix. 20). It is incumbent on one, who is going to discourse on the work of planters and husbandmen as carried on in this or that place, to begin by marking well the plants set in the universe, those most perfect of all plants, and their great Planter and Overseer. It is the Lord of all things that is the greatest of planters and most perfect Master of His art. It is this World that is a plant containing in itself the particular plants all at once in their myriads, like shoots springing from a single root. For, when the Framer of the World, finding all that existed confused and disordered of itself, began to give it form, by bringing it out of disorder into order, out of confusion into distinction of parts, He caused earth and water to occupy the position of
αέρος καὶ πυρὸς δένδρα πρὸς τὴν μετάρσιον ἅνείλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου χώραν, τὸν δὲ αἰθέριον ἐν κύκλῳ τόπον ὕψωσε τῶν ἐντὸς ὅρων τε καὶ φυλακτήριον αὐτοῦ τιθεῖ, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ οὐρανός ὄνομάσθαι δοκεῖ: <καὶ> ὀχείσθαι μὲν γῆν ὑδατί ὕδασαν, ἢν δέος ἢν ὑδατὶ διαλύεσθαι, πυρὶ δὲ ἀέρα θερμῷ φύσει τὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχρότατον, θαύμα ἐκτόποιον, ὁ θαυματοποιὸς 4 εἰργάζετο. πῶς γὰρ οὐ τεράστιον ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ λυμένου συνέχεσθαι τὸ λύμο, πρὸς γῆς ὑδωρ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ψυχρότατῳ τὸ θερμότατον ἁσβεστὸν ἱδρύσθαι, πῦρ ἐπὶ ἀέρι; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τέλεια τοῦ παντὸς ἢν μοσχεύματα, τὸ δὲ παμμέγεθες καὶ παμμφορώτατον ἔρνος ὁ κόσμος οὕτως, 5 οὐ παραφύαδες οἱ εἰρημένοι βλαστοὶ. II. "Ὅπου ποτ’ οὖν ἄρα τὰς ρίζας καθήκε καὶ τῖς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ βάσις, ἐφ’ ἢς ὁσπρεὶ ἀνδριας ἐρήμερος, σκεπτέον. σῶμα μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολειφθένει εἰκὸς ἔξω πλανᾶσθαι πάσαν τὴν δι’ ὅλων ὅλην ἐγκατασκευάζει καὶ διακοσμήσαντος καθεόν τε τελείοτατον γὰρ ἐταυτοτετομμένον καὶ τέλειοτατον τῷ μέγιστον τῶν ἔργων τῷ μεγίστῳ δημιουργῷ διαπλάσασθαι, τελείοτατον δὲ οὐκ ἄν ἢν, εἰ μὴ τελείους συνεπληρώσατο μέρεσιν. ὥστε ἐκ γῆς ἀπάσης καὶ παντὸς ὑδατός καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, μηδενὸς ἔξω μηδὲ τοῦ βραχυτάτου καταλειφθέντος, συνέστη ὦδε ὁ κόσμος. ἀνάγκῃ τοῦν ἐκτὸς ἢ κενὸν ἢ μηδὲν εἶναι. εἲ μὲν δὴ κενὸν, πῶς τὸ

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α Or from both. Cornutus i. 1 gives ὑφετευν ὃ ἐστι φυλάσσειν, as well as ὁρός for the originals from which οὐρανός is derived.

b See App. p. 494.
roots at its centre; the trees, that are air and fire, 
He drew up from the centre to the space on high; 
the encircling region of ether He firmly established, 
and set it to be at once a boundary and guard of all 
that is within. (Apparently its name "Heaven" is 
derived from the former word.\textsuperscript{a}) And (surpassing 
wonder!) this Doer of wondrous works caused earth, 
a dry substance in danger of being dissolved by 
water, to be held by \textsuperscript{b} water, and air, of itself coldest 
of all things, to be held by fire whose very nature is 
heat. How can it be other than a prodigy that the 
dissolving element should be held together by that 
which it dissolves, water by earth; and that on the 
coldest element the hottest should be seated un­ 
quenched, fire upon air? The elements 
of which we have spoken are the perfect branches of 
the whole, but the stock, far greater and more 
productive than all of them, is this world, of which 
the growths that have been mentioned are offshoots. 
II. We must consider, therefore, where He caused its 
roots to strike, and on what it rests as a statue on its 
pedestal. It is unlikely that any material body has 
been left over and was moving about at random out­ 
side, seeing that God had wrought up and placed in 
orderly position all matter wherever found. For it 
became the greatest artificer to fashion to full per­ 
fecion the greatest of constructions, and it would 
have come short of full perfection, had it not had a 
complement of perfect parts.\textsuperscript{b} Accordingly this world 
of ours was formed out of all that there is of earth, 
and all that there is of water, and air and fire, not 
even the smallest particle being left outside. It 
follows that outside there is either empty space or 
nothing at all. If there is empty space, how comes
πλήρες καὶ ναστὸν καὶ τῶν ὅντων βαρύτατον οὐ
βρίθει ταλαντεύον στερεοῦ μηδενὸς ἀπερείδοντος;
εἴς οὖ δόξαν, ἐν οὐκέται δόξαι, ξητούσης ἄεὶ
τῆς διανοίας βάσιν σωματικῆν, ἦν πάν ἐχειν
eἰκός, εάν τι κενὸν μόνον2 τυγχάνη, τὸν δὲ δὴ
kόσμον καὶ διαφερόντως, ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον σωμάτων
ἔστι καὶ πλήθος ἄλλων σωμάτων ὡς οἰκεία ἐγ-
κεκόλπισται μέρη. τὰς δυσωπίας οὖν εἰ τις ἀπο-
διδράσκειν βούλουτο τὰς ἐν τοῖς διαπορθεῖσι,
λεγέτω μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν ὑλαις
κραταιον οὕτως, ὡς τὸν κόσμον ἀχθοφορεῖν
ἰσχυσαι, λόγος δὲ ὁ ἀϊδιὸς θεὸς τοῦ αἰωνίου τὸ
ὄχυρωτατον καὶ | ἐγκαίνια τῶν ὅλων
9 ἔστιν.
οὕτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ
πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεῖς
dολιεύει τὸν τῆς φύσεως δρόμον ἀήττητον συνάγων
τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφιγγᾶν δεσμόν γάρ 
ἀρρήτου τοῦ παντὸς ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει πατὴρ.
10 εἰκότως οὖν οὐδὲ γῆ πᾶσα διαλυθήσεται πρὸς
παντὸς ὑδάτος, ὅπερ αὐτῆς οἱ κόλποι κεχωρήκασιν,
οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἀέρος οἰκείωσαν, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναφλεχθήσεται, τοῦ θείου λόγου μεθ-
όριον τάττοντος αὐτῶν καθάπερ φωνῆς στοιχείων
ἄφωνων, ἵνα τὸ ὅλον ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου
μουσικῆς3 συνηχήσῃ, τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειλὰς
πειθοῖ τῇ συνόδῳ4 μεσιτεύοντος τε καὶ διαιτῶντος.

1 ἀπερείδοντος conj. Tr. for ἐπερείδοντος mss.
2 mss. ἐὰν τε κινούμενον: Wend. ἐὰν τι κινούμενον. Perhaps
ἐὰν τε ἐἰς ἐχθόμενον, ἐὰν τε κινούμενον.
3 Mangey and Wend. φωνῆς, which is elsewhere coupled with
ἐγγραμμάτου, e.g. De Agr. 136. But the μουσικῆς of the mss. is re-
produced in a quotation of the passage by Eusebius as μουσικῆς.
4 mss. and Eusebius συνόδῳ (sic): Wend. συναγωγῇ.
it that a thing that is full and dense and heaviest of all existences does not sink down by sheer weight, having nothing solid external to it to hold it up? This would seem to be of the nature of a phantom, since our understanding ever looks for a material basis, which it expects everything to have, even if it be but an empty thing, but above all the world, since it is the largest of material bodies, and holds in its bosom as parts of itself a mass of other material bodies. Let anyone then, who would fain escape the confusion of face, which we all feel when we have to leave problems unsolved, say plainly that no material thing is so strong as to be able to bear the burden of the world; and that the everlasting Word of the eternal God is the very sure and staunch prop of the Whole.

He it is, who extending Himself from the midst to its utmost bounds and from its extremities to the midst again, keeps up through all its length Nature's unvanquished course, combining and compacting all its parts. For the Father Who begat Him constituted His Word such a Bond of the Universe as nothing can break. Good reason, then, have we to be sure that all the earth shall not be dissolved by all the water which has gathered within its hollows; nor fire be quenched by air; nor, on the other hand, air be ignited by fire. The Divine Word stations Himself to keep these elements apart, like a Vocal between voiceless elements of speech, that the universe may send forth a harmony like that of a masterpiece of literature.\textsuperscript{a} He mediates between the opponents amid their threatenings, and reconciles them by winning ways to peace and con-

\textsuperscript{a} See App. p. 494.
PHILO

11 III. Οὔτως μὲν δὴ τὸ παμφορώτατον φυτὸν ἔρριξοντο καὶ μὲν ρίζωθεν ἐκρατεῖτο· τῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει καὶ βραχυτέρων φυτῶν τὰ μὲν μεταβατικῶς κινητά, τὰ δὲ ἄνευ μεταβάσεως ὡς ἄν ἐστώτα
12 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐδημουργεῖτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν μεταβατικὴ κινήσει χρώμενα, ὃ δὴ φαμεν ἠμεῖς ζῶα εἶναι, ταῖς τοῦ παντὸς ὀλοσχερεστέραις προσεγένετο μοίραις, γῆ μὲν τὰ χερσαία, πλωτὰ δὲ υδατι, τὰ δὲ πτηνὰ ἄερι καὶ τὰ πυρίγονα πυρί, ἀν τὴν γένεσιν ἀριθμητέραν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν λόγος ἔχει προφαίνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ὁυρανῷ —ζῶα γὰρ καὶ τούτους νοερὰ δη ἄλλων φασίν οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες—, <ὧν> οἱ μὲν πλάνητες ἐξ ἐαυτῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπλανεῖς τῇ τοῦ παντὸς συμπεριαγό-μενοι φορά τόπους ἐναλλάττειν δοκοῦσι.
13 τὰ δὲ ἀφαντάστω φύσει διοικούμενα, ἀπερ ἐδίως λέγεται φυτά, μεταβατικῆς κινήσεως ἁμέτοχα.
14 IV. διττὰ δὲ ἐν τε γῆ καὶ ἄερι γενή ὁ ποιῶν ἐποίει. ἄερι μὲν τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ αἰσθητά καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς κατα-λαμβανομένας— ψυχῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος ἀσωμάτων ἐστὶ διακεκοσμημένων οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐν τάξεις· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἰσκρίνεσθαι λόγος ἔχει σώμασι θνητῶν καὶ κατὰ τινὰς ὑρισμένας περιόδους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πάλιν, τὰς δὲ θειότερας κατασκευῆς

1 mss. τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν.

* For the whole of this section cf. De Gig. 7 f.
III. On this wise was the tree planted which yields all fruit that grows. On this wise when planted was it held fast. Among lesser plants, that did not partake of its universal character, some were created with a capacity of moving from one place to another, others, meant to be stationary, lacked such capacity for change of place. Our name for those which have the power of locomotion is animals. These took to (i.e. were so made as naturally to belong to) the several main divisions of our universe, land animals to earth, to water those that swim, the winged creatures to air, and to fire the fire-born. It is said that the production of these last is more patent to observation in Macedonia than elsewhere. The stars found their place in heaven. Those who have made philosophy their study tell us that these too are living creatures, but of a kind composed entirely of Mind. Of these some, the planets, appear to change their position by a power inherent in themselves, others to do so as they are swept along in the rush of our universe, and these we call fixed stars. The creations endowed with a nature incapable of taking in impressions, to which the name of "plants" is specially given, do not share the power of locomotion.

IV. Of twofold kind were the beings which the great Maker made as well in the earth as in the air. In the air He made the winged creatures perceived by our senses, and other mighty beings besides which are wholly beyond apprehension by sense. This is the host of the bodiless souls. Their array is made up of companies that differ in kind. We are told that some enter into mortal bodies, and quit them again at certain fixed periods, while others, endowed with
λαχούσας ἀπαντός ἀλογείν τοῦ γῆς χωρίου, ἀνω-
[332] τάτῳ δ’ εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ | αἰθέρι τὰς καθαρω-
tάτας, δι’ οἱ μὲν παρ’ Ἐλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες ἦρως καλοῦσι, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὄνοματ εὐθυβόλω
χρώμενος ἀγέλους προσαγορεῖ, πρεσβευομένας καὶ διαγγελλοῦσας τά τε παρὰ τοῦ ἤγεμόνος τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεί δὴν εἶσιν οἱ ὑπῆκοου χρεῖοι. γῆ δὲ ζωὰ τε χερσαία καὶ
φυτά, δύο πάλιν, προσένεμε, τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα
15 τε βουλήθεις εἶναι καὶ τροφόν· καθάπερ γὰρ
γυναικὶ καὶ παντὶ τῷ θῆλει πηγαί πρὸς τῷ μέλλειν
ἀποκύψεις αναχέονται γάλακτος, ἵνα τοῖς γεννω-
μένοις ἄρδωσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀρμοττούσας
τροφάς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῇ χερσαίων ζώων
μητρὶ γῆ πάσας φυτῶν προσένεμεν ἰδέας, ἵνα
συγγενέσι καὶ μὴ ὅθνείοις τροφαῖς τά γεννώμενα
16 χρήσηται. καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν φυτὰ κατωκάρα
ἀπειργάξετο τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς βαθυγει-
tάτοις γης μέρεσι πῆξας, ζώων δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνελκύσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἐπὶ προμήκους
αὐχένας ἄκρα ἡμόζετο τῷ αὐχένι ὕσπερ ἐπίβασιν
17 τοὺς ἐμπροσθιόν πόδας θεῖς. εξαιρέτου δὲ τῆς
κατασκευῆς ἐλαχεὶς ἀνθρώπος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων
τὰς ὀψεις περιήγαγε κάτω κάμψας, διὸ νένευκε
πρὸς χέρσον, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ἐμπαλιν ἀνώρθωσεν,
ἵνα τὸν οὐρανὸν καταθεᾶται, φυτὸν οὐκ ἐπίγειον
ἀλλ’ οὐράνιον, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ὑπάρχων. V.
18 ἀλλ’ οἰ μὲν ἄλλοι τῆς αἰθερίου φύσεως τὸν ἠμέτερον

1 mss. ἀποχέονται.
NOAH’S WORK AS A PLANTER, 14–18

a diviner constitution, have no regard for any earthly quarter, but exist on high nigh to the ethereal region itself. These are the purest spirits of all, whom Greek philosophers call heroes, but whom Moses, employing a well-chosen name, entitles "angels," for they go on embassies bearing tidings from the great Ruler to His subjects of the boons which He sends them, and reporting to the Monarch what His subjects are in need of. Two kinds again did He assign to earth, land animals and plants. For He willed her to be at once both mother and nurse. For, even as in woman and all female kind there well up springs of milk when the time of delivery draws near, that they may furnish necessary drink of a suitable kind to their offspring; even so in like manner did the Creator bestow on earth, the mother of land animals, plants of all sorts, to the end that the new-born might have the benefit of nourishment not foreign but akin to them. Furthermore, while He fashioned the plants head downwards, fixing their heads in the portions of the earth where the soil lay deepest, He raised from the earth the heads of the animals that are without reason and set them on the top of a long neck, placing the fore feet as a support for the neck. But the build allotted to man was distinguished above that of other living creatures. For by turning the eyes of the others downwards He made them incline to the earth beneath them. The eyes of man, on the contrary, He set high up, that he might gaze on heaven, for man, as the old saying is, is a plant not earthly but heavenly.\(^a\) V. Now while others, by asserting that our human mind is a particle

\(^a\) Timaeus 90 A; cf. for the preceding section ib. 91 E. See note on Quod Det. 84.
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νοῦν μοῖραν εἰπόντες εἶναι συγγένειον ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς αἴθερα συνηφαν. ὦ δὲ μέγας Μωυσῆς οὐδεὶς τῶν γεγονότων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἴδος ὤμοιώσει, ἀλλ' εἶπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀοράτου πνεύματος ἐκείνου δόκιμον εἶναι νόμισμα σημειωθέν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγίδι θεοῦ, ὃς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἔστιν

19 ὁ αἴδιος λόγος: "ἐνέπνευσε" γάρ φησιν "ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς," ὡστε ἀνάγκη πρὸς τὸν ἐκτέμποντα τὸν δεχόμενον ἀπεικονίσθαι· διὸ καὶ λέγεται κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρώπον γεγενηθαι, οὐ μὴν κατ' εἰκόνα
tων γεγονότων. ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἢν τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰτίου λόγον ἀπεικονισθεῖσης καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεγερθὲν πρὸς τὴν καθαρωτάτην τοῦ παιντὸς μοῖραν, οὐρανοῦ, τὰς ὁϕεις ἀνατεῖν, ἵνα τῷ φαινοφω τὸ ἀφανὲς

20 των γεγονότων. ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἢν τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἰτίου λόγον ἀπεικονισθεῖσης καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεγερθὲν πρὸς τὴν καθαρωτάτην τοῦ παντὸς μοῖραν, οὐρανοῦ, τὰς ὁϕεις ἀνατεῖν, ἵνα τῷ φαινοφω τὸ ἀφανὲς

21 ἐκδήλως καταλαμβάνηται. ἐπειδὴ τούπο ἐν πρὸς τὸ ὅν διανοιάσα τῇ μέγην ἀμήχανον ἡν ἵδειν ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀχέντας πρὸς αὐτοῦ μόνους—ὁ γὰρ πέπονθεν ἑκαστος, αὐτὸς ἐξαιρέτως οἶδεν—, εἶδωλον ἑναργῆς

[383] | ἀειδοῦς ὀμμάτος τα τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖ δυνάμενα

22 πρὸς αἴθερα ἀπονεύειν. ὅποτε γὰρ οἱ ἐκ φθαρτῆς παγέντες ὄλης ὀφθαλμοὶ τοσοῦτος ἐπέβησαν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς χωρίου πρὸς τὸν μακρὰν οὕτως ἀφεστῶτας ἀνατρέχειν οὐρανὸν καὶ ψαύειν τῶν περάτων αὐτοῦ, πόσον τῶν ψυχῆς ὀμμάτων; ἢπερ ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ὅν κατιδεῖν τηλανιγώς ἵμερον πετρωθέντα οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ἐσχατὸν αἴθερα τείνεται, παρα-

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of the ethereal substance, have claimed for man a kinship with the upper air; our great Moses likened the fashion of the reasonable soul to no created thing, but averred it to be a genuine coinage of that dread Spirit, the Divine and Invisible One, signed and impressed by the seal of God, the stamp of which is the Eternal Word. His words are "God in-breathed into his face a breath of Life" (Gen. ii. 7); so that it cannot but be that he that receives is made in the likeness of Him Who sends forth the breath. Accordingly we also read that man has been made after the Image of God (Gen. i. 27), not however after the image of anything created. It followed then, as a natural consequence of man's soul having been made after the image of the Archetype, the Word of the First Cause, that his body also was made erect, and could lift up its eyes to heaven, the purest portion of our universe, that by means of that which he could see man might clearly apprehend that which he could not see. Since, then, it was impossible for any to discern how the understanding tends towards the Existent One, save those only who had been drawn by Him—for each one of us knows what he has himself experienced as no other can know it—He endows the bodily eyes with the power of taking the direction of the upper air, and so makes them a distinct representation of the invisible eye. For, seeing that the eyes formed out of perishable matter obtained so great reach as to travel from the earthly region to heaven, that is so far away, and to touch its bounds, how vast must we deem the flight in all directions of the eyes of the soul? The strong yearning to perceive the Existent One gives them wings to attain not only to the furthest region of the upper
μευψάμενα δ' καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοὺς ὀροὺς 23 ἐπείγεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγένητον. VI. διὰ τούτο ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς οἱ σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀπληστοὶ διατελοῦντες ἀνακεκλῆσθαι λέγονται· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ θείον ἄνω καλείσθαι θέμις τοὺς υπ’ 24 αὐτοῦ καταπνευσθέντας. δεινὸν γὰρ, εἰ τυφώσι μὲν καὶ ἁρπαῖαι αὐτόπρεμα δένδρα πρὸς ἀέρα ἀναστάται καὶ μυριάγωγα σκάφη βρίθοντα φόρτω καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν κοινοτάτων ἐκ μέσων τῶν πελαγῶν ἀναρπάζεται καὶ λίμναι καὶ ποταμοὶ μετάρσιοι φέρονται, τοὺς γῆς κόλπους ἐκλυόντως τοῦ ἰεύματος, ὅπερ ἀνυμήσαντο αἰ τῶν ἄνεμων κραταιόταται καὶ πολυπλοκόταται δῆναι, τῇ δὲ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος καὶ πάντα δυνατοῦ καὶ τὰ κάτω νυκῶντος φύσει κοῦφον ὁ νοῦς ὃν ὦκ ἐπ’ ελαφρίζεται καὶ πρὸς μήκιστον ύψος ἐξαίρεται, καὶ 25 μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ φιλοσοφήσαντος ἀνόθως. οὕτως γὰρ κάτω μὲν οὐ βρίθει πρὸς τὰ σώματος καὶ γῆς φίλα ταλαντεύων, ὃν διάζευξιν καὶ ἀλλοτρίως ἀεὶ διεπόνησεν, ἀνω δὲ φέρεται τῶν μεταραίων καὶ ἱεροπρεπεστάτων καὶ ἐνδαιμόνων φύσεων 26 ἀκορέστως ἑρασθεῖς. τοιγαροῦν Μωυσῆς ὁ ταμίας καὶ φίλαξ τῶν τοῦ ὄντος ὅργων ἀνακεκλῆσεται· λέγεται γὰρ ἐν Λευιτικῇ βιβλίῳ. "ἀνεκάλεσε Μωυσῆν." ἀνακεκλῆσεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν δευτερεῖων ἀξιωθείς Βεσελεῆλ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἀνακαλεὶ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευῆς τε καὶ 27 ἐπιμέλειαν ἑργῶν. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς
air, but to overpass the very bounds of the entire universe and speed away toward the Uncreate.

VI. This is why those who crave for wisdom and knowledge with insatiable persistence are said in the Sacred Oracles to have been called upwards; for it accords with God's ways that those who have received His down-breathing should be called up to Him. For when trees are whirled up, roots and all, into the air by hurricanes and tornadoes, and heavily laden ships of large tonnage are snatched up out of mid-ocean, as though objects of very little weight, and lakes and rivers are borne aloft, and earth's hollows are left empty by the water as it is drawn up by a tangle of violently eddying winds, it is strange if a light substance like the mind is not rendered buoyant and raised to the utmost height by the native force of the Divine spirit, overcoming as it does in its boundless might all powers that are here below. Above all is it strange if this is not so with the mind of the genuine philosopher. Such an one suffers from no weight of downward pressure towards the objects dear to the body and to earth. From these he has ever made an earnest effort to sever and estrange himself. So he is borne upward insatiably enamoured of all holy happy natures that dwell on high. Accordingly Moses, the keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existent One, will be one called above; for it is said in the Book of Leviticus, "He called Moses up above" (Lev. i. 1). One called up above will Bezeleel also be, held worthy of a place in the second rank. For him also does God call up above for the construction and overseeing of the sacred works (Exod. xxxi. 2 ff.). But while Bezeleel shall carry off the lower honours
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ἀνακλήσεως, Μωυσῆς δὲ ὁ πάνσοφος οίσεται τὰ πρωτεία. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τὰς σκιὰς πλάττει καθὰπερ οἱ ζωγραφοῦντες οῖς οὐ θέμις οὐδὲν ἐμψυχον δημιουργῆσαι—Βεσελεήλ γὰρ ἐν σκιαῖς ποιῶν ἐρμηνεύεται—, Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐ σκιὰς ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρχητύπους φύσεις αὐτὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαχεν ἀνατυποῦν. ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τὸ αἶτιον οἰς μὲν τηλαυγέστερον καὶ ἀριδηλότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν ἕλιῳ καθαρῷ, οἷς δὲ ἀμυδρότερον ὡς ἂν ἐν σκιᾷ τὰ οἰκεία εἶσθεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

VII. | Διεξεληλυθότες οὖν περὶ τῶν ὀλοσχερο-στέρων ἐν κόσμῳ φυτῶν ἱδωμεν ὄν τρόπον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τῷ βραχεί κόσμῳ, δένδρα ὁ πάνσοφος ἐδημιούργησε θεός. αὐτίκα τοῖνυν ὡς-περβαθύγειον χωρίον σῶμα τὸ ἣμέτερον λαβὼν δεξαμενὰς αὐτῷ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπειργάζετο κάπειθ' οἰα φυτὸν ἡμερον καὶ ωφελιμώτατον <εἰς> ἀκούειν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὄμοιοι καὶ εἰς κοσμόν ὃς ὁμοίως συμβέβηκε. τὰ δὲ ἀμείνω καὶ τελειότερα τὸ ἡμέτερον λαβὼν εἶναι υγιείας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία καὶ συγγενή χωρία. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ ὁ θεσπεσίας ἀνήρ ἐν ὑμνοις λέγων ὡδὲ· "ὁ φυτεύων οὐκ ἀκούει; ὁ πλάσσων οφθαλμὸς οὐκ ἐπιβλέψει;" καὶ τὰς δυσκολίας μέντοι μέχρι σκελῶν τε καὶ χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, ὥστε εἰς τοῖς τε καὶ ἐκτός, δυνάμεις ἀπάσας εὐγενὴ μοσχεύματα εἰναι συμβέβηκε. τὰ δὲ ἀμείνω καὶ τελειότερα τῷ μεσαίτατῳ καὶ καρποφορεῖν δυναμένῳ διαφερόντως ἡγεμονικῷ

1 eis may easily have dropped out before ἐκ. Heinemann translates as if it had. See App. p. 494.
conferred by the call above, Moses the all-wise shall bear away the primary honours. For the former fashions the shadows, just as painters do, to whom Heaven has not granted power to create aught that has life. "Bezeleel," we must remember, means "making in shadows." Moses on the other hand obtained the office of producing not shadows but the actual archetype of the several objects. Nor need we wonder at such distinctions. It is the wont of the Supreme Cause to exhibit the objects proper to each, to some in a clearer, more radiant vision, as though in unclouded sunshine, to others more dimly, as though in the shade.

VII. As we have now brought to a close our discussion of those objects on a larger scale which are set to grow in the field of the universe, let us note the way in which God the all-wise fashioned the trees that are in man, the microcosm. To begin with, then, He took our body, as though He were taking some deep-soiled plot of ground and made the organs of sense as tree-beds for it. Having done this He set a sense in each of them, as a plant highly valuable for cultivation, hearing in the ear, sight in the eyes, in the nostrils scent, and the rest in their appropriate and congenial positions. I may cite as a witness to what I say the sacred poet, where he says "He that planteth the ear, doth He not hear? He that fashioneth the eyes, shall He not behold?" (Psalm xciv. 9). And all the other faculties of the body including legs and hands and every part, whether inner or outer, are nothing else than noble shoots and growths. The better and more perfect growths He planted in the dominant faculty, which holds the central position, and possesses in a pre-eminent
προσερρίζου· ταύτα δέ είσι νόησις, κατάληψις, ευστοχία, μελέται, μνήμαι, εξεις, διαθέσεις, τεχνών ιδέαι πολύτροποι, βεβαιότης ἐπιστημών, τῶν ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης θεωρημάτων ἄληστος ἀναλήψις. τούτων οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς θυητὸς ἴκανος φυτουργήσαι, πάντων δὲ ἀθρώων εἰς ὁ ἀγένητος τεχνίτης, οὗ πεποιηκὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιῶν αὐτῇ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν γεννωμένων τὰ φυτὰ ταύτα. 32 VIII. Τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔστιν ἀκόλουθος καὶ ἡ τοῦ παραδείσου φυτουργία· λέγεται γάρ· ἐφύτευσεν ο θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἕδεσιν κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὅν ἐπλάσεν· τὸ μὲν οὐν ἀμπέλους καὶ ἑλαιῶν ἡ μηλεών ἡ ῥοιῶν ἡ τῶν παραπλησίων δένδρα οἴεσθαι πολλὴ 33 καὶ δυσθεράπευτος εὐθέως. τίνος γὰρ ἐνεκο, εἴποι τις ἄν; ἢν ἐνδιαίτῆσεις εὐαγώγους ἔχῃ; ο γὰρ κόσμος ἄπασ αὐτοκέφαλον ἐνδιαίτημα ἂν νομισθεὶς θεὶ τῷ πανηγεμότῳ; ἡ οὐχὶ μυρίων καὶ ἄλλων δόξαι ἃν υστερίζειν, ὡς πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως αξιόχρεως ὑποληφθῆναι χωρίον; χωρίος τοῦ μηδὲ εὐαγές εἶναι οἴεσθαι τὸ αὐτόν ἐν τῷ αἰτίατῷ περιέχεσθαι [τῷ] μηδὲ τὰ 34 δένδρα τοὺς ἐστίασις δήπορον πέρειν καρποὺς. πρὸς τὴν τίνος οὐν ἀπόλαυσιν τε καὶ χρῆσιν καρποφορῆσει ὁ παράδεισος; ἀνθρώπον μὲν οὐδεῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰσάγεται τὸ παράπαν τὸν παράδεισον οἰκῶν, ἔπει καὶ τὸν πρῶτον διαπλασθέντα ἐκ γῆς 35 μεταναστῆται φησιν ἐνθένθε, ὄνομα Ἀδάμ. καὶ

1 No lacuna (as Wend.) An infinitive can be understood after ὅιομαι, e.g. Homer, Odyssey xxiv. 401.
2 ms. χωρίον τοῦ: Wend. χωρίς τοῦ.

\[a\] Cf. note on De Cher. 62. \[b\] Cf. L.A. i. 43.
degree the capacity for yielding fruit. These growths are insight, apprehension, accurate judgement, constant practice, powers of memory, varying conditions, chronic dispositions, scientific capacity taking many forms and directions, certainty of knowledge, ability to take in and retain the principles and implications of virtue in every shape. Not one of these is any mortal man whatever capable of growing. The One Grower of them all is the Uncreate Artificer, Who not only has made these plants once for all, but is ever making them in the case of each man who is from time to time begotten.

VIII. In agreement with what I have said is the planting of the garden; for we read, "God planted a garden in Eden facing the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom He had moulded" (Gen. ii. 8). To imagine that he planted vines and olive and apple and pomegranate trees or the like, would be serious folly, difficult to eradicate. One would naturally ask What for? To provide Himself with convenient places to live in? Would the whole world be considered a sufficient dwelling for God the Lord of all? Would it not evidently fall short in countless other ways of being deemed meet to receive the Great King? To say nothing of the irreverence of supposing that the Cause of all things is contained in that which He has caused, and to say nothing of the fact that the trees of His planting do not yield annual fruits as ours do. For whose use and enjoyment, then, will the Garden yield its fruits? Not for that of any man; for no one whatever is mentioned as dwelling in the garden, for we are told that Adam, the man first moulded out of the earth,

\[\text{i.e. than being without a garden.}\]  \[\text{See App. p. 494.}\]
μὴν ό γε θεός ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τροφῆς ἀνεπιδεὶς ἐστὶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν τροφὴν χρώμενον δεῖσθαι μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὀργάνα εὔτρεπίσθαι, δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν εἰσιούσαν παραδέχεται καὶ τὴν ἐκμασηθείσαν θύραζε ἀποπέμψει. | ταῦτα δὲ μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τῆς περὶ τὸ αὐτῶν ἀπάδει, τῶν ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωποπαθῆς αὐτὸ εἰσαγόντων ἐπ' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὀσιότητος καθαιρέσει, μεγάλων ἀρετῶν, ἐκθεσμό- τατα ὄντα εὐφήμματα. IX. ἵτεόν οὖν ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν τὴν ὀρατικόν φίλην ἀνδράς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρησμοὶ τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν ἢμῖν ἀφορμὰς ἐναργεστάτα προτείνουσι· λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φυτὰ εἶναι μηδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλά ἰωής, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως, καταλήψεως, συνέσεως, καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φαντασίας. ταῦτα δὲ χέρσον μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη, λογικῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαῖως φυτὰ, ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ ἀρετὴν ὅδος αὐτῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἀθανασίαν ἔχουσα τὸ τέλος, ἢ δὲ πρὸς κακίαν φυγῆν τε τούτων καὶ θάνατον. τὸν οὖν φιλόδωρον θεὸν ὑποληπτέον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθάπερ παράδεισον ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτάς πράξεων ἐμφυτεύειν πρὸς τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτὴν ἄγοντα.

38 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόπον οἰκεῖότατον προσένεμε τῷ παραδείσῳ καλούμενον Ἐδέμ—ἔρμηνευεται δὲ τρυφῆ—, σύμβολον ψυχῆς τῆς ἀρτια βλεποῦσης, ἀρεταῖς ἐγχορευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ μεγέθους χαρᾶς ἀνασκιρτώσης, ἀπόλαυσμα ἐν ἀντὶ 1 Or, with Wend., ἢ μὲν, “to which belongs the path” etc.

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migrated thence. As for God, He stands in no need of food any more than of aught else. For one who uses food must in the first place experience need, and in the next place be equipped with organs by means of which to take the food that comes in, and to discharge that from which he has drawn its goodness. These things are not in harmony with the blessedness and happiness of the First Cause. They are utterly monstrous inventions of men who would overthrow great virtues like piety and reverence by representing Him as having the form and passions of mankind.

IX. So we must turn to allegory, the method dear to men with their eyes opened. Indeed the sacred oracles most evidently afford us the clues for the use of this method. For they say that in the garden there are trees in no way resembling those with which we are familiar, but trees of Life, of Immortality, of Knowledge, of Apprehension, of Understanding, of the conception of good and evil. And these can be no growths of earthly soil, but must be those of the reasonable soul, namely its path according to virtue with life and immortality as its end, and its path according to evil ending in the shunning of these and in death. We must conceive therefore that the bountiful God plants in the soul as it were a garden of virtues and of the modes of conduct corresponding to each of them, a garden that brings the soul to perfect happiness.

Because of this He assigned to the garden a site most suitable, bearing the name of "Eden," which means "luxuriance," symbol of a soul whose eyesight is perfect, disporting itself in virtues, leaping and skipping by reason of abundance of great joy, having set before it, as an enjoyment outweighing thousands
μυρίων τῶν παρὰ ἀνθρώπους ἡδίστων προτεθεῖ-39 μένης τὴν τοῦ μόνου θεραπείαν σοφοῦς. τούτου τοῦ γανώματος ἀκράτου τις σπάσεις, ὁ τοῦ Μωυσέως δὴ θιασώτης, δε σοφούς τῶν ἡμελημένων ᾦν, ἐν ὑμνωδίας ἀνεφθέγξετο πρὸς τὸν ἱδίον νοῦν φάσκων "κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου," παρα-κεκινημένος πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον καὶ θείον ἐρωτα τῇ φωνῇ, τὰς μὲν <ἐν> τοὺς λεγομένους καὶ φανομένους ἀνθρωπίνους ἁγαθῶς χλιδᾶς καὶ θρύφεις ἀλήτους1 δυσχεράνως, ὅλον δὲ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ θείας καταχώς συναρπασθεὶς οὐστρῳ καὶ 40 ἐνευφραίνομενος μόνῳ θεῷ. Χ. καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολαῖς μέντοι τὸν παράδεισον εἶναι δείγμα τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐστὶ· σκοτάδι τοῦ γὰρ καὶ δυσμενοῦ καὶ νυκτιφόρον ἀφροσύνη, λαμπρό-τατον δὲ καὶ περιαυγέστατον καὶ ἀνατέλλον ὡς ἀληθῶς θρήνης. καὶ καθάπερ ἀνίσχων ἡλίος ὅλον τὸν οὐρανοῦ κύκλον φέγγους ἀναπληρῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον αἰ ἁρετῆς ἀκτίνες ἀναλάμψασαι τὸ διανοιάς χωρίον ὅλον μεστὸν αὐγῆς καθαρᾶς ἀπεργάζονταί.

41 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπου κτήματα φρουροῦσ ἔχει καὶ φύλακας ἀγριωτάτους θήρας εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ κατατρεχόντων ἄμυναν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κτήματα λογικὰς φύσεις. "ἐθετο" γάρ φησιν "ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὦν ἐπλάσεν," ὁ ἐστιν, λογικῶν μόνον τῶν ἁρετῶν αἰ ἀσκῆσεις τε καὶ 42 χρήσεις. ἐξαίρετον γέρας παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀλόγων2 ψυχὰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλαβον· διὸ καὶ ἐμφαντικῶτα ἐφηταί, ὡτι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν πρὸς

1 mss. ἀλέκτως et alia.
of those that men deem sweetest, the worship and service of the Only Wise. One, after taking a sheer draught of this bright joy, a member indeed of Moses’ fellowship, not found among the indifferent, spake aloud in hymns of praise, and addressing his own mind cried, “Delight in the Lord” (Psalm xxxvi. 4), moved by the utterance to an ecstasy of the love that is heavenly and Divine, filled with loathing for those interminable bouts of softness and debauchery amid the seeming and so-called good things of mankind, while his whole mind is snatched up in holy frenzy by a Divine possession, and he finds his gladness in God alone.

X. A proof of what I have said is the nearness of the garden to the sunrising (Gen. ii. 8); for, while folly is a thing sinking, dark, night-bringing, wisdom is verily a thing of sunrise, all radiancy and brightness. And even as the sun, when it comes up, fills all the circle of heaven with light, even so do the rays of virtue, when they have shone out, cause the whole region of the understanding to be flooded with pure brilliancy.

Now, whereas man’s possessions have animals of great ferocity to watch and guard them against being attacked and overrun, the possessions of God are guarded by rational beings: for it says, “He stationed there the man whom He had fashioned,” that is to say, the trainings in and exercises of the virtues belong to rational beings only. This they received at the hands of God, as a pre-eminent privilege above the lives of the irrational creatures. And that is why it is stated in the most vivid manner

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2 MSS. ἐπὶ λογικῶν μόνον τῶν ἁρετῶν ἐστίν αἱ σοφίσεις κτλ. See App. p. 495.
[336] ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπον, τούτεστι τὸν νοῦν, ἔθηκεν ἐν ἱερωτάτοις καλοκάγαθίας βλαστήμασι καὶ φυτοῖς, ἐπεὶ [δὲ]1 τῶν διανοιῶν ἀμετόχων ἴκανον οὐδὲν ἀρετᾶς γεωργήσαι,2 ὥν τὸ παράπαν λαμβάνειν οὐ πέφυκε κατάληφιν. ΧΙ. ὥστε δ’ οὐν ἀπορητέον, τί δήποτε εἰς μὲν τὴν κιβωτόν, ἣν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κατακλυσμῷ κατασκευάσθηναι συνεβη, πάσαι τῶν θηρίων αἰ ἰδέαι εἰσάγονται, εἰς δὲ τὸν παράδεισον οὐδεμία. ἢ μὲν γὰρ κιβωτὸς σύμβολον ἦν σώματος, ὅπερ εἰς ἀνάγκης κεχώρηκε τὰς παθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἀτιθάσους καξηγηρωμένας κήρας, ὁ δὲ παράδεισος ἀρετῶν ἀρεταί δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνήμερον ἢ συνόλως ἀλογον παραδέχονται. Παρατηρημένως δὲ οὐ τὸν κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τυπωθέντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πεπλασμένον εἰσαχθήναι φησιν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· ὥστε γὰρ τῷ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ χαρακθείς πνεύματι οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωῆν καρποφοροῦντος, ὡς ἐμοιγενεύεται, δεύδρον—ἀμφώ γὰρ ἀφθαρτα καὶ μοῖρας τῆς μεσαιτάτης καὶ ἱγεμονικώτατης ἡξίωται· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου—, ὁ δὲ τοῦ πολυμυγοῦς καὶ γεωδεστέρου σώματος, ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀπλῆς φύσεως ἀμέτοχος, ὃς ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐπισταται τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὰς αὐλὰς [τοῦ κυρίου] οἰκεῖων μόνος—Ἰακώβ γὰρ „ἀπλαστὸς οἰκῶν οἰκίαιν“ εἰσάγεται—, πολυτρόπω δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντοῖων συνηρημένη καὶ πεπλασμένη διαθέσει χρώμενος.

1 MSS. ἐπὶ δὲ. 2 MSS. ἀρετῆς (or ἀρα τις) ἐγεωργήσειν.

* Lit. “unfashioned.”
possible that He set the mind, which is the real man in us, amid holiest shoots and growths of noble character, since among beings void of understanding there is not one capable of tilling virtues, for they are by nature utterly incompetent to apprehend these.

XI. We need, then, be at no loss to know why there are brought in into the ark, which was built at the time of the great Flood, all the kinds of wild beasts, but into the Garden no kind at all. For the ark was a figure of the body, which has been obliged to make room for the savage and untamed pests of passions and vices, whereas the garden was a figure of the virtues; and virtues entertain nothing wild, nothing (we may say outright) that is irrational.

It is with deliberate care that the law-giver says not of the man made after God's image, but of the man fashioned out of earth, that he was introduced into the garden. For the man stamped with the spirit which is after the image of God differs not a whit, as it appears to me, from the tree that bears the fruit of immortal life: for both are imperishable and have been accounted worthy of the most central and most princely portion: for we are told that the tree of Life is in the midst of the Garden (Gen. ii. 9). Nor is there any difference between the man fashioned out of the earth and the earthly composite body. He has no part in a nature simple and uncompounded, whose house and courts only the self-trainer knows how to occupy, even Jacob who is put before us as "a plain a man dwelling in a house" (Gen. xxv. 27). The earthy man has a disposition of versatile subtlety, fashioned and concocted of elements of all sorts. It was to be expected,
τιθέναι οὖν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ, ρίζωθέντα εἰκὸς ἢν τὸν μέσον νοῦν, ὅλκοις πρὸς τάναντια κεχρημένον δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισιν τε αὐτῶν ἀνακληθέντα, ἢν πρὸς αἴρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ὀρμήσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ ἀμείνω δεξιώσαιτο, ἀθανασίας καὶ εὐκλείας ἀπόναιτο, εἰ δ' αὐτὰ ἤ κριῶ, ἑκτὸν θάνατον εὑρήσαι.

XII. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ δένδρα ο μόνος σοφὸς ἐν ψυχαῖς λογικαῖς ἔρρίζου. Μωυσῆς δὲ οἰκτιζόμενος τοὺς μετανάστας ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν παραδείσους γεγονόν τοὺς αὐτοῦς καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰς ἑλέους καὶ ἡμέρους αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εὐχεταῖ, ὅτι οὐ γήνοις νοῦς Ἄδαμ πεφυγάδευτο, κεῖθε τὸν ὀρατικὸν ἐμφυτεύναι· λέγει γάρ·

"εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὅρος κληρονομίας σου, εἰς έτοιμον κατοικητήριον σου κατειργάσω, κύριε, αἴρεσιν καὶ εὐκλείας ἀπόναιτο, εἰ δ' αὐτὸς αἴρεσιν καὶ χεῖρεσ σου· κύριος βασιλεύων τον αἰώνα και ἐπ' αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι."

οὐκοῦν σαφέστατα εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐμαθεῖ, ὅτι τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀπαίτων καθεῖς ὁ θεὸς αἰτίος ἐστι τοῦ τὸ μέγιστον ἀναβλαστήσαι φυτὸν, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀσματὸς "ὁρος" αὐτὸν "κληρονομίας" εἰπών· ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πεποιηκότος οἰκείοτατον τὸ γενόμενον κτήμα καὶ κλῆρος. εὐχεταῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τούτῳ φυτεύναι, οὐχ ἰνα ἄλογοι καὶ αἵματανῃ γενωμέθα τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλ' ἰνα ἐπόμενοι τῇ τοῦ τελειοτάτου διοικήσει τὴν κατὰ τὰ
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then, that God should plant and set in the garden, or the whole universe, the middle or neutral mind, played upon by forces drawing it in opposite directions and given the high calling to decide between them, that it might be moved to choose and to shun, to win fame and immortality should it welcome the better, and incur a dishonourable death should it choose the worse.

XII. Such, then, were the trees which He Who alone is wise planted in rational souls. Moses, lamenting over those who had become exiles from the garden of the virtues, implores alike God's absolute sovereignty and His gracious and gentle powers, that the people endowed with sight may be planted in on the spot whence the earthly mind, called Adam, has been banished. This is what he says: "Bring them in, plant them in the mountain of Thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which is ready, which Thou wroughest for Thee to dwell in, the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have made ready: the Lord is sovereign for ever and ever" (Exod. xv. 17 f.). So Moses, beyond all others, had most accurately learned that God, by setting the seeds and roots of all things, is the Cause of the greatest of all plants springing up, even this universe. It is at this evidently that he points in the present instance by the words of the Song itself just quoted, by calling the world "the mountain of Thine inheritance," since that which has been brought into being is, in a peculiar degree, the possession and portion of him who has made it. So he prays that in this we may be planted. He would not have us become irrational and unruly in our natures. Nay, he would have us comply with the ordering of the All-perfect,
αύτά καὶ ὁσαύτως ἔχουσαν αὐτοῦ διέξοδον ἀπομμούμενοι σώφρονι καὶ ἀπταῖστῳ βίῳ χρώ-μεθα· τὸ γὰρ ἀκολουθία φύσεως ἵσχυσαι ζῆν εὐδαιμονίας τέλος εἶπον οἱ πρῶτοι. καὶ μὴν τὰ γε αὐθίς λεγόμενα συνάδει τῷ προτεθέντι, τὸ τὸν κόσμον εὑτρεπῆ καὶ ἐτοιμὸν αἰσθητὸν οἰκὸν εἶναι θεοῦ, τὸ κατειργάσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀγένητον εἶναι, ὡς ὑψηθῇς τynes, τὸ “ἀγίασμα,” οἰον ἀγιῶν ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχετύπου, ἐπεὶ τὰ αἰσθήσῃ καλὰ τῶν νοῆσῃ καλῶν εἰκόνες, τὸ ἴτομάσθαι ὑπὸ χειρῶν θεοῦ, τῶν κοσμοποιῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων. ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑπολάβοι τὸν ποιητὴν χρείον εἶναι τους τῶν γεγονότων, τὸ ἀναγκαῖοτάτον ἐπιφωνήσει· “βασιλεύον τὸν αἰώνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἤτοι·” βασιλέα ὁ θεοῦ δενεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοα βασιλέως θέμις πάντα, τynes δὲ ἐφασαν κλήρου εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, οὐ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εὑχεσθαι νυνὶ Μωυσῆν προσγενέσθαι εἰσαγαγῶν, γὰρ φησιν, ἡμᾶς οὐ παῖδας ἀρτί μανθάνειν ἀρχομένους διὰ τῶν σοφίας δογμάτων καὶ θεωρημάτων καὶ μὴ ἀστοιχειώτους εάσας ἐν υψηλῷ καὶ ὑψηλῷ λόγῳ καταφύτευσον. κλήρος γὰρ οὗτος ἐτοιμῶτατος καὶ προχειρῶτατος οἰκὸς, ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐνδιαί-

1 MSS. τῶ.
2 MSS. βασιλεί, βασιλεύς.

The argument seems to be that to be planted in the Cosmos is to be planted in nature. Thus the text can be harmonized with the Stoic doctrine of “living according to nature.”

Lit. “bring in,” “introduce,” almost “apprentice.”
and faithfully copying His constant and undeviating course, pursue without stumbling a life of self-mastery: for to attain the power to live as nature bids has been pronounced by the men of old supreme happiness. And mark how well the epithets that follow harmonize with that which was put first. The world, we read, is God's house in the realm of sense-perception, prepared and ready for Him. It is a thing wrought, not, as some have fancied, uncreate. It is a “sanctuary,” an outshining of sanctity, so to speak, a copy of the original; since the objects that are beautiful to the eye of sense are images of those in which the understanding recognizes beauty. Lastly, it has been prepared by the “hands” of God, his world-creating powers. And to the end that none may suppose that the Maker is in need of those whom He has made, Moses will crown his utterance with the point that is vital beyond all others: “reigning for ever and ever.” It is an established principle that a sovereign is dependent on no one, while subjects are in all respects dependent on the sovereign. Some have maintained that that which is God’s portion, and is spoken of here as such, is that which is good, and that Moses’ prayer in this instance is for the obtaining of the experience and enjoyment thereof. For his prayer runs thus: “Initiate us, the children just beginning to learn, by means of the pronouncements and principles of wisdom, and leave us not ungrounded, but plant us in a high and heavenly doctrine.” For this is a “portion” best prepared, a “house” most ready, an abode most fitting, which

\[\text{Or “Reason,” here identified with “the Good”; “high” is added to bring in the “mountain.”}\]
τήμα, ο “κατειργάσω ἁγιον”. ἀγαθῶν γὰρ καὶ ἁγίων, ὁ δὲσποτα, ποιητής ὅν τυγχάνεις, ὅς ἐμπαλιν κακῶν καὶ βεβήλων γένεσις ἢ φθαρτή. βασίλευε δὴ τὸν ἀπειρον αἰῶνα ψυχῆς τῆς ἵκετίδος μηδὲ ἄκαρὲς ἐὼν αὐτὴν ἀνηγεμόνευτον ἢ γὰρ ἀδιάστατος παρὰ σοὶ δουλεία τῆς μεγίστης ἁρχῆς, 54 οὐκ ἔλευθερίας μόνον ἁμείνων. XIII. πολλοὶ δὲ ἂν τάχα ποὺ ζήτησι παράσχοι, τίνα ἔχει λόγον τὸ “εἰς ὅρος κληρονομίας σου”. κληροδοτεῖν μὲν θεὶν ἄναγκαι, κληρονομεῖν δὲ ἵσως οὐκ εὐλογον 55 πάντων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων οἴντων. ἀλλὰ μῆποτε τοῦτο λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἐξαιρετὸν οἰ- κείωσεως λόγον δεσποζομένων πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπάντων μὲν ἀρχουσι τῶν ὑπηκόων, διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν, οἷς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμελείαν καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν δίαιτας ἐνερετον, ἀφ’ ὃν καὶ τὰς ἑτερον προσόδους εκλεγον ἐπὶ πολλάκις ἀνέσεως καὶ ἐυθυμίας εἰς ἀχρόνα πολιτεία καὶ βασιλεία φροντίδων ἀδελφοὶ τῶν βασιλεῶν, 56 ταῖς εἰς χρήσαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀπάντων οἴντων κτημάτων δεσπόται καὶ ὅσων ἐπικρατεῖν οἱ ἴδιωται δοκούσι, μόνα ταῦτα ἔχειν νομίζονται, ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ ἐπιμεληταῖς ἐγχειρίσανεν, ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἑτησίους προσόδους ἐκλέγοναι. εἰς τὸν πολλάκις ἀνέσεως καὶ εὐθυμίας ἑνεκα προσέρχοντα τὸν ἀρχιεπίτητα τῶν ἐν πολιτεία καὶ βασιλεία φροντίδων ἀνθρῶποι ἀπο- τιθέμενοι καὶ καλεῖται μέντοι ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα 57 αὐτοῖς βασιλικά. καὶ μὴν ἄργυρος ὁ καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ κειμήλια παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις θησαυροφυλακεῖται τῶν Ἑγουμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἑχόντων ἑστὶν, ἀλλ’ ὃμως ὢδιοι τῶν βασιλεῶν 240
"Thou hast wrought as a Holy Place"; for of things good and holy, O Master, Thou art Maker, as from the corruptible creation come things evil and profane. Reign through the age that has no limit over the soul that implores Thee, never leaving it for one moment without a sovereign Ruler: for never-ceasing slavery under Thee surpasses not freedom only but the highest sovereignty.

XIII. It is possible that the words "Into the mountain of Thine inheritance" may suggest to many an inquiry as to how to account for them: for that God gives portions is a necessary truth, but it may appear a contradiction that He should obtain a portion, since all things belong to Him. This expression would seem to apply to those who are on a special footing of more intimate relationship with Him as their Master. So kings are rulers of all their subjects, but in an eminent degree of their household servants, of whose ministry they are accustomed to avail themselves for the care of their persons and their other requirements. Again these same rulers, though they are masters of all properties throughout the land, including those over which private citizens have apparent control, are reckoned to have those only which they place in the hands of bailiffs and agents, from which also they collect the yearly income. To these they frequently resort for holiday and enjoyment, laying aside the serious burden of the anxieties incident to government and sovereignty, and these estates of theirs go by the name of royal demesnes. Again, silver and gold, and other precious things which are kept in the treasuries of subjects, belong to the rulers rather than to those who have them. But in spite of this we speak of sovereigns'
οί ταχθέντες τῶν φόρων ἐκλογεῖς\(^1\) ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας προσόδους κατα-
58 τίθενται. μηδὲν οὖν θαυμάσης, εἰ καὶ τοῦ παν-
ηγεμόνος θεοῦ τὸ ἑφ' ἀπασι κράτος εἰληχότος 
ἐξαίρετος κλῆρος εἶναι λέγεται ψυχῶν σοφῶν ὁ 
θίασος, ὥς ὀξυωπεστατα ὀρῶν, ἀμέμπτω καὶ 
ἀκραίφνει κεχρημενός τῷ διανοίας ἰόματι, μύσαντι 
μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀναπεπταμένῃ καὶ εὐθυτενῶς 
59 βλέποντι. XIV. οὖ διὰ τοῦτο μὲντοι καὶ ἐν 
ὡδῇ τῇ μείξουν λέγεται· "ἐπερώτησον τὸν πατέρα 
σου καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους σου καὶ 
ἐροῦσι σοι. ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ψυστὸς ἐθνῆ, ὡς 
διέσπειρεν νῖον Ὁδάμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ 
ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ· καὶ ἐγένετο μερὶς κυρίου 
60 λαὸς αὐτοῦ 'Ισραήλ"; ἰδοὺ γὰρ πάλιν μερίδα 
καὶ κλῆρον εἴρηκε θεοῦ τὸν ὀρατικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ 
γνήσιον θεραπευτὴν τρόπων, τοὺς δὲ γῆς παιδῶς, 
οὐς Ὁδάμ ὑνόμασεν νῖον, ἐσπάρθαι καὶ ἀνα-
σκεδασθῆναι καὶ μηκέτι συναχθῆναι,\(^3\) στίφος δὲ 
γενέσθαι ἔγεμον χρῆσασθαι ὁρθῶ λόγῳ μὴ δυνα-
μένους. τῷ γὰρ ὅτι ἀρμονίας μὲν καὶ ἐνώσεως 
αἰτίων ἀρετῆ, διαλύσεως δὲ καὶ διαρτήσεως ἦ 
61 ἐναντία διάθεσις. δεῖγμα μὲντοι τῶν 
eἰρημένων ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἡμέρα 
τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ· τότε γὰρ διείρητο 
"δύο τράγους διακληροῦν, τὸν μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, 
\[339\] τὸν δὲ τῷ ἀποπομπαῖῳ," | διττὸν λόγων, ὅν μὲν

\(^{1}\) ἐκλογεῖς is read for ἐκλογισταῖ with Cohn in Addenda.

\(^{2}\) MSS. ὃς or ὃς.

\(^{3}\) MSS. καὶ ἐπισυνε(α)χθῆναι.

\(^{4}\) MSS. ἐγγεγενέσθαι.
NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 57-61

private coffers in which the appointed collectors of
dues deposit the revenues from the country. Marvel 58
not at all, then, if the title of special portion of God
the universal Ruler, to whom sovereignty over all
pertains, is bestowed upon the company of wise souls,
whose vision is supremely keen, the eye of whose
understanding is clear and flawless, closing never,
ever open in a gaze direct and piercing. XIV. Is 59
not this the explanation of that utterance in the
Greater Song: "Ask thy father, and he will pro­
claim it to thee, thy elders, and they will tell it thee;
when the Most High distributed the nations, when
He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set up bound­
daries of the nations corresponding to the number
of the angels of God, and His people Israel became
the portion of the Lord " (Deut. xxxii. 7-9) ? Mark 60
how he has again given the name of "portion" and
"lot" of God to the character that has eyes to see
Him and accords Him genuine devotion, while he says
that the children of earth, whom he entitles sons of
Adam, have been dispersed and broken up and
no more gathered together but are become a mob
incapable of following the guidance of right reason.
For virtue is in very deed the cause of harmony and
unity, whereas the contrary disposition brings about
dissolution and dismemberment.

An 61

illustration of what has been said is afforded by that
which is done year by year on the day called the
"Day of Atonement." It is enjoined on that day
"to assign by lot two goats, one for the Lord, and one
for separation (Lev. xvi. 8), a twofold description,

a See App. p. 495.
b Or "two ways of thinking," the goats representing two
different attitudes of mind.
θεώ, ὃν δὲ γενέσει· ὃ ἀποσεμνύνων μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀтив [τιμὴν] αὐτῷ προσκληρώσεται, ὃ δὲ γένεσιν ἐπιγαδευθήσεται, τῶν μὲν ἱερωτάτων ἐλαυνόμενος χωρίων, εἰς δὲ ἄβατα καὶ βέβηλα καὶ βάραθρώδην εἰμιπίπτων.

62 XV. Τοσαύτη μέντοι τῇ <τοῦ> θεοφιλοῦσ περιουσίᾳ χρηται Μωυσῆς, ὥστε αὐτῷ τούτῳ μάλιστα πεπιστευκώς θερμοτέροις καὶ μείζονι ἡ κατὰ τάς ἀσθενεστέρων ἥμων ἀκοὰς λόγοις τε καὶ δόγμασι εἰσαρχθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄξιοι κληρονομεῖν θεόν, ἄλλα καὶ αὐτόν, τὸ παραδοξότατον, κλήρον ἐτέρων εἶναι. φυλὴν γὰρ ὅλην πρόσφυγα καὶ ἱκέτων αὐτοῦ λήξιν μὲν τῆς χώρας, καθάπερ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἐνδεκα, οὐκ ἤξιωσε νείμασθαι, γέρας ἐπὶ ἔξωρετοίνοις ἱερωσύνην, ὥστε ἐπίγειον, ἀλλ’ ὀλύμπιον κτήμα* "οὐ γὰρ ἔσται" φησίν “τῇ φυλῇ Λευί μερίς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν νοὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι κύριος αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῶν.” καὶ ἐκ προσώπου μέντοι τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν ἄδεται τὸν πρόπον τούτον “ἐγὼ μερίς σου καὶ κληρο- 64 δοσία” τῷ γὰρ ὁντι ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαθαρμένος νοὺς καὶ πάντα τὰ γενέσεως ἀπογινώσκων ἐν μόνοι οἴδε καὶ γνωρίζει τὸ ἀγένητον, ὦ προσ- ελήλυθεν, ὥφ’ οὐ καὶ προσείληπται. τίνι γὰρ ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν “αὐτός μοι μόνος ἐστὶν ο θεός” ἡ τῷ μηδὲν τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἀσπαζομένως; οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Λευίτης πρόπος· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ “αὐτὸς μοι” διὰ τὸ ἀλλα ἄλλοις τετιμήσθαι,

1 MSS. γενέσει.
2 βαραθρώδη is Mangey’s conj. for βάραθρα.
3 ἀσθενεστέρων is Mangey’s conj. for ἐτέρων.
one for God and one for created things. That which exalts the First Cause shall be allotted to Him, while that which exalts creation shall be banished, driven from the most holy places, to find itself amid rocky chasms in trackless and unhallowed regions.

XV. So fully does Moses take advantage of the prerogative of one beloved of God, that, inspired with confidence by this very fact, he is wont to use language and utter teachings larger and more daring than suit the ears of us feeble folk. For not only does he think it in accordance with God's dignity to obtain a portion, but, what is strangest of all, Himself to be the portion of others. For he deemed it meet and right that a whole tribe, which had taken refuge at God's footstool, should be allotted no part of the country, like the other eleven tribes, but should receive the pre-eminent privilege of the priesthood, a possession not earthly but heavenly. “The tribe of Levi,” he says, “shall have no lot or portion among the children of Israel, for the Lord is their portion” (Deut. x. 9); and there is an utterance rung out on this wise by the holy oracles in the name of God, “I am thy portion and inheritance” (Numb. xviii. 20): for in reality the mind, which has been perfectly cleansed and purified, and which renounces all things pertaining to creation, is acquainted with One alone, and knows but One, even the Uncreate, to Whom it has drawn nigh, by Whom also it has been taken to Himself. For who is at liberty to say “God Himself is alone (and all) to me,” save one who has no welcome for aught that comes after Him? And this is the Levite attitude of mind, for the word means “He (is precious) to me,” the thought conveyed being that while different things have been held precious by
μόνω δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πάντων ἀριστον

Χ. XVI. ἦδη των παλαιῶν φασὶ καθάπερ ἐκπρεπεστάτης γυναικὸς τῷ σοφίᾳ ἐπιμανέντα κάλλει πολυτελεστάτης πομπῆς θεασάμενον παρασκευὴν ἀφθονον, ἀπιδόντα πρὸς τινας τῶν συνῆθων εἰπεῖν "ἰδετε, ὦ ἐταῖροι, ὡσὶν χρείαν οὐκ ἔχω," καίτοι γε ἐξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς περιβεβλημένον, ὡς μηδὲ ὑποφυσθέντα πλοῦτον μεγέθει, ὦ μυρίοις συνέβη, δόξαι
tῷ λόγῳ καταλαξονευέσθαι. τούθ' ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκδιδάσκει φρονεῖν δεῖν τοὺς μηδὲν χρήμα τῶν ἐν γενέσει πορίζοντας, ἀπογιώσκοντας δὲ ὡσα γενητὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀγένητον οἰκειότητα, δὴ μόνον πλοῦτον καὶ εὐδαιμονίας ὄρον τελεωτάτης ἐνόμισαν.

μηκέτι νῦν οἱ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀναφάμενοι μεγαλαυχείτωσαν, οἱ μὲν ὧν μίαν πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἐθνὸς ἐν ὑπηγάγοντο, οἱ δὲ ὧν πάντα μὲν γῆς κλίματα μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντα δὲ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικὰ ἔθνη, πάντας δὲ ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄπειρα πλῆθει

καὶ μεγέθει πελάγη προσεκτήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μετὰ τοῦτων τῆς μεταρσίου φύσεως, δἐ μηδὲ εἰπεῖν εὐαγές, ἦν μόνην ἐκ πάντων ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὁ ποιητὴς εἰργάσατο, ἐπεκράτησαν,

[340] ἰδιώται νομισθεὶς ἄν κατὰ σύγκρισιν | μεγάλων βασιλέων, οἱ τὸν θεὸν κλήρον ἐλαχον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ὡς

1 mss. and Wend. καταλαξονευέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ δ': Heinemann's punctuation and reading (τοῦθ' for τοῦ θ') are adopted.
2 mss. πορίζοντας: Wend. γνωρίζοντας.
3 mss. πλῆθη.

α μόνον would make better sense.

b Or "highest."

ο See note on Quod Deus 146.

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different people, he is alone in holding precious the original and worthiest Cause of all things. XVI. They say that in olden time one who was enraptured by the beauty of wisdom, as by that of some distinguished lady, after watching the array of a procession pass by on which vast sums had been lavished, fastened his eyes on a group of his associates and said, "See, my friends, of how many things I have no need." And yet he was wearing absolutely nothing beyond necessary clothing, so that he cannot be supposed to have been puffed up by his great riches, as countless thousands have been, and to have uttered the words as a boast. This is the mind which, as the lawgiver insists, should be that of those who provide themselves with no property that has its place among things created, but renounce all these on the ground of that intimate association with the Uncreate, to possess Whom, they are convinced, is the only wealth, the only gauge of consummate happiness.

In face of this let those cease their proud boastings who have acquired royal and imperial sway, some by bringing under their authority a single city or country or nation, some by having, over and above these, made themselves masters of all earth's regions to its fullest bounds, all nations, Greek and barbarian alike, all rivers, and seas unlimited in number and extent. For even had they, besides controlling these, extended their empire, an idea which it were impious to utter, to the realm of the upper air, alone of all things made by the Creator to enjoy a freedom untouched by bondage—even then, they would be reckoned ordinary citizens when compared with great kings who received God as their portion; for the kingship of these as far sur-
κτησάμενος τὸ κτήμα τοῦ κτήματος ἀμείνων καὶ τὸ πεποικὸς τοῦ γεγονότος, τοσοῦτω βασιλικῶς·

XVII. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πάντα τοῦ σπουδαίου φάσκοντας εἶναι παραδοξολογεῖν, ὡστε οὐ μόνον τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἀξιόχρεω κλήρον αὐτῆς ἄλλα καὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμόνα νομίζοντες. Μωυσῆς δὲ οὕτως περιβλέπτων καὶ περιμάχητων ἠγείται σοφίαν, ὡστε οὐ μόνον τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἀξιόχρεω κλήρον αὐτῆς ἄλλα καὶ τὸν τῶν τὸν σπουδαίο φάσκοντας 

1 MSS. ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ταῦτα.
2 MSS. κτήματων ο玘 κτήματα (ομ. τῶν).

* Or "press unduly."
passes theirs as he that has gained possession is better than the possession, and he that has made than that which he has made. XVII. Some, paying regard to outward want and outward 69 superfluity, and reckoning no one rich if found among those without money or possessions, have looked on the assertion that all things belong to the wise man as a paradox. But Moses considers wisdom an object of such admiration and emulation, that he thinks its worthy portion to be not merely the whole world, but the very Lord of all. These are not, we must 70 remember, opinions held by men who halt between two opinions, but by men possessed by stedfast faith; for even now there are in the ranks of those who wear a semblance of piety, men who in a petty spirit find fault with the literal sense of the word, urging that it is irreligious and dangerous to speak of God as the portion of man. What I 71 would say to them is this: "The frame of mind in which you approached the consideration of the subject was not a genuine one, but spurious and illegitimate. You imagined that there is no difference between the way in which God is said to be the portion of the wise, and the way in which plantations of vines or olive trees or the like are said to be the possessions of their owners. You failed to notice that portrait-painting is spoken of as a lot or portion for portrait-painters, and generally any such pursuit for him who pursues it, not as an earthly possession to be owned, but as a heavenly prize to be striven for. For things 72 such as these bring benefit to those who have them, without being under them as masters. Pray, then, you petty fault-finders, when you hear the Existent One spoken of as Portion, do not take it to mean a
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θείουν, ὁ συκοφάνται, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄφελμότατον καὶ μεγίστων τοῖς θεραπεύειν ἄξιον άγαθῶν αὐτίον.

73 ΧVIII. Εἰρηκότες οὖν περὶ τοῦ πρώτου φυτουργοῦ καὶ φυτοῦ τὰ ἀρμόζοντα μέτιμεν ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν μαθημάτων ἁμα καὶ μμημάτων ἐπιμελείας. εὐθέως τοίνυν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ λέγεται "φυτεύσαι ἄρουραν ἐπὶ τῷ φρέατι τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ ἑπικαλέσαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου θεοῦ αἰώνιον". καὶ οὐ δεδήλωται τῶν φυτῶν ἢ ἰδιότης.

74 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦ χωρίου τὸ μέγεθος. φασὶ δὲ οἷς ἔθος ἔρευναν τὰ τουαῦτα, πάντ' ὤσα ἐν κτήμασιν ἥκριβωσθαι διαφερόντως, καὶ τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸν τοῦ δένδρου καρπὸν: τὸ μὲν οὖν δένδρον αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἄρουραν, ἄλλ' οὐκ ὀμοιον4 τοῖς βλαστάνουσιν ἀπὸ γῆς, ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ρίζωθεν διάνοιαν, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ὄνοματος μετάληψιν εἰς θεόν 75 αἰώνιον. τὸν δὲ περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν προταθέντων εἰκότα λόγον ἀναγκαῖον προσαποδοῦναι. ή μὲν [341] τοίνυν ἄρουρα μήκει πηχῶν | οὖσα ἐκατόν καὶ πλάτει τῶν ίσων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τετραγώνου φύσιν πολυπλασιασθέντων εἰς μυρίων ἄριθμον ἐπιπέδων 76 συντίθεται πηχῶν. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅρος οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος παραυξήθεντων ὁ μέγιστος καὶ τελείωτας, ὡστε ἄρχην μὲν ἄριθμων εἶναι μονάδα, τέλος δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύνθεσιν μυριάδα.
possession similar to those which have been mentioned, but to mean One bringing vast benefits and the Cause of exceeding great good to those who regard His service as their fit employment.”

XVIII. Having said, then, what was called for about the first Planter and that which He planted, we will pass on next to the industry of those who have learnt from the former and copied the latter. We come at once to the record a of Abraham the wise “planting a hide of land at the well of the oath, and invoking upon it the Name of the Lord as God eternal” (Gen. xxi. 33). No particulars are given as to the kind of plants meant, but simply the size of the plot of ground. Yet those whose habit it is to look closely into such matters assure us that we have all the points of an estate laid down with extraordinary precision, the tree, the ground, and the fruit of the tree; the hide itself being the tree; not a tree like those which spring up from the earth, but one planted in the understanding of him that is beloved of God; the well of the oath, the plot of ground; and the change of the Name of the Lord into “God eternal,” the Fruit. Each of these points requires further treatment in the shape of such a reasoned account of them as may commend itself. Well, the hide, being 100 cubits long and as many broad, comes, by the rule of square measure, to 10,000 superficial cubits. This is the highest completest term in the series which increases from unity: that is to say, while 1 is the starting-point of numbers, a myriad or 10,000 is the end,a if we adhere to the line of progress on which we set out. b Accordingly that comparison is

a See App. p. 495.
b See App. p. 496.
παρὸ καὶ τινὲς οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ βαλβίδι μὲν μονάδα, καμπτὴρι δὲ εἰκασαν μυριάδα, τοὺς δὲ μεθορίους πάντας ἀριθμοὺς τοῖς δρόμον ἀγωνιζομένους. ἀρχό-μενοι γὰρ ἦσσερ ἀπὸ βαλβίδος φέρεσθαι μονάδος παρὰ μυριάδα τὸ τέλος ἱστανται.

77 Μετιόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τούτων τινὲς ὠσανεὶ συμ-βόλων ἐφασαν τὸν θεὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ πέρας εἶναι τῶν ἀπάντων, δόγμα κατασκευαστικὸν εὐσέβειας· τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα φυτευθὲν ἐν ψυχῇ κάλλιστον καὶ τρο-φιμώτατον καρπόν, ὀσιότητα, τίκτει.

78 Τόπος ἄπ' ἐστίν οἰκείοτατος τῷ φυτῷ τὸ φρέαρ, δ' ἐκκλησαί ὀρκός, ἐν δ' κατέχει λόγος μὴ ἀνευρεθῆναι ὕδωρ. "παραγενόμενοι" γὰρ φησιν "οἱ παῖδες Ἰσαὰκ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ φρέατος οὔ ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτὸ ὀρκός." τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρχει

79 δύναμιν θεασώμεθα. ΧΙΧ. οἱ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν διερευνῶντες καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκάστων ξητήσεις μὴ ὀλιγώρως ποιούμενοι παραπλήσια ποιοῦσι τοῖς τὰ φρέατα ὀρύττουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐν ἀφανεὶ πηγὰς ἀναζητοῦσι. καὶ κοινὸς μὲν πόθος ἀπαίσιν ἐστὶ ποτῶν ἀνευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δ' οὖ σῶμα, τοῖς δὲ δ' οὖ ψυχῇ

80 πέφυκε τρέφεσθαι. ὦσσερ οὖν ἐνοῖ τῶν ἀνα-τεμνόντων τὰ φρέατα τὸ ξητούμενον ὕδωρ πολ-λάκις οὐχ εὑροῦν, οὕτως οἱ προσωτέρω χωροῦντες τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμβαθύνοντες αὐταῖς ἀδύνατον τοῦ τέλους ἐπιμαίσθαι. τοὺς γοῦν πολυμαθεῖς φασιν ἄμαθαν δεινὴν ἐαυτῶν
not wide of the mark which some have made between 1 and the post from which runners start, and 10,000 and the post at which they finish, all the intervening numbers being like the competitors in the race; for beginning their course from 1 as from a starting-post they come to a stop at 10,000 as the finish.

Some have found symbols in these things and have gone on with their help to proclaim God as the beginning and final goal of all things, a teaching on which religion can be built; this teaching, when planted in the soul, produces piety, a fruit most fair and full of nourishment.

The well, entitled Oath, in which, as history says, no water was found, is a place most appropriate to that which grew there. What we read is this: “The servants of Isaac came and brought word to him concerning the well which they had dug, saying ‘We found no water,’ and he called it ‘Oath’” (Gen. xxvi. 32 f.). Let us observe the force of these words. XIX. Those who thoroughly investigate the nature of existing things, and prosecute their inquiries into each one of them in no indifferent spirit, act as those do who dig wells; for the investigators, like the well-diggers, are in search of hidden springs. And all have in common a desire to find water, but in the one case it is water naturally adapted to the nourishment of the body, in the other to the nourishment of the soul. Now just as some of those who open up wells often fail to find the water of which they are in search, so those, who make more than ordinary progress in various kinds of knowledge, and go deeper into them than most of us, are often powerless to reach the end they aim at. It is said that men of great learning accuse themselves of
κατηγορεῖν, μόνον γὰρ ὅσον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ύστερ-ξουσιν ἡσθοντο. καὶ των τῶν παλαιῶν λόγως ἔχει θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ σοφία εἰκότως φάναι θαυμάζεσθαι· μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἴδεν.

81 ἐλοῦ δ' εἶ θέλεις ἣν ἀν διανοηθῆς μικρὰν ἢ μείζονα τέχνην καὶ τὸν κατὰ ταύτην γενόμενον ἄριστον τε καὶ δοκιμώτατον, εἶτα κατανόησον εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα τῆς τέχνης ὑστερὶ οὗτοι ἔργοι τοῦ τεχνίτου· σκοπῶν γὰρ εὐρήσεις ταύτα ἐκεῖνων οὐ βραχέσιν ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις διαστήμασιν ἀποδέοντα, σχεδὸν ἀδυνάτου καθεστῶτος πρὸς ήπτινον τελειωθῆναι τέχνην πηγῆς τρόπον ἀεὶ καινομένην† καὶ θεωρημάτων παντοίων ἱδέας ἄνομιβροῦσαν. διὰ τοῦθ᾽ ὅρκος ὡνομάσθη προσφυέστατα τὸ πίστεως βεβαιοτάτης σύμβολον [342] μαρτυρίαν θεοῦ περιεχούσης. ὡς γὰρ ὅ ὁμώς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων καλεῖ θεόν μάρτυρα, ἐπὶ οὔδεν οὗτως ἐστὶν εὐφρενίζομαι ἡς ἐπὶ τῷ μηθεμάτῳ ἐπιστήμης εὐρίσκεσθαι παρὰ τῷ τεχνίτῃ τέλος.

82 ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι περὶ ἡμᾶς δυνάμεις ὅλιγον δεῖν κεχώρηκεν· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ λεχθέντι φρέατι ὕδωρ φασὶ μὴ εὑρεθῆναι, οὔτως οὔδὲ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ ὀρατόν† οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀκούειν οὐδὲ ἐν μυκτήριοι τὸ ὀφθαλμός ὁρᾶσθαι, κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ οὐδὲν τῷ νῦ ὁ καταλαμ-†

mss. κινομένην. 2 Perhaps read ὃραν or ὄρατικόν.

* See Plato, Apology 21 A.
terrible ignorance, for all that they have come to perceive is how far they fall short of the truth. There is a story that one of the men of the olden days, when people marvelled at his wisdom, said that he was rightly marvelled at; for that he was the only man who knew that he knew nothing.

Choose, if you will, whatever science or art you may be minded to choose, be it a small one or a greater one, and the man who is best and most approved in this art or science. Then notice carefully whether the professions of the science are made good by what its votary does. If you look you will find that the one fails of the other not by short but by long distances. For it is practically impossible to attain perfection in respect of any science or art whatever, seeing that it is being continually replenished, as a spring is, and ever welling up results of thought and study of many a kind. That is why the name of "Oath" given to it was so perfectly suitable: for an oath represents that surest form of trustworthiness which carries with it the testimony of God. For as the man who swears calls God as a witness of the points in dispute, there is no point on which it is more possible to take a sure oath than upon the fact that no subject of knowledge whatever is found to have reached the goal of perfection in the person of him who is an expert in it. The same principle holds good for almost all the other faculties which we possess. For, just as in the well that we read of we are told that no water was found, so neither is sight found in eyes, nor hearing in ears, nor smelling in nostrils, nor, to say all at once, is sense-perception found in organs of sense; and apprehension in like manner is not found in mind.
βάνειν. πώς γὰρ ἂν παρορᾶν ἢ παρακούειν ἢ παρανοεῖν συνέβαινεν, εἰπερ ἐν τούτοις πάγια ἤσαν αἱ ἀντιλήψεις ἐκάστου, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν θεοῦ σπείροντος τὸ βέβαιον ἐπεφύκεσαν;

85 Ικανῶς οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου διελεγμένοι, ἐν ὧ τὸ δέντρον ἁνθεὶ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τελευταίον ἔξεργασώμεθα. τίς οὖν οἱ καρποὶ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ὑφηγήσεται· "ἐπεκάλεσε" γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου θεὸς αἰώνιος. ἂ τοῖνυν λεχθεῖσαι προσρήσεις ταῖς περὶ τὸ ὅν ἐμφαίνουσι δυνάμεις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κύριος καθ' ἡν ἀρχεί, ἡ δὲ θεὸς καθ' ἡν ἐνεργετεί· οὗ χάριν καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσῆν κοσμοποιία πάση τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ἀναλαμβάνεται· ήμοττε γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν, καθ' ἡν οἱ ποιῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἄγων ἐτίθετο καὶ διεκοσμεῖτο, διὰ ταύτης καὶ [κατὰ]κληθηναι. καθὸ μὲν οὖν ἀρχῶν ἐστίν, ἀμφῶ δύναται, καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, συμμεταβαλλόμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δράσαντος ἀπόδοσιν· καθὸ δὲ ἐνεργετὴς, θάτερον μόνον βούλεται, τὸ ἐνεργετεῖν. μέγιστον δ' ἂν ψυχὴς γένοιτο ἁγαθὸν μηκέτι ἐνδοιάζειν περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκάτερα τοῦ βασιλέως ἵσχος, ἀλλ' ἀνειδούστως τὸν μὲν ἐνεκα τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἁρχῆς αὐτοῦ φόβον ἐπικρεμάμενον καταλύειν, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προαιρετικῶς εἰναι φιλόδωρον ἁγαθῶν κτήσεως καὶ χρήσεως ἐλπίδα βεβαιοτάτην ζω—

1 MSS. κύριος δ.
either. For how would it ever happen that we should see or hear or conceive amiss, if the power to apprehend each object had been inherently fixed in the several organs, instead of the power to apprehend springing from the seed of certitude sown upon the organs by God?

XX. Now that we have adequately dealt with the further subject of the plot in which the tree blooms, let us work out as our last point that of the fruit. What its fruit is, then, Moses himself shall inform us: for 'tis said "he called upon it the Name of the Lord, as God eternal" (Gen. xxi. 33). The titles, then, just mentioned exhibit the powers of Him that is; the title "Lord" the power in virtue of which He rules, that of "God" the power in virtue of which He bestows benefits. This is why the name "God" is employed throughout all the record of Creation given by Moses, that most holy man. For it was fitting that the Creator should be spoken of by a title coming to Him through that power in virtue of which, when bringing the world into being, He set and ordered it. In so far as He is Ruler, He has both powers, both to bestow benefits and to inflict evil, changing His dealing as the recompense due to the doer of every deed demands: but in so far as He is Benefactor, He wills only the one, to bestow benefits. Very great good would come to the soul from ceasing to be of two minds in face of the King's readiness to put forth His might in either direction, and if it would resolutely break down the fear that hangs over it owing to the dread force of His sovereignty, and kindle the flame of that most sure hope of winning and enjoying good things, which is afforded by the fact that to be bountiful is His choice and
89 πυρεῖν. τὸ δὴ "θεὸς αἰώνιος" ἵσον ἐστὶ τῷ ὁ
χαριζόμενος οὐ ποτὲ μὲν ποτὲ δὲ οὐ, ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ
συνεχῶς, ὁ ἀδιαστάτως εὐεργετῶν, ὁ τὴν τῶν
dωρεῶν ἐπάλληλον φορὰν ἀπαύστως συνείρων, ὁ
tὰς χάριτας ἔχομένιας ἀλλήλων ἀνακυκλῶν δυνά-
μεσων ἐνωτικαίς καθαρμοσάμενος, ὁ μηδένα καὶ
τοῦ ποιεῖν εὐ παραλείπων, ὁ κύριος ὁν, ὡς
90 καὶ βλάπτειν δύνασθαι.   XXI. τοῦτο καὶ
ὁ ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ ήτήσατο ἐπιτελείαν 1 τῶν ἱερο-
πρετεστάτων εὐχῶν· εἶπε γὰρ ποι. "καὶ ἐσταὶ
κύριος ἐμοὶ εἰς θεόν," ἵσον τῷ οὐκέτι μοι τὸ
[343] δεσποτικὸν ἐπιδείξεται τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς,
ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν τῆς ἦλων περὶ πάντα καὶ
σωτηρίου δυνάμεως, τὸν μὲν οἶα ἐπὶ δεσπότη
φόβον ἀναρρών, τὴν δὲ ώς ἐπ' εὐεργέτη φιλιᾶν
91 καὶ εὖνοιαν τῇ ψυχῆ παρέχων. τίς
ἀν οὖν τοῦτ' ὑπολάβοι ψυχή, ὅτι ὁ δεσπότης
καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν ὅλων οὐδὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως
μεταβάλλων, μένων δὲ ἐν ὅμοιώ, ἄγαθός ἐστι
συνεχῶς καὶ φιλόδωρος ἀνελλιπτῶς, τῶν 2 οντως
ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονον καὶ αἰνεῖν αὑτοῦ τελείωτατος
92 τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσι; βασιλεῖ δὲ πεπιστευκέναι μὴ
tῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαιρομένῳ πρὸς βλάβας
tῶν ὑπηκόων, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸ ἐνδεές 3 ἐκάστῳ
ἐπανερθοῦσαι προαιρομένῳ, μέγιστον ἐστὶ πρὸς
evθυμίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἔρκος.

1 Conj. Tr.: mss. and Wend. ἐπὶ τέλει.
2 τῶν is substituted for ὅθεν, and note of interrogation
placed after εὐδαιμονοῦσι on Mangey's conj. 3 mss. ἀνενδεές.

a i.e. although at the same time He is Lord. But the
addition is strange in view of the emphasis laid on the
difference of the two names. Perhaps insert οὐχ or οὐ τῷ
before ὁ κύριος; i.e. the title God eternal is equivalent to

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delight. The title "God Eternal" is equivalent to "He that is, not sometimes gracious and sometimes not so, but continuously and always; He that without intermission bestows benefits; He that causes His gifts to follow each other in ceaseless flow; He who makes His boons come round in unbroken cycle, knitting them together by unifying forces; He who lets no opportunity of doing good go by; He who is Lord, and so is able to hurt also."

XXI. This is what Jacob, the trainer of self, claimed as the fulfilment of those vows of most sacred import. He said, you remember, "And the Lord shall be to me for God" (Gen. xxviii. 21), as much as to say, He shall no longer exhibit towards me the masterfulness that characterizes the rule of an autocrat, but the readiness to bless that marks the power that is in every way kindly, and bent on the welfare of men. He shall do away with the fear we feel before Him as Master, and implant in the soul the loyalty and affection that goes out to Him as Benefactor.

What soul, in fact, would imagine that the Master and Sovereign of the Universe, without undergoing any change in His own nature, but remaining as He is, is kind continuously and bountiful incessantly, supreme Author of real good things coming without stint in ceaseless flow to happy souls? It is a strong bulwark of cheerfulness of spirit and freedom from danger to have reposed our confidence in a King who is not urged by the greatness of His dominion to inflict injuries on His subjects, but whose love for man makes it His delight to supply what is lacking to each one.

Benefactor etc., but not to Lord, which implies power to hurt. Negatives are frequently omitted in the mss. of Philo.
XXII. "Α τούνν ύπεσχόμεθα, ἢδη σχεδὸν ἀποδέδεικται, [τὸ] φυτὸν μὲν τὸ ἄρχην τε καὶ τέλος¹ λαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι θεόν, χωρὶν δὲ τὸ ἄκολουθον τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τελειον εὑρίσκεσθαι, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δ’ ἔσθ’ ὅτε χάρισι τοῦ αὐτίου προφαίνεσθαι, καρπὸς δὲ τὸ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ διαμνίζειν χάριτας καὶ ὀμβροῦσας ἀπαύστως μηδέποτε λήγειν.

Οὐτως μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἐπόμενος τῇ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου φυτουργοῦ τέχνη τῆς γεωργικῆς ἐπιδείκνυται. βούλεται δὲ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος καὶ τοῖς μῆτι τελειοθείσιν ἡμῖν, ἐτι δὲ ἐν μέσοις ἀριθμοῖς τῶν λεγομένων καθηκόντων ἑξεταζόμενοι, διαπονηθὴν τά γεωργικά· φησὶ γάρ.

"ὅταν εἰσέλθητε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἢν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν δίδωσιν ὑμῖν, καὶ καταφυτεύσητε πᾶν ξύλον βρώσεως, περικαθαριεῖτε τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ· ὁ καρπὸς² αὐτοῦ τρία ἔτη ἔσται ἀπερικάθαρτος,³ οὐ βρωθήσεται· τῷ δὲ ἔτει πέμπτῳ φάγεσθε τὸν καρπὸν, πρόσθεμα ἢμῖν τὰ γεννήματα αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν."

οὐκοῦν τῶν ξύλων τὰ ἔδώδιμα, πρὶν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ θεοῦ δοθείσαν χώραν μεταναστῆται, φυτεύειν ἀδύνατον. "ὅταν γὰρ εἰσέλθητε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, φυτεύσετε πᾶν ξύλον βρώσιμον" φησίν, ὥστε ἐξω διατρίβοντες οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν δένδρων γεωργεῖν· καὶ μῆποτ'

¹ MSS. τῶν κάλλιστων.
² MSS. τῶν καρπῶν.
³ MSS. ἀκαθαρτὸς.
⁴ MSS. ἐν ἔτος.

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a See App. p. 496.
b Or "for giving praise to.” So from §§117 ff. it appears.
XXII. We may take it, then, that the points which we undertook to prove have now been demonstrated. That God be presupposed as Beginning and End of all things has been shewn to be the plant: as a corollary to this, that perfection is found in no part of creation, though by special grace of the First Cause it is ever and anon displayed upon its face, has been shewn to be the plot of ground; while the perpetuity and unceasing downpour of the gifts of God’s grace has been shewn to be the fruit.

Of such sort, then, is husbandry as exhibited by the sage also, treading in the steps of the first and greatest Planter. But the intention of the inspired Word is that we too who are not yet perfected, but are still classified as in the preliminary and undeveloped stages of what are called natural duties, should make husbandry our serious business: for It says: “When ye shall have entered into the land, which the Lord your God giveth you, and shall have planted any tree for food, ye shall cleanse away its uncleanness: for three years its fruit shall remain not cleansed away, it shall not be eaten: but in the fourth year all its fruit shall be holy for a thank-offering to the Lord: but in the fifth year ye shall eat the fruit; its crop shall be added to your store. I am the Lord, your God” (Lev. xix. 23–25).

Accordingly it is impossible to grow fruit-trees before migrating into the country given by God; for the words are, “When ye shall have entered into the land, ye shall plant every tree yielding food,” so that while staying outside we shall be unable to cultivate such trees. And this is what that Philo takes the word, which elsewhere means “praiseworthy.”
Είκότως· ἐως μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν σοφίας οὐ προσελήλυθεν ὁ νοῦς, τετραμμένος δὲ πόρρω πλανᾶται, τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας ύλῆς ἐπιμελεῖται φυτῶν, ἀπερ ἢτοι ἄγονα ὅντα ἐστείρωται ἢ γεννώντα ἐδωδίμων ἐστὶν ἄφορα. ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὴν φρονήσεως ἐμβὰς ὁμοίως τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ συντρέχῃ πάσων, ἀρξεται τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ καρπῶν ἡμέρων οἰστικήν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγρίας ἐκείνης γεωργεῖν, ἀπάθειαν ἀντὶ παθῶν καὶ ἀντὶ ἄγνοιας ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀντὶ κακῶν ἀγαθά. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἁρτι εἰσαγόμενος μακρὰν τοῦ τέλους ἀφέστηκεν, εἰκὸν τως φυτεύσαντι αὐτῷ προστετάκηται περιελεῖν τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ φυτευθέντος. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστι, οὐκ ἕξεσθαι τῶν καθηκόντων ἡμέρων φυτῶν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ λόγον· ἐκάτερα γὰρ ὅφελιμωτάτους φέρει καρποὺς, τὰ μὲν σώμασι, τὰ δὲ ψυχαῖς. πολλὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις συναναβλαστάνοντα καὶ ἐπιφυόμενα τῶν βλαβερῶν ἀναγκαίως ἀν τέμνοτο τοῦ μὴ ζημιοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἀνθελθεῖται καθάρσεως καὶ περιττοτερᾶς ἐπιμελείας, τὶς οὖν ἡ κάθαρσις ἦδε; παρὰ νήφοντος λαβῶν παρακαθήκην μῆτε μεθύοντι μήτε ἄνετον ἀποδώσιν; ὁ γὰρ λαβῶν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κομίσασθαι ὑμῖν ἐξει

1 MSS. ἀρέσται or ἀξητε.  
2 MSS. oikeiow.  
3 MSS. ἀρέτης.  
4 MSS. ἀν γένοιτο.

See App. p. 496.

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we might expect; for, so long as the mind has not come near and entered the way of wisdom, but turns in another direction and wanders away far off, its attention is given to trees of wild growth, which are either barren and yield nothing, or, though they are productive, bear no edible fruit. But when the mind has stepped on to the way of good sense, and in the company of all its teachings comes into and runs along that way, it will begin instead of those wild trees to cultivate trees of the orchard bearing orchard fruits, instead of passions freedom from them, knowledge in place of ignorance, good things in the place of evil things. Since, then, the pupil just beginning his course is a long way from the end, we can quite understand why he is directed after planting to remove the uncleanness of that which he has planted. Let us get a good view of what it is to do this. XXIII. Natural duties which are indifferent seem to me to correspond to garden or orchard trees: for in each case most wholesome fruits are borne, for bodies in one case, for souls in the other. But many harmful shoots that spring together with the trees of the preliminary stage and many harmful growths that come on them have to be cut away, to save the better parts from being injured. Might we not speak of the returning of a sum entrusted to us as a tree grown in the soul's orchard? Yet this tree at all events requires cleansing and more than usual attention. What is the cleansing in this case? When you have received something in trust from a man when he was sober, you should not return it to him when he is drunk, or when playing fast and loose with his money, or when mad, for the recipient will not be in a fit condition to derive any real benefit.
καίρόν ὕφελθήναι—, μηδὲ χρεώσταις ἡ δούλους ἀποδώς δανειστών καὶ δεσποτῶν ἐφεδρεύοντων—προδοσία γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀπόδοσις—, μηδὲ τὴν ἐν ὅλιγοις πίστιν φύλαττε ἐπὶ θήρα τῆς εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς μείζονος ἀγκιστρεύεσθαι τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἐξεν ὑπαίτιοι τῆς κατ’ ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίας προνοεῖσθαι φάσκοντες καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲν ἀλιεύομενοι μικρὰ καθιέντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οὐ σφόδρα ἄν ἂν ἀφθονον τοὺς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εἰς πλεῖστος. δελεάτα γε οἱ μὲ

1 mss. θήρας: Mang. ἐπὶ θήρα.  
2 roiáde conj. Tr. for ταύτα δή.

a See App. p. 496.  b See note on De Agr. 73.
NOAH'S WORK AS A PLANTER, 101–105

from recovering it. And do not return it to debtors or slaves, when the creditors and masters are lying in wait for them. To do so is betrayal, not payment of a due. And do not be strict about a small sum entrusted to you, with a view to ensnaring people into trusting you with larger sums. It is true that fishermen drop small baits with a view to hooking the bigger fish, and are not seriously to blame. They can plead that they are providing for a good market, and to secure people an abundant supply for the table every day. Then let no one parade the payment of a trifling sum entrusted to him by way of a bait to get a larger deposit. To do so is to hold out in one's hands an insignificant amount belonging to one person, while in intention one is appropriating untold sums belonging to all men. If, then, you treat the deposit as a tree and remove its impurities, to wit payments entailing injurious treatment to the recipient, ill-timed payments, payments that are really ensnaring tricks, and everything of this kind, you will make fit for your orchard what was turning wild.

XXIV. In the tree of friendship there are outgrowths, such as I shall describe, to be pruned and cut off for the sake of preserving the better part. Such outgrowths are practices of courtesans for taking in their lovers, ways parasites have of deceiving their dupes. You may see women, who earn money by the prostitution of their bodily charms, clinging to those enamoured of them as though they intensely loved them. It is not these that they love; they love themselves and are greedy for their daily takings. You may note flatterers cherishing often enough hatred that words cannot express for those upon
PHILO

όψοφαγιαν δὲ καὶ λαμαργίαν ἁγαπῶντας, ὑφ’ ὅν ἀναπείθονται τοὺς χορηγοὺς τῶν ἀμέτρων ἐπι-
θυμιῶν περιέπειν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκιβδελεύτου φιλίας1 δένδρον ἀποσεισάμενον καὶ μεθέμενον ταῦτα καρπὸν
tοὺς χρησμομένους ὕφελματαν οἰςεῖ, τὸ ἀδέκα-
στον. εὖνοι γὰρ ἐστὶ βούλησις τοῦ τῷ πλησίον
εἶναι2 τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ3 χάριν ἐκεῖνον. αἱ δὲ ἐν
χαμαιτύπαι καὶ οἱ κόλακες αὐτῶν ἑνεκα σπουδά-
ζουσιν, αἱ μὲν τοὺς ἑρασταίς, οἱ δὲ τοὺς κολακευο-
μένους τὰ ἀγαθὰ προσάγειν. τὰς οὖν εἰρωνείας καὶ
gοητείας καθάπερ ἐπιφυομένας κῆρας τῷ
φιλίας φυτῶ περικοπτέον.

107 XXV. Ἰερουργίαι γε μὴν καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς θυσίας
ἀγιστείας4 βλάστημα κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ παραναπέφυκεν
αὐτῶ κακῶν, δεισιδειμονία, ἣν πρὶν χλοῆσαι
λυσιτελές ἐκτεμεῖν. ἐνοι γὰρ ὡθησαν τὸ βου-
θυτεῖν εὑσέβειαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐξ ἦν ἂν κλέψωσιν ἢ
ἀρνήσωσι τὴν κυριεύσις ἄρτορος ἡ
λεηλατήσωσι μοῖρας ἀπονέμουσι τοῖς βωμοῖς, οἱ
dυσκάθαρτοι, τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξήμαρτον
108 ἢ

οὖν εἶναι νομίζοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἐποιμ’ ἂν
αὐτοῖς, ἀδέκαστον ἐστὶν, ἢ οὐτοὶ, τῷ θεῷ δικα-
στήριον, ὡς τοὺς μὲν γνώμη κεχρημένους ὑπαιτίων,
καὶ καθ’ ἀπασχὸν ἡμέραν ἐκατον βοᾶς ἀνάγονοι,
ἀποστρεφεσθαι, τοὺς δ’ ἀνυπαίτιους, καὶ μηδὲν
θύσω τὸ παράπαν, ἀποδέχεσθαι. βωμοὶ γὰρ
ἀπύροις, περὶ οὓς ἀρεταὶ χορεύοσιν, γέγηθεν ὁ
θεός, ἀλλ’ οὗ περὶ πολλῷ φλέγουσιν, ὁπερ αἱ τῶν

1 MSS. σοφίας.
2 MSS. τούτων πλησίον γὰρ εἶναι.
3 MSS. αὐτὰ.
4 MSS. πίστεις.

See App. p. 496.

Lit. “cutting debts.” Cf. Plutarch i. 87 β χρεοκοπίδης.
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whom they fawn, in love with rich dishes and overeating, and induced by nothing else than these to court those who glut their measureless greed. The tree of genuine friendship will shake off and be quit of these things, and will bear fruit most beneficial to those who shall eat of it, namely honesty. For real goodwill is a desire that good should befall your neighbour for his own sake, whereas it is to further objects of their own that harlots and toadies take such pains to offer the things that will please, the former in their designs upon their lovers, the latter upon their patrons. So we must treat everything that smacks of sham and quackery as we treat hurtful ongrowths, and cut it away from the tree of friendship.

XXV. Again, sacred ministrations and the holy service of sacrifices is a plant most fair, but it has a parasitic growth that is evil, namely superstition, and it is well to apply the knife to this before its green leaves appear. For some have imagined that it is piety to slaughter oxen, and allot to the altars portions of what they have got by stealing, or by repudiating debts, or by defrauding creditors, or by seizing property and cattle-lifting, thinking, in their gross defilement, that impunity for their offences is a thing that can be bought. 

"Nay, nay," I would say to them, "no bribes, O foolish ones, can reach God's tribunal." He turns His face away from those who approach with guilty intent, even though they lead to His altar a hundred bullocks every day, and accepts the guiltless, although they sacrifice nothing at all. God delights in altars beset by a choir of Virtues, albeit no fire burn on them. He takes no delight in blazing altar fires fed by the unhallowed sacrifices of men to whose hearts sacrifice is unknown.

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PHILO

'ἀνέρων ἄθυτοι θυσίαι συνανέφλεξαν ὑπομμηνή-
σκούσαν τὰς ἐκάστων ἀγνοίας τε καὶ διαμαρτίας·
καὶ γὰρ εἴπε που Μωυσῆς θυσίαν "ἀναμμηνή-
σκούσαν ἀμαρτίαν." πάντ’ οὖν τὰ τουαῦτα
μεγάλης γιγνόμενα ζημίας αὕτην χρή περιαρεῖν
καὶ ἀποκόπτειν ἐπομένους τῷ χρησμῷ, ἐν ὧ
διείρηται περιαρείν τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν ξύλον τοῦ
φυτευθέντος ἐδωδίμου. XXVI. ἀλλ’
ημεῖς μὲν οὐδὲ διδασκόμενοι πρὸς εὐμάθειαν
ἐπιδίδομεν· ἔνοι δὲ αὐτοδιδάκτῳ τῇ φύσει χρη-
σάμενοι τάγαθον ἐξέδυσαν τῶν ἑνειλημμένων
βλαβῶν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐπίκλην Ἰακώβ’
οὗτος γὰρ "ῥάβδους ἐλέπισε λεπίσματα λευκά
περισύρων τὸ χλωρόν," ἵνα τῆς ἐν μέσους ποικιλίας
σκοταίοις καὶ ζοφεροῖς πανταχοῦ ἀναιρεθείσης
τὸ μὴ τέχνη ποικιλλόμενον,1 φύσει δὲ γεννώ-
μενον ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς λευκὸν εἶδος ἀναδειχθῇ.

παρὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ περί τῆς λέπρας | τεθέντι νόμῳ
[346] διείρηται τὸν μηκέτι διηνθισμένον ποικιλία χρω-
μάτων ὅλον δὲ λευκωθέντα δι’ ὄλων ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς
<ἀκρας> ἐς τὸν σώματος μετάβασιν τὸ ποικίλον
καὶ πανοῦργον καὶ ἀντιρρέτου καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζουν
τῆς διανοίας μεθέμενοι πάθος τὸ ἀποίκιλον καὶ
ἀνενδοίαστον ἀληθείας ἀπλοῦν χρώμα δεξώμεθα.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸ ξύλον φάσκειν περικαθαίρεσθαι
λόγον ἔχει βεβαιούμενον ἀληθεία, τὸ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν
1 MSS. ποικιλλόμενη.

a See App. p. 496.

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Nay, these sacrifices do but put Him in remembrance of the ignorance and offences of the several offerers; for Moses, as we know, speaks of sacrifice "bringing sin to remembrance" (Num. v. 15). All such defilements entail great loss. We must clear the way and cut them off in obedience to the oracle, in which a command is given to clear away the uncleanness of the fruit-trees that have been planted.

XXVI. But, while we, even under teachers, fail to make progress and become apt pupils, some, taking advantage of a nature which is its own teacher, have released the good in them from the hurtful growths which had fastened upon it. It was so with the trainer of self, whose name was Jacob, for he "peeled rods, stripping off the green bark, and causing them to shew white where they were peeled" (Gen. xxx. 37). His aim was to do away entirely with the variety and changeableness of hue, which is associated with the misty darkness and gloom of the undeveloped stages; and to bring into full view the whiteness, which is due to no artificial variegation, but is akin to Nature, to which it owes its birth. It is in accordance with this that in the law laid down regarding leprosy it is enjoined that the leper is clean whose body is no longer particoloured, shewing a variety of hues, but has turned white all over from head to foot (Lev. xiii. 12 f.). The aim of this ordinance is that, by way of leaving behind us bodily concerns, we may abandon the condition of mind which is changeful and vacillating, ready to put its hand to any project and to face both ways, and may take the plain hue of truth with its freedom from changefulness and indecision.

The statement that the trees undergo a cleansing is quite reasonable and accords with facts; the
ού πάντες τῶν ἑναργεῖν πεπίστωται· σύνα γὰρ ἡ σταφυλὴ τῇ συνόλῳς καρπὸν οὔδεὶς γεωργῶν
περικαθαίρει. XXVII. καὶ μὴν φησί γε· "ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἐτεὶ ἐσται ἀπερικάθαρτος;" οὔ βρωθήσεται," ὡς εἰσφέρετο δήπον περικαθαίρεσθαι αὐτῷ. λεκτέων οὖν, ὧτι καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἀποδιδομένων, τοῦ δητοῦ μὴ σφόδρα συνάδοντος. ἡ δὲ λέξις ἐστὶν ἀμφίβολος· δηλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τι τοιοῦτον "ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἐτεὶ ἐσται," ἔτα ἤδη τὸ "ἀπερικάθαρτος οὔ βρωθήσεται," ἔτερον δὲ "ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ τρία ἐτεὶ ἐσται ἀπερικάθαρτος," ἔπειθ' οὔτως "<οὐ> βρωθήσεται." κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον ταῦτα ἄν τις ἐκδεξαίτω, τῶν τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ τριμεροῦς χρόνου παραλαμβανόμενων, ὡς εἰς τὸν παρεληλυθότα καὶ ἐνεστῷτα καὶ μέλλοντα τέμνεσθαι πέφυκεν, ὁ τῆς παιδείας καρπὸς ἐσταὶ καὶ ὑποστήρεται καὶ μενεὶ σῶς κατὰ πάντα τὰ χρόνου τμήματα, ἵσον τῷ δὲ αἰῶνι φθοράν μὴ δεχόμενος· ἀφθαρτὸς γὰρ η τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσις. "ἀπερικάθαρτος δὲ καρπὸς οὔ βρωθήσεται," παρόσον οἱ μὲν κεκαθαρμένοι καὶ ὑγιαῖντες ἀστείοι λόγοι ψυχὴν τρέφουσι καὶ νοῦν αὔξουσιν, οὐ τρόφιμοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἐναντίοι νόσου καὶ φθορᾶν ἐπιπέμποντες αὐτῇ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐτερον σημαινόμενον ὁσπερ ἀναπόδεικτος <λόγος> λέγεται διχῶς,

1 MSS. πεπίστωται.
2 MSS. ἀκάθαρτος.
3 The first sentence of § 114 is punctuated after Mangey and Heinemann.
4 MSS. ἐπιπέμποντες.
5 λόγος is inserted before λέγεται with Cohn (conj.).

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statement that the fruit does so is by no means made good by what we see before our eyes; for no gardener cleanses figs or grapes or any fruit at all. XXVII. And yet it says, "The fruit shall remain uncleansed for three years; it shall not be eaten," as though it were the custom to cleanse it regularly as a matter of course. Let me say, then, that this again is one of the points to be interpreted allegorically, the literal interpretation being quite out of keeping with facts. The sentence can be taken in two ways. Read in one way, it means something of this kind, "Its fruit shall be for three years"; then, as an independent sentence, "it shall not be eaten uncleansed." Read in another way, "Its fruit shall be uncleansed for three years," and then the words "it shall not be eaten." Led by the sense yielded by the former punctuation, we arrive at this result. We take the three years to represent time in its natural threefold division into past, present, and future. The fruit of instruction—so we understand the words—shall be, subsist, remain free from interference, through all the divisions of time. This is equivalent to saying that throughout eternity it is exempt from corruption; for the nature of good is incorruptible. "But uncleansed fruit shall not be eaten." This is due to the fact that right teaching, having submitted to a cleansing which makes it wholesome, nourishes the soul and makes the mind grow; while teaching of a contrary sort is devoid of nourishment, and lets loose upon the soul corruption and disease. An illustration will help us to see the senses which the other arrangement of the words may convey. An argument is called "in-
ο τε δυσκόλως ἀργαλεώτητος ἔνεκα ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ ὁ ἐνθένδε γνώριμος ἐξ αὐτοῦ, τὸ σαφές οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἔτερου μαρτυρίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐμφανομένης ἐναργείας αὐτῶ πιστούμενος, ρ' πρὸς τοὺς συλλογιστικούς εἰσίθεν ἡ διαλεκτική λόγους χρῆσθαι, οὕτως ἀπερικάθαρτος καρπὸς ὁ τε δεόμενος καθάρσεως καὶ μὴ κεκαθαρμένος, καὶ ὁ τηλ-αὐγέστατος, τοιοῦτος ἐστιν ὁ παιδείας καρπὸς "τρία ἐτη," τουτέστι τὸν τριμερῆ χρόνον, τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα, καθαρώτατος καὶ διαυγέστατος, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς βλαβεροῦ συσκιαζόμενος, λουτρῶν καὶ περιμπαντηρίων ή συμβέβηκεν ἔτερου τυχὸς τῶν εἰς καθαραίς τεινόντων οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς χρείας ᾗν.

116 XXVIII. "Τῷ | ἐτὶ ἐτεί" φησὶ "τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔσται πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ ἄγιος, αἰνετὸς τῷ κυρίῳ." τὸν τέσσαρα ἀριθμὸν πολλαχὸ μὲν τῆς νομοθεσίας, μάλιστα ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως, ἀποσεμνύνειν ἐσκεκριτὸς ὁ ὑποθέτων φήμης λόγος: τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τῖμον φῶς, τὸ καὶ ἐαυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφέστατον γνώρισμα, καὶ τοὺς τοκέας αὐτοῦ ἦλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἔρωταν χρόνον τῶν ἀστέρων, οἱ νῦκτα τε Καὶ ἡμέραν, ἐτί τε μῆνας καὶ ἕναντος ἀνατολαίς καὶ δύσεως ἐπεράτωσαν ἀρχοῦ τοῦ φύσιν ἀνεδείξαν, φησὶ διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ τέταρτῳ ἐτών ἑτερον καὶ ἐνιαίον τὴν ἀναθηματικὴν ἡμέραν τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν ἐναθέας τῷ θεῷ ἢ ἐναν−τῷ τῆς φυτείας τετάρτῳ. λόγον γὰρ καὶ φυσι−

1 mss. καὶ: Cohn conj. ψ καὶ.
2 mss. ἐν ἐτοῖς.
3 mss. ἀπάτη. See App. p. 497.
difficulties that it is hardly capable of demonstration, or when its force is recognized at once by its mere statement, when it relies for its certainty not on any proof drawn from elsewhere, but from its self-evident character; the kind of argument which Logic usually employs in formal syllogisms. Just so can the word "without cleansing" be used either of fruit that needs cleansing and has not received it, or of fruit that is perfectly bright and brilliant. Such is the fruit of education "through three years," that is through past, present, and future, that is all eternity, wholly pure and bright, bedimmed by no hurtful thing, utterly exempt from need of washings or lustrations or anything else whatever whose purpose is to cleanse.

XXVIII. "And in the fourth year," it says, "all its fruit shall be holy, for giving praise unto the lord" (Lev. xix. 24). In many parts of the Lawgiving, but above all in the record of the creation of the universe, we see the prophetic word glorifying the number 4. For (Gen. i. 14) it ascribes to the fourth day the making of those things on which depends the soul's chiefest good; the precious light of the senses, which gives us most sure knowledge of itself and all other objects; light's parents, the sun and moon and that most holy choir of the stars; these by their risings and settings determined the bounds of months and years, and revealed number's place in nature. And in the passage before us it has accorded highest honour to the number 4, by making the fruit of the trees an offering to God at no other time than in the fourth year from their planting. The number indeed involves deep principles both

\[ \text{See App. p. 496.} \]
κώτατον καὶ ἡθικώτατον ἔχει· τᾶς τε γούν τοῦ παντὸς βίος, ἐξ ὅν ό χάρις, τεττάρας εἶναι
121 συμβέβηκε, γῆν, ὕδωρ, αέρα, πῦρ, καὶ τᾶς ἑτήσιοις ὦρας ἵσαρίθμους χειμῶνα καὶ θέρους καὶ τᾶς μεθορίους, ἕαρ τε καὶ μετόπωρον. πρεσβύτατος τε αὐτῶ ἑταρῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὃν ἐν ὅρθαῖς γυναικισι,
122 ὁς το κατὰ γεωμετρίαν δηλοῖ σχῆμα, ἐξετάζεται· ἀι δ’ εἰσὶ όρθότητος λόγον σαφῆ δείγματα, πηγή δὲ ἀέναος ἀρετῶν ὁ ὅρθος λόγος. ἀνάγκη μέντοι τᾶς τοῦ ἑταρῶν πλευράς ἵσας εἶναι· δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἰσότης τῆν ἔξαρχον καὶ ἧγεμονίδα τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔτεκεν· ὥστε ἰσότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης
123 ἀρετῆς χωρίς τῶν ἅλλων ἐπιδείκνυται τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι σύμβολον.

Καλεῖται δ’ ἡ τετράς καὶ "πᾶς," ὅτι τοὺς ἀχρι δεκάδος καὶ αὐτὴν δεκάδα περιέχει δυνάμει. XXIX. ὅτι μὲν ὅν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῆς, παντὶ τῷ
124 δῆλον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῆν, εἰς ἐπιλογισμοῦ ράδιον ἰδείν [ἐν ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἐξ]. ἐν, δύο, τρία, τεττάρα συντιθέντες ὁ ἡπτομήμεν ἐφρήσομεν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἐνός καὶ τεττάρων πεντὰς ἐσται, ἐκ δὲ δυεόν καὶ τεττάρων ἔξας, ἔβδομας ἐκ ἐκ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων· καὶ τὰ διπλὰ σύνθεσιν ἐξ ἐνός καὶ τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων ὅγδοας, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ
duein kai triów καὶ τεττάρων ὁ ἔννεα ἀριθμός, ἐκας δὲ ἐκ πάντων· ἐν γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τεττάρα δέκα γεννᾶ. διὰ τούτο καὶ Μωυσῆς εἴπεν, ὅτι "ἐτεί τῷ τεταρτῷ ἐσται πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ ἁγίος"· ἀρτιον γάρ καὶ ὀλόκληρον καὶ

1 mss. ὅν, which might be translated "besides the other things which it (i.e. the number four) displays."
of physics and ethics. For the roots of the universe, out of which the world grows, are four—earth, water, air, fire. Of the same number are the seasons, Winter and Summer, and those that come between, Spring and Autumn. And, since it is the first of all numbers produced by squaring another number, it is in right angles that it presents itself to view, as is made evident by the geometrical figure. And right angles are clear pictures of rightness of reasoned thought, and right reason is an overflowing spring of virtue. Again, the sides of the square are necessarily equal: and equality is the mother of justice, empress and queen of the virtues. Thus the word of prophecy shews that this number is the symbol of equality, and righteousness, and every virtue in a way that the other numbers are not.

The number 4 is also called "all" or "totality" because it potentially embraces the numbers up to 10 and 10 itself. That it so embraces those which precede it is plain to everyone: and it is easy to see by further reckoning that it so embraces the numbers that come after it also. Add together 1 + 2 + 3 + 4, and we shall find what we wanted. For out of 1 + 4 we shall get 5; out of 2 + 4 we shall get 6; 7 out of 3 + 4; and (by adding three instead of two numbers together) from 1 + 3 + 4 we get 8; and again from 2 + 3 + 4 we get the number 9; and from all taken together we get 10; for 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 produces 10. This is why Moses said "In the fourth year all the fruit shall be holy." For the number 4 is, in relation

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*a* Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 39. The "ethical" interpretation begins at "right angles are pictures of rightness." What precedes is "physical" in Philo's sense of the word.

*b* See App. p. 497.
πλήρη, ώς καὶ σύμπαντα, ώς τύπω φάναι, λόγον ἔχει, διὰ τὸ δεκάδα, ἡν τετράς ἐγέννησε, πρῶτον καμπτήρα τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος συντιθεμένων ἀριθμῶν [348] ἐστάναι: | δεκάς δὲ καὶ τετράς "πᾶς" ἐν ἀριθμοῖς1 εἶναι λέγεται, ἀλλὰ δεκάς μὲν ἀποτελέσματι, τετράς δὲ δυνάμει.

126 ΧΧΧ. Τὸν τε παιδείας καρπὸν οὐ μόνον ἄγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰνετὸν εἶναι φησὶ προσηκόντως. ἐκάστῃ μὲν γε τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστὶ χρήμα ἄγιον, εὐχαριστία δὲ ὑπερβαλλόντως: θεῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐνεστὶ γνησίως εὐχαριστῆσαι δι' ἃν νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ κατα- σκευών ἀναθημάτων ὑποσὺν—οὐδὲ γὰρ σύμπασ ὁ κόσμος ἑρῶν ἀξιόχρεους ἀν γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ- τοῦ τιμῆν—, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπαίνων καὶ ὑμνῶν, οὐχ οὐς ἡ γεγονὼς ἀφεται φωνή, ἀλλὰ οὕς ὁ ἀειδῆς καὶ καθαρώτατος νοῦς ἐπηχήσει καὶ ἀναμέλψει.

127 παλαιὸς γοῦν ἀδεται λόγος <ὁς>2 ύπο μὲν σοφῶν εὑρεθεῖς, μνήμη δὲ, οἷά φιλεῖ, κατὰ διαδοχὰς παρα- δοθεῖς τοῖς μετέπειτα, οὐδὲ τὰς ἀεὶ παιδείας λίχνους ἡμετέρας παρῆλθεν ἀκοὰς. ἐστὶ δὲ τοιόσ- δε· ἡνίκα, φασί, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ὁ ποιητής ἐτελεσφόρησεν, ἐνὸς τῶν ὑποφητῶν ἐπύθετο, εἰ τι ποθεὶ μὴ γενόμενον τῶν οὐ κατὰ γῆς καὶ καθ' ὕδατος ἡ ὁσα κατὰ τὴν μετάρσιον ἀέρος ἡ τὴν 128 ἐσχάτην τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τέλεια μὲν καὶ πλήρη πάντα διὰ πάντων εἶναι, ἐν δὲ μόνον ζητεῖν, τὸν ἐπανεῖντα αὐτῶν λόγου, ὥς τὰς ἐν πάσι καὶ τοῖς βραχυτάτοις

1 MSS. μὲν ἀριθμοῖς. 2 <ὁς> conj. Tr.

a Or “prophets,” “interpreters.”

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to other numbers, even and complete and full and, in a loose sense, universal, owing to the fact that 10, the offspring of 4, is fixed as first turning-point of the numbers from 1 onwards in a series. And 10 and 4 are said to be "all" or "totality" among numbers; 10 being so in realized actuality, and 4 potentially.

XXX. Quite appropriately does Moses speak of the fruit of instruction as being not only "holy" but "for praise"; for each of the virtues is a holy matter, but thanksgiving is pre-eminently so. But it is not possible genuinely to express our gratitude to God by means of buildings and oblations and sacrifices, as is the custom of most people, for even the whole world were not a temple adequate to yield the honour due to Him. Nay, it must be expressed by means of hymns of praise, and these not such as the audible voice shall sing, but strains raised and re-echoed by the mind too pure for eye to discern. Indeed there is an old story on men's lips, the invention of wise men, and handed down by memory to succeeding generations of posterity, which has not escaped my ears which are for ever greedy for teaching. It is to this effect. When, they say, the Creator had finished the whole world, He inquired of one of His subordinates whether he missed as having failed to be created aught of created things beneath the earth or beneath the water, aught found in air's high realm or heaven's, furthest of all realms that are. He, it is said, made answer that all were perfect and complete in all their parts, and that he was looking for one thing only, namely the word to sound their praises, which should make the surpassing excellence that
καὶ ἄφανεστάτοις δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβολὰς οὐκ ἐπαινεῖσιν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξαγγελεῖ τὰς γὰρ διηγήσεις τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργων αὐταρκέστατον ἔκεινων ἐπαίνων εἶναι, προσθήκης οὐδεμᾶς ἐξωθεὶς εἰς κόσμον δεομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ᾑσενδές τῆς ἀληθείας τελειότατον ἐχόντων ἐγκώμιον. ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπανέσαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸ πάμμουσον καὶ ὑμνωδόν ἀναφανῆναι γένος ἐκ μιᾶς δὴ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνάμεων παρθένου Μνήμης, ὡς Μνημοσύνην παρατρέποντες οἱ πολλοὶ τούνομα καλοῦσιν.

129 Ο μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιῶν μῦθος ὥδε ἔχει. ἐπόμενοι δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτῶ λέγομεν, ὅτι οἰκεώτατον ἔστιν ἔργον θεοῦ μὲν ἐνεργετεῖν, γενέσει δὲ εὐχαριστεῖν μηδὲν ἐξωτοῦ πλέον τῶν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιπαρασχεῖν δυναμένην. ὁ γὰρ ἅν θελήσῃ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀντιχαρίσασθαι, τοῦθεν εὑρήσεται τὸ πάντα πεποιηκότος ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς κομιξούσης φύσεως κτῆμα ἰδιόν. μαθόντες οὖν, ὡς ἐν ἔργον ἡμῖν ἐπιβάλλει μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τιμήν θεοῦ, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ μελετῶμεν διὰ φωνῆς καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀστείων καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιλείπομεν μῆτε λόγους ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς μῆτε ποιήματα συντιθέντες, ἵνα καὶ ἐμμελῶς καὶ χωρίς μέλους καὶ καθ' ἐκατέραν φωνῆς ἰδέαν, ἡ το λέγειν καὶ το ἢδειν ἀποκεκλήρωται, ὁ τε κοσμοποιοῦς καὶ ὁ κόσμος γεραίρηται, “ὁ μέν,” [349] ὡς ἐφη τις, “ἀριστος τῶν αἰτίων, ὁ δὲ τελειότατος τῶν γεγονότων.”

1 mss. θεόν . . . γένεσιν. 2 mss. ἢν or ὑμ.

a See App. p. 497. b i.e. Plato, Timaeus 29α.
marked even the most minute and inconspicuous among them the subject of announcement rather than of praise, seeing that the mere recounting of the works of God was in itself their all-sufficient praise, for they needed the embellishment of no extraneous additions, but possessed in the reality that could not lie their most perfect encomium. The story runs that the Author of the universe on hearing this commended what had been said, and that it was not long before there appeared the new birth, the family of the Muses and hymnody, sprung from the womb of one of His powers, even virgin Memory, whose name most people slightly change and call her "Mnemosyne."

XXXI. So runs the myth of the men of old. We take the same line and say that the work most appropriate to God is conferring boons, that most fitting to creation giving thanks, seeing that it has no power to render in return anything beyond this; for, whatever else it may have thought of giving in requital, this it will find to be the property of the Maker of all things, and not of the being that brings it. Having learned, then, that, in all that has to do with shewing honour to God, one work only is incumbent upon us, namely thanksgiving, let us always and everywhere make this our study, using voice and skilful pen. Let us never tire of composing eulogies in prose and poetry, to the end that, whether with or without musical accompaniment whichever of its appointed functions the voice may exercise, be it eloquent speech or song, high honour may be given both to the world and to the Creator of the world; the former, as one has said, the most perfect of things produced, the latter the best of producers.
XXXII. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐτει καὶ ἀριθμῷ τετάρτῳ πᾶς ὁ ψυχής ἀφιερωθῇ καρπός, τῷ πέμπτῳ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ χρῆσιν ἢμεῖς αὐτῷ σχῆσομεν. 1 φησὶ γὰρ: "ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ πέμπτῳ φάγεσθε τὸν καρπὸν," ἐπειδὴ τὸ γεγονός τοῦ πεποιηκότος ύστερον ἐν ἀπασιν ἐξετάζεσθαι νόμος φύσεως ἀνεπίληπτος, ὡστε κἂν, εἰ τῶν δευτερεῖων ἀντι- λαμβανοίμεθα, καὶ θαυμαστον ἦγείσθαι.

καὶ διὰ τούτο μέντοι τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ πέμπτου ἡμῶν ἀνατίθησιν, ὅτι αἰσθήσεως πεντὰς ἀριθμὸν οἰκεῖος καὶ, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες ἐπεῖν, τὸ τρέφον τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν ἐστιν αἰσθησις, ἡ δὲ οφθαλμῶν τὰς χρωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ποιότητας εὔτρεπίζουσα ἢ δὲ ὡτῶν πανοδαπάς τὰς τῶν φωνῶν ἰδιότητας ἡ διὰ μνητήρων ὅσμας ἡ χυλοῦς διὰ στόματος ἡ μαλακότητας εὐενδότους καὶ σκληρύσσεις ἀντιτύποις ἡ λειότητας καὶ ἀπαθίτητας, ἡ ψυχρότητας τὰ τῶν σκληροτήτων θερμοκηρών ὃ παν τὸ σῶμα σκιδαμένης δυνάμεως ἐκάλεσε ἐφόσον ὁμολόγως ἅπαν ἦν ἐθος όνομάζειν αὑτῶν.

XXXIII. Τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων παράδειγμα σαφέστατον οἱ Αείας υἱοί, τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὐχ ἀπαντες, ἀλλὰ τέταρτος τε καὶ πέμπτος. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τετάρτου φησὶ Μωυσῆς, ὃτι “ἐστη τοῦ τίκτειν,” καλεῖται δὲ Ἰσσάχαρ, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κυρίω ἔξομο- λόγησις. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον Ἰσσάχαρ προσαγορεύει, μισθὸς δὲ μεταληφθεῖς καλεῖται. καὶ τεκοῦσα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ ὁ ἐπαθεν εὖθυς ἐξελάλησεν. “ἐκάλεσε” γὰρ φησὶ “τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσσάχαρ, ὃ ἐστι μισθός.” ὅποιον Ἰούδας ὁ εὐλογῶν τὸν

1 mss. αὐτοῖς χρῆσομεν.
XXXII. When, therefore, in the fourth year and in the number 4 all the soul’s fruit shall have been consecrated, in the fifth year and in the number 5 we ourselves shall get the enjoyment and use of it; for he says, “in the fifth year ye shall eat the fruit.” This accords with nature’s incontrovertible law, that the place of creation is in all things lower than that of the Creator. That is why Moses treats it as a marvel that we should be recipients even of secondary privileges. Again, the reason why he ascribes to us the fruit of the fifth year and number 5 is the number proper to sense-perception, and that, if we are to face facts, we must own that it is sense-perception that supplies food to our mind. By means of the eyes, it serves up to it the varying qualities of colours and forms; through the ears, the peculiarities of sounds in all their diversity; scents by way of the nostrils; savours by the palate; smoothness and roughness, yielding softness and resistent hardness, nay coldness and heat as well, by means of the faculty distributed over all the body, which we are in the habit of calling “touch.”

XXXIII. A very clear illustration of what has been said is found in the sons of Leah, who is Virtue; not indeed in all of them, but in the fourth and fifth. For, after recording the birth of the fourth, Moses says that “she ceased from bearing” (Gen. xxx. 35), and his name is “Judah,” which signifies “confession of praise to the Lord.” The fifth she calls “Issachar,” a name which interpreted means “reward.” And the soul, upon giving birth to this character, at once gave utterance to her experience; for it says, “She called his name Issachar, which is ‘reward’” (Gen. xxx. 18). It follows that Judah, the
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θεον νοις και τας εις αυτον ευχαριστους ιμμυψιδιας
απαυστως μελετων αυτος ο προσ αληθειαν "αγιος
και αινετος καρπος" ήν, ουχ υπο γης δενδρων,
αλλι υπο φυσεws λογικης και σπουδαιας ενεχεις.
παρο και η τεκουσα αυτον φυσις "οστηναι"
λεγεται "τοι τικτευν,” επει και πη τραπηται
ουκ ειχεν ετι, προς τον τελειοτητον ορον ελθουσα·
tων γαρ ἀποκυνθεντων κατορθωματων απαντων
αριστον και τελειοτατον γεννημα ο εις τον πατερα
136 του παντος υμνων.
ο δε πεμπτως νεως
της κατα τον πεμπτων ενιαυτον των φυτευθεντων
αδιαforei χρησεως· ο τε γαρ γεωπονος μισθον
τροπον τινα λαμβανει παρα των δενδρων έπει
πεμπτω και το της ψυχης γεννημα Ἰσσάχαρ [δε]
μισθος έκαλειτο, και σφοδρα εικοτως, μετα τον
[350] ευχαριστον Ἰουδαν ἀποκυνθεις· τω γαρ | ευχαριστω
μισθος αυτο το ευχαριστειν αυταρκεστατος.
137 οι μεν ουν των δενδρων καρποι γενηματα λεγονται
των εχοντων, ο δε παιδειας και φρονισεως ουκετι
ανθρωπου, μονου δε, ως φησι Μωυσης, του
πανηγεμονος· ειπων γαρ "τα γενηματα αυτου"
επιφερει "εγω ειμι κυριος ο θεος υµων," εναρ
gεστατα παριστασ οτι ου το γεννημα και ο της
138 ψυχης καρπος, εις εστων ο θεος. τοιτω και παρα
τιν των προφητων χρησαν συναδει τοδε· "εξ
εμου ο καρπος σου ευρηται. τις σοφος και συνησει
ταυτα; συνετος και γνωσεται αυτα;" ου γαρ
παντος αλλα μονου σοφοι το γνωναι, τινος
ο διανοιας καρπος εστι.

a Or "right (truly virtuous) actions." See note on Quod Deus 100.
b See App. p. 497.
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mind that blesses God, and is ceaselessly engaged in conning hymns of thanksgiving to Him, was himself the fruit that is really "holy and for praise to God," fruit borne not by earth's trees but by those of a rational and virtuous nature. Accordingly the nature which gave birth to him is said to have "ceased from bearing," because she had no longer any way to turn, having reached the utmost bound of perfection; for of all successful accomplishments ever brought to the birth the best and most perfect is the hymn of praise to the Father of the universe.

The fifth son is identical with the using in the fifth year of the trees that had been planted; for, on the one hand, the husbandman does receive a sort of pay or reward from the trees in the fifth year, and, on the other, the offspring of the soul was called Issachar, "pay" or "reward." He was very naturally so called, having been born next after Judah the thanksgiver; for the thanksgiver finds in thanksgiving itself an all-sufficient reward.

Now, whereas fruits borne by trees are called products of the persons who own them, the fruit of instruction and good sense is not like these spoken of as being a man's, but as belonging, as Moses says, to no other than the Ruler of all. For after the words, "His products," he adds, "I am the Lord your God," affording most clear proof that He to whom the product and the fruit of the soul pertains is One, even God. In harmony with this is the oracle given in one of the prophets: "From Me is thy fruit found. Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? understanding, and he shall know them?" (Hosea xiv. 9 f.). For not everybody, but only the wise man knows, Whose is the fruit of intelligence.
139 XXXIV. Περὶ μὲν οὖν γεωργίας τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ιερωτάτης, ἢ τὸ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, τὸ παμφορώτατον φυτῶν, χρῆται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπομένης, ἢν ὁ ἀστείος ἐπιτηδεύει, καὶ περὶ τῆς φερομένης τετράδος τῶν ἄθλων1 ἡ κατὰ προστάξεις καὶ υφηγήσεις νόμων συνεκροτεῖτο, ὡς 140 οἴνον τε ἢν εἶπομεν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Νώε ἀμπελουργικὴν, εἰδος γεωργικῆς ὁδηγεί, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἡ ἡρῴατο Νώε ἄνθρωπος εἶναι γεωργός γής καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελώνα, καὶ 141 ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ ἐμεθύσθη. οὕκοιν τὸ μέθης φυτὸν ἑξεργάζεται τεχνικῶς καὶ ἐπιστημονώς ὁ δίκαιος τῶν ἀφρόνων ἄτεχνου καὶ πλημμελῆ ποιομένων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστασίαν, ὡστε ἀναγκαῖον τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ μέθης εἰπεῖν: εὐθὺς γὰρ εἰσόμεθα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ παρέχοντος αὐτῇ τὰς ἀφορμὰς φυτοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα τῶ νομοθετῆς περὶ μέθης εἰσόμεθα ἐπὶ ἀκριβείας αὕτης, νυνὶ δὲ ἐξερευνήσωμεν ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδοξεῖν.

142 XXXV. Ἑσπουδάσθη δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἢ σκέψης οὐ μετρίως. προτείνεται δὲ μεθύσθησαι οὐ κατὰ νομοθέτην προτάσειν τοῖς οἴνων, ἐτερὸν δὲ ἢσος τῷ οἴνῳ. τῶν δὲ ἐπιχειρησάντων τῇ προτάσει οἱ μὲν ἐφασαν μὴν ἀκράτω πλείον χρῆσεσθαι2 τὸν σοφὸν μὴν ληρήσειν τὸ μὲν γὰρ

1 καὶ is omitted before κατὰ from Wendland's conj.
2 MSS. χρῆσθαι.

a See App. p. 497.
b Or "the word μεθύειν is used in two senses."
c See App. p. 498.
XXXIV. We have discoursed to the best of our ability concerning the earliest and most sacred husbandry, plied by the First Cause in dealing with the world, that most fertile of plants; and concerning the husbandry that comes next in order, carried on by the man of worth; and concerning the number 4 which carries off the prizes conferred upon it by the injunctions and directions found in laws.
Let us now turn our attention to the righteous Noah's work on his vineyard, which is a special form of husbandry. The account runs: "Noah began to be a husbandman, a tiller of the soil: and he planted a vineyard and drank of the wine, and became drunk" (Gen. ix. 20 f.). We see from these words that the righteous man tills the tree, that is the means of drunkenness, with skill and knowledge, while those who are devoid of good sense tend it in an unskilful and faulty way. This renders it necessary for us to make some pertinent remarks regarding drunkenness; for, as we treat of it, we shall ascertain also the powers and properties of the tree which furnishes it with the material which produces it. The Lawgiver's words regarding drunkenness we shall acquaint ourselves with another time: let us at present engage in a thorough investigation of the sentiments of other persons.
XXXV. Many philosophers have given no slight attention to the question; which is propounded in the form "Will the wise man get drunk?" Now, there are two ways of getting drunk; one is equivalent to drinking heavily, the other to being silly in your cups. Among those who have tackled the problem some have maintained that the wise man will neither take strong drink in excess nor become
ΦΙΛΟ

άμάρτημα, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτήματος εἶναι ποιητικὸν,
144 ἐκάτερον δὲ ἀλλότριων κατορθοῦντος: οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν
οἶνοῦσαί καὶ σπουδαῖω προσήκον ἀπεφήναντο, τὸ
δὲ ληρεῖν ἀνοίκεον. τὴν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ φρόνησιν
ικανὴν εἶναι τοὺς βλάπτεις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἀντί-
στατὴσαι καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πυχὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν
καθελεῖν. δύναμιν δὲ περιβεβλῆσθαι φρόνησι
παθῶν οβεστήριον εἶτε ὑπὸ φλεγμαίοντος ἐρωτος
οἰστρων ανερριπισμένων εἶτε ὑπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ
ζέοντος ἐξημέμενῳ οἴνου, δὴ ἡν ὑπεράνω στῆσεται.

145 οἱ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπερβολῆς οὐ
κατανοῆσαντες, οἴμαι, τοῦ σοφοῦ μετεωροπολοῦντα
αὐτὸν ὅπερ οἱ τὰ πτηνά ἡθοῦντες ἐπὶ γην ἀπ’
οὐρανοῦ κατεβίβασαν, ίν εἰς τὰς όμοιας κήρας
άγαγωσιν, οὐδ’ ἰδρύοντες αρετής εἰς ύφος εφασαν,
ὁτι χρησάμενος οἶνο πλείον τοῦ μετρίου πάντως
ακράτωρ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ γενόμενος διαμαρτήσεται
καὶ οὐ χείρας μόνον ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας οία τῶν ἀθλητῶν
οἱ νευκημένοι καθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὑχένα καὶ κεφαλήν
παραβαλὼν καὶ ὁκλάσας καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα κατα-

1 τῇ πυχῃ is kept with mss.: Wend. τῇ πυχῇ
2 mss. οἰστρω: Wend. οἰστρων.
3 ἰδρύοντες conj. Tr.: U ἰδρούντες, MGF ἰδρῶτες.

α See App. p. 498.
silly and maudlin; the latter being a sin, and the former productive of sin, and both alike alien to him whose standard of conduct is the highest. Others, while regarding a condition of silliness as foreign to a man of moral excellence, have pronounced heavy drinking to befit him, seeing that the good sense which resides in him is capable of holding its own against everything that attempts to injure him, and of baffling their efforts to change the constitution of his soul. They hold that good sense is an armour which has power to quench passions, whether fanned by the stinging blasts of inflaming love, or kindled by the heat of much wine; and that in virtue of his good sense he will come off victorious. They point out that, when people sink in a deep river or in the sea, those who cannot swim are drowned, while those who know how to swim escape at once; and that a quantity of strong drink is like a torrent washing over the soul; in one case, as it sinks, plunging it into the lowest depth of ignorance, in another case, as it is buoyed up and kept afloat by salutary instruction, altogether powerless to hurt it. The others, failing, as I think, to recognize the completeness of the wise man's superiority to every passion, have brought him down to earth from heaven whose skies he haunts, treating him as fowlers treat the birds they catch, and being bent on bringing him into as evil a plight, and not setting him on virtue's lofty summit, have declared that after taking an immoderate quantity of wine he will certainly lose self-control and commit sin, and not only, like vanquished athletes, let his hands fall from sheer weakness, but let his neck and head drop and his knees give way, and, collapsing in
146 συρείς ἀναπεσεῖται. XXXVI. τοῦτο μέντοι προμαθῶν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἄξιωσειν ἐκὼν εἰς πολυοικίας ἀγώνα ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μὴ μεγάλα εἰθ τὰ διαφέροντα, σωτηρία πατρίδος ἡ τιμὴ γονέων ἡ τέκνων καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σωμάτων ἁσφάλεια ἡ συνόλως 147 ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν ἐπανόρθωσις πραγμάτων, οὔτε γὰρ θανάσιμον φάρμακον προσενέγκαιτο ἂν, εἰ μὴ πάνυ βιάζοντο οὶ καιροὶ καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος μετανιώτασθαι τοῦ βίου φάρμακον δὲ, εἰ καὶ οὐ θανάτου, μανίας γοῦν ἀκρατον εἰναι αἰτίων συμβέβηκε. διὰ τί δ' οὖχι καὶ μανίαν λεκτέον θάνατον, ὡς τὸ κράτιστον ἀποθνήσκει τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν εἰκότως τὸν διακρίνοντα καὶ διαλύοντα ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα ὡς κουφότερον ἀντὶ βαρύτερον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκστάσιν, 148 εἰ τις ἥν αἴρεσις, ἀνενδοιαστῶς ἐλέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ τὸν εὐφημήτη τῆς περὶ τὸν οίνον ἐργασίας μανίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρώτοι καὶ τὰς κατασχέτους γενομένας βάκχας μαινάντως, επεὶ μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης αἴτιος τοῖς ἀπλήστως ἐμφορομένοις ὁ οἶνος.

149 XXXVII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὡσανεὶ προοίμια τῆς σκέψεως τοιαύτα ἐστι, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἢδη περαινόμεν διπλοῦν ὡς εἰκὸς ὅντα, τὸν μὲν ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μεθυσθῆσεται κατασκευάζοντα, τὸν δὲ τούναντίον ὅτι οὐ μεθυσθῆσεται βεβαιοῦμεν. 150 τοῦ δὲ προτέρου τὰς πίστεις ἀρμόττον λέγειν πρότερον, ποιησάμενος ἐνθένδε τὴν ἀρχήν τῶν

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*a Or "entirely lose heart."*
every part, sink to the ground. a

XXXVI. Having 146 learned this beforehand he will never think fit voluntarily to engage in a drinking-contest, unless the matters at issue are of great moment, a father-land's deliverance, respect for parents, children's safety or that of the persons of those very near and dear, or, in a word, a putting on a right footing of private and public concerns. No more would a wise 147 man take a deadly poison, unless the crisis were such as absolutely to compel him to depart from life as though he were leaving his country. And strong drink is a poison bringing about not death indeed but madness. And yet why should we not call madness death, seeing that by it mind dies, the noblest part of us? Nay it appears to me that, were a choice offered, a man would be likely to choose without hesitation the death that separates and dissolves the union of soul and body, in preference to that of going out of one's senses, feeling that he was choosing the lighter in place of the heavier. It was for this 148 reason that the earliest inhabitants of the world called the inventor of the culture of the vine Maenoles and the Bacchants whom its frenzy seized Maenads, since wine is the cause of madness and loss of sound sense in those who imbibe it over freely.

XXXVII. Such then is what we may call the prelude to our inquiry. It is time for us to state in full the argument bearing upon it. That argument obviously admits of two contentions, one establishing the thesis that the wise man will get drunk, the other maintaining the contrary, that he will not get drunk. It will be convenient to take first the 150 proofs by which the former thesis is supported. We will begin by remarking that some things are
πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ὑμώνυμα, τὰ δὲ συνώνυμα εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὑμώνυμια δὲ καὶ συνώνυμια τὰναντία ὑμολογεῖται, ὅτι ὑμώνυμια μὲν κατὰ πολλῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐν ὅνομα, συνώνυμια δὲ καθ’ ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου <πολλά>.

ἡ κυνὸς φωνὴ πάντως ὑμώνυμος ἐμφερομένων πλείων ἀνομοίων, ἀ δι’ αὐτῆς σημαίνεται τὸ τε γὰρ χερσοίων ὠλακτικὸν ζῷον κύων καὶ θῆρ ὁ θαλάττιος καὶ ὁ οὐράνιος ἀστήρ, ὁν ὀπωρινοὶ οἱ ποηταὶ καλοῦσιν, οἵ τῆς ὀπώρας ἄρτι ἰβωσῆς ἐπιτέλει τὸ τελεσφορῆθηναι τε χάριν αὐτὴν καὶ πεπανθήναι, καὶ προσέτι ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς κυνικῆς αἱρέσεως ὀρμηθεὶς φιλόσοφος, Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Διογένης καὶ ἄλλων οἵ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν ἦξίωσαν ἀπερίληπτος ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπων. ἂλλαι δ’ εἰσὶ προσ-

ρήσεις διάφοροι κατὰ σημαίνομενον ἑνὸς ὡς ἵος, ὀἰστός, βέλος— τὸ γὰρ διὰ τῆς τόξου νευρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφιέμενον πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται— καὶ πάλιν εἰρέσια, κόμη, πλάτη, τὸ πρὸς πλοῦν ἵσοδυναμοῦν ἰστίοις. ὁπότε γὰρ μὴ δύναιτο χρήσθαι ναῦς κατὰ νηνεμίας ἡ ἀντιπνοια ἰστίοις, πρόσκωπου καθίσαντες οἵς ἐπιμελὲς καὶ οἵα ταρσοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀποτείναντες ὑπὸπτερον αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι βιάζονται, ἡ δὲ ἐξαιρομένη πρὸς ύψος, ἐπιτρέχουσα τοῖς κύμαις μᾶλλον ἡ ἐντέμουσα ταῦτα, προ-

χάζουσα ταχύναυτεῖ καὶ ναυλοχωτάτος ὑποδρόμωις ἐνορμίζεται. καὶ μὴν πάλιν σκίπων, βακτηρία, ράβδος ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου διάφοροι

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* ἐμφέρεσθαι, here used of different senses being implied in one word, is found in § 154 in the sense of "occur," "be used."

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homonymous and others synonymous. Everyone will allow that homonymy and synonymy are opposites, homonymy meaning one name applied to many objects, synonymy many names applied to one object. The word “dog” is certainly homonymous, several dissimilar objects being included under it, all of which it is used to signify. The barking animal on the land is a “dog”; so is the monster found in the sea; and the star in the heavens which the poets call the fruit star, because just when the summer fruit has reached its prime this star rises to bring it to perfection and to ripen it. The name “dog” is applied moreover to the man whose philosophy takes its colour from the Cynic school, Aristippus, Diogenes, and ever so many others who found it congenial to conform themselves to their principles. There are other names which are different though one thing is meant by them, as “arrow,” “shaft,” “dart”; for the thing discharged at the mark from the string of the bow is called by all these names. Again, the instrument which does as well as sails for propelling a vessel is called an “oar,” “scull,” “rowing-sweep.” For when, owing to a calm or head wind, a vessel cannot make use of sails, the men, whose business it is, take their seats at the oars, and stretching out from each side wing-like blades, force the vessel to be borne along as though it were flying. The vessel, lifted high out of the water, not so much cutting the waves as coursing over them, makes a quick run, and is soon safely moored in harbour. Once more “staff,” “walking-stick,” “rod” are different names by which we call one object, with which we can beat someone, on which
κλήσεις, ὃ τύπτειν καὶ ἀκραδάντως σκηρίπτεσθαι καὶ ἐπερείδεσθαι καὶ ἀλλὰ πλεῖῶ ποιεῖν ἔνεστιν ταῦτα δς οὐ μακρολογοῦντες ὅλως εἶπομεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σαφέστερον γνώναι τὸ ζητούμενον.

XXXVIII. τὸν ἀκρατὸν ὡσπερ οἶνον, οὕτως καὶ μέθυ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλονν πολλάχοι γοῦν τῆς ποιήσεως ἐστὶ τοῦτον τοῦνομα ἐμφερόμενον, ὡστ’ εἰ τὰ συνωνυμοῦντα καὶ ένδ’ ὕποκειμένου λέγεται, οἶνος καὶ μέθυ, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδὲν στὸ μή φωναῖς διοίσει μόνον, τὸ τε οἰνοῦσθαι καὶ τὸ μεθύσειν [ἐν]. ἐκάτερον δὲ πλεῖόνοις οἶνον χρῆσον ἐμφαίνει, ἢν πολλάκις ἑκατοσίον οὐκ ἄν ἄποστρέφοιτο δ’ ὑπερήφανος. εἰ δὲ οἰνωθήσεται, καὶ μεθυσθήσεται, χείρον οὐδέν ἐκ τῆς μέθης διατεθείσης, ἀλλά ταύτων ὑπὲρ καὶ [δ] ἐκ ψυλῆς τῆς οἰνώσεως παθῶν.

Μία μὲν ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ τον σοφὸν μεθυσθῆναι λέλεκται, δευτέρα δ’ ἐστὶ τουαύτη σχεδὸν οἱ νῦν ἀνθρωποὶ τοῖς προτέρους ἐξω μέρους βραχέως οὐδὲν ὁμοιότροπον ζηλοῦν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄν ἄποστρέφοιτο δ’ ὑπερήφανος. εἰ δὲ οἰνωθήσεται, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυται τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους ὑγιαῖνται καὶ ἐρρωμένους εἰς πάθος ἀνήκεστον καὶ φθοράν περιήγαγον ἀντὶ σφραγίσεως καὶ ἀθλητικῆς ὀντῶς [353]  ἐνεξιάσας οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ νοσοῦν κατασκευάσαντες καὶ τὸν πλήρη καὶ ναστόν, ὡς ἔφη τῆς, ὑπ’ εὐτονίας ὅγκον εἰς παρὰ φύσιν οἰδούσης καχεξίας

alpha i.e. “in many cases the wise man would see no reason for avoiding this.”

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we can firmly support ourselves, on which we can lean, and with which we can do several other things. I have given these examples, not just because my tongue runs on, but that we may get a clearer idea of the subject which we are investigating.

XXXVIII. The ancients called strong drink "wine" and an "intoxicant" indifferently: as we see from the frequency with which this last word occurs in poetry. If, then, "wine" and "intoxicant" are used as synonyms of one object, their derivatives "to be filled with wine" and "to be intoxicated" will differ only in word; for either term denotes taking more wine than usual, a thing which several motives might induce a really excellent man to do. But if such an one will get filled with wine, he will get drunk, and be in no worse plight for being drunk, but in precisely the same state as he was brought to by being filled with wine.

One proof of the wise man's getting drunk has been mentioned; there is a second to the following effect. Broadly speaking, the men of the present day, apart from a small fraction of them, do not resemble those of former times in their aims and enthusiasms, but both in language and in action exhibit tendencies wholly out of harmony with theirs. Language that was once healthy and robust they have turned into a jargon hopelessly depraved. For a style sound and full of vitality as an athlete's frame they have substituted a sickly form of speech. A full and massive type, possessed, as someone has said, of a solidity due to its firmness of fibre, they debase into a bloated mis-growth of disease, to which they give a seeming loftiness and grandeur by
ἀγαγόντες καὶ κενῷ φυσήματι μόνον ἐπαίροντες, ὅ ἔτι ἐνδεικνύω τῆς συνεχούσης δυνάμεως, ὅταν
μάλιστα περιταθῇ, ῥήγνυται. τὰς δὲ πράξεις ἐπι-
αινέσεως καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίας καὶ αὐτᾶς, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, ἄρρενας ἐξεδήλωσαν αἰσχρὰς ἀντὶ καλῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, ὡς ὅλιγους εἶναι παντάπασιν ἕκατέ-
ρους, ἔργους τε καὶ λόγους, ἀρχαιοτρόπους ζηλώσεως
ἐρώτας. τουγαροῦν ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ποιηταὶ
cαὶ λογογράφοι καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ μουσικῆς
ἐσπούδαζον ἤνθουν, οὗ τὰς ἀκοὰς διὰ τῆς ἐν
ρυθμοῖς φωνῆς ἄφηδύνοντές τε καὶ θρύπτοντες,
ἀλλὰ εἰ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεαγὸς καὶ κεκλασμένων ἐγείροντες καὶ ὅσον ἐμμέλεις αὐτῆς ἀρμοζόμενοι
φύσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ὀργάνοις. εἰ’ ἡμῶν δὲ ὅμως
τυταῖ καὶ σιτοπόνοι καὶ ὅσοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν
βαφική καὶ μυρεφική τεχνίται περιεργίας, ἀεὶ τῷ καϊνὸν χρώμα ἢ
σχῆμα ἢ ἀτμόν ἢ χυλὸν ἐπιτειχίζοντες ταῖς
αισθήσεωι, ὅπως τῷ ἡγεμόνα πορθήσωσι νοῦν.

XXXIX. Τίνος δὴ χάρω τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἢν ἐπιδείξω, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον οὐχ ὅμοιος οἱ
νῦν τοῖς πάλαι προσφέρονται. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἄχρι
tοῦ σώμα καὶ ψυχήν παρεθήκαι πίνουσιν ἀθρόως καὶ
ἀπνευστῖ, χαίνοντες ἐτί καὶ προσεπιφέρειν
tοῖς οἰνοχοομένοις κελεύοντες, κἂν διαμέλλωσιν ἀγανακτῶντες, ὅτι τὸν θερμὸν λεγόμενον παρ’ αὐ-
tοῖς πότον3 παραψύχουσι, καὶ τὸ παράκομμα τῶν

1 MSS. γενέσεως. 2 MSS. ὀργίοις. 3 MSS. ποτὸν.
empty puffing and blowing, which, in default of any confining power, bursts when distention has reached its limit. Actions, meriting praise and calling out enthusiasm, and, if the expression may be permitted, masculine, they have rendered effeminate, and in performing them made them base instead of noble. The result is that whether on the side of action or of speech, there are very few indeed who take delight in the objects that kindled the ardour of the men of old. Consequently in their times poets and chroniclers flourished and all who engaged in literary work of other kinds, and they did not at once charm and enervate men’s ears by the rhythm of their language, but they revived any faculty of the mind that had broken down and lost its tone, and every true note of it they kept in tune with the instruments of nature and of virtue. But in our days it is chefs and confectioners that flourish, and experts in making dyes and concocting unguents. These are ever aiming at sacking the citadel of Mind, by bringing to bear upon the senses some novelty in shade of colour or shape of dress or perfume or savoury dish.

XXXIX. What has been my object in recalling these things? My object has been to make it clear that the modern way of taking strong drink is not the same as the ancient way. For nowadays men go on till body and soul are unstrung, drinking huge draughts without stopping, open-mouthed for more, and ordering the servants to replenish the cups they have just filled and shewing arrogance if they delay, because all such delay cools what they are pleased to call the “heat” of the carousal. They give an exhibition to their fellow-guests of that counterfeit
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γυμνικῶν, τὸν παροίνων ἁγώνα, πρὸς τοὺς συν-όντας ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐν ὧ μεγάλα καὶ καλὰ ἄλληλους ἀντιδρώσων, ὡτα καὶ βίνας καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρων δακτύλους καὶ ὅποια δ' ἂν τύχῃ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀπεσθίοντες. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἡβώσης καὶ νεωτέρας καὶ ἄρτι ἀκμαίονος ἀθλα, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐφροσύνης, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας καὶ πρε-σβυτέρας τάναντια: πάσης γὰρ καλῆς πράξεως ἀφ' ιερῶν τελείων οἱ πρότεροι κατήρχοντο, νο-μίζοντες μάλιστα οὕτως αἴσιον ἀποβήσεσθαι τὸ τέλος αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὶν εὐξασθαί τε καὶ θύσαι, καὶ εἰ σφόδρα τοῦ πράττειν ἐπέσπευδον οἱ καυροί, πάντως ἄνέμενον οὐκ ἂεὶ τὸ ταχὺ τοῦ βραδέος ἠγούμενοι κρείττων. οὐ προμηθέσεις μὲν γὰρ τάχος βλαβερόν, βραδυτής δὲ μετ' εὐελπιστίας ὕφελμον.

161 εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ τοῦ οὐνοῦ ἀπόλαυσις τε καὶ χρῆσις δεῖται πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, οὔτε ἄδην οὔτε προσεφέροντο τὸν άκρατον, ἀλλ' ἐν τε κόσμῳ καὶ καυρῷ προσῆκοντι. πρό-τερον γὰρ εὐξάμενοι καὶ θυσίας ἀναγαγόντες καὶ ἰλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον, σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καθηρά-μενοι, τὰ μὲν λουτρῶς, τὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἰεύματος, φαίδροι καὶ γεγηθότες πρὸς ἀν-ειμένην διάιταν ἐτρέποντο, μηδὲ οὖκαδε πολλάκις ἀφικόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἔθυσαν ἵεροι διατελοῦντες, ἵνα καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ τὸν τόπον αἰδούμενοι ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ὡς ἀληθῶς ἁγίων εὐωχίαν, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ διαμαρτάνοντες. 

162 [354] οὔτε ἄδην | οὔτε ἂεὶ προσεφέροντο τὸν ἄκρατον, ἀλλ' ἐν τε κόσμῳ καὶ καυρῷ προσῆκοντι. πρό-τερον γὰρ εὐξάμενοι καὶ θυσίας ἀναγαγόντες καὶ ἰλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον, σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καθηρά-μενοι, τὰ μὲν λουτρῶς, τὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἰεύματος, φαίδροι καὶ γεγηθότες πρὸς ἀν-ειμένην διάιταν ἐτρέποντο, μηδὲ οὖκαδε πολλάκις ἀφικόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἔθυσαν ἵεροι διατελοῦντες, ἵνα καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ τὸν τόπον αἰδούμενοι ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ὡς ἀληθῶς ἁγίων εὐωχίαν, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ διαμαρτάνοντες. 

163 άπὸ τούτου γε τοῖ φασὶ τὸ μεθύειν

1 MSS. ἄρδην. 2 MSS. διαπατοῦντες.
parody of the athletic games, namely the tipsy contest. In this they practise on one another magnificent passes, gnawing off ears and noses and tops of fingers and any parts of the body that come handy.

These are, apparently, the contests indulged in by the gladness of these later times, which flourishes to-day and is just reaching its full growth; but far other were those of the more lofty gladness of old. For our forefathers inaugurated every noble business with sacrifices duly offered, deeming that an auspicious result would by this means be ensured. However urgently the crisis might call for immediate action, they never failed to tarry to pray and offer sacrifices beforehand, deeming that what is rapid is not always superior to what is slow; for rapidity without forethought is hurtful, while slowness prompted by the prospect of a happy issue is beneficial.

Knowing, then, that, like other things, the use and enjoyment of wine needs great care, they took strong drink neither in great quantity nor at all times, but in such order and season as was befitting. For after having first prayed and presented sacrifices and implored the favour of the Deity, when they had cleansed their bodies by ablutions and their souls by streams of holy ordinances and instructions in the right way, radiant and gladsome they turned to relaxation and enjoyment, in many cases not after returning home, but remaining in the temples in which they had sacrificed in order that both the recollection of their sacrifices and their reverence for the place might lead them to celebrate a festivity in actual truth most holy, sinning neither in word nor deed.

You must know that it was from this, so it is said, that "getting drunk"
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ώνομάσθαι, ὃτι μετὰ τὸ θύειν ἔθος ὃν τοῖς πρότερον οἶνοσθαί. τίσι δὴ μᾶλλον οίκείοις ἂν εἴη τῆς τοῦ ἀκράτου χρήσεως ὃ λεχθεὶς τρόπος ἢ σοφοὶς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πρὸ τῆς μέθης ἔργον ἀρμόττει τὸ θύειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν φαύλων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερογρηθεῖ, κἂν ἐνδελεχεῖς μυρίους βόας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἠμέραν ἀνάγη· τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαίοτατον ἱερεῖον αὐτῷ λελάβηται, ὁ νοῦς, λώβας δὲ οὐ θέμις βωμών προσάψασθαι.

164 Δεύτερος μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος εἰρηται, δεικνὺς ὃτι οὐκ ἄλλοτριον σπουδαῖον τὸ μεθύειν, XL. τρίτος δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ διαφερούσης τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐτυμολογιαν πιθανότητος ἦρτημενος· τὴν γὰρ μέθην οὐ μόνον, ἑπειδὴ μετὰ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖται, νομίζοντες τινες εἰρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὃτι καὶ μεθέσεως ψυχῆς αὐτία γίγνεται. μεθίεται δὲ ὃ μὲν τῶν ἀφρόνων λογισμὸς εἰς πλειόνων χύσιν ² ἀμαρτημάτων, ὅ δὲ τῶν ἐμφρόνων εἰς ἀνέσεως καὶ εὐθυμίας καὶ ἱλαρότητος ἀπόλαυσιν· ἦδιὼν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ νήφοντος σοφὸς γίγνεται, ὡστε οὐδὲ ἄν ταύτῃ διαμαρτάνομεν φάσκοντες ὃτι μεθυσθῆσαι.

166 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κάκεινο λεκτέον, ὃτι οὐ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ αὐστηρὸν ³ τὸ τῆς σοφίας εἶδος, ύπο συννοίας καὶ κατηφείας ἐσταλμένον, ἀλλ' ἐμπαλίν ἱλαρὸν καὶ γαληνίζων, μεστὸν γηθοσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς· ὅφ' ὅν πολλάκις προήχθη

₁ MSS. ἀγάγη. ² MSS. ἰσχυσι. ³ MSS. αὐχυμηρὸν.

ᵃ See App. p. 498.
ᵇ Or "based on another and different form of the argument from etymology." See App. p. 498.

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got its name, because it was the custom of the men of earlier times to indulge in wine “after sacrificing.”a Now with whom, I ask, would the mode of using strong drink just described be more in keeping than with wise men, with whose character the act which precedes the drunkenness, namely the act of sacrificing, is also in perfect accord? For we may venture to say that there is not a single 164 bad man who really performs a sacrificial act, even though he lead to the altar in unceasing procession ten thousand bullocks every day; for in his case the mind, the most essential victim, is a blemished thing, and no blemish may come into contact with an altar.

Such is a second argument put forward to shew 165 that getting drunk is not a thing inconsistent with moral excellence. XL. There is a third, possessing etymological plausibilityb in a very high degree. For some hold that drunkenness is so termed, not only because it follows the performance of sacrifice, but because it is also the cause of a letting go or release of soul. It is to 166 give vent to many sins that the reasoning faculty of fools is let go, but that of sensible men for the enjoyment of relaxation, cheerfulness, and good spirits; for the wise man becomes a more genial person after indulging in wine than when he is sober, and accordingly we should not be wrong in asserting on this ground as well as on those others that he will get drunk. We must re-

mark furthermore that the countenance of wisdom is not scowling and severe, contracted by deep thought and depression of spirit, but on the contrary cheerful and tranquil, full of joy and gladness, feelings which often prompt a man to be sportive and
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tis ouk amousos paiçai ti kai xarienthisathai, paiðiân méntoi tē σεμνότητι kai spoudē kathâper en ērmosméni láura phōnygoi antifwnoi eis ēnôs 168 melous krâsin synchôsan. kata γoûn tôn ierôtaton Mowuṣēn tēlos esti sofías paiðiâ kai γelwos, all' oux a toîs nēpîous âneu phronē-sewos pâsi meletātaî, all' a toîs ëdē polioi ou chrónw mónon allâ kai boulaiâs ágathâis gegeonō-sin. oux drâs oti toû autēkōn kai autōmabhous kai autourghou tês ēpistêmēs âravâmenon ou met-éxonta γêlwtos, all' autôn γêlwta eînai ëphson; 169 oudôs ēstiv 'Isaâk, òs ērmênevetai γêlwos, ò paiçev metâ tês ùpomônês, òn 'Rebèkkas 'Ebrâiow 355 kaloußiv, ármottei. XLI. tîn de | theían paiðiân tîs ψykhês ìdión h meû ou thêmis ìdeîn, basileî de ēxeîn, ò pâmpolu chrónoun paròkheîn, ei kai mē pánt' ènôkheîn toû aîwâna, sofía. prosagorevetai oudôs 'Âbiμéleix, òs diakûphas tî ðurídî, tîw dioîkhênti kai phosphôrfw tîs diânoias 'îmatai, toû 'Isaâk eîde paiçvonta metâ 'Rebèkka tîs γûnaiakos autôû.

170 tî gar âllo émprêves1 èrgon sofô ò to paiçevn kai gânoûsthai kai suneuphrai-nvesthai tî tîn kalwûn ùpomônh; ex gn òti kai mevusothsetai ëhîlon ēstî tîs méðhês ëthopoioûsth kai ânesîn kai âfèlevanâ èrgazômênhîs. ò gar 171 âkratos tâ tîphûsei prosoûnta èpitesîn kai

1 mss. èmprêves.
2 mss. òfèlevan: so Wend.: âfèlevan is Mangey's conjecture.
jocular in a perfectly refined way. Such sportiveness is in harmony with a dignified self-respect, a harmony like that of a lyre tuned to give forth a single melody by a blending of answering notes. Moses, at all events, holiest of men, shews us that sport and merriment is the height of wisdom, not the sport which children of all sorts indulge in, paying no heed to good sense, but such as is seen in those who are now become grey-headed not only in respect of age but of thoughtfulness. Do you not observe that when he is speaking of the man who drew directly from the well of knowledge, listening to no other, learning through no other, resorting to no agency whatever, he does not say that he had a part in laughter, but that he was laughter itself? I am speaking of Isaac, whose name means "laughter," and whom it well befits to sport with "patient waiting," who is called in Hebrew "Rebecca." XLI. For the sacred sporting of the soul is a sight not permissible to an ordinary citizen, but it is open to a king, with whom wisdom was for a very long time a guest, if indeed she did not make him her permanent abode. The name of this king is Abimelech. He looked out at the window, the mind's eye wide-opened and admitting light, and saw Isaac sporting with Rebecca his wife (Gen. xxvi. 8). What other occupation is seemly for a wise man rather than bright sportiveness and making merry in the company of one who waits patiently for all that is beautiful? Hence it is evident that he will get drunk also, seeing that drunkenness benefits the character, saving it from overstrain and undue intensity. For strong drink is likely to intensify natural tend-
σφοδρύνειν έοικεν είτε καλά είτε και τα ἐναντία, καθάπερ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεὶ καὶ χρήματα αὔτια μὲν ἄγαθῶν ἀγαθῶ, κακὼ δὲ, ὡς ἐφη τις, κακῶν καὶ πάλιν δόξα τοῦ μὲν ἄφρονος τὴν κακίαν ἑπιφανεστέραν, τοῦ δὲ δικαίου τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐκλειστέραν ἑπιφαίνει. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ ἄκρατος ἀναχυθεὶς τὸν μὲν πάθεσι κεχρημένον ἐμπάθεστερον, τὸν δὲ εὐπαθείας εὐμενέστερον καὶ ἔλεος μᾶλλον ἀπευργάσατο. τίς γε μὴν οὐκ οἶδεν, 172 ὁτι δυεῖν ἐναντίων ἐπειδὰν θάτερον εἴδος ἑφαρμόζη πλείοσι, καὶ θάτερον εξ ἀνάγκης οὐδεὶς συμβήσεται; οὖν λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος ἐναντίων ὄντων, εἰ τὸ λευκὸν ἀστείοις τε καὶ φαύλοις, καὶ τὸ μέλαν εξ ἰσου δήποτεν ἀμφότεροι, οὐχὶ μόνον προσέσται τοῖς ἐτέροις. καὶ μὴν τὸ γε νῆφεν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἐναντία, μετέχουσι δὲ τοῦ νήφεως, ὡς ὁ τῶν προτέρων λόγος, ἀγαθοὶ τε καὶ φαύλοι· ὅστε καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἑφαρμόττει. μεθυσθήσεται τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ ἀστείος μηδὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποβολῶν.

XLII. Εἰ δ' ἄκρατε ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ μόνον 173 ταῖς ἐντέχνοις ἀποδείξεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀτέχνοις λεγομέναις χρηστέοιν, ἀν μία ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ τῶν μαρτυρῶν, πολλοὺς καὶ εὐδοκίμους μαρτυροῦντας παρεξόμεθα παίδας ἱατρῶν καὶ ψυχογιών, οὐ λόγοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμας τὴν μαρτυρίαν σημανομένους. μυρίας γὰρ ἀπολελοίπασι σὺν- 174 τάξεως ἐπιγράψαντες περὶ μέθης, ἐν αἷς περὶ ψυλῆς αὐτὸ μόνον χρήσεως οἴνου σκοποῦσιν, οὐδὲν περὶ

1 mss. εὐπαθεστέρον.

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encies, whether good or the reverse, just as many other things do. Money, it has been said, is the cause of good things to a good man, of evil things to a bad man. Fame again makes the fool’s badness more conspicuous, while it causes a brighter glory to rest upon the virtue of the righteous man. On this principle, therefore, a lavish use of strong drink places the man who has given the rein to his passions more completely at their mercy, while it makes him who has cherished right feelings a more kindly and well disposed. Again, all 172 know that when one of two opposite predicates is applicable to two or more sets of people, it cannot but be that the other is applicable also. For instance, black and white are opposites. If white is predicable of bad and good, black too will of course be equally so of both, not only of one of the two sets. So too sobriety and drunkenness are opposites, and both bad and good men, so our forefathers said, partake of sobriety. It follows that drunkenness also is predicable of both sorts. Accordingly the man of moral worth will get drunk as well as other people without losing any of his virtue.

XLII. If, just as in a court of law, we are to make 173 use, not only of the logical or dialectical proofs, but also of the modes of persuasion that are called “inartistic,” one of which is that which employs evidence, we shall call as witnesses many distinguished physicians and philosophers, who ratify their evidence by writings as well as by words. For 174 they have left behind them innumerable treatises bearing the title “Concerning drunkenness,” in which they deal with nothing but the subject of drinking wine at all, without adding a word of inquiry
τῶν ληρεῖν εἰσωθότων προσεξετάζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸ παροινία παραπέμψαντες εἴδος· ὡστε καὶ παρὰ τούτους σαφέστατα ἀνωμολογήσατο, ὅτι τὸ μεθύειν ἢ τὸ οἴνοοσθαί. οὕνευ δὲ σπάσαι πλείονος οὐκ ἃν εἰή χείρον ἐν καἰρῷ σοφὸν οὐ τοῖνυν διαμαρτησόμεθα | λέγοντες ὦτι μεθυσθῆσεται.

[356] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀναγρά-φεται νυκῶν, εἰ δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενος, οὕνευ μᾶλλον ἃν εἰκότως δόξαν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦ τὸ ἐναντίον κατασκευάζοντας λόγους εἰπῃ, ίνα δικαιοτάτη γενηθῇ κρίσις, μηδετέρου μέρους εἰς ἐρήμου κατα-

δικασθέντος. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτος καὶ δυνατώτατος οὕτως· εἰ τῷ μεθύοντι οὐκ ἃν τὸς εὐλόγως λόγον ἀπόρρητον παρακατάθηκα, <τῷ δὲ ἀστείῳ παρακατατιθέτο>, οὐκ ἃρα μεθύει ἃ ἀστεῖος. ἀλλ' οὖν πρὶν ἡ τοῦς ἀλλοις ἔξης συν-

εἰρεῖν, ἀμείων καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν προτεινομένων ἀντιλέγειν, ἱνα μὴ μακρηγοροῦντες ἐπὶ πλέον διοχλεῖν δοκῶμεν.

φήσει δὴ τὶς ἐναν-

τιοῦμενος, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν λειχθέντα λόγον ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε μελαγχολήσει ποτὲ οὔτε κοιμηθήσεται οὔτε συνόλως ἀποθανεῖται. οὔ δὲ μὴ συμβάινει τι τοιοῦ-

τον, ἄψυχον ἔστι τῇ παραγωγῆς, ἢ παραγωγής ἢ ἀνθρώπου δὲ οὐκ ἃν εἰή τὸ παράπαν. τὴν γὰρ ἀγωγὴν τοῦ λόγου μιμησάμενος ἐφαρμόζει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τῷ μελαγχολῶντι ἢ κοιμωμένῳ ἢ ἀποθησκοῦτοι οὐκ ἃν τὸς εὐλόγως λόγον ἀπόρρητον τῶ τοιοῦτῳ παρα-

κατάθοιτο, τῷ δὲ σοφῷ εὐλόγως. οὔτ' ἀρα μελαγ-

χολα οὔτε κοιμᾶται οὔτε ἀποθησκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς.

1 MSS. ἅρ' οὖν. 2 MSS. τὴν παραγωγήν. 3 MSS. οὐ γάρ.

See App. p. 499.
regarding those who are in the habit of losing their heads; thus giving the go-by altogether to intoxication as an aspect of the subject. Thus we find in these men too the most explicit acknowledgement that drunkenness was suffering from the effects of wine. But there would be nothing amiss in a wise man quaffing wine freely on occasion: we shall not be wrong, then, in saying that he will get drunk.

But, since no one is registered as victor if he has no antagonist, and anyone engaged in such a contest would naturally be considered rather to be fighting a shadow, we must needs mention the arguments maintaining the contrary, in order that a perfectly fair decision may be reached, neither side being condemned by default. Of such arguments the first and most weighty is this. If one would not act reasonably in entrusting a secret to a drunken man, and does entrust secrets to a good man, it follows that a good man does not get drunk. Well now, instead of the whole series of arguments one after another, it will be better, as each is advanced, to answer it, that we may not seem tedious through making too long a story of it. A man may counter the arguments just mentioned by saying that according to it the wise man will never be melancholy, never fall asleep, in a word, never die. But he whom nothing of this sort befalls would be an inanimate thing or a Divine Being, certainly not a man. For reproducing the conduct of the argument, he will apply it in this way to the case of the melancholy or sleeping or dying man: No one would act reasonably in entrusting a secret to one in such case, but would act reasonably in doing so to a wise man: therefore a wise man never falls into melancholy, or goes to sleep, or dies.
ON DRUNKENNESS
(DE EBRIETATE)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This treatise a like its two predecessors is founded on Gen. ix. 20-29, particularly the last words, “And (Noah) drank of the wine and was drunken.” Philo, however, from the first breaks away from this text and, having discussed at the end of the De Plantatione the various philosophical views on drunkenness, proceeds to consider the views of Moses on the subject. He lays down that Moses uses wine as a symbol for five things: (1) foolishness or foolish talking; (2) complete “insensibility” b; (3) greediness c; (4) cheerfulness and gladness; (5) nakedness (1-5). He then gives a short introductory explanation of each of these, dwelling particularly on one aspect of

a Both Jerome and Eusebius state that there were two treatises περὶ μέθης. Whether ours is the second of them, the De Plant. being the first (or perhaps De Plant. 134-end together with what has evidently been lost at the end of that treatise) or ours is the first, and the second contained the discussion of γυμνότης (see note b on opposite page) is an open question. The general opinion is in favour of the latter alternative. Adler, however, in his Studien zu Philon von Alexandreia has recently argued for the former.

b This word, though by no means wholly satisfactory, seems the best equivalent for ἀναισθησία with which Philo generally couples παντελῆς. Literally ἀναισθησία is the stupor of complete intoxication, but “stupor” is not appropriate when the ἀναισθησία is transferred to the moral or mental sphere.

c Presumably, in general, any insatiable desire. But Philo in his later treatment reduces it to γαστριμαργία or gluttony.
"nakedness" as the truth which strips off all disguises from virtue and vice, and this leads to a short digression on the mutually exclusive nature of these two (6-10), a thought evidently suggested by Socrates' fable of Pleasure and Pain in the *Phaedo.* He then proceeds to a detailed consideration of these five, though as a matter of fact only the first three are treated in what has come down to us.

I. First, "folly" or "foolish talking." This with its digressions occupies from § 11 to § 153. Its chief cause is ἀπαίδευσις, that is defiance of or unsusceptibility to all educating influences (11-12). How abhorrent this is to Moses is shewn by the law in Deut. xxi. that the parents of a rebellious and profligate son must bring him for judgement before the elders. The development of this illustration occupies sections 13-98. This rebellious son, the type of the ἀπαιδευτός, has four charges brought against him by his parents, disobedience, contentiousness, "riotous feasting" and wine-bibbing (13-14). The two first are distinguished as being the one passive, the other active (15-19). In dealing with the third Philo ignores the derived meaning—riotous feasting—of the obscure...

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a The first three are clearly evil, while the fourth (gladness) is wholly good. As for "nakedness," if the reading adopted in the text of § 4 is right, it is regarded as applicable to folly and ignorance and this will agree with *Leg. All.* ii. 54. On the other hand it is to be noted that the "causes" of nakedness in § 8 are either good or neutral.

b But not only does Philo promise to discuss all the five, but the opening words of *De Sobrietate* shew that there actually was such a discussion. Whether, however, "gladness" was treated at any length may be doubted. Philo may have passed it over rapidly, noting that while Moses used wine as a symbol for it, it could not be associated with drunkenness. Indeed there is a hint of such a view in § 223.
word συμβολοκοπεῖν and confines himself to what he supposes to be the original meaning. Of the two elements of which it is compounded he takes the first συμβολαί to represent “contributions” or “combinations” for evil, while the other (κόπτειν) shews the “cutting” or destructive force of these contributions (20-24), against which we are warned in the words, “Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil” (25). The fourth charge that he is “fired with wine” (οίνοφλυγαί) represents a state in which the ἀπαώενο-ία is inflaming the man’s whole nature (27). That his natural protectors, his parents, should be his accusers is the just punishment of such a one (28-29). But “parents” means more than the literal father and mother. In one sense our father is God and our mother God’s Wisdom, parents whose mercies and judgements alike are greater than we can receive (30-32). In another sense the father is “right reason” or philosophy, while the mother is custom, convention and secular education (33-34). This idea Philo proceeds to develop (33-92) in what is, in spite of minor extravagances, a really fine allegory and does much to redeem the general inferiority of this treatise. These parents have four kinds of children, (1) and (2) those who obey one parent but not the other, (3) those who obey both, (4) those who obey neither (35). We first deal with those who disregard the father and love the mother, i.e. the votaries of convention. They are typified, first by Jethro here, as always in Philo, “the man of super-

* Philo’s conception of the “Encyclia” here seems to differ somewhat from his general view. Usually they are to be valued as an introduction to the higher παιδεία, i.e. philosophy. Here they are mainly a training in the conventional life.
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fluity" or "unevenness" (36). The special sayings of his selected here are his advice to Moses on the conduct of his business in Exod. xviii. and his refusal to follow Israel in Num. x., and even his saying, "Now I know that the Lord is great above all gods" is turned to his discredit on the grounds that "now" should be "always" and that he still ascribes reality to non-existent gods (37-45). The second example of this class is Laban, the admirer, as always, of the material and external, but his special error is his saying "it is not our custom to give the younger (Rachel) before the elder (Leah)," for the younger daughter, the learning of the schools, should precede in time the elder, philosophy—and Jacob’s reply to Laban is perversely construed to mean that he will never leave Leah (46-53). Some other texts are enlisted to shew the inferiority of the feminine element in mankind, as exemplified in Rachel, and her words about the "manner of women" in Gen. xxxi. (54-64), and we pass on to the next class, the father-lovers, the despisers of convention and followers of right reason only. These are especially represented by the Levites, who ignore and even as in Exod. xxxii. slay their kinsfolk and thus are murderers in the eyes of the conventional world, though not in the eyes of divine reason (65-67). The kinsfolk, etc., are interpreted to mean the body, the senses and rhetorical eloquence, all of which are sacrificed by the father-lover, and the final example of this class is Phinehas who slew the Midianitish woman (Num. xxv.) and whose story is interpreted in the same allegorical way with a short meditation on the rewards he received of "peace and priesthood" (73-76).

The class of those who reject both parents receives
the appropriate denunciation (77-79) and we finally come to those who reverence both. Here we may be surprised to find that Philo after all regards this as the perfect way, in spite of his high praise of the pure philosopher (80-81). This obedience to both right reason and custom is held to deserve the name of Israel which supersedes that of Jacob (82-84), and Moses has approved this twofold excellence, in his institution of an external as well as an internal altar, and the two different robes for the priest. These robes are respectively simple and ornate, and the second shews us that life has many aspects (85-87). For true wisdom shews itself in various forms not only in religion, but also in the physical sciences, in ethics and politics and in social activities (88-92). That the two parents have other children besides the disobedient one is deduced from the phrase “this our son” and Philo takes various examples of such children from the great names of the Pentateuch (73-94).

Philo now once more denounces the wickedness of the disobedient son and compares him to the degenerate Israelites who worshipped the golden calf, and thus he is led to quote the words of Joshua on that occasion, “There is a voice of war in the camp . . .” And Moses’ reply, “that the sounds are not those of victory or defeat, but those of the wine-feast of men who shout over the wine that I hear” (95-96). This quotation carries Philo away at once to a disquisition on its various phrases. “There is a voice in the camp” signifies the tumult of passion in the camp of human life (97-104), and some illustrations of this thought are given (97-104). “It is not the voice of might (or “victory”)” suggests a comparison with the words of Abraham after his victory over the nine
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kings (i.e. the four passions and the five senses), and this involves an explanation of Abraham’s refusal to accept reward from the King of Sodom, as the wise soul’s refusal to accept from any but God and a rebuke to idolaters (105-110). Another song of victory is that of Moses over Pharaoh’s host (111) and the “Song of the Well” in Num. xxi. (112-113) which in its turn leads to a discussion of the allegorical meaning of various phrases in the speech of the victorious captains in Num. xxxi., particularly of “each one gave what he had found” (114-120). The “voice of the defeated” is passed over rapidly as indicating weakness rather than wickedness, and contrasted with the voice of those who shout over (or “lead”) the wine, which voice indicates the deliberate madness of evil (121-123). Thus we are brought back for a moment to the main thought of drunkenness as moral folly, and reminded that freedom from this is true priesthood (124-126). This was the inner meaning of the command to Aaron to abstain from wine when he approached the tabernacle or the altar (127-129). In the literal sense this is sound enough, for what can be worse than a drunken worshipper (130-131), but in the deeper sense the tabernacle is the “idea” of incorporeal virtue, and the altar that of the particular virtues, and to him who approaches either of these folly is not so much forbidden as impossible (132-139). Similar morals are drawn from the concluding words of the same passages (140-143), and also from Samuel’s lifelong abstinence (143-144), and the mention of Samuel leads to some thoughts on the words of Hannah (i.e. Grace) to those who thought her drunk, “I have drunk no wine and I will pour out my soul before
the Lord,” in which we have a parable of the truth that the “joy” of grace is as the Bacchant’s inspiration and that freedom from folly makes the soul a fitting libation to God (145-152). This concludes the discussion of drunkenness as spiritual folly produced by ἀπαιδευσία (153).

II. The second thing for which wine stood as a symbol was, we saw, “stupor” or “insensitivity,” and in the mental or moral sphere this is ignorance, which stands to the mind as blindness or deafness to the body, while knowledge is the eye and ear of the soul (154-161). But we must distinguish two kinds of ignorance, one mere non-knowledge, the other the belief that we know, when we do not (162-163). This last is represented by Lot with his wife, who is “Custom” ever looking back upon the past, and his two daughters who are “Deliberation” and “Assent.” The statement that their daughters “gave their father wine to drink” means that the mind is hypnotized with the belief that it can by deliberation find out the truth and give a right judgment or assent, whereas in reality nothing of the sort is possible even to the educated a (164-168). The

a The sections which follow are very extraordinary. Philo seems to jettison his general dogmatic principles and to enrol himself in the school of the Sceptics. In fact he reproduces so clearly several of the “ten tropes” of the famous sceptic Aenesidemus, as given by Diogenes Laertius and Sextus Empiricus, that he enables the historians of philosophy to lay down a terminus ad quern for the date of that philosopher, of which, till the attention of scholars was called to these chapters, nothing more was known than that he must have preceded Diogenes and Sextus. It will be seen that in 193-202 he extends ἀκαταληψία or impossibility of apprehension to moral questions, and thus seems to overthrow the basis of his philosophy.
fact that the same objects produce at different times
different impressions on the mind shews that we
cannot base certain judgements on these impressions
(162-170). Philo then proceeds to enumerate the
causes or rather "modes" of these uncertainties.
The first is the difference in the habits and constitu­
tion of animals, which argues that they too receive
different impressions from the same things, and with
this he joins the changes which some of them, e.g.
the chameleon and the elk, are supposed to exhibit
in different environments (171-175). The second
mode is the various feelings, likes and dislikes shewn
by mankind, in which not only does one man differ
from another, but even the individual from himself
(175-180). The third mode is the optical illusions
produced by the distances or situations of objects,
such as "the straight staff bent in a pool" (181-183).
The fourth is the observation that any two or more
things, while remaining the same in substance, pro­
duce totally different results according to the pro­
portions in which they are combined (184-185). The
fifth is relativity, for since we only know one thing
with reference to another, we cannot be said to know
them at all (186-189). This is illustrated by the fact
that colour, smell and the like are really the effect
of the combination of something in the object with
something in ourselves (190-191). Further, we are
warned against forming moral judgements by the fact
that on all such questions there is an infinite difference
of opinion among various nations, states and indi­
viduals which forbids us to assert with certainty that
any particular act is virtuous or not (192-197).
Philo
goes on to say that while he is not surprised that the
vulgar should form positive judgements, he is sur-
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prised to find that philosophers can still be dogmatists and yet come to totally different opinions on vital questions, and he enumerates some of these, such as whether the universe is infinite or not, created or uncreated, ruled by providence or not, and whether morality is the only good or whether there are numerous goods (198-202). True indeed are the words of the text "he knew not when they (the daughters) slept and rose up," for both the counsels and the assents of the mind are utterly untrustworthy (203-205).

III. The third idea suggested by wine or drunkenness, viz. greediness or gluttony, is treated by Philo in a comparatively literal manner. Such allegory as there is is chiefly drawn from the story of Pharaoh in Genesis (Egypt as usual representing the body), who on his birthday was reconciled with his chief butler, thereby representing the tendency of the sated sensualist to return to his excesses as soon as possible (206-209). From the statement (in the LXX) that all the three officers of Pharaoh's table—the chief butler, the chief baker and the chief cook—a—were eunuchs, he draws the lesson that the ministers of pleasure are incapable of begetting wisdom, and this is also implied in the banishment by Moses of eunuchs from the congregation (210-213). Further the prefix of "chief" applied in Genesis to these three indicates the gourmand's excessive indulgence as compared with simple living, and Philo takes the opportunity to give a rhetorical description of these refinements of luxury (214-220). Also it was the chief cupbearer (not the other two) with whom Pharaoh was reconciled, and this shews that the

a In the LXX Potiphar is called the "chief cook."
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passion for wine is the most persistent form which bodily indulgence takes (220-221). A text which he quotes in connexion with this from the Song of Moses, in which the phrase “the vine of Sodom” occurs, brings him back to the allegorical view of drunkenness as the symbol of folly in general. For the fool’s “vine” or his foolish desires do not produce the gladness of true wine, but its roots are as ashes, and the treatise concludes with the prayer that our “vine” may be rather that of true and fruit-bearing instruction (222-end).
ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΘΗΣ

[I.357] 1. Τὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσόφοις εἰρημένα περὶ μέθης, ὡς οίνον τε ἦν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ὑπεμνήσαμεν βιβλίῳ, νυνί δὲ ἐπισκεψόμεθα τίνα τῷ πάντα μεγάλῳ καὶ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ αὐτῆς δοκεῖ. πολλαχοὶ γὰρ τῆς νομοθεσίας οἶνον καὶ τοῦ γεννῶντος φυτοῦ τὸν οἶνον ἀμπέλου διαμεται καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐμπίνειν ἐπιτρέπει, τοῖς δ’ οὐκ ἔφυγε, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔστω ὅτε προστάται τάναντι, οὖν χρήσθαι τε καὶ μή. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ τῇ μεγάλῃ εὐχῇ εὐξάμενοι, οἳ δὲ ἀκράτως οἴνους αἱρέονται οἱ λειτουργοῦντες ἱερεῖς, οἳ δὲ προσφερόμενοι τὸν οἶνον μυρίοι τῶν ἐπ’ ἀρέτῆς μάλιστα καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν τεθαυμασμένων. πρὶν δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀρξάσθαι λέγειν, τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὰς κατασκευὰς αὐτῶν ἀκριβωτέον. ἐστι δ’ ὡς γ’ οἴμαι τάδε: Π. σύμβολον τὸν ἀκρατὸν Μωυσῆς οὐχ ἐνός ἀλλὰ πλειόνων εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦ λῃρεὶν καὶ παραπαίειν, ἀναισθησίας παντελῶς, ἀπληστίας ἀκορεστοῦ καὶ δυσάρεστον, εὐθυμίας καὶ εὐφροσύνης, τῆς τάλλα περιεχοῦσης καὶ πάσι τοῖς εἰς τὸν μεθηνόμενον πολλάχοισιν.

3 ἄρξασθαι λέγειν, τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὰς κατασκευὰς αὐτῶν ἀκριβωτέον. ἐστι δ’ ὡς γ’ οἴμαι τάδε: Π. σύμβολον τὸν ἀκρατὸν Μωυσῆς οὐχ ἐνός ἀλλὰ πλειόνων εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦ λῃρεὶν καὶ παραπαίειν, ἀναισθησίας παντελῶς, ἀπληστίας ἀκορεστοῦ καὶ δυσάρεστον, εὐθυμίας καὶ εὐφροσύνης, τῆς τάλλα περιεχοῦσης καὶ πάσι τοῖς εἰς τὸν μεθηνόμενον πολλάχοισιν.

1 Wendland ἐπιθυμίας. In this case δυσάρεστον would agree with ἐπιθυμίας, and τῆς τάλλα περιεχοῦσης with εὐφροσύνης. See App. p. 500.

a See App. p. 500.
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I. The views expressed by the other philosophers on drunkenness have been stated by me to the best of my ability in the preceding book. Let us now consider what the great lawgiver in his never-failing wisdom holds on this subject. In many places of his legislation he mentions wine and the plant whose fruit it is—the vine. Some persons he permits, others he forbids, to drink of it, and sometimes he gives opposite orders, at one time enjoining and at another prohibiting its use to the same persons. These last are those who have made the great vow (Num. vi. 2), while those who are forbidden the use of strong drink are the ministering priests (Lev. x. 9); while of persons who take wine there are numberless instances among those whom he too holds in the highest admiration for their virtue.

But before we begin to discuss these matters, we must carefully investigate the points which bear on our exposition. These points, I think, are the following. II. Moses uses strong liquor as a symbol for more than one, in fact for several, things: for foolish talking and raving, for complete insensibility, for insatiable and ever-discontented greediness, for cheerfulness and gladness, for the nakedness which embraces the rest and manifests itself in all the
είρημένοις ἐμφανομένης γυμνότητος ἦ τὸν Νώε | μεθυσθέντα φησὶ δράσασθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν οἶνον δὲ καὶ τῶν οὖ
προσαμαζόντων άκρατού ὑτήσειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες 
τὸς ὁμοίος ἀλίσκονται· καὶ ἔστω ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἀυτῶν ἀφραίνοντάς 
τε καὶ ληροῦντας, τοὺς δ' ἀναισθησία παντελεῖ κατεσχημένους, τοὺς 
μηδέποτε πληρομένους, αἰεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγνούτων 
δυσφέντα διὰ χρήσιμην ἐπιστήμην, τοὺς δ' ἐμπαλι

γανομένους καὶ εὐφραίνομένους, τοὺς δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ
γυμνομένους. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ληρεῖν αὐτῶν 
ἡ ἐπιζήμιος ἀπαίδευσια—λέγω δ' οὐ πὴ ἡ παιδείας ἀν
ἐπιστημοσύνην· ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄλλοπυχνα—
, τοῦ δ' ἀναισθητεῖν ἡ ἐπίβουλος καὶ πηρὸς ἄγνοια,
ἀπληροσία δὲ ἡ ἀργαλεωτάτη παθὼν ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία,
εὐφροσύνης δὲ κτήσεως ὁμοῦ καὶ χρῆσις ἀρετῆς,
γυμνότητος μέντοι πολλά, ἄγνοια τῶν 
ἐναντίων, ἀκακία καὶ ἀφέλεια ἱθῶν, ἀλῆθεια ἡ 
τὰ τῶν συνεκακισμένων πραγμάτων ἀνακαλυπτῆρια 
ἄγουσα δύναμις, τῇ μὲν ἀπαμψαθεύσασθαι ἀρετῆν, τῇ

δὲ κακίαν ἐν μέρει· ἀμα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ οἶνον ἀπο-
δύσασθαι, ἀλλ' οὖθ' ἐνσκευάζοντας ταύτας δυνατόν 
ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὶς ἀπορράξῃ τὴν ἐτέρων, εἶ ἀνάγκης 
τὴν ἐναντίὸν ἀναλαβῶν ἐπαμμένη.

ὡςπερ γὰρ ἠδονήν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα φύσει μαχομένας,
ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, εἰς μίαν κορυφὴν συνάμας ὁ

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a Cf. Leg. All. ii. 54, where three kinds of nakedness are distinguished: (a) that of the soul stripped of passion, a state which to Philo is true joy; (b) foolishness, as in the case of Noah (60 f.); (c) ignorance of good and evil, as in Adam and Eve (64 f.).

b The two epithets are explained in §§ 150-163. Ignorance
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qualities just mentioned, in which condition Noah was, we read, when intoxicated. All these we are told are produced by wine. Yet thousands of those who never touch strong drink and consider themselves sober are mastered by similar emotions. We may see them in some cases mad and foolish, in others under the dominion of complete insensibility, in others never filled but always thirsting for impossibilities through lack of knowledge, or on the other hand full of gladness and exultation, finally in the true sense naked. The folly is caused by indiscipline in its noxious form, by which I mean not the mere unacquaintance with discipline but aversion to it; insensibility is caused by ignorance (always) blind and (often) with a will for evil; greediness by that most painful of the soul’s passions, lust; while gladness arises both from the winning and the practice of virtue. Nakedness has many causes: incapacity for distinguishing between moral opposites, innocence and simplicity of manners, truth, that is, the power which unveils what is wrapped in obscurity. At one moment it is virtue that she uncovers, at another vice in its turn. For we cannot doff both of these at the same moment any more than we can don them. When we discard the one we necessarily adopt and assume its opposite. The old story tells us that God when He fastened the naturally conflicting sensations of pleasure and

is always blindness, but when under the delusion that it is knowledge it is actually mischievous (§ 163).  

a Lit. "celebrating the unveiling" (of the bride), v. Dict. of Ant. ("Matrimonium").  

b i.e. the fable suggested by Socrates (Phaedo 60 b) where we have much the same phrase as here, ἐκ μίας κορυφῆς συνημμένω δῷ δοτε, v. note (App.) on De Gig. 56.
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θεὸς ἐκατέρας αἰσθήσιν οὐκ ἐν ταύτῳ, διαλλάττουσι δὲ χρόνοις ἐνευρισκόμενοι κατὰ τὴν φυγήν τῆς ἐτέρας καθοδον τῇ ἐναντίᾳ ψηφισάμενος, οὕτως ἀπὸ μᾶς ῥίζης τού ἢγεμονικοῦ τά τε ἄρετῆς καὶ κακίας δυττά ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνη μῆτε βλαστάνοντα μῆτε 9 καρποφοροῦντα ἐν ταύτῳ· ὅποτε μὲν γὰρ φυλλορροεῖ καὶ ἀφαναίνεται θάτερον, ἀρχεῖται ἀναβλαστάνειν καὶ χλοηφορεῖν τὸ ἐναντίον, ὡς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐκάτερον τῇ θατέρου δυσχεραῖν εὐπραγία στελλεῖται. ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ φυσικῶταταί τῆς Ἰακώβ ἔξοδον εἴσοδον Ἡσαῦ παράτησιν. "ἐγένετο" γάρ φησιν "ὁσον ἔξηλθεν Ἰακώβ, ἦκεν 10 Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ." μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἐνσχόλαξε καὶ ἐμπεριπάτει τῇ ψυχῇ φρόνησις, ύπερόριος πᾶς ὁ ἀφροσύνης ἐταῖρος ἐκτετοξεύτω ἐπειδὰν δὲ μεταναστῇ, γεγηθῶς κάτεισιν ἐκεῖνος, τῆς πολεμίου καὶ δυσμενοῦς δι᾽ ἑκάτην καὶ ἐφυγαδεύετο μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον οἰκούσης.

11 III. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὡσανεὶ προοίμια τῆς γραφῆς ἄρκοντως λέλεκται, τὰς δὲ ἀποδείξεις ἐκάστων προσαποδώσομεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου πρώτον ἀρξάμενοι διδάσκειν τὴν τοὶν ἀπαθενσίαν προοίμια τοῦ ληρεῖν καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν αἴτιαν εἶναι καθάπερ 12 μυρίων τῶν ἄφρόνων τῶν πολὺν ἄκρατον. ἀπαιδευσία γὰρ τῶν ψυχῆς ἀμαρτημάτων, εἰ δὲ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, τὸ ἀρχέκακον, ἄφ' ἢς ὠσπερ ἀπὸ τηγῆς ῥέουσιν αἰ τοῦ βίου πράξεις, πότιμον μὲν καὶ σωτήριον οὐδὲν οὐδενί νάμα ἐκδιδοῦσα τὸ παράπαν, ἀλμυρὸν δὲ νόσου καὶ φθορᾶς τοῖς χρησομένοις

1 mss. φυσικωτάτην.
2 Wendland ἐκδίδοσα with some mss. See App. p. 500.
pain under a single head, caused them to be felt at different times and not at the same moment, and thus decreed that the banishment of the one should involve the restoration of the other. Just in the same way, from a single root in our dominant part spring the two shoots of vice and virtue, yet never sprouting or bearing fruit at the same moment. For when one sheds its leaves and withers, its opposite begins to exhibit new life and verdure, so that we might suppose that each shrinks and shrivels in resentment at the thriving of the other.

And so it is in full agreement with philosophical truth that Moses represents the outgoing of Jacob as being the incoming of Esau. "It came to pass," he says, "that as soon as Jacob went out Esau his brother came in" (Gen. xxvii. 30). For so long as prudence has its lodging and scene of action in the soul, so long is every friend of folly an outcast from her borders. But when prudence has changed her quarters, the other returns with glee now that the bitter enemy, who caused his expulsion and life of exile, no longer dwells where he did.

III. So much then for what we may call the preliminaries of our treatise. I will now proceed to the demonstration of each head beginning with the first. Well, we agreed that indiscipline was the cause of folly and error, as wine when taken in large quantities is to so many foolish persons. Indiscipline is indeed the prime cause of the soul's errors, and from it as from a spring flow those actions of our lives which give to none any sweet and salutary stream, but only briny waters fraught with plague and destruction to those who use them.

a We have the same use of the text in De Sac. 135.
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13 αὐτίον. οὖτως γοῦν κατὰ ἀναγώγων καὶ ἀπαιδεύτων ὁ νομοθέτης φωνᾶ, ὡς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἱσως ἔτερον. τεκμήριον δὲ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ ἐπιτιθεύσει μᾶλλον ἡ φύσει σύμμαχοι παρά τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γένεσι τῶν ζῶν; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μανείς ἐτέρους ἂν εἴποι τις ἣ τοὺς τοκέας εἶναι κήδεται γὰρ ἄδιδάκτω τῇ φύσει τὸ πεποιηκὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ γενομένου, καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμονῆς τῆς εἰσάπαν πρόνοιαν ἔχει.

14 IV. τοὺς οὖν ἐκ φύσεως συναγωνιστὰς υπάρχοντας εἰς ἐχθρῶν μετελθὲν τάξιν ἐσπόύδασε κατηγόρους ἐπιστήσας τὸν δεόντως ἄν συναγορεύοντας, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, ἢ ὅσον εἰκὸς ἢ σωζοθαί μόνων παραπόλωνται. "Εὰν γάρ τινι φησίν "νίος ἢ ἀπειθής καὶ ἐρεθιστής οὐχ ὑπακούων φωνής πατρός καὶ μητρός, καὶ παιδεύσωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εἰσακούθη αὐτῶν, συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἐξάξοι τὸν γενομένον τῆς γερονσίας τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐροῦσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν· ὁ νίος ἢμῶν οὖτος ἀπείθει καὶ ἐρεθίζει, οὐκ εἰσακούει τῆς φωνῆς ἢμῶν, συμβολοκοπῶν οἴνοφλυγεῖ. καὶ λιθοβολήσοι τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν."  

15 οὐκοῦν αἱ κατηγορίαι ἀρεθίῳ τέτταρες, ἀπείθεια καὶ ἐρεθισμός καὶ συμβολῶν εἰσφόρα καὶ μέθη. μεγίστη δ' ἡ τελευταία παραύξησιν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀπείθειας λαβοῦσα· ἀρξαμένη γὰρ ἀφηνάζειν ἡ

— Or "should be the sole workers of his ruin"; μόνων may perhaps be taken with both verbs.
— See App. p. 500.
— Lit. "paying of contributions."
ON DRUNKENNESS, 13–15

Thus it is against the untrained and undisciplined more perhaps than against any other person that the lawgiver breathes slaughter. Here is our proof. Who play the part of protectors not so much by acquired habit as by nature amongst humankind and every other kind of animal? Surely it is the parents. Not even a madman would give a different answer. For nature ever instinctively prompts the maker to care for what he has made, and to take thought for its preservation and perpetual maintenance.

IV. Now when Moses set up those who would properly plead the cause of an offender, namely his father and mother, to appear as his accusers, thus providing that those who might be expected to preserve him against all others should actually work his ruin, he shewed his desire that these natural supporters should be converted into enemies. “For if anyone,” he says, “has a disobedient and contentious son who does not listen to the voice of his father and mother, and they discipline him and he does not hearken to them, his father and mother shall take him and bring him forth to the assembly of the elders of his city and to the gate of his place, and shall say to the men of their city, ‘This our son is disobedient and contentious, he does not listen to our voice, he is a riotous liver and a wine-bibber,’ and the men of the city shall stone him with stones and thou shalt remove the evil one from among yourselves” (Deut. xxi. 18-21).

We see then that the accusations are four in number, disobedience, contentiousness, participation in riotous feasting and drunkenness. But the last is the chief, rising to a climax from the first, disobedience. For when the soul has begun to cast off the reins and taken its onward
ψυχή καὶ προελθοῦσα διὰ ἑρίδος καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐπὶ ύστατον ὄρον ἔρχεται, μέθην, τὴν ἐκστάσεως καὶ παραφροσύνης αἰτίαν. ἐκάστης δὲ τῶν κατηγορῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἰδεῖν ἀναγκαίον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης λαβόντας.

16 Ανωμολόγηται τοῖνυν περιφανῶς, ὅτι τὸ εἰκεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν ἀρετὴ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον, ὥστε τὸ ἁπειθεῖν ἐμπαλιν ἀίσχρον καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἀλυσιτελές· τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἁρεθίζειν ὑπερβολὴν πᾶσαν κεχώρηκε τοῦ δεινοῦ· ὃ γὰρ ἁπειθής τοῦ φιλέριδος ἤττον μοχθηρός ἔστων, ὃ μὲν αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν προστατομένων ἀλογῶν, ὃ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐγχειρεῖν σπουδὴν πεποιημένοις. 

17 ἐγχειρεῖν σπουδὴν πεποιημένοις. 

δὲ ὡς ἔχει τοῦτο θεασώμεθα· νόμου κελεύοντος, εἰ τῷ τοῦτος, τοὺς γονεῖς τιμάν, ὃ μὲν μὴ τιμῶν ἁπειθής, ὃ δὴ ἀτιμάζων καὶ μόνον τῶν προστατομένων. 

18 διεγνωκότα δύσεριν καὶ φιλόνεικον λεκτέουν. 

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τύχοι, τοὺς ὑστερίζων, τὸν μὴ τιμῶν ἁπειθής, ὃ δὲ ἀτιμάζων φίλερις. καὶ πάλιν τῷ τὴν πατρίδα σώζων ὅντος δικαίου τὸν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ ποτε ὅκνω χρώμενον ἁπειθή, τὸν δὲ ἔτι καὶ προδίδοναι διεγνωκότα δύσεριν καὶ φιλόνεικον λεκτέουν. 

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ON DRUNKENNESS, 15–1

course through strife and dissension, it reaches its utmost limit in drunkenness, which produces frenzy and madness. We must take these accusations one by one and observe their full meaning, beginning with the first.

V. We have it as a clear and admitted fact that submission and obedience to virtue is noble and profitable, and the converse follows, that disobedience is disgraceful and in a high degree unprofitable. But if contentiousness is added to disobedience, it involves a vast increase of the evil. The disobedient man is not on so low a moral level as the quarrelsome and strife-loving man, since he merely disregards the commands he receives and nothing more, while the other takes active pains to carry out what is opposed to these commands. Let us consider how this shews itself. The law, to take one instance, bids us honour our parents; he then who does not honour them is disobedient, he who actively dishonours them is a strife-lover. Again, it is a righteous action to save one's country. He who shirks this particular duty is to be classed as disobedient, he who actually purposes to betray it as a man of strife and contention. So too one who fails to do a kindness to his neighbour, in opposition to another who tells him that it is his duty to give help, is disobedient. But one who, besides withholding his kindness, works all the harm he can is moved by the spirit of strife to deadly error. And again the man who fails to make use of the holy rites and all else that relates to piety is disobedient to the commandments which law and custom regularly prescribe in these matters, but rebellious or strife-stirrer is the name for him who turns aside to their direct opposite, impiety, and

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VI. οἶος ἦν ὁ φάσκων

"τίς ἐστιν οὖν ὑπακούσομαι;" καὶ πάλιν "οὐκ οἶδα τὸν κύριον". ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προτέρας φωνῆς παρίστησιν, ὅτι ο ApplicationContextов ἐστὶ τὸ θεῖον, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπείτου, ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖται, ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ προνοεῖν συνάγεται· εἰ γὰρ προνοεῖ, καὶ ἐγνώσκετο.

20 Συμβολάς γε μὴν καὶ ἐράνους φέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τοῦ ἀριστοῦ κτήματος μετουσία, φρονήσεως, ἐπανετὸν καὶ συμφέρον, ἡνεκὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀκροτάτου πάντων <κακοῦ>, ἀφροσύνης, ἀλυσιτελές

21 τε καὶ ψεκτόν. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἀριστοῦ συμβολαὶ θόδος ἀρετῆς, τῶν καλῶν ζήλος, μελέταις συνεχείς, ἀσκήσεως ἐπίμονοι, ἀριστεῖς σύνοι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον άνεσις, ῥαθυμία,

22 τρυφῆς, θρύψις, παντελῆς ἐκδιαίτησις. ἱδεῖν μὲντοι καὶ τοὺς ἐπαποδομένους πολυοινία καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γυμναζομένους καὶ ἀθλοῦντας τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναποδομὰς ἀθλόν ἐστι συμβολάς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν πολυοινίων ἐσφέροντας, ζημιομένους δὲ πάντα, χρήματα, σώματα, ψυχὰς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐσφέροντες μειοῦσι τὴν ὦσιν, τῶν δὲ σωμάτων διὰ τὸ ἄβροδίαιτον κατακλώσι καὶ θρύπτουσι τὰς δυνάμεις, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου τρόπον τρόφων ἐπικλύζοντες

23 εἰς βυθὸν ἀναγκάζουσι δύσεθαι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ὅσοι φέρουσιν ἐράνους ἐπὶ καθαίρεσιν παιδείας, τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζημιοῦσι, διάνοιαν, ἀποκόπτοντες αὐτῆς τὰ σωτηρία,

1 MSS. ἐπίμονοι.

a Or "who is it, whom I am to obey?"

b See App. p. 500.
becomes a leader in godlessness. VI. Such was he who said, "who is He that I should obey Him," and again, "I know not the Lord" (Exod. v. 2). In the first of these utterances he asserts that there is no God; in the second that even if there is a God he is not known to us, and this conclusion presupposes the assumption that there is no divine providence. For if there were such a thing as providence, God too would be known.

As for contributions or club subscriptions, when the object is to share in the best of possessions, prudence, such payments are praiseworthy and profitable; but when they are paid to obtain that supreme evil, folly, the practice is unprofitable and blameworthy. We contribute to the former object by desire for virtue, by zeal for things noble, by continuous study therein, by persistent self-training, by unwearied and unflagging labour. We contribute to the opposite by slackness, indolence, luxury, effeminacy, and by complete irregularity of life. We can see indeed people preparing themselves to compete in the arena of wine-bibbing and every day exercising themselves and contending in the contests of gluttony. The contributions they make are supposed to be for a profitable purpose, but they are actually mulcting themselves in everything, in money, body and soul. Their substance they diminish by the actual payments, their bodily powers they shatter and enfeeble by the delicate living, and by excessive indulgence in food they deluge their souls as with a winter torrent and submerge them perforce in the depths.

In just the same way those who pay their contributions only to destroy training and education are mulcting their most vital element, the understanding,
PHILO

φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἓτι δὲ ἄνδρεῖαν καὶ
dικαιοσύνην. διὸ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄνοματι
συνθέτω χρῆσθαι τῷ “συμβολοκοπῶν” πρὸς δή-
λωσιν ἐναργεστέραν τοῦ σημαινομένου, διότι τὰ
cατὰ ἀρετῆς ἐπιχειρήματα ἀστηρὶ πιὰς συμβολὰς
καὶ ἐράνους εἰσφέροντες τυπρώσκουσι καὶ διαρροῦσι
καὶ συγκόπτουσι μέχρι παντελῶς φθορᾶς τὰς
φιληκόους καὶ φιλομαθεῖς ψυχάς.

VII.

24 ὁ μὲν οὖν σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ ἔπανελθεῖν λέγεται “ἀπὸ
tῆς κοπῆς τοῦ Χοδολλαγόμορ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων
tῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ,” ὁ δὲ Ἀμαλήκ ἐμπάλιν τοῦ ἁσκητοῦ
tὴν οὐραγίαν κόπτειν ἀκολουθία φύσεως· ἔχθρα
25 μελετῶντα. τὸν δὲ κομίζοντα τὰς συμ-
βολὰς καὶ ταύτη μάλιστ’ ἂν τις αἰτίασαιτο, ὅτι
οὐ μόνον ἄδικεῖν, ἄλλα καὶ συναδικεῖν ἐγνωκεν
ἐτέροις ἄξιῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς εἰσηγεῖσθαι, τὰ δ’
eἰσηγομένων ἄλλων ἀκροάσθαι, ὅπως καὶ φύσει
καὶ μαθῆσει διαμαρτάνων μηδεμίαν εἰς σωτηρίαν
ὑπολείπηται χρῆσθιν ἐπίδοτα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ταύτα
νόμου διειρηκότος “μὴ γίνεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν
26 ἐπὶ κακία.” τῷ γὰρ ὅτι πολύχους μὲν καὶ πολυ-
φορότατον ἐν ἁνθρώπων ψυχαῖς τὸ κακὸν, ἐσταλ-
μένον δὲ καὶ στάντων τάγαθόν. παραίνεσις οὖν
ὡφελμωτάτη μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς, μεθ’ ὃν τὸ ἄδικεῖν,
ἄλλα τοῖς ὅλιγοις, μεθ’ ὃν τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, συμ-
φέρεσθαι.

* κοπῆ, “rout,” literally is “cutting.”

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and cut away therefrom its safeguards, prudence and self-control, and indeed courage and justice to boot. It was for this reason, I think, that Moses himself used a compound word, "contribution cutting," to bring out more clearly the nature of the thing he was describing, because when men bring their efforts like contributions or club-money, so to speak, to bear against virtue, they wound and divide and cut in pieces docile and knowledge-loving souls, till they bring them to utter destruction. VII.

Thus we read that the wise Abraham returned from the "cutting" of Chedorlaomer and his fellow kings (Gen. xiv. 17), while on the other hand Amalek "cuts the rearguard" of the Practiser (Deut. xxv. 18). Both these are in accordance with natural truth, for there is a hostility between opposites and they are always meditating destruction of each other.

There is another charge, and that the greatest, which could be brought against the provider of the contributions. He purposes not only to wrong, but to join with others in wrongdoing. He consents to initiate evil himself, and also to comply with what others initiate, that thus he may leave himself no ray of hope that may serve for his redemption, since his sin lies both in his nature and in what he has learnt from others. And this in spite of the direct injunction of the law, not "to go with the many to do evil" (Exod. xxiii. 2). For in very truth manifold are the aspects and the products of evil in men's souls, while the good is narrowly confined and scanty. And so most excellent is the advice that we should not keep company with the many but with the few; for wrongdoing is the associate of the former, but right action of the latter.
Τέταρτον τοίνυν καὶ μέγιστον ἐγκλῆμα ἢν το μεθύειν, οὔκ ἀνειμένως, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα συντόνως· τὸ γάρ οὐνομάζειν ὦσον ἔστι τῷ τὸ παραίτιον ἄφροσύνης φάρμακον, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἐν-τύφεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαίεσθαι καὶ ἀναφλέγεσθαι μηδὲ-ποτε σβεσθῆναι δυναμένην, ἀλλ’ ὄλην δι’ ὅλων αἰεὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμπιπτράσαν τε καὶ πυρπολοῦσαν. 

εἰκότως οὖν ἔβεται δίκη πάντα μοχθηρῶν τρόπον ἐκκαθαίρουσα διανοίας· λέγεται γάρ “ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρόν,” οὔκ ἐκ πόλεως ἢ χώρας ἢ ἔθνους, ἀλλ’ “ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν” ἢμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσι καὶ ἐμφωλεύουσιν νῦν ὑπαίτιοι καὶ ἐπιληπτοὶ λογισμοὶ, οὕς, ὅποτε ἀνιάτως ἔχουν, ἀποκόπτευν καὶ διαφθείρευσιν ἀναγκαῖον. τὸν οὖν ἀπειθῆ καὶ φίλερων καὶ λόγων πιθανότητας ὠσπερ τινὰς συμβολὰς καὶ ἔρανους ἐπὶ καθαρέσει τοῦ καλοῦ πορίζοντα καὶ ἀκράτῳ φλεγόμενον καὶ καταμεθύοντα αρετῆς καὶ παροινίας ἐκτόπους εἰς αὐτὸν παροινοῦντα δίκων ἤν κατηγόρους μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους λαβείν, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, φθοράν δὲ ἐνδεξασθάν παντελῆ πρὸς νουθεσίαν καὶ σωφρονισμὸν τῶν οἰων τε σώζεσθαι.

Πατρός δὲ καὶ μητρός κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ κλησεῖς, διάφοροι δ’ αἱ δυνάμεις· τὸν γοῦν τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἐργασάμενον δημιουργὸν ὄμοι καὶ πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ γεγονότος εὐθὺς εἰν δίκη φήσομεν, μητέρα δὲ

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1 MSS. ἐκτόπως.

a Philo connects -φλυγεῖν with φλέγω, though the word is rather to be connected with φλόζω, “bubble.”

b Philo has in mind the (unquoted) conclusion of Deut. xxi. 21, “and the rest when they hear it shall fear.” Cf. also S. V. F. ii. 1175, where the Stoic idea of punishment as a deterrent of others is brought out.
VIII. The fourth and greatest charge was that of 27 drunkenness—and drunkenness not of the milder but of the most intense sort. For the phrase here used, “fired with wine,” 28 is as much as to say that the poison which causes folly, indiscipline, smoulders within the man, then bursts into fire and flame impossible to quench, and consumes the soul through its whole being with the conflagration. Naturally, therefore, will punishment follow, purging every base tendency out of the mind. For it says, “thou shalt remove the evil one,” not out of a city or a country or a nation but “out of yourselves” (Deut. xxi. 21). For it is in ourselves that the vicious and culpable thoughts exist and have their lair, thoughts which we must cut away and destroy when their state is incurable. We see then this man as disobedient, as strife-loving, as providing in the form of persuasive arguments “contributions” and “club-money” for the subversion of morality, and finally inflamed with strong drink and making drunken assaults on virtue and directing his monstrous orgies against her. Surely it were just that such a one as he should find his accusers in those in whom others find their allies, namely in his father and mother, and be visited with complete destruction, to admonish and bring to their senses those who can be saved.\(^b\)

Now “father and mother” is a phrase which can bear different meanings.\(^c\) For instance we should rightly say and without further question that the Architect who made this universe was at the same time the father of what was thus born, whilst its mother was the knowledge possessed by its Maker.

\(^b\) Lit. “the titles are common but the meanings different.”
\(^c\) See App. p. 500.
τὴν τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ἣ συνῶν ὁ θεὸς ὅσα ἀνθρωπὸς ἔσπειρε γένεσιν. ἢ δὲ παρα-
δεξαμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σπέρματα τελεσφόρους ἀδίσι

31 τόνδε τὸν κόσμον. εἰσάγεται γοῦν παρὰ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ ἡ σοφία περὶ αὐτῆς λέγουσα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: “ὁ θεὸς ἐκτήσατό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἔργων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσε με.” ἦν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τιθήνης τῶν ὁλων πάνθ’ ὅσα εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθεν εἰναι νεώτερα.

32 IX. τούτων οὖν τῶν γονέων τίς ικανὸς ὑποστῆναι κατηγορίαι; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μετρίαν ἀπειλήν ἢ ἑλα-
φροτάτην κατάμεμφιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν ικανὸς οὐδεὶς χωρῆσαι τὸ ἀφθονον πλῆθος, ἵσως δὲ οὐδ’ ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ’ οία βραχεία δεξαμενὴ μεγάλης ἐπιρροέονος τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίτων πηγῆς τάχιστα ἀποπληρωθῆσεται, ὡς ἀναβλύσαι τε καὶ ὑπερεκχείσθαι. εἰ δὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτῶν διακοπέεισθαι, τὰς κολαστηρίους δυνάμεις πῶς ἐπι-

33 φερομένας οἴσομεν; τοὺς μὲν δὴ τοῦ παντὸς γονεῖς ὑπεξαμερέων τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, τοὺς δὲ φοιτητὰς καὶ γνωρίμους αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπι-
μέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰληχότας ψυχῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἀνάγωγοι καὶ ἁμουσοί, νῦν ἐπισκεψάμεθα. πατέρα τούνεν εἶναι φαμεν τὸν ἄρξεαι καὶ τέλειν καὶ ὁρθὸν λόγον, μητέρα δὲ τὴν μέσην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον χορείαν τε καὶ παιδείαν ὅσις καλῶν καὶ

34 συμφέρον ὡς ἄν ἐκγονον τοκεῦσι πείθεσθαι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πατρός, ὁρθοῦ λόγου, παράγγελμα ἐπεσθαί

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1 MSS. ἵσην.

a Because there is another son not ξόητος, i.e. the νοητὸς ἱσμός, cf. Quod Deus 31.

b See App. p. 501.
With His knowledge God had union, not as men have it, and begat created being. And knowledge, having received the divine seed, when her travail was consummated bore the only beloved son who is apprehended by the senses,\(^a\) the world which we see. Thus in the pages of one of the inspired company, wisdom is represented as speaking of herself after this manner: "God obtained \(^b\) me first of all his works and founded me before the ages" (Prov. viii. 22). True, for it was necessary that all that came to the birth of creation should be younger than the mother and nurse of the All. IX. If these parents accuse, who is able to withstand their accusation, or even a mild threat or the lightest chiding? Why, even their gifts are so boundless in number that no one, not even, one may say, the world, can contain them, but like some small cistern it will quickly be filled to the brim by the influx from the fountain of God's gracious boons, and discharge the rest in an overflow. And if we are unable to contain their benefits, how shall we endure the visitation of their powers to chastise? But in the present discussion, we must leave out of consideration the parents of the universe, and rather turn our eyes to the disciples, who have followed in their company,\(^b\) to whom has been committed the care and guidance of such souls as are not without training or incapable of culture. I suggest, then, that the father is reason, masculine, perfect, right reason and the mother the lower learning of the schools, with its regular course or round of instruction. These two stand to us in the relation of parents to children, and it is good and profitable to obey them.

Now right reason, the father, bids us follow in the
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ φύσει γυμνὴν καὶ ἀπημιφασμένην ἀλήθειαν μεταδιώκοντας, παιδείας δέ, τῆς μητρὸς, θέσει δικαίως προσέχειν, ἃ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἐθνικὰ καὶ χώρας ἔθεντο οἱ πρῶτοι δόκησιν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἀστασάμενοι. τοῖς γονεῖσι τούτοις τέτταρες παῖδων εἰσὶ τάξεις, ἢ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις καταπαιεῖτο, ἢ δ᾿ οὐδετέρῳ προσέχουσα, ἐναντία τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλων ἡμιτελῆς ἐκάτερα, ἢ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν φιλοπάτωρ σφόδρα γεγονωδὸν τῆς μὲν προσέχει, μητρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπισκήψεως αὐτῆς ἀλογεῖ, ἢ δ᾿ ἐμπαθώς ἐνίατο δοκοῦσα τῆς μὲν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖ, τῶν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἥκιστα φροντίζει. ἢ μὲν οὖν πρώτη τὰ κατὰ πάντων ἀθλα ὥστεται νυκτήρια, ἢ δ᾿ ἀντίσωλος ἠτταν ομού καὶ φθορὰν ἀναδέχεται, τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλοις ἐκάτερα, ἢ μὲν δευτέρειοι, ἢ δὲ τρίτων ἀθλῶν μεταποιηθέντες, δευτέρειοι μὲν ἡ πειθαρχοῦσα πατρὶ, τρίτων δ᾿ ἡ τῇ μητρὶ.

36 Χ. Τῆς μὲν οὖν φιλομήτορος ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις ὑπεκουόσης καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολυτρόπους τοῦ βίου ζηλώσεις παντοδαπᾶς μεταβαλλούσης ἰδέας | [363] Αἰγυπτίου Πρωτέως τὸν τρόπον, ὅς τῷ πάνθ᾿ οὐσα ἐν τῷ παντὶ πεφυκέναι γίνεσθαι τὸ ἀληθῆς ἀδηλούμενον ἐςχεν εἶδος, τύπος ἐναργεύστατος Ἰοθόρ, πλάσμα τύφου, πρὸς πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν συγκλύδων καὶ μυγάδων ἀνθρώπων κεναῖς αἰωρουμένων δόξαις μάλιστα ἀρμόττων. Μωυσέως γὰρ τοῦ σοφοῦ τὸν λεύν ἄπαντα τῆς ᾑψηθῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τιμήν θεοῦ μετακαλοῦντος καὶ τὰς τε προστάξεις

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1 MSS. ἐπισκήψεως.

a Or “opinion.” b See App. p. 501.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 34–37

steps of nature and pursue truth in her naked and undisguised form. Education, the mother, bids us give ear to rules laid down by human ordinance, rules which have been made in different cities and countries and nations by those who first embraced the apparent\(^a\) in preference to the true. These 35 parents have four classes of children. The first is obedient to both; the second is the direct opposite, and gives heed to neither, while each of the other two lacks its half. One of them is heartily devoted to the father and gives ear to him, but disregards the mother and her injunctions. The other, on the contrary, appears devoted to the mother, and serves her in every way, but pays no heed to the words of the father. Of these four the first will carry off the palm of victory over all comers, while the second its opposite will receive defeat accompanied by destruction. Each of the others will claim a prize, one the second, the other the third; the second belongs to the class which obeys the father, the third to the class which obeys the mother.

X. \(^b\) This last kind which loves the mother, which 36 bows down to the opinions of the multitude and undergoes all manner of transformations in conformity with the ever-varying aspirations of human life, like the Egyptian Proteus, whose true form remained a matter of uncertainty through his power to become everything in the universe, is most clearly typified by Jethro. Jethro is a compound of vanity, closely corresponding with a city or commonwealth peopled by a promiscuous horde, who swing to and fro as their idle opinions carry them. See how he deals with Moses. He in his wisdom was recalling the whole people of the soul to piety and to honouring
καὶ τοὺς ἱερωτάτους νόμους ἀναδιδάσκοντος—φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι “ἐπειδὰν γένηται αὐτοῖς ἀντιλογία καὶ ἠλθοῦσι πρὸς μὲ, διακρῖνω ἔκαστον καὶ συμβιβάζω τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ”—, παρελθὼν ὁ δοκησίσοφος Ἰσθόρ, τῶν μὲν θείων ἀμύητος ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρωπείοις καὶ φθαρτοῖς μάλιστ’ ἐνωμιληκώς δημαγωγεῖ καὶ νόμους ἑναντίον τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀναγράφει, πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ἄφορῶν ἐκείνων ἀναφερομένων πρὸς τὸ 38 εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεήσας καὶ ὀίκτισάμενος τοῦ πολλοῦ πλάνου μεταδιδάσκειν οἶεται δεῖν καὶ ἀναπείθεων ἀποστῆναι μὲν τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν, 39 ἀκολουθήσας δὲ παγίως τῷ ἀληθεί. “ἐξάραντες,” γὰρ φησιν, ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀποκόψαντες τῆς διανοίας τὸν κενὸν τῦφον μετανιστάμεθα εἰς τὸν ἑρμηνευτήμα έπον, ὅν χρησιμοίς καὶ ὁμολογίαις θείαις λαμβάνομεν. “‘ἰδι δὴ μεθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσομεν.” ἀποβάλείς μὲν γὰρ τὴν βλαβερωτάτην δόκησιν, 40 κτήσῃ δὲ τὴν ὑφελιμωτάτην ἀλήθειαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα κατεπασθεῖ τὰ άλογίσει τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἑρμηνευτήμα μὲν οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς ἐξεταί, ἀναχωρήσει δὲ καὶ ἀναδραμεῖται πρὸς τὸν ἱδίον καὶ κενὸν τῦφον λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι εἴπε πρὸς αὐτόν. “οὐ πορεύσομαι ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν γῆν μου καὶ τὴν γενεάν μου,” τούτεστι τὴν συγγενῆ ψευδοδοξοῦσαν’ ἀπιστεύειν, ἐπειδή τὴν ἀληθεύουσαν’ ἀνδραίᾳ φίλην πίστιν οὐχ ἔμαθε. XI. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἐπίδειξιν εὐσεβείας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι λέγει, “νῦν ἐγνώς ὅτι μέγας

1 Or ψευδοδοξοῦσιν . . . ἀληθεύουσιν (Adler).

*a The LXX has ἐξαίρομεν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν τόπον δὲ εἶπε Κύριος, where ἐξαίρω, as often, is used intransitively. Philo, however,
ON DRUNKENNESS, 37-41

God, and was teaching them the commandments and holy laws. His words are, "when they have a dispute and come to me, I judge between each of them and instruct them in the commandments of God and His law" (Exod. xviii. 16). And then comes forward Jethro the seeming wise, who has never learnt the secrets of the divine blessings, but his concern has been with little else than things human and corruptible. He plays the demagogue, and the laws which he lays down contradict the laws of nature; for his eyes are fixed on semblance, while they relate to real existence. Yet even on him Moses has compassion, and pities him for his great delusion; he feels that he should teach him a better lesson, and persuade him to depart from his empty opinions and follow truth steadfastly. We have "removed," he says in effect, and excised from the mind its empty vanity and are passing over to the place of knowledge, which is ours through the oracles and promises of God. "Come with us and we will do thee good" (Num. x. 29). For you will lose the most harmful of evils, mere seeming, and gain the most profitable of blessings, truth. But even to words of such charm as these Jethro will pay no heed, nor ever follow knowledge in any way, but will hasten to return to the empty vanity which is indeed his own. For we read that he said to Moses, "I will not go, but I will go to my land and my generation" (Num. x. 30); that is, to the unfaith of false opinion which is his kinsman, since he has not learnt the true faith, so dear to real men. XI. For when he wishes to make a shew of piety and says "now I for his allegory uses it transitively. The English "remove" gives the double usage.
κύριος παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς,” ἀσέβειαν παρὰ
dικάξειν ἐπισταμένοις ἀνδράσιν ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

42 φήσουσι γὰρ αὐτῷ νῦν ἐγνως, ἀνόσιε, προτερον
δ᾽ οὐκ ἥπιστασε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνος;
ἡν γὰρ τι πρεσβύτερον θεοῦ, ὁ προεντετυχηκας;
ἡ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐχ αἱ τῶν γονέων ἀρεται πρὸ τῶν
ἀλλων ἀπαξ ἀπάντων γνώριμωι; τοῦ δὲ παντὸς
οὐκ ἄρα ἀρχηγήτης ὁ κτίστης καὶ πατήρ αὐτοῦ;
ὁστ᾽ εἰ νῦν ἐγνωκέναι φῆς σὺ, οὐδὲ νῦν ἐγνωκας,

43 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχῆς. ἐλέγχη δ᾽ οὐδὲν
ἡττον ἐπιμορφάζων, ὅταν συγκρίνης τὰ ἀσύγκριτα
cαι λέγης παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ μεγαλείον
tοῦ ἄντος ἐγνωκέναι· εἰ γὰρ ἦδεις ἀληθεία τὸ ὦν,
οὐδένα ἂν τῶν ἀλλων ὑπέλαβες εἴναι θεὸν αὐτεξού-

44 σιον. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀνατελάς ὃ ἡλιος ἀποκρύπτει [364]
tοὺς ἀστέρας τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄψεων ἀθρόον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
καταχέας φέγγος, οὕτως ὅταν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμματὶ
ἀμνείας καὶ καθαρώταται καὶ τηλαυγέσταται τοῦ
φωσφόρου θεοῦ νοηταί ἕνωσειν αὐγαί, κατιδεῖν
οὐδέν ἐτερον δύναται· ἐπιλάμψασα γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἄντος
eπιστήμη πάντα περιαγάζει, ὥς καὶ τοὺς λαμπρο-
tάτους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἐπισκοτεῖν. Θεοὺς

45 οὖν τοῖς ἑυδαιμονίμοις οὐκ ἂν τις τῶν ἀληθῆ 
θεοῦ συγκρίνειν ὑπέμενεν, εἴπερ ἀπευδόως ἐγνωσκεν 
αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἔναπειστημοσύνη τοῦ ἔνος τὴν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὡς ὑπ-
ἀρχουσι, πρὸς ἀληθείαν οὐκ οὔσι, δόξαν εἰργάσατο.

1 παντὸς is suspected on the grounds that while Philo often
uses πάντων without the article, he regularly uses it with the
singular. Perhaps read πάντων ἡγεμόνος, or πανηγεμόνος, or
τοῦ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνος.

2 MSS. πιστών.

a See App. p. 501.
b Or “notwithstanding (all your professions)” ; cf. the use
of οὐχ ἦττον in § 64 and § 195.
know that the Lord is great beyond all the gods" (Exod. xviii. 11), he does but charge himself with impiety in the eyes of men who knew how to judge. They will say to him "Blasphemer! is it now that you know this, and have you never till now understood the greatness of the ruler of all? Did your past experience shew you anything more ancient or more venerable than God? Are not the excellences of the parents known to the children, before those of any others? Is not the Maker and Father of the Universe He who presided at its beginning? So if you say that you now know, not even now have you true knowledge, since it does not date from the beginning of your own existence. And you stand no less convicted of mere feigning, when you compare two incomparables, and say that you know that the greatness of the Existent is beyond all the Gods. For if you had true knowledge of that which IS, you would not have supposed that any other god had power of his own." The sun when it rises hides from our sight the light of the other stars by pouring upon them the flood of its own beams; even so, when the rays of the Divine Day-star, rays visible to the mind only, pure from all defiling mixture and piercing to the furthest distance, flash upon the eye of the soul, it can descry nothing else. For when the knowledge of the Existent shines, it wraps everything in light, and thus renders invisible even bodies which seemed brightest in themselves. No one, then, could have the boldness to compare the true God with those falsely so called, if he had any knowledge of Him which was free from falsehood. But your ignorance of the One produced your opinion of the existence of the Many whereas in real truth they had no existence.
46 XII. τῆς αυτῆς προαιρέσεως ἐστὶ πᾶς, ὅτω τὰ μὲν ψυχῆς ἀπέγνωσται, τὰ δὲ περὶ σώμα τε καὶ ἐκτὸς χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι πεποικιλμένα πρὸς ἀπάτην αἰσθήσεως εὐπαραγώγου θαυμάζεται. 47 καλεὶ δὲ τὸν τοιούτον ὁ νομοθέτης Λάβαν, ὃς τοὺς ἀληθεῖς τῆς φύσεως νόμους οὐ κατιδὼν ψευδογραφεῖ τοὺς παρὰ ἀνθρώπως φάσκων· "οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν, δοῦνα τὴν νεωτέραν πρὶν ἥ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν." οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐν χρόνοις τάξιν φυλάττει, δοὺς γὰρ τὸν τοιούτον ἀνάληθεν τής φύσεως νόμους οὐ κατιδὼς καὶ φύσεως αἵρεσιν ὑπαρξόντας ἐφίεται καὶ νεωτέρων προτέρων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ὑστέρων. 48 ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡθοποιὸν λόγον ἑαυτῷ συνάδοντα· τοῖς γὰρ ἀσκηταῖς ἀνάγκη προτερον ἐντυχεῖν τῇ νεωτέρα παιδεία, ἵνα τῆς τελειότερας αὕτης ἀπ- 49 ὄνασθαι βεβαίως δυνηθῶσι. παρὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ καλοκαγαθίας ἐρασταὶ οὐ προτερον ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἀφικνοῦνται θύρας φιλοσοφίας, πρὶν ἡ ταῖς νεωτέραις ἐντυχεῖν, γραμματική καὶ γεωμετρία καὶ τῇ συμπάσῃ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μουσική: αὕτη γὰρ σοφίαν τοῖς ἁδύλως καὶ καθαρῶς μνε- 50 μένοις ἀεὶ προξενοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀντισοφίζεται βουλό- μενος τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἡμῶς ἁγαγεῖσθαι προτεράν, οὐχ ἵνα βεβαίως ἑχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς τῆς νεω- τέρας φίλτροις δελεασθέντες αὕτης τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνη 51 πόθον ἐκλύσωμεν. XIII. καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο συνε- ἐβη πολλοῖς τῶν ἀνοδία πρὸς παιδείαν χρησαμένων. ἐτὶ γὰρ, ὡς ἐπος εἶπεῖν, ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπαρ-

\[1\] MSS. σώματα.

\[a\] See App. p. 501.  
\[b\] See App. p. 502.
XII. The same creed and rule is followed by everyone who has rejected the things of the soul and set his admiration on the things of the body, and outside the body, with shapes and colours rife, decked out to deceive the senses which are so easily seduced. Such a one is called by the lawgiver Laban, who, being blind to the true laws of nature, proclaims with false lips man-made law. "It is not so in our place," he says, "to give the younger in marriage before the elder" (Gen. xxix. 26). For Laban thinks that he should maintain the order of time. He holds that older things should first be taken into our company, and younger things only later. But the Practiser of Wisdom, knowing that the timeless also exists in nature, desires what is younger first and the elder afterwards. And the laws of human character as well as of nature agree with him in this; for Men of Practice must first take up with the younger culture, that afterwards they may be able to have secure enjoyment of that which is more perfect. And therefore to this day the lovers of true nobility do not attend at the door of the elder sister, philosophy, till they have taken knowledge of the younger sisters, grammar and geometry and the whole range of the school culture. For these ever secure the favours of wisdom to those who woo her in guilelessness and sincerity. But Laban with his sophistry will have it otherwise, and wishes us to wed the elder first, not that we may possess her in security, but that afterwards snared by the love-charms of the younger sister, we may abandon our desire of the elder. 

XIII. And this or something very like it happens to many who have left the right path in their search for culture. For from the very cradle, we may say,
γάνων πρὸς τελειότατον ἐπιτήδευμα, φιλοσοφίαν, ἐλθόντες, ἀμύητοι τῶν ἐγκυκλίων εἰσάπαν οὐ δικαιώσαντες γενέσθαι ὅψα καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν ἄφασθαι διενοήθησαν. κἀπείτα ἀπὸ τῆς μείζονος καὶ πρεσβυτέρας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλαττῶν καὶ νεωτέρων θέαν καταβάντες ἐνεγῆρασαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς μηκέτ' ἀναδραμεῖν οἴθεν ὥρμησαν ἵσχυσαι.

52 διὰ τοῦτ' οἴμαι φησι· "συντέλεσον τὰ ἔβδομα ταῦτης," ἵποι τῷ μὴ ἀτελεύτητον ἐστω σοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὅρον ἐχέτω καὶ πέρας, ἵνα καὶ τῇ νεωτέρᾳ τάξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐνύχης, ἢν σῶματος κάλλος καὶ δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κεκλήρωται. ὥς μηκέτ άναδραμεῖν οὐκ ἴσχῦσαι. οἱ τοῖς οἷς ἐστω σοι τὸ τῆς φυσῆς ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὅρον εὑρεῖ ένα καὶ περιέξεσθαι, ήν σώματος καὶ δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰ ὁμοιότροπα κεκλήρωται. 

53 δὲ συντέλεσεν μὲν οὐχ ὑποσχεῖται, "ἀναπληρῶσεν" δ' αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖ, τούτητι μηδέποτε ἐπιλεύσειν τὰ πρὸς αὔξησιν καὶ συμπλήρωσιν αὐτῆς ἐπιτηδεύσων, ἀλλ' ἄει καὶ πανταιχὸ περιέξεσθαι, κἂν μυρία τὰ ἀντισπώντα καὶ ἀνθέλκοντα λέει πάνω δ' ἐκδήλως τὸ τὰ ἐθη γυναιξι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐπιτηδεύουσαν δοκεῖ μοι παρίστασθαι διὰ τῶν 'Ραχῆλ τῆς μόνα τὰ αὐσθητὰ θαυμαζούσης λόγων φησὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα έαυτῆς· "μὴ βαρέως φέρε, κύριε· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστήναι ἐνώπιον σου, ὅτι τὰ κατ' έθισμὸν τῶν γυναικῶν μοι ἐστιν." οὐκοῦν γυναικῶν ἰδιον τὸ ἐθος πείθεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἀσθενεστέρας καὶ θηλυτέρας ψυχῆς τὸ ἔθος· ἀνδρῶν γάρ τοι ή φύσις, καὶ ἐρρωμένου καὶ ἄρρενους ἢς ἀληθῶς λογισμὸν ἐπεσθαὶ φύσει.

1 MSS. περιέσεσθαι.
they betake themselves to the most perfect of studies, philosophy, and afterwards deeming it wrong that they should have no tincture at all of the school subjects, bethink themselves to make a belated and painful effort to grasp them. And then having made their descent from the greater and older branch, philosophy, to the contemplation of the lesser and younger branches, they grow old in their company and thus lose all power of retracing their course to the place from which they started.

And this, I think, is why Laban says, "bring to a consummation her week" (Gen. xxix. 27), meaning "let not the true good of the soul be thine unendingly, but let it have its term and limit, that so you may keep company with the younger order of goods in which are classed bodily beauty and glory and riches and the like." But Jacob does not promise to bring her to a consummation, but agrees to "fulfil" (Gen. xxix. 28) her, that is never to cease pursuing what tends to her growth and completeness and always and everywhere to cleave to her, however great be the host of influences which draw and pull him in the opposite direction.

That the rule of custom is followed by women more than men is, I think, quite clearly shewn by the words of Rachel, who looks with admiration only on that which is perceived by the senses. For she says to her father, "Be not wroth, sir; I cannot rise before thee, because the custom of women is upon me" (Gen. xxxi. 35). So we see that obedience to custom is the special property of women. Indeed, custom is the rule of the weaker and more effeminate soul. For nature is of men, and to follow nature is the mark of a strong and truly masculine reason.
56 XIV. καταπέπληγμαι δὲ τὸ ἀφευδὲς τῆς ψυχῆς
tῆς ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῆς διαλόγοις ὑμολογούσης, ὅτι
οὗ δύναται τῶν φανομένων ἀγαθῶν κατεξανα-
στήναι, ἀλλ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν τέθηκε καὶ τιμᾶ καὶ
μονονοὺχ ἐαυτῆς προκέκρικεν. ἐπεὶ τίς ἡμῶν
ἀντιστατεὶ πλούτῳ; τίς δὲ πρὸς δὸξαν κοινεῖται;
tίς δὲ τιμῆς ἡ ἁρχὴς καταπεφρόνηκε σχεδὸν τῶν
ἐν φυρομένων ἐν κεναῖς δόξαις; οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ
παράπαν. ἀλλ’ ἔως μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων πάρεστιν,
ὑπηγοροῦμεν ὡς οἰλιγοδείας ἔταροι τὸν αὐταρκε-
στατον καὶ δικαιότατον καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ εὐγενέσιν
ἀρμόττοντα περιποιοῦσθαι βίον· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν
τῶν εἰρημένων ἑλπίς ἡ ἐλπίδος αὐτὸ μόνον αὐρά
βραχεία καταπνεύσῃ, διελεγχόμεθα· ὑπείκοντες
γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐνδίδομεν καὶ ἀντιβηναι καὶ ἀντισχεῖν
οὐ δυνάμεθα, προδοθέντες δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλῶν
ἀισθήσεων ὅλη τὴν ψυχῆς συμμαχίαν ἐκλείπομεν
καὶ οὐκέτι λανθάνομεν ἀλλ’ ἢδη φανερῶς αὐτο-
μολοῦμεν· καὶ μῆποτ’ εἰκότως· ἐτι γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐθῆ
τὰ γυναικῶν ἐπιπεπόλακεν οὕτω δυνηθεῖσι τὰ μὲν
ἐκνίψαθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνδρῶν μεταδραμεῖν
ἐστίν, καθάπερ λόγος ἔχει τὴν φιλάρετον διάνοιαν,
60 ὄνομα Σάρραν· αὕτη γὰρ εἰςαγέται
diὰ τῶν χρησμῶν „τὰ γυναικεῖα πάντ’ ἐκλυποῦσα,”
ἡνίκα τὸ αὐτομαθές γένος ὦδίνειν καὶ ἀποτίκτειν
ἐμελλεν, ἐπικλησιν Ἰσαάκ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἁμήτωρ
γενέσθαι τὴν ἐκ πατρός, οὐ πρὸς μητρός, αὐτὸ
μόνον κληρωσαμένη συγγένειαν, θήλεος γενεὰς

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*a* See App. p. 502.

*b* Or “all those who are allies of the soul.”
ON DRUNKENNESS, 56–61

XIV. And how striking is the frank truthfulness of that soul who, discoursing with herself, confesses that she cannot rise up against apparent goods, but stands amazed before each of them, and honours them and continues to prefer them almost to her own self. For which of us stands up to oppose riches? Who prepares himself to wrestle with glory? How many of those who still live in the mazes of empty opinions have come to despise honour and office? Not a single one. So long, indeed, as none of these things is with us, we talk loftily as though our hearts were given to that frugal contentment which is the secret of a life completely self-sufficient and righteous, the life which befits the free and nobly born. But when we feel upon our cheeks the breath of hope for such things, though it be but the slightest breath and nothing more, we are shewn in our true colours, we straightway submit and surrender and can make no effort of resistance. Betrayed by the senses which we love, we abandon all comradeship with the soul; we desert and that no longer secretly, but without concealment. And surely that is natural. For the customs of women still prevail among us, and we cannot as yet cleanse ourselves from them, or flee to the dwelling-place where the men are quartered, as we are told that it was with the virtue-loving mind, named Sarah. For the oracles represent her as having left all the things of women (Gen. xviii. 11), when her travail was at hand and she was about to bring forth the self-taught nature, named Isaac. She is declared, too, to be without a mother, and to have inherited her kinship only on the father’s side and not on the mother’s, and thus to have no part in female parentage. For
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αμέτοχος. εἶπε γάρ ποῦ τις: "καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς
[366] ἀδελφή ἢ μοῦ ἐστών ἐκ πατρός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ μητρός." οὔ
γὰρ εἴς ὕλης τῆς αἰσθητῆς συνισταμένης ἀεὶ καὶ λυομένης, ἣν
μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν καὶ τιθήνῃ τῶν πουητῶν ἐφασαν, οἷς πρῶτοι σοφίας ἀν-
εβλάστησεν ἔρνος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου καὶ
62 πατρός. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑπερκύψασα τὸν σωμα-
τοειδῆ πάντα κόσμον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν θεῷ χαρᾶς γανω-
θείσα γέλωτα τὸς ἀνθρώπων θήσεται σπουδᾶς, ὅσαι
περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατ' εἰρήνην
63 πραγμάτων εἰσίν. XV. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι
ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάνδρου καὶ γυναικώδους συνηθείας τῆς
περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ
νυκώμενοι τῶν φανέρων οὐδενὸς κατεξαναστήναι
dυνάμεθα, πρὸς πάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων
64 οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες ἐλκόμεθα. κἂν
τὸ στίφος ἡμῶν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτάγμασιν
ἀδυνατοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν ἀλάσκηται, σύμμαχον οὐδὲν
ἡττον ἤξει τὴν μητέρα, παιδεῖαν μέσην τὰ νομιζό-
μενα καὶ δοκοῦντα εἶναι δίκαια γράφουσαν κατὰ
πόλεις καὶ ἀλλα ἀλλος νομοθέτοις.
65 Εἰδὶ δὲ τινὲς, οἱ τῶν μητρῶν ὑπερορωντες
περιέχονται παντὶ σθένει τῶν πατρῶν, οὐς καὶ
τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς, ἱερωσύνης, ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος
ηξίωσε. κἂν τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν διέλθωμεν, ἐφ'
αῖς τὸ γέρας τοῦτο εὑραντο, χλεύῃν ἵσως παρὰ

a i.e. Plato. The allusion is to the Timaeus, where ὕλη
is described as the μητήρ τοῦ γεγονότος 51 A, cf. 50 D, and as τιθήνῃ 49 A and 52 D.

b An allusion to Sarah laughing in Gen. xviii. 12; cf. a

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we find it said, "Indeed she is my sister, the daughter of my father but not of my mother" (Gen. xx. 12). She is not born of that material substance perceptible to our senses, ever in a state of formation and dissolution, the material which is called mother or foster-mother or nurse of created things by those in whom first the young plant of wisdom grew; she is born of the Father and Cause of all things. And so, soaring above the whole world of bodily forms, and exulting in the joy that is in God, she will count as a matter for laughter those anxious cares of men which are expended on human affairs, whether in war or peace.

XV. But we who are still under the sway of habit, the unmanly and womanish habit, whose concern is with the senses and the objects of sense and the passions, cannot stand up against phenomena in any form, but all of them, even those of the common sort, draw us on sometimes with our free will, sometimes without it. Yet if our battalion be unable to do service to the father's commands and thus suffer defeat, it will none the less have an ally in the mother, the lower education, who enacts from city to city the ordinances which custom and opinion approve, her legislation differing with the different peoples.

But there are also some who despise the mother's bidding, but cling with all their might to the father's words, and these right reason has judged worthy of the highest honour, the priesthood. And if we describe their deeds, for which they were thus rewarded, we shall perhaps incur the mockery of many, who are similar use of the incident, in defiance of its context, *Leg.* All. iii. 219.

"Or "be convicted as incapable of doing service."
πολλοὶς ὀφλήσομεν τῶς τῶς προχείρους φαντασίας ἀπατωμένους, τάς δὲ ἀφανεῖς καὶ συνεσκιασμένας
dυνάμεις οὐ κατανοοῦσιν οἶ γὰρ εὐχὰς καὶ
θυσίας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἵερον ἀγιστείαν ἕγ-
χειρισθέντες εἰσὶ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἀνδροφόνου,
ἀδελφοκτόνου, τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων
σωμάτων αὐτόχειρες, οὐς ἔχρην καθαροὺς καὶ ἐκ
cαθαρῶν, μηδενὸς ἄγους προσαψαμένους, ἐκουσίου
μὲν ἀπαγε, ἀλλὰ μηδ’ ἀκουσίου χειροτονεῖσθαι;
66 λέγεται γὰρ: "ἀποκτείνατε ἐκαστὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκαστὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκαστὸς
τὸν ἐγγιστα ἀυτοῦ. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ νῦν Δεῦ,
καθὰ ἐλάλησε Μωσῆς, καὶ ἐπεσον ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ
ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας." καὶ
τοὺς τοσαύτην ἀνηρκότας πληθὺν ἐπαινεῖ φάσκων·
"ἐπληρώσατε τὰς χεῖρας σήμερον κυρίῳ, ἐκαστὸς
ἐν τῷ νύῳ οὐ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, δοθήναι ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς εὐλογίαν."
67 XVI. τὶ οὖν λεκτέων ἢ ὅτι οἱ τουτοῦ τοῖς μὲν
κοινοὶς ἄνθρώπων έθεσιν αλίσκονται κατήγορον
ἐχοντες τὴν πολιτευομένην καὶ δημαγωγὸν μητέρα
συνήθειαν, τοῖς δὲ τῆς φύσεως διασωζόνται συμ-
μάχῳ χρώμενοι ὄρθω λόγῳ, τῷ πατρί;
68 καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’, ἄστερ νομίζουσι τυνες, ἄνθρώπους
αναιροῦσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ήμια λογικὰ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ
σώματος συνεστώτα, ἀλλ’ ὅσα οἰκεία καὶ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ
[367] ἀποκόπτουσι τῆς διανοίας έαυτῶν, εὑπρεπὲς εἶναι
νομίζουντες τοῖς θεραπευταῖς τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ
γενησομένους πάντων ὃς γένεσιν ἐλληχεν ἀλλοτριοῦ-
θαι καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἑκθροῖς καὶ δυσμενεστάτοις
70 προσφέρεσθαι. διὰ τούτο καὶ "ἀδελφόν," οὐκ
ἀνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχῆς ἀδελφὸν σῶμα ἀπο-
κτενοῦμεν, τούτεστι τοῦ φιλαρέτου καὶ θείου τοῦ
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ON DRUNKENNESS, 65–70

deceived by the semblances that lie ready before their eyes but do not descry the values which are unseen and wrapt in shadow. For they into whose charge the work of prayer and sacrifice and all the worship of the temple was given, are actually—strange paradox—homicides, fratricides, slayers of the bodies which are nearest and dearest to them, though they should have come to their office, pure in themselves and in their lineage, having had no contact with any pollution even involuntary, far less voluntary. For we read "slay each his brother and each his neighbour and each him that is nearest to him. And the children of Levi did as Moses spake, and there fell of the people on that day up to three thousand men" (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28). And he praises those who had slain this great multitude with these words, "ye have filled your hands to-day unto the Lord, each in his son or in his brother, that blessing should be given upon you" (Exod. xxxii. 29). XVI. What, then, can we say but that such as these are condemned by the rules that obtain among men, for they have for their accuser their mother, custom, the politician and demagogue, but are acquitted by the laws of nature, for they have the support of their father, right reason?

For it is not human beings, as some suppose, who are slain by the priests, not living reasoning animals composed of soul and body. No, they are cutting away from their own hearts and minds all that is near and dear to the flesh. They hold that it befits those who are to be ministers to the only wise Being, to estrange themselves from all that belongs to the world of creation, and to treat all such as bitter and deadly foes. Therefore we shall kill our "brother"—not a man, but the soul’s brother, the body; that is, we shall
φιλοπαθές καὶ θνητοῖ ηνιάξομεν. ἀποκτενοῦμεν καὶ τὸν “πλησίον,” πάλιν οὐκ ἀνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν <αισθήσεων> χορὸν καὶ θίασον. οὗτος γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐστιν ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκείος καὶ δυσμενῆς, δελεάτα καὶ παγίδας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τιθεῖς, ἵνα τοῖς ἐπιρρέουσιν ἀισθητοῖς κατακλυζομένη μηδέποτε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνακύψῃ μηδὲ τὰς νοητὰς καὶ θεοειδεῖς φύσεις ἀσπάσηται. ἀποκτενοῦμεν καὶ “τὸν ἐγγιστὰ”. ο’ ὁ ἐγγυτάτω διανοίας ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν ἔστι λόγος, εὐλόγως καὶ εἰκόσι καὶ πιθανότητι δόξας ψευδείς εὐτιθεὶς ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ κρατίστου κτήματος ἁληθείας. ΧVII. διὰ τὴν οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦτον σοφιστὴν ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν ἀμυνοῦμεθα τὸν ἀριστοτέλη τούτα αὐτῷ καταψηφισάμενοι θάνατον, ἱσυχίαν—λόγου γὰρ ἰσυχία θάνατος—, ἵνα μηκέτ’ ἐν- σοφιστεύοντος ο’ νοῦς μεθέλκηται, δύνηται δ’ ἀπηλλαγμένος πάντως τῶν κατὰ τὸ “ἀδελφὸν” σώμα ἡδονῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὰς “πλησίον” καὶ ἀγχίθυρους αἰσθήσεις γοητείων, τῶν κατὰ τὸν “ἐγγιστα” λόγον σοφιστεῖσιν ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἀφετος ἐαθεῖσ καθαρῶς τοῖς νοητοῖς ἀπασίω ἐπιβάλλειν; οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ “λέγων τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ,” τοῖς θνητοῖς γονεύσιν, “οὐχ ἐώρακα ύμᾶς,” ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ θεία εἶδον, ὁ “μὴ γνωρίζων τοὺς υἱούς,” ἀφ’ οὗ γνώριμος σοφίας ἐγένετο, ὁ “ἀπο- γνώσκων τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς,” ἀφ’ οὗ μὴ ἀπεγνώσθη παρὰ θεῶν, ἀλλὰ σωφρηρίας ἡξιώθη παντελῶς. οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ “τὸν σευρόμαστην λαβῶν,” τούτεστιν ὁ μαστεύσας καὶ ἀναξητήσας

1 Or perhaps, as Mangey, τῶν χορὸν αἰσθήσεων· οὗτος.

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Lit. “pit-searcher”; see footnote to De Post. 182.
dissolve the passion-loving and mortal element from the virtue-loving and divine. We shall kill, too, our "neighbour," again no man, but the troop and company of the senses. That company is at once the close intimate and the enemy of the soul, spreading its gins and snares for her, in order that, overwhelmed by the flood of sense-perceived objects, she may never lift her head heavenwards nor welcome those natures whose divine forms are grasped only by the mind. Again we shall kill our "nearest"; and nearest to the understanding is the uttered word, which through the specious, the probable and the persuasive implants in us false opinions for the destruction of our noblest possession, truth. XVII. Why, then, should we not at once take vengeance on him too, sophist and miscreant that he is, by sentencing him to the death that befits him—that is to silence, for silence is the death of speech? Thus will he no longer ply his sophistries within the mind, nor will that mind be led astray, but absolutely released from the pleasures of his "brother," the body, and from the witcheries of the senses, the "neighbours" at his gates, and from the sophistries of the speech which is "nearest" to him, he will be able to devote his unhampered liberty to the world of mental things. It is this Mind who "says to his father and mother"—his mortal parents—"I have not seen you," from the day when I saw the things of God; it is this Mind who no longer knows his sons, ever since he came to the knowledge of wisdom; it is this Mind who renounces his brethren (Deut. xxxiii. 9), ever since he was not renounced before God, but judged worthy of full salvation. It is this same Mind who "took the lance," that is probed and searched the
τὰ τῆς φθαρτής γενέσεως, ἢς ἐν συώς καὶ ποτοῖς
tὸ εὐδαίμον τεθησάρισται, καὶ "εἰς τὴν κάμινον,"
ὡς φησὶ Μωσῆς, "εἰσελθῶν," τὸν καὶ ύμενον
καὶ φλεγόμενον ὑπερβολαῖς ἀδικημάτων καὶ μηδέ-
ποτε σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον ἀνθρώπων βίον, κάπετα
ισχύσας καὶ τὴν "γυναίκα διὰ τῆς κάμινος" ἀνα-
τεμεῖν, ὅτι αἴτια τοῦ γεγονός ἔδοξεν εἶναι πάσχοισα
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μᾶλλον ἡ δρῶσα, καὶ πάντα "ἀν-
θρωποῦ" καὶ λογισμὸν τὸν ἑπακολουθήσαντα τῇ
δὲ δόξῃ τῇ <τὰ> τοῦ μόνου τῶν γυναικῶν αἴτιον
θεοῦ περιπατοῦσι παθηταις οὕσιας. XVIII.

74 ἀρ' οὐχὶ καὶ οὕτος ἀνδροφόνος παρὰ πολλοῖς ἂν
[368] εἶναι νομισθεὶς τοῖς | πρὸς γυναικῶν ἔθεσιν ἀλισκό-
μενος1; ἀλλὰ παρὰ γε θεώ τῷ πανηγεμόνι καὶ
πατρὶ μυρίων ἐπαίνων καὶ ἐγκωμίων καὶ ἀναφ-
αιρέτων ἀθλιῶν ἀξιωθήσεται· τὰ δὲ αθλα μεγάλα
75 καὶ ἄδελφα, εἰρήνη καὶ ἔρωσύνη.

τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἐν τῷ σπουδαζομένῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς
ἀνθρώποις βίω δυσάλωτον στρατείαν καὶ τὸν ἐν
ψυχῇ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καταλῦσαι
dυνηθέντα εἰρήνην βεβαιώσασθαι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
ἔργον, τὸ τε μηδὲν ἀλλο, μὴ πλοῦτον, μὴ δόξαν,
μὴ τιμήν, μὴ ἀρχήν, μὴ κάλλος, μὴ ἰσχύν, μὴ ὁσα
σώματος πλεονεκτήσατα, μηδ' αὖ γὴν ἡ οὐρανῶν
ἡ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν
αἴτιων τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἀνωτᾶτω

1 Wendland τοῖς τρόποις γυναικῶν ἔθεσιν ἀλισκομένοις. See
App. p. 503.

a A.V. "tent," R.V. "pavilion" (marg. "alcove"). No
reason seems to be known for the LXX translation. κάμινος
elsewhere always means "furnace," a sense impossible in this
context. b See App. p. 502.
secrets of corruptible creation, which finds in food and
drink the treasure-house of its happiness; who
"entered," as Moses tells us, "the furnace"—the
furnace of human life, which burns so fiercely and
unquenchably, fed with the exceeding multitude of
our transgressions; who then received strength to
"pierce" both the woman and the man—"the
woman through the womb," because she believed
herself to be the cause of generation, though in
reality her part is passive rather than active—"the
man" as representing every thought which followed
this belief—the belief which invests the natures
which are but the subjects of God's action with the
dues which belong only to Him who alone is the
cause of all that comes into being (Num. xxv. 7, 8).

XVIII. Surely such a one must pass for a murderer in the
judgement of the multitude, and be condemned
by custom the woman-like, but in the judgement of
God the all-ruling Father he will be held worthy of
laud and praise beyond reckoning and of prizes that
cannot be taken from him—two great and sister
prizes, peace and priesthood (Num. xxv. 2, 13).

For to be able to stay the fierce per-
sistent warfare of the outward life which the multi-
tude so eagerly pursues, and the intestine battling of
lust against lust in the soul, and there establish peace,
is a great and glorious feat. And to have learnt that
nothing else, neither wealth, nor glory, nor honour,
nor office, nor beauty, nor strength, nor all bodily
advantages, nor earth nor heaven, nor the whole
world, but only the true cause, the Cause supreme
among causes, deserves our service and highest
honour, and thereby to have attained the rank of
τιμής ἀξιώσαντα μόνον τὴν ἱερωσύνης λαβεῖν τάξιν ἰν ἱερεὺς γένοιτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔτι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ θυτὴν στρατευόμενος στρατείαν, ἐν ἢ ταχματαρ-χοῦσιν αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι, οὔτ' ἂν εἰρηνικὸς ἄνηρ μὴ τὸ μὸνον ἀμέτοχοι πολέμου καὶ τὴν αἰώνιον εἰρήνην ἁγον ἄμενος καὶ ἀπλῶς θεραπεύων.

76 XIX. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τιμώντες, μητρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνης ἡκιστα φροντίζοντες. τὸν δ' ἀμφότεροις πολεμισθέντα τοῖς γονεύσι διασφείρομεν εἰςαγαγόντα λέγοντα· "οὐκ οἴδα τὸν κύριον, καὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ οὐκ ἐξαποστέλλω" οὕτως γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς θεον ὅρθῳ λόγῳ βραβευομένοι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς γένεσιν παιδεία βεβαιομένους ἐναντιοῦσαί καὶ συγχεῖν πάντα διὰ πάντων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτὶ νῦν—οὐπώ γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος τὴν ἄκρατον κακίαν ἐκαθήρατο—μήτε τῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν μήτε τῶν εἰς κοινωνίαν μηδὲν ἀπλῶς δραπέται ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἀσέβειάς μὲν καὶ ἀθεότητος ἑταίροι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὅμοιον ἀπιστοῦ. καὶ περινοστοῦσιν αἰ μέγιστα τῶν πόλεων κήρες οὕτως, τὰ ἱδιὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπὸ φιλοπραγμοσύνης διέποντες, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ χρῆ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἀνατρέποντες· οὕς ἔχρην ὀσπερ μεγάλην νόσου, λυμόν ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ τι κακὸν ἄλλο θεήλατον, εὔχαίς καὶ θυσίαις ἀποτρέπεσθαι. φθοραὶ γὰρ οὕτως μεγάλαι τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι. παρὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν ὀλεθρον αὐτῶν ἄλλει πρὸς τῆς

* Apparently the thought is that the sea which blocked the way of the Israelites was Pharaoh's ally. For "swallowed up" cf. Ex. xv. 4 (ἵνα κατεπόθησαν).
priesthood—this is a privilege as marvellous as it is worthy of all our efforts. But when I called these two prizes sisters, I did not miscall them. I knew that none could be a true priest, who was still a soldier in that war of mortal men, in which the ranks are led by vain opinions, and that none could be a man of peace who did not worship in truth and sincerity that Being who alone is exempt from war and dwells in eternal peace.

XIX. Such are they who honour the father and what is his, but disregard the mother and what is hers. But the son who is at enmity with both his parents is shewn to us by Moses, when he represents him as saying, “I know not the Lord and I do not send Israel forth” (Exod. v. 2). Such a one, we may expect, will oppose both what right reason rules to be our duty to God and what training and education establish for our dealings with the world of creation; and thus he will work universal confusion. The human race has never purged itself of the wickedness which is unmixed with good, and there are still those whose will and purpose is to do no action whatever that can tend to piety or human fellowship, who on the contrary keep company with impiety and godlessness, and also keep no faith with their fellows. And these are the chief pests which haunt cities, controlling or, to speak more truly, upsetting private and public life with their restless intrigues. We might well treat them like some great plague or famine or murrain, or any other heaven-sent curse, and endeavour to avert them by prayers and sacrifices. For great is the havoc they work among those whom they meet. And therefore Moses sings of their destruction; how they fell through their own allies'
idioi symmachias alontwn kai wosper trikymiais taides idiais doxeis engkatapodentwn.

80 XX. Legwmen toinun exhs kai peri twon toutous men ethrwn, paiideian de kai orthon logon ekteymiakontwn, oni yasan oi twi etepw twon yonewn proskeimeno
toinun kai nomwn, os o patir, o orhos logos, ethken, aristoi fylakes kai ethwn pistoi tamiai,

81 apter h paiideia, mhtir autwn, eisignhsato. edidachthesan de upo mewn orthon logou, patros, ton patera twon olon timain, upo de paiideias, rhis mhtros, twon thesei kai nomizomenwn parapasen einai
dikaiwn mh olignwrein. hnikia goyn o askeiths 'Iakwv kai tous argeths athlous diablw
emellev akous orfalwv antididwv kai logous erwv kai prokopas teleiouthtos, tov filodwrov theou boulyvhentos autou thn diwnian enommatwsw, 
iva taute iveniges idh a proteron akoy paralembanave--pistoutera gar oimis wton--, epikhwsan
oi chrismoi: "ou klythsetai to onoma sou 'Iakwv, 
all 'Isravl estai sou to onoma, oni ischusas metathv sou kai metathvra wprwn dunatos." 'Iakwv
men oin mathwesou kai prokopites onoma, akoyes ekprrhmenwn dunawov, 'Isravl de teleiouthtos:

83 orasen gar theou mhnuei toynoma. teleiouteron de
th ein twn en aretas h to onwos on idein;
ou dh katidwv tagathon touto par' amfoteros

1 Wendland suggested <utosera>hsan, and ths aretis, but Adler's argument for the ms. text, taking on
as dependent on xoreutai and aretis as acc. of respect, is convincing. The
phrase emateleis thn aretiv recurs De Decal. 110.

a The connexion lies in the words "strong with God and
and were swallowed up by the heavy sea of their own imaginations.

XX. Let us then speak next of those who are the enemies of these last, but have given due honour to both education and right reason, of whom those who attach themselves to one parent only were but half-hearted followers in virtue. This fourth class are valiant guardians of the laws which their father, right reason, has laid down, and faithful stewards of the customs which their mother, instruction, has introduced. Their father, right reason, has taught them to honour the Father of the all; their mother, instruction, has taught them not to make light of those principles which are laid down by convention and accepted everywhere. Consider the case of Jacob. The Man of Practice was now in the last bout of his exercises in virtue, about to exchange hearing for eyesight, words for deeds, and progress for perfection, since God in his bounty had willed to plant eyes in his understanding that he might see clearly what before he had grasped by hearing, for sight is more trustworthy than the ears. Then it was that the oracles rang out their proclamation, "Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast been strong with God and mighty with men" (Gen. xxxii. 28). Now Jacob is a name for learning and progress, gifts which depend upon the hearing; Israel for perfection, for the name expresses the vision of God. And what among all the blessings which the virtues give can be more perfect than the sight of the Absolutely Existent? He who has the sight of this blessing has mighty with men." Philo equates God with the father "reason" and men with the mother "convention."
άνωμολόγηται τοῖς γονεύσιν εὐδόκιμος, ἵσχὺν μὲν τὴν ἐν θεῷ, δύναμιν δὲ τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώποισ
εὐφράμενος. εἴ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν Παροµ-
μίασ εἰρήσθαι " προνοοῦντων καλὰ ἐνώπιον καὶ ἀνθρώπων," ἐπειδὴ δι' ἀμφοτέρων παντελῆς ἡ κτήσις τάγαθον περιγίνεται· διδαχθεῖς γὰρ
φυλάσσειν νόμους πατρὸς καὶ μὴ ἀπωθεῖσθαι
θεσμοὺς μητρὸς θαρρῆσεις ἐπισεμνυνόμενος εἰπεῖν· "νῦν γὰρ ἐγενόμην κἀκεῖ πατρὶ ὑπήκοος καὶ ἀγαπώμενος ἐν προσώπῳ μητρὸς." XXI. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμελλες, εἶποι μ' ἂν αὐτῶ, στέργεσθαι φυλάττων
μὲν τὰ παρὰ γενητοὺς καθεστῶτα νόμιμα διὰ πόθον
κοινωνίας, φυλάττων δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀγενήτου
θεσμοὺς δι' εὐσεβείας ἔρωτα καὶ ζήλου;
85 τοιγάρτοι καὶ θεοπρόποι Μωυσῆς διὰ τῆς τῶν
catat tôn neów demouyryanias ierów tñ ἐν ἀμφοτέρου
teleiostheta διαδείξει· οὐ γὰρ ἀπερισκέπτως ἤµῖν
tíν κιβωτὸν ἐνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν χρυσῷ περια-
πίσχει, οὐδὲ στολάς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ διττὰς ἀναδίδωσιν,
οὐδὲ βωμοὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν ἔξω πρὸς τὰ ιερεία, τὸν
dὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμιάν ἐνδον δημουργεῖ, ἀλλὰ
βουλόμενος διὰ συμβόλων τούτων τὰς καθ' ἐκάτερον
86 εἴδους ἁρετᾶς παραστῆσαι. τὸν γὰρ
σοφὸν καὶ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχήν ἐνδον ἀοράτους καὶ
toís ἔξω περιφαινόμενος δεῖ τῇ παντὸς τιμωτῆρα
χρυσοῦ φρονήσει κεκοσμήσθαι, καὶ ὁπότε μὲν τῶν
ἀνθρωπείων σπουδασμάτων ὑποκεχάρηκε· τὸ ὅν
θεραπεύων μόνον, τὴν ἀποίκιλον ἀληθείας ἐνδύεσθαι
1 The LXX has προνοοῦ, which perhaps should be read here.

"See App. p. 503.

Or "we must not fail to observe that he did."
his fair fame acknowledged in the eyes of both parents, for he has gained the strength which is in God and the power which avails among men. Good also, I think, is that saying in the Proverbs, 84  
"Let them provide things excellent in the sight of the Lord and men" (Prov. iii. 4), since it is through both these that the acquisition of excellence is brought to its fullness. For if you have learnt to observe the laws of your father and not to reject the ordinances of your mother, you will not fear to say with pride, "For I too became a son obedient to my father and beloved before the face of my mother" (Prov. iv. 3). XXI. Aye indeed, I would say to such a one, "How could you fail to win affection, if in your desire for human fellowship you observe the customs that hold among created men, and in your zeal and passion for piety observe also the ordinances of the Uncreated? And therefore Moses, God's 85 interpreter, will use the sacred works that furnished the tabernacle to shew us the twofold perfection. For it is not without a well-thought purpose for us 86 that he covers the ark both inside and outside with gold (Exod. xxv. 10) and gives two robes to the high-priest (Exod. xxviii. 4), and builds two altars, one without for the sacrificial ritual, the other within for burning incense (Exod. xxvii. 1, xxx. 1). No, he wished by these symbols to represent the virtues of either kind. For the wise man must be adorned with the prudence that is more precious than all gold, both in the inward invisible things of the soul and in the outward which are seen of all men. Again, when he has retired from the press of human pursuits and worships the Existent only, he must put on the unadorned robe of truth which nothing mortal
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[370] στολήν, ἡς ἔφανεν έφάμεταν θνητών—καὶ γάρ ἐστι λινής ύλης ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν πεφυκότων ἀποθνήσκειν γεννωμένης—, ὅποτε δὲ μέτεισι πρὸς πολιτείαν, τὴν μὲν ἐνδον ἀποτίθεσθαι, ποικιλωτάτην δὲ καὶ ὁφθήναι θαυμασιωτάτην ἔτεραν ἀναλαμβάνει. πολύτροπος γὰρ ὃν ὁ βίος ποικιλωτάτου δεῖ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πηδαλιουχήσοντος κυβερνήτου. 87 τοῦ. οὗτος κατὰ μὲν τὸν περιφανῆ βωμὸν ἢ βίον καὶ δορᾶς καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ αἷματος καὶ πάντων ὡσ περὶ σῶμα δόξης πολυγήν ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὡς μὴ μυρίοις ἀπέχθοιτο κρίνουσιν ἁγαθὰ μετὰ τὰ ψυχῆς δευτερείας συμμείνα τὰ περὶ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐνδον πᾶσιν ἁναίμοις, ἁσάρκοις, ἁσωμάτοις, τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ μόνοις χρήσεται, δὲ λυβαντῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθυμιωμένοις ἀπεικόζεται ὡς γὰρ ταύτα ἰνα, ἐκεῖνα τὸν ψυχῆς ἀπαντά 88 χώρου εὐωδίας ἀναπίμπλησι. XXII. χρὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἡ σοφία τέχνη τεχνῶν οὐσα δοκεῖ μὲν ταῖς διαφόρους ύλαις ἐναλλάττεσθαι, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀληθῆς εἶδος ἀτρεπτὸν ἐμφαίνει τοῖς ὁξύδορκοις καὶ μὴ τῷ περικεχυμένῳ τῆς οὐσίας ὁγκῷ μεθελκομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐνεσφραγισμένον ύπὸ τῆς τέχνης αὐτῆς χα- 89 ρακτῆρα διορῶσι. τὸν ἀνδριαντόποιον Φειδίαν ἐκείνων καὶ χαλκὸν λαβόντα φασὶ καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄλλας διαφόρους ύλας ἀνδριάντας ἀπεργάσασθαι καὶ ἐν ἀπασί τούτοις μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνοπλημαθαὶ τέχνην, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπιστήμονας, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἰδιότας τὸν δημιουργὸν 90 ἀπὸ τῶν δημιουργηθέντων γνωρίσατι. καθάπερ γὰρ

a i.e. not of wool. The same contrast is made De Spec. Leg. i. 84. 362
shall touch. For the stuff of which it is made is linen, not the produce of animals whose nature is to perish. But when he passes to the citizen's life, he must put off that inner robe and don another, whose manifold richness is a marvel to the eye. For life is many-sided, and needs that the master who is to control the helm should be wise with a wisdom of manifold variety. Again, that master as he stands at the outer, the open and visible altar, the altar of common life, will seem to pay much regard to skin and flesh and blood and all the bodily parts lest he should offend the thousands who, though they assign to the things of the body a value secondary to the things of the soul, yet do hold them to be good. But when he stands at the inner altar, he will deal only with what is bloodless, fleshless, bodiless and is born of reason, which things are likened to the incense and the burnt spices. For as the incense fills the nostrils, so do these pervade the whole region of the soul with fragrance.

XXII. This too we must not fail to know, that wisdom which is the art of arts seems to change with its different subject matters, yet shews its true form unchanged to those who have clearness of vision and are not misled by the dense and heavy wrappings which envelop its true substance, but descry the form impressed by the art itself. They say that the great sculptor Pheidias would take brass and ivory and gold and various other materials to make his statues, and yet on all these he so stamped the impress of one and the same art, that not only adepts, but those who were totally ignorant of such matters, recognized the artist from his work. For as nature

* The reference is to Lev. xvi. 4 and 23, 24.
* See App. p. 503.
ἐπὶ τῶν διδύμων ἡ φύσις χρησαμένη τῷ αὐτῷ πολλάκις χαρακτηρί παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαραλλάκτους ὀμοιότητας ἐτύπωσε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ τελεία τέχνη, μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα φύσεως οὕσα, ὅταν διαφόρους ὕλας παραλάβη, σχηματίζει καὶ ἐνσφραγίζεται τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπάσαις ἰδέαν, ὡς ταύτη μάλιστα συγγενῆ καὶ ἄδελφα καὶ διδύμα τὰ δη- 

91 μουργηθέντα γενέσθαι, ταὐτὸν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ σοφῷ δύναμις ἐπιδείξεται: πραγματευμένη γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἄντος εὐσέβεια καὶ ὀσιότης ὀνομάζεται, τὰ δὲ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν καὶ αὐτῶν φυσιολογία, μετεωρολογικὴ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ὁσα κατὰ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν τῇ τοῖς ὀλοσχέρεσιν ἔτησιν ὡραῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐν μέρει κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμερῶν περιόδους πέφυκε συνίστασθαι, ἡθικὴ δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπαν- ὅρθωσιν ὡραῖς, ἡς ἰδέαις πολιτικὴς τῇ περὶ πόλιν καὶ ἡ περὶ οἰκίας ἐπιστρατείαν οἰκονομικῆς, συμποτικῆς 

[371] | τῇ περὶ τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας, ἐτι δ' αὖ ἡ μὲν περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστρατείαν βασιλικῆς, ἡ δὲ περὶ περὶ ἐπαγορευσίων νομοθετικῆς πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δ' πολύφημος ὡς ἄλληθρος καὶ πολυτώμος σοφὸς κεχώρηκεν, εὐσέβειαν, ὀσιότητα, φυσιολογίαν, μετεωρολογίαν, θοτούων, πολιτείαν, οἰκονομίαν, βασιλικὴν, νομοθετικὴν, ἄλλας μυρίας δυνάμεις, καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐν εἴδος καὶ ταύτων ἔχων ὁφθησαται.

92 προστάξεως καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως νομοθετικῆς πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δ' πολύφημος ὡς ἄλληθρος καὶ πολυτώμος σοφὸς κεχώρηκεν, εὐσέβειαν, ὀσιότητα, φυσιολογίαν, μετεωρολογίαν, θοτούων, πολιτείαν, οἰκονομίαν, βασιλικὴν, νομοθετικὴν, ἄλλας μυρίας δυνάμεις, καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἐν εἴδος καὶ ταύτων ἔχων ὁφθησαται.

93 XXIII. Διελεγμένου δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τεττάρων τάξεων οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἐκείνο παρίσκομαι, δ' γένοιτ' ἄν τῆς διαφόρεσσας καὶ τομῆς τῶν κεφαλαίων ἐναργεστάτη πίστις τοῦ γὰρ μετεωρισθέντος καὶ φυσικήν τὸν ἁν' ἀνοίας παιδὸς

1 mss. πρὸς.
so often in the case of twins by using the same stamp shapes likenesses which are almost identical, so too that perfect art, which is the copy and effigies of nature, may take different materials and yet mould them and impress on them all the same form, and this it is which chiefly makes the products of its work to be as kinsfolk, brothers, twins to each other. We shall find the same thing happening with the power which resides in the Sage. Under the name of piety and holiness it deals with the attributes of the Really Existent; under that of nature-study, with all that concerns the heavens and the heavenly bodies; as meteorology, with the air and the consequences which result through its changes and variations both at the main seasons of the year and those particular ones which follow cycles of months and days; as ethic, with what tends to the improvement of human conduct, and this last takes various forms; politic, dealing with the state; economic, with the management of a house; sympotic, or the art of conviviality, with banquets and festivities; and further we have the kingly faculty dealing with the control of men, and the legislative with commands and prohibitions. All these—piety, holiness, nature-study, meteorology, ethic, politic, economic, king-craft, legislator-craft and many other powers—find their home in him who is in the truest sense many-voiced and many-named, even the Sage, and in all he will be seen to have one and the same form.

XXIII. After discussing the four classes of sons, we must not overlook the following point, which will be the clearest proof that our classification is based on a correct division. The son who is puffed up and carried away by his folly is denounced by his
οί γονεῖς τὸν τρόπον τούτον κατηγόρησαν εἰπόντες
"ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος," δεικνύντες τὸν ἀπειθή καὶ
ἀπαρχενίζοντα. διὰ γὰρ τῆς δείξεως τῆς "οὗτος"
ἐμφαίνουσιν ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρους ἐγέννησαν, τοὺς μὲν
tῷ ἑτέρῳ, τοὺς δ' ἀμφοτέροις καταπειθεῖς, λογι­
σμοὺς εὐφυεῖς, ὃν παρὰδειγμα Ἀδώνις· φιλοκόουσι
καὶ φιλομαθεῖς ἑτέρους, ὃν ἦστι Συμεὼν, ἀκοὴ
gὰρ οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται· πρόσφυγας καὶ ἱκέτας
θεοῦ, Δευτῶν ὁ θίασος οὗτος· τὸν εὐχαριστητικὸν
ὑμοιο ἄδοντας οὐ γεγονός φωνῇ μᾶλλον ἡ διανοίᾳ,
ὅτι ἐξαρχὸς Ἰσραήλ· διὰ τὴν μετὰ πόνων ἀρετῆς
κτῆσιν ἐκουσίων μισθῶν καὶ δωρεῶν ἄξωθέντις,
ὡσπερ Ἰσσάχαρ· μετανάστάτας ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς
μετεωρολογικῆς θεωρίας γεγονότας εἰς τὴν περὶ
tοῦ ἄγεντον σκέψιν, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ· αὐτήκον καὶ
αὐτομαθῆ κτησαμένους ἀρετῆς, ὡσπερ Ἰσαὰκ·
λήματος καὶ ἱστιοῦς πλήρεις καὶ φιλογοῦν
tῇ θεῷ, καθὰ πέρ Μωυσῆν τὸν τελειότατον.

XXIV. Εἰκότως όν τὸν ἀπειθὴ καὶ ἔρεθιστὴν
καὶ συμβολὰς εἰσφέροντα, τούτεστι συμβάλλοντα
καὶ συνάπτοντα ἀμαρτήματα ἀμαρτήμασι, μεγάλα
μικροῖς, νέα παλαιῶς, ἐκουσία ἀκουσίως, καὶ
ὡσπερ ὑπ' οἴνου φλεγόμενον ἄληκτον καὶ ἀνεπί­
σχετον μέθην τοῦ βίου παντὸς καταμεθύοντα καὶ
παροινοῦντα διὰ τὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφροσύνης πόματος
ἀκράτου καὶ πολλοὺ ὁπάσαμεν πολλοὺ ὁ ἱερὸς
λόγος δικαιοὶ, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ὄρθου λόγου προστάξεις
tοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὰς παιδείας τῆς μητρὸς νομίμους
ὑφηγήσεις ἄνειλε καὶ παράδειγμα ἔχων τὸ καλο­

a Lit. "injunctions conforming to law or custom."
parents as "this son of ours," and it is in these words that they indicate his disobedience and recalcitrance. By using the word "this" in thus indicating him, they suggest that they have other children, who are obedient either to one or both of their parents. Such are the reasonings of the naturally gifted, of which Reuben is a type; the docile scholar, as Simeon, for his name means "hearing"; the suppliants who take refuge with God, and this is the company of the Levites; those who raise the hymn of thankfulness with their hearts rather than with their voices, and the leader of that choir is Judah; those who have been judged worthy of rewards and prizes because of their own free will they have toiled in the acquisition of virtue, as Issachar; those who have abandoned the Chaldean research of the supra-terrestrial to engage in the contemplation of the Uncreated, as Abraham; those who have acquired virtue through no other voice but their own and no teacher but themselves, as Isaac; those who are full of courage and strength and are dear to God, as Moses the most perfect of men.

XXIV. It is with good reason, then, that the disobedient and contentious man who "brings contributions," that is contributes and adds sins to sins, great to small, new to old, voluntary to involuntary, and as though inflamed by wine drowns the whole of life in ceaseless and unending drunkenness, sodden with drinking deep of the unmixed cup of folly, is judged by the holy word to be worthy of stoning. Yes, for he has made away with the commands of right reason, his father and the observances enjoined by instruction, his mother, and though he had before him the example of true nobility in his brothers...
κάγαθίας, τοὺς τοῖς γονεῶν ευδοκίμους ἀδελφοὺς,
τὴν τούτων ἁρετὴν οὐκ ἐμμηνατο, τοῦναντίον ἐδὲ
cαὶ προσεπιβάινειν ἥξιωσεν, ὡς θεοπλαστεῖν μὲν
tὸ σῶμα, θεοπλαστεῖν δὲ τὸν παρ’ Διονύστιος
μάλιστα τιμώμενον τύφον, οὐ σύμβολον ἢ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ ταύρου | κατασκευή, περὶ δὲ χοροῦ
ιστάντες οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖσις ἄδουσι καὶ ἐξάρχουσιν,
οὐ παροίνων καὶ κωμαστικῶν οὐκ ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ
θαλάσσῃ ἓστοιν μέλος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνέωσιν
ἀληθῆ θρήνου αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ ἔξουσι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
tὸν τόνων ὕπεκλύσαντες τε καὶ φθείραντες.

λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "ἀκούσας Ἰησοῦς <τῆς φωνῆς>
tοῦ λαοῦ κεκραγότων εἶπε πρὸς Μωυσῆν: φωνὴ
pολέμου ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ. καὶ λέγει ὡς ἔστι
φωνῆ ἐξαρχόντων καὶ ἰσχύῳ ὑπὲρ φωνῆ ἐξαρχόντων
tροπῆς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴν ἐξαρχόντων οἶνον ἐγὼ ἄκουσι
cαὶ ἡμῖν ἡγγιζε τῇ παρεμβολῇ, ὅτα ὁ πόσχον
καὶ τοὺς χοροὺς." ἀ δὲ διὰ τούτων αἰνίττεται,
παραστήσωμεν, ὡς ἂν οἱ οὗς δὲ

XXV. Τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς τοτε μὲν ἠρεμεῖ, τοτὲ δὲ
ὀρμαὶς καὶ ἐκβοήσεσιν ἀκαίροις ὡσανεὶ χρῆται
και ἔστω ἡ μὲν ἡσυχία τούτων εἰρήνη βαθεία, τὰ
dὲ ἐναντίων πόλεμος ἀσπονδὸς. μάρτυς δὲ

πεπονθὼς ἀψευδέστατος· ἀκούσας γὰρ τῆς φωνῆς
τοῦ λαοῦ κεκραγότων λέγει πρὸς τὸν σκεπτικὸν
καὶ ἑπίσκοπον τῶν πραγμάτων ἃ φωνῇ πολέμου
ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ." ἐως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκινοῦτο
καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐν ἡμῖν αἰ ἀλογοί ὅρμαί, σταθερῶ-

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a See App. p. 503.
b έξευόνος is contrasted with παροίνος, a word which has
not necessarily any unfavourable sense, in this differing from
παροινέων and παροινία.
whom the parents honoured, he did not imitate their virtue, but contrariwise determined to be the aggressor in wickedness. And thus he made a god of the body, a god of the vanity most honoured among the Egyptians, whose symbol is the image of the golden bull. Round it the frenzied worshippers make their dances and raise and join in the song, but that song was not the sweet wine-song of merry revellers as in a feast or banquet, but a veritable dirge, their own funeral chant, a chant as of men maddened by wine, who have loosened and destroyed the tone and vigour which nerved their souls. For we are told that "when Joshua heard the voice of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses: 'There is a voice of war in the camp, and he said 'It is not the voice of men raising the shout through might, nor of those who raise it for being overcome, but it is the voice of men who raise the shout over the wine that I hear.' And when he drew nigh to the camp, he saw the calf and the dances" (Exod. xxxii. 17-19). Let us shew as well as we can what he shadows forth under this figure.

XXV. Our being is sometimes at rest, at other times is subject to impulses or, as we may call them, ill-timed outcries. When these are still we have profound peace, when it is otherwise we have relentless wars. To this there can be no testimony so certain as that of personal experience. Such a person hears the voice of the people shouting and says to the one who watches and observes the course of events, "There is a voice of war in the camp." For so long as the unreasoning impulses did not stir and "shout" within us, the

"Or, as the allegorical treatment implies, "raise (or lead) the song."
τερον ο νοος Γ’δρυτον: επειδή δε ήρεγαντο πολύφωνον και πολύχον ἀπεργάζεσθαι το ψυχής χωρίον τα πάθη συγκαλοῦσαι και ἀνεγείρουσαι, στάσιν ἐμ-φύλιον ἐγέννησαν. ἐν δε τῷ στρατόπεδῳ ὁ πόλεμος, φυσικώτατα: ποὺ γὰρ ἀλλαχοθε ἑρίδες, μάχαι, φιλονεικία, πάνθ' ὡσα ἔργα ἀκαθαρείτων πολέμου, πλην ἐν τῷ μετὰ σώματος βίω, ὃν ἀλληγορῶν καλεῖ στρατόπεδον; τούτων εἰσθ' ἀπολιπέιν ὁ νοος, ὅταν θεοφορηθεῖν πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὁντι γένηται καταδεώμενος τὰς ἀσωμάτους ἱδέας. "λαβὼν" γὰρ φησὶ "Μωυσῆς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν ἐπηξεν ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς," καὶ οὐ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτῳ καὶ "μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς." αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μέτοικος καὶ μετανάστης ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολέμου πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ πεφυμένου στρατόπεδου πρὸς τὸν ἀπόλεμον καὶ εἰρηναῖον λογικῶν καὶ ευδαμόνων ψυχῶν βίον θείον.

XXVI. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ ὅτι “ἐπειδὰν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν, ἐκπετάσω τὰς χειρὰς πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ αἱ φωναὶ παύσονται.” μὴ νομίζη τὸν διαλεγόμενον ἀνθρωπὸν εἶναι, τὸ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος υφασμα ἡ πλέγμα ἡ κράμα ἡ ὁ τι ποτὲ χρή καλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ σύνθετον ζώον, ἀλλὰ νοῦν εἰλικρινέστατον καὶ καθαρότατον; ὅσον ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλις τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου περιεχόμενος ἐσταλται καὶ συνειληπται καὶ ἀσπερ ἐν δεσμοκτηρίῳ καθεργ-μένος μηδὲ ἐλευθέρων δύνασθαι σπᾶν ἀέρος ἀντικρυς ὀμολογεῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐξέλθη τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καθάπερ πόδας καὶ χειρὰς οἱ δεσμῶται τὰς ἐννοιας [373] αὐτὸς καὶ διανοήσεις λυθεῖς ἀφέτοις καὶ ἀπ-ελευθεριαζούσαις χρήσεται ταῖς ἐνεργειαῖς, ὡς τὰς 370
ON DRUNKENNESS, 98–101

mind stood firm and stedfast. But when they begin to fill the region of the soul with manifold sounds and voices, when they summon the passions and rouse them to action, they create the discord of civil war. "The war is in the camp." True indeed. For where else do we find contentions, combats, hostilities and all the works that go with bitter and persistent war, but in the life of the body which in his parable he calls the camp? That camp the mind is wont to leave, when, filled with the divine, it finds itself in the presence of the Existent Himself and contemplates the incorporeal ideas. For "Moses," we read, "took his tent and pitched it outside the camp," not near, but very far, "at a distance from the camp" (Exod. xxxiii. 7). Under this figure he suggests that the Sage is a pilgrim who travels from peace to war, and from the camp of mortality and confusion to the divine life of peace where strife is not, the life of reasonable and happy souls. XXVI. Elsewhere he says "When I have gone out of the city I will spread out my hands to the Lord and the sounds shall cease" (Exod. ix. 29). Do not suppose that the person who speaks thus in a man—this compound animal in which soul and body are woven or twined or mingled (use any word you will). No, it is the mind pure and unalloyed. While it is cooped up in the city of the body and mortal life, it is cabined and cribbed and like a prisoner in the gaol declares roundly that it cannot even draw a breath of free air; but when it has gone out of this city, its thoughts and reflections are at liberty, like the hands and feet of the unbound prisoner, and it finds free scope and range for the employment of its active powers, so that the
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102 ἐπικελεύσεις τῶν παθῶν εὐθὺς ἐπισχεθήναι. ἦν οὖν ἠδονῆς μὲν ἀνατεταμέναι αἰ ἐκβοήσεις, δι' ἀν τὰ ἑαυτῷ φίλα εἴωθε προστάτευν, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀρρηκτος ἡ φωνή χαλεπᾶς ἀπειλᾶς κατὰ τῶν μὴ ύπηρετοῦντων ἀπειλοῦσις, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐκάστου.

103 πολύχος καὶ μεγαλόφωνός τις ἡ γῆρυς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' εἰ μυρίοις στόμασι καὶ γλώττας ἐκάπηλεν τῶν παθῶν <ἐν> τῷ κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λεγομένως, χρήσατο ὁμάδῳ, τὰς τοῦ τελείου δύναστ' ἂν ἄκοι ἀκουσά τοῖς συνεχοῖς μεν θυμάμενοι ήδη καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις πόλων καὶ τοὺς νησίταις οἰκεῖν ἐγνωσκότος.

104 XXVII. Φαμένον δὴ τοῦ πεπολεμώτος, ὅτι ἔν τῷ σωματικῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου φωνὰς εἶναι πάσας συμβέβηκε τῆς εἰρήνης φίλης ήσυχίας μακρὰν ἀπειλαμένης, ὃ ἵππος συναίνει λόγος. οὐ γὰρ λέγει μὴ εἶναι πολέμου φωνὴν, ἄλλα μὴ τοιαύτην, ὅποιαν ἔνιοι νομίζουσι ή νεικηκτικῶν ἢ κεκρατημένων, ἀλλ' ἦτε ἄν γένοιτο βεβαρημένων.

105 καὶ πεπεισμένων οὖν: τὸ γὰρ "οὖς ἔστι φωνὴ ἐξαρχόντων κατ' ἴσον" ἦσον ἐστὶ τῷ περιγεγενημένῳ τῷ πολέμῳ: ἴσος γὰρ τοῦ κρατεῖν αἰτίων. οὕτως τὸν σοφὸν Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐννέα καθαίρεσιν βασιλέως, παθῶν μὲν τεττάρων, πέντε δὲ αἴσθητικῶν δυνάμεων, αἰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκινοῦντο, εἰσάγει τὸν εὐχαριστητικὸν ὡμον ἐξάρχοντα καὶ φάσκοντα ταυτὶ. "ἐκτενῶ τὴν χειρὰ μου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστὸν, ὅτι ἐκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ἐως σφαιρωτῆρος ὑποδήματος λήψομαι ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν σῶν." δείκνυσι δ', ὅσ γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸ γεγονὸς πᾶν, οὐρανὸν, γῆν, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, ζῶα.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 101–106

clamours of the passions are at once restrained. How shrill are the outcries of pleasure, wherewith it is wont to command what it wills! How continuous is the voice of desire, when it thunders forth its threats against those who do not minister to its wants! How full-toned and sonorous is the call of each of the other passions! Yet though each of them should have a thousand tongues and mouths with which to swell the war-shout, to use the poet’s phrase, yet it could not confuse the ears of the perfect Sage, who has passed elsewhere and resolved no longer to dwell in the same city as they.

XXVII. When the subject of that experience says that he feels that in the camp of the body all the sounds are sounds of war, and that the quietness which has been driven far away, the word does not dissent. For it does not say that the sound is not the sound of war but that it is not such a sound as some think it to be, such as would be made by the victorious or the defeated, but such as would proceed from those who are overpressed and weighed down by wine. For in the phrase “it is not the sound of those who raise the song through might” the last words mean “those who have been victorious in war.” For might is what causes victory.

Thus wise Abraham, when he had routed the nine kings, the four passions that is and the five sense-faculties, which were rising in unnatural rebellion, is represented as raising the hymn of thanksgiving in these words, “I will stretch forth my hand to the most high God who made heaven and earth, if I will take from a rope to a shoe’s latchet of all that is thine” (Gen. xiv. 22, 23). He points in these last words, I think, to the whole of creation, heaven, earth, water,
όμοι καὶ φυτὰ. ἐκάστῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείας πρὸς θεὸν τείνας καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ μόνου τὰς ὦφελείας ἐπελπίζων δεόντως ἄν εἴποι. <παρ’> οὐδενὸς λήψομαι τῶν σῶν, οὐ παρ’ ἥλιον τὸ μεθημερινόν, οὐ παρὰ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τὸ νυκτὶ φέγγος, οὐ παρὰ ἀέρος καὶ νεφελῶν ὀφέλος, οὐ παρὰ ὦδατος καὶ γῆς ποτὰ καὶ σιτία, οὐ παρὰ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ ὀρᾶν, οὐ τὸ ἀκούειν παρὰ ὄτων, οὐ παρὰ μυκτήρων ὀσμὰς, οὐ παρ’ ἐνστομίου χυλοῦ τὸ γεύεσθαι, οὐ παρὰ γλώττης τὸ λέγειν, οὐ παρὰ χειρῶν τὸ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, οὐ τὸ προσέρχεσθαι καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν παρὰ ποδῶν, οὐκ ἀναπνοὴν παρὰ πνεύμονος, οὐ πέμπτα παρ’ ἡπατος, οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων σπλάγχνων τὰς καθ’ ἐκαστὸν οἰκείους ἐνεργείας, οὐ παρὰ δένδρων καὶ σπαρτῶν τοὺς ἐτησίους καρποὺς. Μόνον οὐδὲν λήψομαι τῶν σών, οὐκ ἁπάντες τῶν τοὺς ἔντεκέντις αὐτοῦ χαριστηρίους δυνάμεις πάντη τείναντος καὶ διὰ τούτων ὦφελοῦντος. XXVIII. ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὄντος ὁ ὀρατικὸς τὸν αἴτιον ἐπιστάμενος τὰ ὡν ἔστιν αἴτιος δεύτερα μετ’ ἐκεῖνον τετίμηκεν ὁμολόγων ἀκολακεύτως τὰ προσόντα αὐτοῖς. ἦ δὲ ὦμοιόνθα δικαιοτάτη· παρ’ ὦμῶν μὲν οὐδέν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λήψομαι, οὐ κτήματα τὰ πάντα, δι’ ὦμῶν δὲ ἵσως· ὀργανα γὰρ ὑπηρετήσοντα ταῖς ἀθανάτους αὐτοῦ χάρισι 108 γεγένησθε. ὁ δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος διάνοιαν τυφλωθεῖς, ἦ τὸ ὃς μόνη καταληπτόν ἔστιν, αὐτὸ μὲν ὦδαμῆς ὀυδαμῶς εἴδε, τὰ δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ σώματα αἰσθήσεσι ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ, ἐ δὴ πάντων ἐνόμισε γνομένων αἰτία. 374
the air we breathe, to animals and plants alike. To each of them he who has braced the activities of his own soul to stretch Godwards, and who hopes for help from Him alone, would rightly say, "I will take nothing from aught of thy creatures, not the light of day from the sun, nor the light of night from the moon and the other stars, nor rain from the air or the clouds, nor drink and food from water and earth, nor sight from the eyes, nor hearing from the ears, nor smell from the nostrils, nor taste from the juices of the palate, nor speech from the tongue, nor giving and receiving from the hands, nor moving forwards and backwards from the feet, nor respiration from the lungs, nor digestion from the liver, nor from the other inward parts the functions proper to each, nor their yearly fruits from the trees and seedlings, but I will take them all from the only wise Being who has extended His beneficent power every whither, and through them renders me help." XXVIII. He then who has the vision of the Existent knows Him who is the Cause, and honours the things of which He is the cause only as second to Him. He will use no words of flattery, yet acknowledges what is their due. This acknowledgement is most just. I will take nothing from you, but I will take from God, the possessor of all things; yet it may be that I will take through you, for you have been made instruments to minister to His undying acts of grace. But the man of no discernment, whose understanding, by which alone the Existent can be comprehended, is blinded, has never anywhere seen that Existence, but only the material contents of this world as shewn to him by his senses, and these material things he believes to be the causes of all that comes into being.
παρὸ καὶ θεοπλαστεῖν ἀρξάμενος ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ξοάνων καὶ ἀλλῶν μυρίων ἀφιδρυμάτων ὑλαις διαφόροις τετεχνιευμένων κατέπλησε τὴν οἰκουμένην, γραφεύσι καὶ πλάσταις, οὐς ὑπερορίους ἐν, νομοθέτης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν πολυτείας ἡλασεν, ἀθλα τε μεγάλα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἰδία τε καὶ κοινῇ ψηφισάμενος, <καὶ> κατειργάσατο τούναντίον οὐ προσεδόκησεν, ἀντὶ ὀσιότητος ἀ-

σέβειαν τὸ γὰρ πολύθεν εν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθεότητα <κατασκευάζει>, καὶ τευχής ἀλογοῦσι οἱ τὰ θνητά θειώσαντες οὐκ ἔχετε: γεγίσαντε καὶ σελήνης, εἰ δὲ ἐβούλουτο, καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης καὶ παντὸς ὦδατος εἰκόνας διαπλάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἴδη καὶ ἀλόγους ἔρωτις καὶ φυτοῖς τῆς τῶν ἀφθάρτων τμῆς μετέδοσαν. ὃ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιτιμῶν τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἴμων ἔξαρχων ἐδείχθη.

καὶ Μωυσῆς μεντοι κατὰ ταῦτα, ἐπειδάν ἵνα τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὸν ύπέραυχον νουν, σὺν τοῖς ἔξακοσίοις ἀρμασί, ταῖς τοῦ ὀργανικοῦ σώματος ἐξ κινήσεως ἰμοσμέναις τοῖς ἐπιβεβηκόσι τριστάταις, οἱ μηδενὸς τῶν κατά γένεσιν πεφυκότος ἔσταντα περὶ πάντων ὀνταὶ δεῖν ὡς ἄν παγίως ἱδρυμένων καὶ μηδεμίαν δεχόμενων μεταβολὴν ἀποфаίνεσθαι, δίκην ἀξίωσαν τῆς ἀσθείας ὑποσχόντα καὶ τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἐμπαλιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκφυγόντα καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπροσδοκήτως διασωθέντα, τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἀληθὴ βραβευσάν ὑμεῖ θεον τὰ πρεπεδέστατα καὶ οἰ-κεῖστα ἔξαι πολυτικυκώις ἔξαρχον ἀσματα, διότι "ἵππον καὶ ἀναβατήν ρύσας εἰς θάλασσαν," τὸν

a In Philo's elastic philosophy of numbers 600 easily = 6. For the six movements see Leg. All. 1. 4.

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ON DRUNKENNESS, 109–111

And therefore he started fashioning gods and filled the inhabited world with idols of stone and wood and numberless other figures wrought in various materials, and decreed great prizes and magnificent honours public and private to painters and sculptors, whom the lawgiver had banished from the boundaries of his commonwealth. He expected to produce piety; what he accomplished was its opposite, impiety. For polytheism creates atheism in the souls of the foolish, and God's honour is set at naught by those who deify the mortal. For it did not content them to fashion images of sun or moon, or, if they would have it so, of all the earth and all the water, but they even allowed irrational plants and animals to share the honour which belongs to things imperishable. Such persons did Abraham rebuke and we shewed that it was with this thought that he raised his hymn of victory.

XXIX. So, too, with the song of Moses. He has seen the king of Egypt, the boastful mind with his six hundred chariots (Exod. xiv. 7), that is the six movements of the organic body, adjusted for the use of the princes who ride upon them (Exod. xv. 4) who, though no created object can be stable, think it right to aver that all such are firmly established and unsusceptible of change. He has seen that mind suffer the penalty due to its impiety while the Votary of Practice has escaped the onset of his enemies and been brought with might to unlooked-for safety. So then he hymns God the righteous and true dispenser of events and the song which he raises is most fitting and suited to the occasion. "The horse and his rider He has thrown into the sea" (Exod. xv. 1), that is, He has buried
εποχούμενον νοῦν ταῖς τοῦ τετράποδος καὶ ἀφηνιαστοῦ πάθους ἀλόγου ὀρμαίς ἀφανίσασ, βοηθὸς καὶ ᾑπερασπιστὴς ἐγένετο τῆς ὀρατικῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς 112 χαρίσασθαι παντελῆ σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ. οὐ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ἔξαρχει, οὐκέτι μόνον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ κάλλιστον κτημάτων, σοφίαν, ἀνανταγώνιστον ἵσχυσαι λαβεῖν, ἢν ἀπεικάζει φρέατι· βαθεία γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιπόλαιος, γλυκὺ ἀναδιδοὺσα νάμα καλοκάγαθίας | δυσώσαις ψυχᾶς, ἀναγκαίωσαν ὅμοι 113 καὶ ἦδιστον ποτόν· ἱδώτη δὲ οὕδειν παιδείας ἑφεῖται τούτῳ τὸ φρέαρ ὀρύττευν, μόνοις δὲ βασιλεύσων, ἢ φησιν: ἑνελατόμησαν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖς"· μεγάλων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων ἀναζητήσαται καὶ κατεργάσεσθαι σοφίαν, οὐχὶ τῶν ὀπλοὶς γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ὑπηγμένων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ψυχῆς δυνάμεσι τῶν πολύτροπον αὐτῆς καὶ μιγάδα καὶ πεφορημένου 114 χόλου καθηγονισμένων. XXX. τοῦτων φοιτητῶς καὶ γνωρίμως εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοὺς λέγοντας: "οἱ παιδεῖς σου εἰλήφασι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν μεθ' ἦμῶν, οὐ διατεφώνηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς· προσαγηόχαμεν 115 τὸ δώρον κυρίῳ ἀνήρ, δ' εὑρεν:" έοίκαι γὰρ καὶ οὕτοι πάλιν ἐπινίκιοι ἡμαί ἔξαρχειν τελείων καὶ ἡγεμονικῶν δυνάμεων ἐφιέμενοι—τὸν γὰρ συντεθέντα τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ πλεῖστον ἁρμοίν τῶν κατ' ἀνδρείαν λόγων φασὶ λαβεῖν—, οὕς ἐκ φύσεως εἶναι πολεμικούς συμβεβηκε δυσὶ ἀντιτηταγμένους τέλεσιν, εἰ ὃν οὖν ἢ δυσθεράπευτος ἡ ἀφηγεῖται 1

1 mss. δυσθήρατος.

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*a* See App. p. 503.  
*b* See App. p. 504.  
*c* *i.e.* learning from the leaders to be leaders themselves.
out of sight the mind which rode upon the unreasoning impulses of passion, that four-footed beast which knows not the rein, and has shewn Himself the helper and champion of the soul which can see, to bestow on it full salvation. Again Moses leads the song at the well, and this time his theme is not only the rout of the passions, but the strength invincible which can win that most beautiful of possessions, wisdom, which he likens to a well. For wisdom lies deep below the surface and gives forth a sweet stream of true nobility for thirsty souls, and that draught is at once needful and delicious above all things. But to none of those who in instruction are but of the common herd is it permitted to dig this well, only to kings, as he says “kings hewed it” (Num. xxi. 16-18). For it belongs to great leaders to search for and accomplish wisdom, not leaders who have subdued sea and land with arms, but those who through the powers of the soul have conquered the medley and confusion of the multitude which beset it.

These leaders prove to have followers and disciples in those who say “thy servants have taken the sum of the warriors who were with us. Not one of them is in discord. We have brought our gift to the Lord, every man what he found” (Num. xxxi. 49, 50). It would seem that these too are raising a song of victory in their desire for the perfect powers that befit the leaders. For they say that they have taken the largest number, that which completes the sum, of the different aspects of courage. They are by nature combatants, marshalled to fight against two battalions of the enemy, one led by cowardice, a quality so difficult to cure, the other by rashness inspired by the frenzy of battle,
δείλια, ἐτέρω δὲ οὖ ἡ ἀρειμάνιος θρασύτης· ἀμφό-
116 τεραι δὲ γνώμης ἀγαθής ἀμέτοχοι· παγκάλως δ’
εὑρηται τὸ μηδένα διαπεφωνηκέναι πρὸς ὀλο-
κλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς μετουσιαν ἀνδρείας· καθάτερ
<γάρ> λύρα καὶ πάν μουσικῆς ὀργανον ἐκμελές
μὲν, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀπώδος ἢ φθόγγος, ἡμο-
σμένον δ’, ὅταν μιᾷ πλῆξει συνηχῶσι τὴν αὐτὴν
συμφωνίαν ἀποτελοῦντες, τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπόπον καὶ
τὸ ψυχῆς ὀργανον ἀσύμφωνον μὲν, ὅταν ἡ θρᾶσει
σφόδρα ἐπιτενόμενον πρὸς τὸ ὄξυτατον βιαζῇται
ἡ δειλία πλέον τοῦ μετρίου ἀνέμενον πρὸς τὸ
βαρύτατον χαλάται, σύμφωνον δ’, ὅταν οἱ τῆς
ἀνδρείας καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς τόνοι πάντες ἀνα-
kραθέντες ἐν εὐάρμοστον ἀπογεννησσοὶ μέλος. τῆς
δὲ συμφωνίας καὶ εὐαρμοστίας μέγα τεκμήριον τὸ
προσαγηκέναι τὸ ὄξυρον τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ
tιμήσαι προπόντως τὸ ὅν διὰ τοῦ σαφέστατα ὡμο-
λογηκέναι, ὅτι ὄξυρον ἐστιν αὐτὸ τὸ δε τὸ πᾶν.
117 λέγει γάρ φυσικῶτα: “ἀνήρ δ’ εὐρε, τοῦτο προσ-
ήγεικε δύρωρον.” ἔκαστος δ’ ἡμῶν γενόμενος εὐθὺς
ἐυρίσκει τὸ μέγα δύρωρον θεοῦ τὸν παντελῆ κόσμον,
<ἀν> αὐτὸν ἕως καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις μέρεσιν
118 [ὁρεσιν] ἐχαρίσατο. XXXI. εἰςι δὲ καὶ
[376] ἐν μέρει δώρεαί, ὁς θεῷ τε | δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν
ἀνθρώποις ἐμπρεπές. αὐτὰ δ’ ὅν εἰσὶν ἀρετάι καὶ
αἱ κατ’ αὐτὰς ἐνέργεια, ὃν τὴν εὐρεσιν σχεδὸν
ἀχρονον οὐσαν διὰ τὸ ἑπερβάλλον τοῦ χαριζόμενον
τάχος ἐν οἷς εἰσώθε δωρεῖσθαι πᾶς καταπέπληκται,
120 καὶ ὅτω μηδὲν μέγα τῶν ἄλλων ὑπείληπται. διὸ
καὶ συνήθανται: “τί τοῦτο δ’ ταχὺ εὐρεσ, ὦ τέκνον;”

1 Or, as Adler, αὐτὸν γὰρ. Wendland proposed δὲ, omitting 380
and neither has any element of good judgement. Now it is a fine saying that "none is at discord" or thus failing to partake of courage perfect and complete. For as the lyre or any musical instrument is out of harmony if even a single note and nothing more be out of tune, but in harmony when, under a single stroke of the bow, the strings join in yielding the same symphony, so it is with the instrument of the soul. It is out of harmony when it is strained too far by rashness and forced to the highest pitch of the scale, or when it is relaxed too much by cowardice and weakened to the lowest. It is in harmony when all the strings of courage and every virtue combine to produce a single tuneful melody. The harmony and tunefulness in this case is mightily attested by the words which say that they have offered their gift to God, that is, that they have duly honoured the Existent by clearly acknowledging that this universe is His gift. For it says in words most agreeable to the truth of things, "what a man found, this he offered as a gift." Each of us, that is, finds at our birth that great gift of God, the complete universe which He bestowed on itself and on its highest members.

XXXI. There are also partial and particular gifts which it is fitting for God to give and for man to receive. These we shall find are the virtues and the activities which correspond to them. Our discovery of them one may almost say is timeless, because of the exceeding swiftness with which the Donor bestows His wonted gifts to the amazement of all, even of those who find nothing great in other things. Thus Isaac asks, "what is this which thou

\(\alphaυτόν\), but the juxtaposition of \(\alphaυτόν\) to \(\epsilonαυτφ\) is very common and emphasis would be lost by its omission.
τεθαυμακώς τῆς σπουδαίας διαθέσεως τῆν ὀξύτητα· ὁ δὲ εὖ παθὼν εὐθυβόλως ἀποκρίνεται· "ὁ παρ- ἐδωκε κύριος ὁ θεός." παραδόσεις γὰρ καὶ ὕφηγήσεις βραδεῖαι μὲν αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, ὀξύταται δὲ αἱ διὰ θεοῦ, φθάνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀξυτάτην χρόνου κίνησιν.  

121 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατ’ ἱσχῦν καὶ δύναμιν ἐξαρχοὶ καὶ ἱγμόνες τοῦ τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ εὐχαριστικὸν ῥυμὸν ἄδοντος χορὸν οἱ λεκθέντες εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τροπὴν καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ τὸν ἑφ' ἠττώς θρήνον σφαδάζοντος ἐτεροί, οὓς οὐ κακίζων μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκτίζονται. καθάπερ τοὺς τὰ σώματα ἐκ φύσεως ἐπικήρως ἔχοντας, οἷος καὶ ἠ τυχοῦσα νόσου πρόφασις μέγα ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι.

122 ἐνιοὶ δ' οὗ τῷ μαλθακτέροις τοῖς ψυχῆς κεχρήσθαι τόνοις ἀνέπεσον ἀκοντες ὑπ' ἐρρωμενεστέρας τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἱσχύος πιεσθέντες, ἀλλὰ μυμησάμενοι τοὺς ἐθελοδούλους ἐκόντες έαυτοὺς πικροῖς δε- σπόταις ὑπέρρωψαν γένος ἄντες ἐλεύθεροι· διὸ μὴ δινάμενοι πεπρᾶσθαι, τὸ παραλογώστατον, αὐτοὶ δεσπόταις ὑπέρρωοι προσεκτώντο, ταύτῳ δρῶντες τοῖς ἐμφορομένους ἀπλῆστως πρὸς μέθην οἶνον—  

123 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γνώμη τῶν ἀκράτων, οὐ βιασθέντες προσφέρονται—, ὡστε καὶ γνώμη τὸ μὲν νηφαλίων ἐκτέμνουσι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ παράληπτου αἱροῦνται· "φωνὴν" γὰρ φησιν "ἐξαρχόντων [ὑπ'] οἶνον

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a Between ἀσθένειαν and τοῦ understand ἐξαρχοὶ καὶ ἱγμόνες.  

b Or "with whom any trifling occasion of sickness is a mighty obstacle to their well-being."  

c Here begins the description of those "who raise the song over the wine."
hast found quickly, my son?" marveling at the speed with which the virtuous disposition has been attained. The receiver of God's benefit answered rightly, "it is what the Lord God delivered to me" (Gen. xxvii. 20). For the instructions and injunctions delivered through men are slow, but those that come through God are exceeding swift, outrunning even the swiftest movement of time.

Now those described above are those who lead the song of prevailing might, the precentors of the choir which sings the hymn of victory and thanksgiving, while they who raise the song of weakness and defeat, \(^a\) leaders of the choir which sobs forth the wailing of the routed, are of another sort, men who deserve pity rather than reproaches, even as we pity those whose bodies are fatally stricken by nature, with whom the misfortune of their malady ever stands to prevent their finding health and safety. \(^b\)

But some \(^c\) have failed not involuntarily, not because the nerves of their souls were feebler and because they were overpressed by the stouter might of their opponents, but because imitating those who hug their chains, they have voluntarily laid themselves at the feet of cruel masters, though they were born to freedom. And since in virtue of their free birth they could not be sold, they have—strange contrast—purchased and taken to them masters. Thus they are on a level with those who swill themselves insatiably with wine to the pitch of intoxication. For such deliberately and under no compulsion put the cup of strong drink to their lips, and so it is also with full deliberation that these men eliminate soberness from their soul and choose madness in its place. For so runs the text, "It is the voice of those who raise
έγώ ἀκούω,” τούτεστιν οὐκ ἀκούσιον ἐνδεδειμένων μανίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκοινώσι φρενοβλαβεία βεβακχευμένων. ΧΧΧ. πᾶς δ' ἐς συνεγνίζων τῇ παρεμβολῇ “τοῦ μόσχου ὁρᾶ καὶ τοὺς χορούς,” ὥσπερ αὐτὸς διασυνιστήσει τύφῳ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς τύφῳ χορευταῖς ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὃς θείων ἱστασθαι τοῦ σωματικοῦ στρατόπεδου διανοούμεθα γνώμη· ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε φιλοθεάμοι καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα ὃρᾶν γλυκομένοις, ἀτε ἀτυφίας οὕσων ἀσκηταῖς, πορρωτάτω τοῦ σώματος ἑθος διουκίζεσθαι.

125 εὐχόν δὴ τῷ θεῷ μηδέποτε ἐξαρχῶς οἶνου γενέσθαι, τούτεστι μηδέποτε ἐκὼν ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς εἰς ἀπαίδευσίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην ἀγούσαν ὄδον· τὰ γὰρ ἀκούσια ἡμὺς κακῶν καὶ κουφότερα, καθαρῶ τῷ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλέγχωσιν μὴ βαρύνομεν. τελεσφορθεισῶν δὲ σοὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἴδιωτες μὲν ἔτι μένειν οὐκ ἀν δύναοι, τὴν δὲ μεγίστην ἡμύσσεα κακῶν καὶ κουφότερα, καθαρῶ τῷ τοῦ συνεδότος ἐλέγχως μὴ βαρυνόμενα. τελεσφορθεισῶν δὲ σοὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἴδιωτες μὲν ἔτι μένειν οὐκ ἀν δύναοι, τὴν δὲ μεγίστην ἡμύσσεα κακῶν καὶ κουφότερα, καθαρῶ τῷ

126 τοῦ συνεδότος ἐλέγχως μὴ βαρυνόμενα. τελεσφορθεισῶν δὲ σοὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἴδιωτες μὲν ἔτι μένειν οὐκ ἀν δύναοι, τὴν δὲ μεγίστην ἡμύσσεα κακῶν καὶ κουφότερα, καθαρῶ τῷ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐλέγχωσιν μὴ βαρύνομεν τοῦ ἐργοῦ | [377] ἑράλησε γάρ φησιν κύριος τῷ Ἀαρών λέγων οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ πίεσθε σὺ καὶ οἱ νόμιοι σου μετὰ σέ, ἣνικα ἄν εἰσπορεύηθε εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μετέριον ἡ προσπορεύηθε τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποδάνητε νόμιμον αἴώνιον εἰς τὰς γενεὰς υμῶν διαστεῖλαι ἀνὰ μέσον ἀγίων καὶ βεβήλων καὶ ἀνὰ

1 mss. ἐνδεδειμένων.

2 Possibly μετὰ σοû as in lxx, and also in § 138.

* The translation takes καθαρᾶς in the sense of “unmixed,” i.e. with nothing to lighten its force. Possibly “in all its purity.”
the song of wine that I hear,” that is, not the song of those on whom insanity has fallen through no will of their own, but of those who are possessed with the frenzy which they themselves have willed.

XXXII. Now everyone who comes near to the camp sees the calf and the dance” (Exod. xxxii. 19), as Moses himself shews. For all of us who have the deliberate purpose to stand close to the camp of the body find themselves in the company of vanity and its band of revellers. Whereas those who yearn for the Vision and long to behold things incorporeal are practisers of simplicity, and therefore it is their custom to make their dwelling as far as may be from the body. Pray then to God that thou mayest never become a leader in the wine song, never, that is, voluntarily take the first steps on the path which leads to indiscipline and folly. Voluntarily, I say, for involuntary evils are but half evils and lighter matters, since they have not upon them the sheer weight of convicting conscience. But if thy prayers are fulfilled thou canst no longer remain a layman, but wilt obtain the office which is the greatest of headships, the priesthood. For it is the task of priests and ministers of God alone, or of hardly any others, to make the offering of sobriety, and in stedfastness of mind to resist the wine-cup and everything which causes folly. For “the Lord spake unto Aaron,” we read, “saying, Wine and strong liquor ye shall not drink, thou and thy sons after thee, whenever ye enter into the tabernacle of testimony, or approach the altar, and ye shall not die. It is an everlasting ordinance unto your generations, to make a difference between the holy and the profane and between the clean and the un-
μέσον καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων." Ὅπως δὲ ἔστω ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ τοῦνομα ὅρενὸς ἐρμηνεύεται, μετέωρα καὶ ὑψηλὰ φρονῶν λογισμός, οὐ διὰ μεγαλαυχίας κενοῦ φυσήματος ὑπόπλεων ὄγκον, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέγεθος ἁρετῆς, ἢ τὸ φρόνημα ἔξαιρουσα πέραν οὐρανοῦ ταπεινῶν οὐδὲν ἐξ λογίζεσθαι. διακείμενος

δ᾽ οὖτως ἄκρατον καὶ πάν ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον ἐκὼν οὐποτε προσήσεται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἔστω ἢ ἄρρηφοντα αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσίνειν τὰς ἀοράτους ἐπιτελέσσοντα τελετὰς ἢ τῶ βωμῶν προσ-ιόντα θυσίας ὑπὲρ τε τῶν άδίων καὶ κοινῶν

χαριστηρίους ἀναγαγεῖν. νήψεως δὲ καὶ περιττῆς ἀγχίας ταῦτα δεῖται. XXXIII. θαυμάσαι μὲν οὐν εἰκότως ἂν τις καὶ τὸ ῥητὸν τῆς προστάξεως. πῶς γὰρ οὐ σεμνὸν νήψειν καὶ ἐν ἐαυτοῖς ὄντας πρὸς εὑχᾶς καὶ ἱερουργίας χωρεῖν, ὃς ἐμπαλινὸν ἀμφότερα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, παρεμένους ὑπὸ οἴνου καταγέλαστον; ἢ δεσπόταις μὲν καὶ γονεύσι καὶ ἀρχουσι οἰκέται καὶ νόι καὶ ὑπῆκοοι μέλλοντεσ προσέρχεσθαι πρόνοιας ἐξουσίος τοῦ νήψεως, ὃς μὴ τοῖς ἱερομένοις καὶ πραττομένοις διαμάρτοιεν μὴθ᾽ ὡς καταφερονορίτεσ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀξίωσεως κολασθεῖν ἢ, τὸ γοὺς ἐπιεικέστατον, χλεύην ὁφλοεῖν τὸν ἔν τοῦς παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ πατέρα τῆς θεραπεύειν δικαιῶν οὐ καὶ σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὑπνοῦ καὶ πάντων ὁσα ἀναγκαῖα τῇ φύσει περιέσται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἄβροδίαιτον ἀποκλίνας τῶν τῶν ἁσώτων ζηλωσει βίῳ, καὶ βεβαρημένοις τοὺς ὄφθαλμοις ἀπ᾽ οἴνου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν παραβάλλων καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον πλαγιάζων καὶ ὅπη ἀμετρίας ἐρευγόμενος καὶ ὅλω διαρρέων τῷ σώματι χέρνιος η βωμῶν 386
ON DRUNKENNESS, 128–131

clean” (Lev. x. 8-10). Now Aaron is the priest and his name means “mountainous.” He is the reason whose thoughts are lofty and sublime, not with the empty inflated bigness of mere vaunting, but with the greatness of virtue, which lifts his thinking above the heaven and will not let him cherish any reasoning that is mean and low. And being so minded he will never willingly allow strong wine or any potion which breeds folly to approach him. For he must either himself enter the tabernacle in mystic procession to accomplish the unseen rites, or come to the altar and there offer sacrifices of thanksgiving for private and public blessings. And these need sober abstinence and a close and ready attention.

XXXIII. In a literal sense too, this command deserves our admiration. For surely it is seemly that men should come to prayers and holy services sober and with full control of themselves, just as on the other hand to come with both body and soul relaxed with wine is a matter for scorn and ridicule. We know that when servants are about to approach their masters, or sons their parents, or subjects their rulers, they will take careful thought to be sober that they may not transgress in word and deed, and thus either receive punishment for having shewn contempt for the dignity of their betters, or at the best become an object of scorn. And shall he who claims to serve the Lord and Father of all, instead of rising superior to food and drink and all other natural necessities, fall away to luxury and affect the life of the dissolute? Shall he, with his eyes heavy with wine and his head lolling and his neck bent awry, come belching from his intemperance, limp and flabby in every limb, to touch the holy water or the altars or
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ἡ θυσιῶν προσάμβεται; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν ἱερὰν εὖ ἀπόπτου φλόγα θεάσασθαι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ θέμισ.

132 εἰ μέντοι μήτε σκηνήν μήτε θυσια-

στήριον ύπολάβοι τις λέγεσθαι τὰ ὀρώμενα ἐκ τῆς ἀψύχου καὶ φθαρτῆς δημιουργηθέντα ὡλης, ἀλλὰ τὰ [378] ἀόρατα καὶ [τὰ] νοητὰ, δὲν αἰσθηταὶ ταῦτα εἰκόνες, καταπλαγήσεται μᾶλλον τὴν ύφ-

133 ἡγήσουν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παντὸς τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα,

τὸ δὲ μίμημα οὐ ποιῶν ἔποιει, καὶ ἀρετῆς τὴν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον σφραγίδα εἰργάζετο, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐνεσημαίνετο ἐμφερότατον χαρακτῆρα. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς ἀσώματός ἐστιν ἴδεα, ἦ δὲ χαρακθεῖσα εἰκών σῶμα ἤδη, φύσι μὲν αἰσθητῶν, οὐ μὴν εἰς αἰσθηθὸς ἐρχόμενον· καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ βαθύτατῳ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους ξύλον εἴτε τις ἢν πεφυκέναι μὲν πρὸς τὸ καίεσθαι, μηδέποτε δ’ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλυθῆσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀνάχυσιν.

XXXIV. τὴν οὖν σκηνήν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐννοήσωμεν ἴδεας, ἦ τὴν μὲν ἀρετῆς ἀσώματον, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητῆς εἰκόνος εἶναι σύμβολον. τὸν μὲν γε βωμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ράδιον ἰδειν—ἐξο τὸ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κατα-

135 σκευὴν καὶ ἀσβέστω πυρὶ . . . ἀναλύσκεται, ὡς μὴ μὲθ’ ἡμέραν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ περιλάμ-

Or perhaps, as Adler, the comma may be placed before ἴδεας, which will then be taken as gen. sing.; see App. p. 505.

1 See App. p. 504.
2 The lacuna in the text may be filled up with some such words as τὰ ἱερουργοῦμενα.

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the sacrifices? Nay, for such a one it were a sacrilege that he should even from a distance behold the sacred fire. But if we suppose that no actual tabernacle or altar is meant, that is the visible objects fashioned from lifeless and perishable material, but those invisible conceptions perceived only by the mind, of which the others are copies open to our senses, he will be still more lost in admiration at the ordinance. For since the Creator made both the pattern and the copy in all that He made, virtue was not excepted: He wrought its archetypal seal, and He also stamped with this an impression which was its close counterpart. The archetypal seal is an incorporeal idea, but the copy which is made by the impression is something else—a material something, naturally perceptible by the senses, yet not actually coming into relation with them; just as we might say that a piece of wood buried in the deepest part of the Atlantic ocean has a natural capacity for being burnt, though actually it will never be consumed by fire because the sea is around and above it.

XXXIV. 

Let us conceive, then, of the tabernacle and altar as “ideas,” the first being a symbol of incorporeal virtue, the other of its sensible image. Now the altar and what is on it can be easily seen. For it is constructed out of doors, and the fire which consumes the offerings is never extinguished, and thus by night as well as by day it is in bright light. But the tabernacle and all its contents are unseen, not only because they are placed right inside and in the heart of the sanctuary, but because anyone who touched them, or with a too curious eye looked upon them, was punished with death according to the
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οφθαλμῶν ἵδοντα ἀπαραίτήτως δίκη θανάτου κατὰ πρόσταξιν νόμου κολάζεσθαι, πλήν εἰ μὴ τις ὀλόκληρος καὶ παντελῆς εὖ, περὶ μηδέν, μὴ μέγα, μὴ μικρόν, ἀπλῶς κηραίων πάθος, ἀλλ’ ἀρτίως καὶ πλήρει καὶ πάντα τελειοτάτη κεχρημένος τῇ 136 φύσει. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιτετραπται δι’ ἐτους ἀπαξ εἰσιόντα ἐπισκοπεῖν τὰ ἀθέατα ἄλλοις, ἐπεἰδὴ καὶ ἐx ἀπάντων μόνω ὁ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ ἀφθάρτων ἀγαθῶν πτηνός καὶ οὐράνιος ἔρως ἐνδιαιτάται. 137 ὅταν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἱδέας πληκθεῖς ἐπηται τῇ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀρετὰς τυποῦση σφραγίδι κατανοῶν καὶ καταπληττόμενος αὐτῆς τὸ θεοειδέστατον κάλλος ἢ τῶν προσέρχεται δεξαμενῆ τὸν ἐκείνης χαρακτῆρα, λήθη μὲν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπανευσίας, μνήμη δὲ παιδείας καὶ ἐπιστήμης εὐθὺς ἐγγίνεται. 138 διό λέγει: "οὖν καὶ οὐκ ἐπίσθε, σὺ καὶ οἱ νῦιοι σου μετὰ σέ, ἦνκα ἄν εἰσπορεύησθε εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἢ προσπορεύησθε τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ." ταύτα δ’ οὐκ ἀπαγορεύων μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην ἀποφανόμενος διεξέρχεται τῷ μὲν γε ἀπαγορεύοντι οἰκεῖον ἢν εἰπεῖν οὖν, ὅταν ἐφουργῆτε, μὴ πίνετε, τῷ δὲ γνώμην ἀποφανόμενον τὸ "οὖ πίεσθε." καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀμήχανον τὸ μέθης καὶ παρουσίας ψυχῆς αἰτίων, ἀπανευσίαν, προσεῖθαι τὸν ταῖς γενικαῖς καὶ κατ’ εἶδος ἀρεταῖς ἐμμελετῶντα καὶ ἐγ- 139 χορεύοντα. τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν "μαρτυρίου" καλεῖ πολλάκις, ἦτοι παρόσον ὁ ἀμευθής θεὸς ἐτῆς ἐστὶ μάρτυς, ὃ καλὸν καὶ σύμφορον
ordinance of the law, and against that sentence there was no appeal. The only exception made is for one who should be free from all defects, not wasting himself with any passion great or small, but endowed with a nature sound and complete and perfect in every respect. To him it is permitted to enter once a year and behold the sights which are forbidden to others, because in him alone of all resides the winged and heavenly yearning for those forms of good which are incorporeal and imperishable. And so, when smitten by its ideal beauty he follows that archetype which creates by impress the particular virtues, beholding with ecstasy its most divine loveliness, or when he approaches some virtue which has received its impress, ignorance and the condition of the un instructed are forgotten, and knowledge and instruction are at once remembered. And therefore he says "Wine and strong liquor ye shall not drink, thou and thy sons after thee, when ye enter into the tabernacle of testimony or approach the altar." In these words he speaks not so much by way of prohibition as stating what he thinks will happen. If a prohibition were intended, it would have been natural to say "do not drink wine when you perform the rites"; the phrase "you shall not" or "will not" drink is naturally used, when the speaker is stating what he thinks. For it is impossible that anyone, whose study and association lie among the general and specific virtues, should let indiscipline, which is the cause of drunkenness and the symptoms which follow it in the soul, have entry to him. And he frequently calls the tabernacle "the tabernacle of testimony," either because God who cannot lie gives His testimony to virtue, a testimony to
προσέχειν, ἢ παρόσον ἡ ἀρετή βεβαιότητα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίθησι τοὺς ἐνδοιάζοντας καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας λογισμοὺς ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκτέμνουσα καὶ [379] ὅσπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τάληθες ἀνα-
140 καλύπτουσα. XXXV. λέγει δὲ ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἀποθανεῖται ὁ νηφάλια θύων, ὡς ἀπαιδευσίας μὲν θάνατον ἐπιφερούσης, παιδείας δὲ ἀφθαρσίαν· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν νόσος μὲν διαλύσεως, ύγεία δὲ σωτηρίας αἰτία, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ μὲν σωζόν ἐστίν φρόνησις—ὑγεία γὰρ τις αὐτῇ διανοίας—, τὸ δὲ φθείρον ἀφροσύνη νόσον ἀνίατον ἔγκατα-
141 σκῆπτουσα.¹ τούτῳ δὲ “νόμιμον αἰώνιον εἶναι” φησιν, ἀντικρυ ἀποφαινόμενος· ὑπολαμβάνει γὰρ νόμον ἀθάνατον ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἐστηλευόμεθα φύσει ταυτί περιέχοντα, ὅτι ύγειεῖν μὲν καὶ σωτηρίου κρῆμα παιδεία, νόσου δὲ καὶ
142 φθορᾶς αἴτιον ἀπαιδευσία. παρεμφαίνει δὲ τι καὶ τοιούτον· τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν νόμιμον εὐθὺς ἐστὶν αἰώνιον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, ὃς ἐν νόμος ἐστίν, οὐ φθαρτῷ καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τούναντιν (τὸ) παράνομον ἐφήμερον τε καὶ εὐδιάλυτον εἰς ἕαυτον παρὰ
143 τοῖς εὔ φρονοῦσιν ἀνωμολόγηται. νόμου δὲ καὶ παιδείας ἴδιον βέβηλα ἀγίων καὶ ἀκάθαρτα καθαρῶν "διαστέλλειν," ὡς ἐμπαθεῖ ἀνομίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας εἰς ταύτων ἄγειν τὰ μαχόμενα βιά-
ζεσθαι² φυρούσης τὰ πάντα καὶ συγχεούσης.

1 The uncompounded verb κατασκήπτω is not found in this sense.
2 Wend. wished to omit βιαζέσθαι, but the construction may be paralleled by βλάψαι βιαζόμενον § 185. Cf. also De Sobr. 6.

³ Λεπτόν καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸ κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν λόγον τοῦ κόσμου. Πλάσσεται καὶ ἀναγονήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀ
which it is excellent and profitable to give ear, or because virtue implants constancy in the souls of men, eradicating with a strong hand the reasonings which doubt and waver, and thus witness-like revealing the truth in the court of human life.

XXXV. Again, he says that he whose offerings are wineless shall not even die; meaning that instruction entails immortality, but its absence entails death. For as in our bodies disease is the cause of dissolution, while health preserves them, so in our souls the preserving element is prudence, which is, so to speak, mental health, while the destroying element is folly inflicting incurable malady. This, he says, is "an eternal statute," and the words mean what they say. For he does hold that there is a deathless law engraved in the nature of the universe which lays down this truth, that instruction is a thing which gives health and safety, while its absence is the cause of disease and destruction. But there is also a further explanation in the words to this effect. A statute which is law in the true sense is thereby eternal, since right reason, which is identical with law, is not destructible; for that its opposite, the unlawful, is ephemeral and of itself subject to dissolution is a truth acknowledged by men of good sense. Again, it is the special task of law and instruction to "distinguish" the profane from the sacred and the impure from the pure, just as conversely it is the way of lawlessness and indiscipline to mix and confuse everything and thus force under the same head things which are in conflict with each other.

seems to be that we may learn from the words not only that this particular law is eternal, but that all law in the true sense is necessarily (ευθύς) so.

b See App. p. 505.
XXXVI. διὰ τούτο ὁ καὶ βασιλέως καὶ προφητῶν μέγιστος Σαμούηλ "οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα," ὡς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησίν, "ἀχρί τελευτῆς οὗ πίεται"· τέτακται γὰρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θείου στρατόπεδου τάξει, ἢν οὐδέποτε λείψει προμηθεία τοῦ σοφοῦ ταξίάρχου. Σαμούηλ δὲ γέγονε μὲν ἵσως ἄνθρωπος, παρείληπται δ' ὁυχ Ὀσ σύνθετον ζῷον, ἀλλ' ὡς νοῦς λατρεία καὶ θεραπεία θεοῦ μόνη θάρσος ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τεταγμένος θεῶ διὰ τὸ τὰς πράξεις ὁσια κατὰ κενᾶς δόξας συνίστανται χαλεπῆν ἀτάξιαν εἶναι νομίζειν. οὕτος μητρός γέγονεν Ἀννης, ἦς τοῦνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστι χάρις· ἀνεύ γὰρ θεῖας χάριτος ἀμήχανον ἡ λιποτακτὴς τὰ βιήτα ἢ τοῖς ἀφθάρτοις ἠτίς ήτος ἃν πληρωθῇ ψυχῇ, γέγηθεν εὐθὺς καὶ μειδία καὶ ἀνυφροτηστίς· βεβάκχευται γὰρ, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι. διὸ καὶ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ παιδαρίου τινός, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνυφροτηστῶν μεθύσκοντα καὶ παρακείνεται· καὶ ἐξεστάναι ἃν δόξαι.

1 Wendland corrected to παρωνεῖν, but see App. p. 505.

[a] In what sense is Samuel a king? Perhaps as the hero of the First Book of Kings and the king-maker.

[b] So the LXX. The words οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὗ πίεται have nothing corresponding to them in the Hebrew.
XXXVI. Therefore Samuel too, the greatest of kings and prophets, “will never,” as the scripture tells us, “drink wine or intoxicating liquor till his dying day” (1 Sam. i. 11). For his place has been ordered in the ranks of the divine army, and through the providence of the wise commander he will never leave it. Now probably there was an actual man called Samuel; but we conceive of the Samuel of the scripture, not as a living compound of soul and body, but as a mind which rejoices in the service and worship of God and that only. For his name by interpretation means “appointed or ordered to God,” because he thinks that all actions that are based on idle opinions are grievous disorder.

His mother is Hannah, whose name means in our language “grace.” For without divine grace it is impossible either to leave the ranks of mortality, or to stay for ever among the immortal. Now when grace fills the soul, that soul thereby rejoices and smiles and dances, for it is possessed and inspired, so that to many of the unenlightened it may seem to be drunken, crazy and beside itself. And therefore she is addressed by a “boy,” not meaning a single boy, but everyone whose age is ripe for restlessness and defiance and mockery of excellence, in these words: “How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine from thee” (1 Sam. i. 14). For with the God-possessed not only is the soul wont to be stirred and goaded as it were into ecstasy but the body also is flushed and fiery, warmed by the overflowing joy within which passes on the sensation to the outer man, and thus many of the foolish are deceived and suppose that the sober

So the LXX. In the Hebrew the words are spoken by Eli.
καίτοι γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τρόπον τινὰ μεθύουσιν οἱ νήφοντες τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀθρόα ἡκρασμένοι καὶ τὰς προπόσεις παρὰ τελεῖας ἀρετῆς δεξάμενοι, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ οἴνου μεθύουσις μέθην ἀγεντοι φρονήσεως διεπέλεσαν νηστείαν συνεχῆ καὶ λιμὸν αὐτῆς ἄγοντες. εἰκότως οὖν ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς τὸν νεωτεροποιὸν καὶ γέλωτα τίθεσθαι οἱ· μεν τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ αὐστηρὸν αὐτῆς βίον· ὡς θεομάς, "γυνὴ ἡ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα ἐγὼ εἰμί, καὶ οἶνον καὶ μεθύσια οὐ πέπωκα, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡν ψυχῆς μου ἐνώπιον κυρίου". παμπόλλῃ γε παρπηγσία τῆς ψυχῆς, ἡ τῶν χαρίτων τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλήρωται. πρῶτον μὲν γε "σκληρὰν ἡμέραν" εἶπεν ἕως τὸν θρήνον πρὸς τὸ χλευάζον ἀπιδοῦσα παιδάριον—τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ ἄφρων παθητοὶ καὶ δύσβατοι καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτης τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀγούσα ὁδὸς, καθὰ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰπών·

τὴν μέντοι κακοτητά καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἐστὶν ἔλεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἰδρώτα θέος προπάροιθεν ἐθηκεν ἄθανατος, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρθὸς οἴμος ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκροῦν ἴκνηζη, ῥηιδὴ ὅτι πειτα πέλει χαλεπή περ ἑοῦσα—.  

XXXVII. εἶτα οἶνον καὶ μεθύσια οὐ φησὶ προσενέγκασθαι τῷ συνεχῶς καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον νήφειν ἐπαυχοῦσα· καὶ γὰρ ὀντὼς ἀφέτω καὶ ἔλευθερα ἐξῃζουτὶ καὶ καθαρῷ χρησθαί λογισμῷ πρὸς μηδένος πάθους παροινουμένω μέγα καὶ  

θαυμαστὸν ἢν ἐργον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συμβαίνει νη—

1 Wendland corrects unnecessarily to τιθέμενοι.
are drunk. Though, indeed, it is true that these sober ones are drunk in a sense, for all good things are united in the strong wine on which they feast, and they receive the loving-cup from perfect virtue; while those others who are drunk with the drunkenness of wine have lived fasting from prudence without ceasing, and no taste of it has come to their famine-stricken lips. Fitly, then, does she answer the reckless one who thinks to mock her stern and austere life, Sirrah, “I a woman am the hard day, a I have drunk no wine or strong drink, and I will pour out my soul before the Lord” (1 Sam. i. 15). How vast is the boldness of the soul which is filled with the gracious gifts of God! First, we see, she calls herself a “hard day,” taking the view of the varlet who thought to make a mock of her, for to him and to every fool the way to virtue seems rough and painful and ill to tread, and to this one of the old writers has testified in these words:

Vice you may take by squadrons; but there lies
'Twixt you and virtue (so hath God ordained)
Sore travail. Long and steep the road to her,
And rough at first; but—reach the top—and she,
So hard to win, is now an easy prize."

XXXVII. Secondly, she declares that she has not partaken of wine or strong liquor, glorying that her whole life has been one of unbroken abstinence. And rightly, for indeed it was a great and wonderful feat to follow reason, the free, the unshackled, the pure, which no passion inebriates. And

* Or, as Philo may have understood the words, “hard and easy,” taking ημέρα from ημερος, see App. p. 505. The E.V. has “of a sorrowful spirit.”

b Hesiod, Works and Days, 287, 289-292.
PHILO

ψεως ἀκράτου τῶν νοτῶν ἐμφορηθέντα σπονδὴν ὅλον δὲ ὅλων γίνεσθαι τε καὶ σπένδεσθαι θεῷ τί γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἔκχεον τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐναντίον κυρίου ἡ σύμπασαν αὐτήν ἀνερώσω, δεσμὰ μὲν οίς πρότερον ἐσφύγγετο, αἱ περιήμαν αἱ τοῦ θυτοῦ βίου κεναὶ σπονδαὶ, πάντα λύσας, προαγαγὸν δὲ ἔξω καὶ τεῖνας καὶ ἀναχέας τοσοῦτον, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς ἀψοφαθεῖν περάτων καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀγενήτου παγκάλην καὶ ἀοίδους θεάν ἐπεικυθήναι;

153 Νηφόντων μὲν οὖν δὲ | χορὸς οὗτος παιδεύαν προστησαμένων ήγεμονίδα, μεθυόντων δ' ὁ πρότερος,
154 οὔτε ἡν ἔξαρχος ἀπαιδευσία. XXXVIII. ἔπει δὲ τὸ μεθύειν οὐ μόνον ἐδήλον τὸ λῃθέν, ὁ δὴ μουργὸν ἀπαιδευσίαν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παντελῶς ἀναισθητεῖν, ἀναισθησίας δὲ τῆς μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δημουργὸς οἶνος, τῆς δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀγνοίᾳ τούτων ὃν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιστήμην ἀνειληφέναι, λεκτέον καὶ περὶ ἀγνοίας βραχέα αὐτὰ τὰ καίρα
155 υπομμηνήσκοντας. τῶν οὖν ἀπεικάσωμεν τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τὸ ἐν ψυχῇ πάθος δὲ κέκληται ἀγνοίᾳ ἡ τῇ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων πηρώσει; οὐκοὖν οὗτοι ὁφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὤτα ἑβλάβθησαν, οὐδὲν ἐτι τέτηρεν οὔτε ἀκούσαι δύνανται, ἡμέραν μὲν καὶ φῶς, ὃν ἐνεκα μόνων, εἰ χρῆ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, τὸ ζῆν αἰρετόν, οὐκ εἰδότες, μακρῷ δὲ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ αἰωνίω συνοικοῦντες, πρὸς πάντα καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μείζων ἐκκωφημένοι, οὐς εἰκότως οὗ δίοις ἀδύνατος
156 εἰσῆλθε καλεῖν κἂν γὰρ αἱ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἀπασαι δυνάμεις ἐπὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ πέρας ἴσχύος

1 The LXX has ἐκχεω. But that Philo read the future is shewn by ἀνερώσω.
the result of this is that the mind, which has drunk deep of abstinence unmixed, becomes a libation in its whole being, a libation which is poured out to God. What else was meant by the words, "I will pour out my soul before the Lord" but "I will consecrate it all to him, I will loosen all the chains that bound it tight, which the empty aims and desires of mortal life had fastened upon it; I will send it abroad, extend and diffuse it, so that it shall touch the bounds of the All, and hasten to that most glorious and loveliest of visions—the Vision of the Uncreated"?

This, then, is the company of the sober who have set before them instruction as their head, while the former was the company of the drunken, whose leader was indiscipline. XXXVIII. But drunkenness, we saw, does not only signify folly, which is the work of this rejection of discipline, but it also signifies complete insensibility. In the body this is produced by wine, but in the soul by ignorance of things of which we should naturally have acquired knowledge. Consequently on the subject of ignorance I must say a few words, only just what is needful, by way of reminder. Now what we call ignorance is an affection of the soul. To what affection of the body can we liken it, but to the incapacitation of the sense-organs? All who have lost the use of eyes and ears can no longer see or hear and have no knowledge of day and light, which alone in truth make life desirable, but are surrounded by enduring darkness and everlasting night, thus rendered helpless in regard to every issue great or small. These persons are in common life generally and with good reason called "incapable." For even if all the faculties of the rest of the body should attain the
_ELTHOSI KAI RÔMHHS, ÝPOTOSKELISSEISAI PROS ÓFHALMÔN KAI ÓTÔN PTHRÔSÉWS MÉGA PTPÔMA PÍPTOUSW, ÏS MUKÊT' ÆNASTHîNAI DÝNASATHAI TÀ GÅR UPEREIÐONTA KAI STYRIJONTA ANTHRÔPÔN LÔGÔN MÈN AI BÁSEIS EISÎN, ÉRGHÔ ÏS AKÔAI TE KAI ÔFEIS, ÏS EXHÔN MÈN TIS ÓLOKL'HROUS ÍNÝGEERTAI KAI ÆNWRHÔLASTAI, STERÔMENOS DÈ AÚTÔN KLINÊTAEI KAI EISÂPAN KATHAIRESITAI.Á

TÔ PARAPLHÔSIOU OÛN ËN ÏSUKH ÔPÁNTWS1 ÂGNUOA ËRGÂZETAI TÀ BLÉPONTA KAI AKÔONTA AUTHHS LUMAIUNOMÉNH KAI MHTÈ FÔS MHTÈ LÔGÔN PAREUS- ELDHÎN ÉWSA, TÔN MÈN, ÏNA M'H DİDAZHÔ, TÔ DÈ, ÏNA M'H DEIZÔ TÀ ÔNTA, BÂTHÔ DÈ SKÔTOS KAI POLLHrô ALÔGIAN KATAKHÉSA KOFHÔN LÎTHÔN TÔ PERIKALLENÔSTATON EIĐOS ÏSUKH HS EIYRGÁSATO. XXXIX. KAI GÅR T'H ÂGNUOA TÔ ÆNANTIOU, H ËPISTHÎMH, TRÔPÔN TINÂ ÏSUKH HS KAI ÔFHALMOI KAI WTÀ ÈSTI KAI GÅR TOIS LEGÔMÉNOIS PROSEOÎK TÔN NOÛN KAI KATABEÂTAEI TÀ ÓNTA KAI OÛDEÎN ÔUTE PARORÂN ÔUTE PARAKOUÊN ÏPÔMÊNEI, PÂNTA D' ÔSA AKÔHÈS KAI THÈS AXIÀ PERIJSKOTEI KAI PERIBLÊPETAEI, KÂN EI PEZEÜNEI KAI PLEÎN DEI, GHS KAI THALÁTTHS ÁCHR TÔN PERÁTÔN AFYKEÎTAI, ÏNA ÎDÔ TÔ PLEÔN H' AKÔUÝS KAINÔTEROÒN. ÂOKÎÔTATON GÅR Ô ËPISTHÎMH HS ÈRHÔS, ÈXHrôS MÈN ÏPNOU, FILHOS DÈ ËGRHGYRÔSEWS: DIAMOSTAS ÔDH KAI ÂNEGEÎRÔN KAI PÂRAÐHÎGIW ÂEI DIÁNOIÔN PANTAXHÔSE PERIJOITÂN ÂNAGKÂZEI LÎXHÔN AKÔHÈS ÈRGHAZÔMENOS KAI MATHSÎSEWS DÛFAN ÂLHKÔN EΝTÎKÔWÔN. ÎNÔKHÔN ËPI- STHÎMH MÈN TÔ BLÉPEN KAI AKÔHÈN PERIPOIÊ, DI' ÔDHN ÂI KATÔRHÔSÎS: Ô GÅR ÎDÔN KAI AKÔUŞAS, GNOUS 1 MÎS. PÅΝÔ'T ÔSA.

1 Or "word . . . wordlessness." See App. p. 505.
utmost limit of strength and capacity, yet if they are handicapped by the crippled eyes and ears they fall, and great is that fall, making any reinstatement impossible. For, though we speak of the feet as the support which upholds the man, in reality that is done by the faculties of sight and hearing: possessed of these in their fullness, the man stands uprisen and erect; deprived of them, he gives way and is utterly prostrated. An exactly similar result in the soul is produced by ignorance, which destroys its powers of seeing and hearing, and suffers neither light, which might shew it realities, nor reason, a which might be its teacher, to find their way in; but sheds about it profound darkness and a flood of unreason, a and turns the soul's fair and lovely form into a senseless block of stone. XXXIX. Similarly knowledge, the opposite of ignorance, may be called the eyes and the ears of the soul. For it fixes the attention on what is said and contemplates what is, and allows no mis-seeing or mis-hearing, b but surveys and observes all that is worthy to be heard and seen. And if it be necessary to travel or take ship, it makes its way to the ends of the earth or ocean, to see something more or hear something new. For nothing is so active as the passion for knowledge; it hates sleep and loves wakefulness. So it ever arouses and excites and sharpens the intellect, and compelling it to range in every direction makes it greedy to hear, and instils an incessant thirst for learning. Knowledge, then, provides c that sight or hearing, to which we owe each case of right conduct. For he who sees and hears in the moral sense, knows what is good for him, and by choosing this and rejecting

b See App. p. 505. 

Or "preserves."
PHILO

ἀποστραφεῖς ὑφέληται. ἀγνοια δὲ χαλεπωτέραν τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι πήρωσιν ἐπιφέρουσα τῇ ψυχῇ πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων αἰτία γίνεται, μηδὲν μὴ τοῦ προϊδέσθαι μὴ τοῦ προακούσαι δυναμένη λαβεῖν ἐξωθεῖν βοήθημα· διὰ γοῦν τὴν πολλὴν ἐρημίαν ἑαυτῆς ἀφρούρητος καὶ ἀφύλακτος ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ἀκρατον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων τε ὀμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιβουλεύεται. μηδέποτε οὖν μὴ ἀκρατον προσενεγκώμεθα τοσοῦτον, ώς ἀπραξίαν ἐμπούσαι ταῖς αἰσθήσεις, μήτε τοσοῦτον ἐπιστήμης ἀλλοτριωθῶμεν, ὡς ἀγνοιαν, τὸ μέγα καὶ βαθὺ σκότος, τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς κατασκεδάσαι.

161 XL. Διττοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀγνοίας γένος, τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν, ἡ παντελῆς ἀναίσθησις, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἀνεπιστημοσύνη τις συνέχηται, ἄλλα καὶ συνεχεῖ εἰδέναι ὁ μηδαμῶς οἶδε δόξῃ ἰσοδύναμης σοφίας ἐπαιρομένοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρώτουν κακῶν ἐλαττῶν— κουφωτέρων γὰρ ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τάχα ἄκουσίων αἴτιον—, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μείζον μεγάλα γὰρ ἀποτίκτει καὶ οὐκ ἄκουσία μόνον ὄλλ' ἥδη κακὸν προνοίας ἀδικήματα. περὶ ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖ Δωτὶ ὦ θυγατροποιὸς μᾶλιστα κηραίνειν ἄρρεν καὶ τέλειον ἐν ψυχῇ φυτῶν ἀναθρέψαι μὴ δυναμένοις· δύο γὰρ θυγατέρας ἐκ τῆς λιθουμένης γυναικὸς ἔσχηκε, Ἰην εὐθυβόλω χρησάμενον ὄνοματι καλέσειν ἂν τις συνήθειαν, ἐγνώριαν καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ ὁπότε ἅγιοι τις αὐτῆς, ὠστερίζουσαν καὶ περιβλεπομένην τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ σύντροφα καὶ ἀψήχων τρόπον στήλης ἐν μέσους αὐτοῖς καταμένουσαν. τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτέρα κεκλήσεται θυγατέραν, συναίνεις δὲ ἡ
ON DRUNKENNESS, 160–165

its opposite, finds himself benefited. But ignorance entails a more severe disablement to the soul than the disablement of the body, and thus is the cause of all its wrongdoing, since it cannot draw help from outside itself through the warnings which seeing and hearing might give it. Thus, standing utterly alone, and left unguarded and unprotected, it is a butt for the haphazard hostility of men and circumstances alike. Let us, then, never drink so deep of strong liquor as to reduce our senses to inactivity, nor become so estranged from knowledge as to spread the vast and profound darkness of ignorance over our soul.

XL. Now ignorance as a whole is of two different kinds; one single, that is complete insensibility, the other twofold, that is when a man is not merely the victim of a want of knowledge, but also, encouraged by a false idea of his own wisdom, thinks he knows what he does not know at all. The former is the lesser evil, for it is the cause of less serious and perhaps involuntary errors, and the second is the greater, for it is the parent of great iniquities, not only those which are involuntary, but such as are actually premeditated. It was this especially which brought trouble to Lot—Lot who was the parent of daughters only and could rear no male or perfect growth within his soul. Two daughters he had and their mother was she who was turned into stone, whom we might call "custom," if we gave her her right name; her nature is hostile to truth, and if we take her with us, she lags behind and gazes round at the old familiar objects and remains among them like a lifeless monument. The elder of these daughters will bear the name of Deliberation, and
νεωτέρα: τῷ μὲν γὰρ βουλεύσασθαι τὸ συναινεῖν ἐπεταί, συναινέσας δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἐτι βουλεύεται. καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῷ συνεδρίῳ διακινεῖν ἂρχεται τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ μετὰ μὲν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας, βουλής, σκοπεῖσθαι τε καὶ διερευνάν ἔκαστα, μετὰ δὲ τῆς νεωτέρας, συναινέσεως, ἐπισκηνοῦν ῥάδος τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι καὶ ὡς φίλα τὰ ἐχθρὰ ἀσπάζεσθαι, δέλεαρ εἰ τι μικρὸν ἣδονῆς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐνδιδόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ νήφων μὲν λογισμὸς οὐκ ἄνεχεται, μέθη δὲ κατεσχημένος καὶ ὡσπερ ἐξοιωθὸς ὡς XLI. διό λέγεται ἔποτισαν τὸν πατέρα οὖν. ἀνασθησία παντελῆς, ἢκανόν δοκεῖν εἶναι βουλεύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν ἀφ’ ἑαυτῷ τὰ συμφέροντα ἢ τοῖς ὑποσωσθεῖν φανεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸ ἀληθῆς πάγιον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχουσιν, συναινέσας, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως μηδαμῆς μη-δαμῶς ἢκανός οὕσης ἢ ἐκ περισκέψεως τὸ σαφῆς εὑρεῖν ἢ τὸ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα ἐλέσθαι, πολὺ γὰρ σκότος τῶν ὄντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων κατακεχυμένοι οὐκ ἐὰ τὴν ἐκάστου φύσιν οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βιασάμενος τις ὑπὸ περιεργὰς ἢ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς ἐθελήσῃ διακύψησαι, καθάπερ οἱ πεπηρωμένοι προσπτάων τοῖς ἐν ποσί, πρὶν τι λαβεῖν, ἀναπεσόντων ὑπεριέζῃ ἡ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐφαπτό- μενος τὰ ἄδηλα εἰκάζει στοχασμῶν ὑπὸ ἀληθεύς κτώμενοι. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ δαδουχοῦσα παιδεία παρα-πέμπῃ τοῖς νοῦν φῶς ἀψιμενή τοῦ οἰκεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων θέαν, ὁνήσαι δύναι ἂν μᾶλλον ἡ βλάψαι· τὸ γὰρ βραχὺ φέγγος ὑπὸ πολλοῦ σκότους

1 mss. ἢ ὡς.

a Or “to examine.”
the younger of Assent. For assent follows deliberation, and no one who has given his assent continues to deliberate. The mind then taking his seat in his council begins to make his daughters busy. With the elder, Deliberation, he proceeds to discuss and examine every point; with the younger, Assent, he readily agrees to every suggestion, giving a friendly welcome to any however hostile, if what they have to give offers any enticement of pleasure however small. In its sober condition the mind does not tolerate this, only when it has succumbed to intoxication and is as though overcome by wine. And so we read, "They gave their father wine to drink" (Gen. xix. 33).

Now this is complete insensibility, that the mind should think itself competent to deliberate by itself on what is to its interests, or to assent to presentations of any kind as though they were a vehicle of solid truth, for human nature is ever quite unable, either by circumspection to discover certainty, or to choose some things as true and profitable, and to reject others as false and injurious. For the vastness of the darkness which overspreads the world of bodies and affairs forbids us to see the nature of each; and though curiosity or love of learning may give us the wish to force our way and peer through the curtain, we shall like blind men stumble over the obstacles before us, lose our footing and miss our object, or if our hands do lay hold of it, we are but guessing at uncertainties and it is not truth but conjecture that is in our grasp. For even if instruction, torch in hand, should go before the mind, shedding her own particular light to give it sight of realities, it would do more harm than good. For its little beam is bound to be extinguished by
sβέννυσθαι πέφυκε, σβεσθέντος δὲ ἀνωφελῆς πᾶσα
169 οὐσία.
τὸν μέντοι σεμνυνόμενον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσθαι ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ μὲν ἀιρεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ
φεύγειν ἰκανῶς δύνασθαι διὰ τούτων ὑπομνηστέον;
εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τὼς αὐτῶς ἢ ἐνεβάνει
προσπίπτειν ἀπαραλλάκτους φαντασίας, ἢν ἴσως
ἀναγκαῖον τὰ τε ἐν ἦμῖν αὐτοῖς φύσει κατασκευα-
σθέντα διὰ τῶν κριτήρων, αἰσθησίων τε καὶ νοῦν, ὥς
ἀφευδῆ καὶ ἀδέκαστα θαυμάζειν καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς
ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐπέχει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπαξ φανεῖσι
πιστεύοντας τὰ μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐμπαλι
170 ἀποστρέφεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαφόρως ἀπ’ αὐτῶν
εὐρισκόμεθα κινούμενοι, βέβαιον περὶ οὐδενὸς
οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν εἰπεῖν, ἀτε μὴ ἐστῶτοι τοῦ
φανέντος, ἀλλὰ πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυμόρφους
χρωμένου ταῖς μεταβολαῖς. XLII. ἀνάγκη γὰρ
ἀνιδρύτων τῆς φαντασίας οὕσης ἀνίδρυτον εἶναι
καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν κρίσιν.
171 Ἄνιδρυτος πολλάπλοιο μὲν αἱ ἐν τοῖς
ξύλοις οὐ καθ’ ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν περὶ πάντα
ἀμύθητοι διαφοραί, αἱ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ κατα-
σκευήν αὐτῶν, αἱ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς καὶ διαίτας, αἱ
περὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς, αἱ περὶ τὰς αἰσθη-
τικὰς ἐνεργείας τε καὶ κινήσεις, αἱ περὶ τὰς τῶν
κατὰ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀμυθήτων παθῶν ἰδιότητας.
172 χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν κρινόντων ἢν καὶ τῶν
κρινομένων ἔνια, οἷα τὸν χαμαίλεοντα, τὸν πολύ-

a See App. p. 505.  b See App. p. 506.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 168–172

the vast darkness, and when it is extinguished all power of sight is useless. He who prides himself on his judgement in deliberation, or flatters himself that he is competent to choose this and shun that, should be brought to a recollection of the truth by the following thoughts. If it were always the case that the same objects produced the same impressions on the mind without any variation, it would perhaps be necessary that the two instruments of judgement which nature has established in us, sense and mind, should be held in high esteem as veracious and incorruptible, and that we should not suspend our judgement on any point through doubt but accept a single presentation of two different objects, and on the faith of this choose one and reject the other. But since we prove to be differently affected by them at different times, we can say nothing with certainty about anything, because the picture presented to us is not constant, but subject to changes manifold and multiform. XLII. Since the mental picture is variable, the judgement we form of it must be variable also. There are many reasons for this.  

In the first place there are the innumerable differences in living creatures, differences concerned not with a single aspect, but practically with all; differences in birth, in structure and equipment; differences in food and mode of life; differences in predilections and aversions; differences in their sense-activities and sense-movements; differences in the peculiarities which arise from the innumerable ways in which body and soul are affected. For leaving out of sight for the moment those who form judgements, consider examples among the objects of such judgements. Take for instance the chameleon

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ποδα· τὸν μὲν γέ φασὶ τὴν χρόαν ἀλλάττοντα τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν ὁμοιοῦνθαι καθ’ ὃν εἰσῆλθεν ἔρπεν, τὸν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ θαλάττης πέτραις, ὅν ἂν περιδράζηται, τάχα που τῆς σωτηρίου φύσεως ἀλεξίκακον συλλήψεως δωρησαμένης τὴν εἰς τὸ πολυχρώματον αὐτοῖς τροπὴν φάρμακον. τὸν δὲ αὐχένα τῆς περιστερᾶς ἐν ἡλιακαῖς αὐγαῖς οὐ κατενώθησας μυρίας χρωμάτων ἀλλάττοντα ἰδέας; ἡ οὖχι φουνκοῦν καὶ κυνανοῦν, πυρωτόν τε αὗ καὶ ἄνθρακειδές, ἢτὶ δὲ ὄχρον καὶ ἐρυθρόν καὶ ἄλλα παντοῦ ἐσχεῖ χρώματα, ὃν οὗθεν τὰς κλῆσεις βρίσκων ἀπομνημονεύσαι; φασὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐν Σκύλαις τοῖς καλουμένοις Γελώνως θαμμασιώτατον τι γίνεσθαι σπανίως μὲν, γίνεσθαι δ’ ὄμως θηρίον, δ’ καλεῖται τάρανδρος, μέγεθος μὲν βοὸς οὐκ ἀποδέον, ἐλάφω δὲ τὸν τοῦ προσώπου τύπον ἐμφερέστατον λόγος ἐχεῖ τοῦτο μεταβάλλειν ἀεί τὰς τρίχας πρὸς τε τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ πάνθ’ ἀπλῶς οἷς ἄν ἐγγύς ἵστηται, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς χρόας ὀμοιότητα λανθάνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ ταὐτή μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ περὶ σώμα ἀλκῆ δυσθήρατον εἶναι. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ τούτως ὅμοια πίστεις ἐναργεῖς ἀκαταληψίας εἰσίν.

XLIII. Ἐπειτα δὲ αἱ μηκέτι τῶν ζώων ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵδια πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ πάντα ποικιλίαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰ αὐτὰ κρίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρως ἐτεροι, ἡδονᾶς τε καὶ ἁγδίας ἐμπαλὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λαμβάνοντες· οἷς γὰρ δυσηρέστησαν ἔνιοι, ἐτέρφθησαν ἄλλοι, καὶ κατὰ τούναντίον ἀπερ ὡς φίλα καὶ οἰκεία ἐπισπασάμενοι τινες ἐδεξιόσαντο, ταῦτα ἐτεροι ὡς

1 Perhaps, as Adler, ἀσπασάμενοι. See App. p. 507.

See App. p. 506.
and the polypus. The former, we are told, changes its colour and grows like the kinds of soil over which it is its habit to crawl; the latter grows like the rocks to which it clings in the sea, and we may fairly suppose that this power of changing to various colours is given them by protecting nature as a remedy against the danger of capture. Again, have we not seen the dove's neck change in the sun's rays into a thousand different hues, sometimes scarlet and dark blue, or fiery or like red-hot coal, again yellow and then ruddy, and all other kinds of colour, so numerous that it would be difficult to give even their names in full? Indeed it is said that in the land of the Scythians who are known as the Geloans a most extraordinary animal is actually, though no doubt rarely, found called the elk, in size equal to an ox, but with a face shaped very like a deer. The account given of this creature is that it always changes the colour of its hair into that of the places, trees, or any imaginable thing near which it stands, and owing to this similarity of colour, we are told, it is not observed by passers-by, and this fact rather than its bodily strength makes it difficult to catch. These and similar phenomena are clear proofs of the impossibility of apprehension. a

XLIII. Secondly, b there are the diversities on all subjects which, to pass from animals in general, we find also in men in particular. Not only do their judgments on the same objects vary at different times, but different persons receive different impressions of pleasure or its reverse from the same things. For what is disliked by some is enjoyed by others, and contrariwise what some receive with open arms as acceptable and agreeable to their nature is utterly
αλλότρια καὶ δυσμενὴ μακρὰν ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἔσκορπισαν. ἢδη γοῦν ἐν θεάτρῳ πολλάκις παρατυχῶν εἰδον ύφ’ ἐνὸς μέλους τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τραγῳδῶν ἡ κιθαρῳδῶν τοὺς μὲν οὕτως ἄχθέντας, ὡς ἀνεγειρομένους καὶ συνηχούντας ἄκοντας τὰ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἐκφωνεῖν, τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀτρώτως ἔχοντας, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ἀψύχων βάθρων ἐφ’ οἷς καθέξονται ταύτη γοῦν διαφέρειν ἃν νομισθῆναι, ἐνίος δ’ οὕτως ἀλλοτριωθέντας, ὡς καὶ τὴν θέαν οἰχεσθαὶ καταλιπόντας, ἕτι καὶ προσαποκλειομένους ἕκατέρα τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ὅτα, μὴ ἄρα τὶ έναυλον ἀπολειφθέν ἀεὶ διήνυῃν υπηχοῦν δυσκόλοις καὶ δυσαρέστοις ψυχαῖς ἐργάσεται.

178 Καίτοι τι ταῦτα φαμεν; αὐτὸς τις εἰς εἰς ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, μυρίας μεταβολὰς καὶ τροπὰς δεχόμενος κατὰ τὴ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν τοτὲ μὲν ἀφαίρεται, τοτὲ δ’ ἀποστρέφεται οὐδαμῶς μεταβάλλοντα, μένειν δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πεφυκώς κατασκευῆς· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ῥγαίνουσι καὶ νοσοῦσι προσπίπτεςς φιλεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐγρηγοροῦσι καὶ κοιμομένους, οὐδὲ ἤβωσι καὶ γεγηρακόσι· καὶ ἐστὼς μὲντοι καὶ κινούμενός τις ἐτέρας ἔλαβε φαντασίας, καὶ θαρρῶν καὶ δεδιώς ἔμπαιλως, ἐτὶ μὲντοι λυποῦμένος τε καὶ χαϊρών, καὶ φιλῶν καὶ τούναντίον μισῶν. καὶ τὶ δεῖ μακρηγοροῦντα περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλεῖν; συνελόντι γὰρ φράσαι πᾶσα ἡ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν τε αὐ καὶ παρὰ | [385] φύσιν κίνησις αἰτία τῆς περὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀστάτου

1 mss. προσαποκλειομένου, which Wendland defends on the strange ground that “shaking off their ears” may describe the action of men trying to brush away the sound of the music out of their ears. Cohn preferred ἀποσαττομένου, which would give the same sense as ἀποκλειομένου (Mangey).
scouted by others as alien and repugnant. For example, I have often when I chanced to be in the theatre noticed the effect produced by some single tune sung by the actors on the stage or played by the musicians. Some of the audience are so moved, that in their excitement they cannot help raising their voices in a chorus of acclamation. Others are so unstirred that, as far as this is concerned, you might suppose them on a level of feeling with the senseless benches on which they sit. Others, again, are so repelled that they are off and away from the performance, and indeed, as they go, block their ears with both hands for fear that some echo of the music should remain to haunt them and produce a sense of discomfort to irritate and pain their souls.

But it is needless to quote such cases as these. Every single individual in his own person is subject, extraordinary though it be, to numberless changes and variations in body and soul, and chooses at one time and rejects at another things which do not change, but retain the natural constitution which they have had throughout. The same feelings are not experienced in health as in sickness, in wakefulness as in sleep, in youth as in age. And people receive different mental impressions according as they are standing or moving, confident or affrighted, sad or joyful, loving or hating. And why tediously pursue the subject? For to put it shortly, our bodies and souls are in a state of motion, natural or unnatural, which considered as a whole produces that ceaseless change in the mental pictures pre-

a Or (not so probably) ἀνεγειρομένως “starting from their seats,” συνηχωντας “taking up the tune.”

b See App. p. 507.
φορᾶς γίνεται μαχόμενα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα προσβαλλούσης ὀνείρατα.

181 XLIV. Γίνεται δ' οὐχ ἦκιστα τὸ περὶ τὰς φαντασίας ἄστατον καὶ παρὰ τὰς θέσεις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους, οἷς ἔκαστα ἐμπεριέχεται, ἣ τοὺς κατὰ θαλάττης ἵχθος οὐχ ὀρῶμεν, ὅποτε τὰς πτέρυγας διατείνοντες ἐννήχοιτο, μεῖζους άεὶ τῆς φύσεως προφαινομένους; καὶ τὰς εἰρεσίας μέντοι, κὰν σφόδρα ὃσιν εὐθυτενεῖς, κεκλασμένας ὄρασθαι συμβαίνει καθ' ὑδατος.  

182 τὰ γε μὴν πορρωτάτως ψευδεῖς προσβάλλοντα φαντασίας τὸν νοῦν ἐξωθεὶν ἀπατῶν ἄστατον ἄφυχα γὰρ ἐστιν ὅτε ὁντα ὑπετοπθήθη ζώον εἶναι καὶ τοὐναντίον τὰ ἐμφυχα ἄφυχα, ἐτι δὲ τὰ ἐστώτα κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ κωνούμενα ἐστάναι καὶ τὰ μὲν προσθεῖται, αὐτὰ τὰ πολυγώνια καὶ μυρία ἀλλά ὑπὸ τῆς φανερᾶς ὕψωσις ψευδογραφεῖται, οἷς οὐκ ἄν τις εὕφρον ὅς βεβαίοις συνεπιγράφω.  

183 XLV. Τί δ' αἴ ἐν τοῖς σκευαζόμενοι ποσότητες; παρὰ γάρ τὸ πλέον ἡ ἐλαττών αἱ τε βλάβαι καὶ ὄφελεια συνίσταται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ μυρίων ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ιατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐχει φαρμάκων ἡ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι ποσότης ὅρους καὶ κανόνις μεμέτρηται, ἐπὶ οὔτε ἐντὸς κάμψαι οὔτε περαιτέρω προελθεῖν ἀσφαλὲς—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐλαττὸν χαλὰ, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐπιτείνει τὰς δυνάμεις· βλαβερὸν δ' ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἄδυνατον ἐνεργηθέντα δι' ἀσθένειαν, τὸ δὲ βλάψαι βιαζόμενον διὰ καρ-

1 MSS. παρὰ.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 180–185

sented to us which makes us the victim of conflicting\(^a\) and incongruous dreams.

XLIV. \(^b\) But the inconstancy of impressions is particularly caused by the positions and surroundings of the several objects and their distances from the observer. We see that fishes in the sea, when they swim with their fins stretched, always look larger than nature has made them, and oars, however straight they are, appear bent below the water. Still more—the mind is often misled by distant objects which create false impressions. Sometimes we suppose lifeless objects to be living objects or the converse. And we have similar illusions about things stationary and moving, advancing and receding, short and long, circular and multilateral. And numberless other distortions of the truth are produced even when sight is unimpeded, which no sane person would accept as trustworthy.

XLV. \(^b\) What again of quantities in prepared mixtures? Their powers of benefiting or injuring depend on the relative quantity of the various ingredients, as we see in numberless cases and particularly in the drugs used by medical science. For quantity in compounds is measured by regular standards, and we cannot with safety stop short of or go beyond what they prescribe; for anything smaller or greater than this respectively overweakens or overstrains the force of the preparation. In both cases harm is done. In the former case the medicine is incapable through its weakness of producing any effect, while in the latter its high degree of potency makes it a force of active mischief. And again accord-

\(^a\) Or "which act upon us like conflicting," etc.
\(^b\) See App. p. 507.
τερωτάτην ἱσχύν,—, λειότησι τε αὖ καὶ τραχύτησι,
pυκνότησι τε αὖ καὶ πιλήσει καὶ τοῦναντίον
μανότησι καὶ ἐξαιπλώσει τὸν εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ
βλάβην ἔλεγχον ἔναργῶς διασυνίστησιν.

186 Ἄλλα μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκείνο τις ἁγνοεῖ, ὅτι τῶν ὄντων
σχεδὸν έξ αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ′ αὐτὸ νενόηται τὸ παράπαν
οὐδὲν, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον παραθάσει δοκιμά-
ζεται, οἶον τὸ μικρὸν παρὰ τὸ μέγα, τὸ ἔρημον
παρὰ τὸ ὕγρον, παρὰ τὸ ψυχρὸν τὸ θερμὸν, παρὰ
τὸ βαρὺ τὸ κοῦφον, τὸ μέλων παρὰ τὸ λευκὸν, τὸ
ἀσθενές παρὰ τὸ ἱσχυρόν, τὰ ὀλίγα παρὰ τὰ πολλά.

187 κατὰ τὸ παραπλησίον μέντοι καὶ ὁσα ἐπ᾽ ἄρετὴν
ἡ κακίαν ἁναφέρεται, τὰ ὑφέλιμα διὰ τῶν βλα-
βερῶν γνωρίζεται, τὰ καλὰ τῇ τῶν αἰσχρῶν
ἀντιθέσει, τὰ δίκαια καὶ κοινῶς ἀγαθὰ τῇ τῶν
ἀδίκων καὶ κακῶν παραθάσει, καὶ πάντα μέντοι
τὰ ἄλλα ὁσα ἐν κόσμῳ σκοπῶν ἀν τις εὑροῖ κατὰ
tὸν αὐτὸν τύπον λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἐπίκρισιν· ἐξ
ἐαυτοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν ἀκατάληπτον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς

188 πρὸς ἔτερον συγκρίσεως γνωρίζεσθαι δοκεῖ. τὸ
[386] δὲ μὴ ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἱκανον, τῆς δὲ ἀφ᾽ ἔτερου
χρήζων συνηγορίας, ἀβέβαιον εἰς πίστιν· ὡστε
καὶ ταύτη τοὺς εὐχερῶς ὀμολογοῦντας ἢ ἀρνοῦ-
mένους περὶ παντὸς οὕτως ἐλέγχεσθαι.

189 Καὶ τὶ θαυμαστὸν; προσωτέρῳ γὰρ τὶς χωρήσας
τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ εἰλικρινέστερον αὐτὰ αὐγασά-
μενος εἰσέται τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι ἐν οὐδὲν καθ᾽ ἀπλῆν ἥμιν
tὴν ἐαυτοῦ προσπέπτει φύσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μίξεις
πολυπλοκωτάτας ἔχοντα καὶ κράσεις.

190 XLVI. αὐτίκα τῶν χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα
πῶς; ἄρ᾽ οὐ σὺν ἀέρι καὶ φωτί, τοῖς ἐκτός,
καὶ τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ὀψιν ὕγρῳ; γλυκὸν δὲ καὶ
ing to its roughness or smoothness, and its density and compactness on the one hand, or its sponginess and dilatation on the other, it exhibits clearly the means of testing its power of helping or harming.

a Again, everyone knows that practically nothing at all which exists is intelligible by itself and in itself, but everything is appreciated only by comparison with its opposite; as small by comparison with great, dry with wet, hot with cold, light with heavy, black with white, weak with strong, few with many. The same rule holds with all that concerns virtue and vice. We only know the profitable through the hurtful, the noble by contrast with the base, the just and the good in general by comparison with the unjust and evil. And indeed if we consider we shall see that everything else in the world is judged on the same pattern. For in itself each thing is beyond our apprehension, and it is only by bringing it into relation with something else that it seems to be known. Now that which is incapable of attesting itself and needs to be vouched for by something else, gives no sure ground for belief. And it follows that on this principle we can estimate at their true value lightly-made affirmations and negations on any subject whatever.

Nor is this strange. For anyone who penetrates deeper into things and views them in a purer light, will recognize that no single thing presents itself to us in its own absolute nature but all contain interlacings and intermixtures of the most complicated kind.

a For instance, how do we apprehend colours? Surely by means of the externals, air and light, and the internal moisture in the eye itself. How do we discriminate between sweet

a See App. p. 508.
πικρὸν τίνα τρόπον δοκιμάζεται; μή δίχα τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνστομίων χυλῶν ὁσοὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ παρὰ φύσιν; οὐ δήπου. τί δ’; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμωμένων ὁσμαὶ μὴ τὰς ἀπλὰς <καὶ> εἰλικρινεῖς τῶν σωμάτων φύσεις παριστάσιν; ἡ τὰς κεκραμένας ἐκ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀέρος, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ τοῦ τῆκοντος τὰ σώματα πυρὸς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς μυκτήρας δυνάμεως; ἐκ δή τῶν συνιστάμενον κράματος ἐκ τε τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ φωτός, ὡσμῶν, ἄλλα μίγματος, ὑπὲρ συνέστη διὰ τοῦ ρύέντος ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοῦ πανδεχούς ἀέρος, ὡσμῶν, ἄλλα τοῦ γενομένου διὰ τε τοῦ προσιόντος γενομένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ στόμα ύγρᾶς ύδάτας.

191 κατὰ τοὺς μυκτήρας δυνάμεως; ἐκ δὴ τοῦτων συνάγεται, ὡσμῶν χρωμάτων ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, ἄλλα τοῦ συνιστάμενον κράματος ἐκ τε τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ φωτός, ὡσμῶν, ἄλλα μίγματος, ὑπὲρ συνέστη διὰ τοῦ ρύέντος ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τοῦ πανδεχούς ἀέρος, ὡσμῶν, ἄλλα τοῦ γενομένου διὰ τοῦ προσιόντος γενομένου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ στόμα ύγρᾶς ύδάτας.

192 XLVII. τοῦτων δὴ τοῦτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον εὐήθειαν ἢ προπέτειαν ἢ ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀξίον καταγινώσκει τῶν ἢ όμολογεῖν ἢ ἀρνεῖσθαι περὶ παντὸς οὗτούς υπομενόντων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἀπλαὶ δυνάμεις ἐκποδών, αἱ δὲ μικταὶ καὶ ἐκ πλεῖόνων συνηρανισμέναι προὔπτοι, ἀμήχανον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀοράτους ὡς ἤδειν καὶ διὰ τῶν κεκραμένων τὸν ἐκάστης τῶν συνερανισθεισῶν τύπων ἰδιὰ κατανοήσαι, τί ἄν εἰη λοιπὸν ἢ τὸ ἐπέχειν [ἀναγκαίον];

193 'Εκεῖνα δ’ ἡμᾶς οὐ παρακαλεῖ μὴ λίαν τοῖς ἀφανέσι προπιστεύει, αἱ σχεδὸν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνακέχυται κοινὸν Ἑλληνὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους ἐπάγοντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρίνειν ὁλιθοῦν; τίνα οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐστίν; ἀγωγαὶ δήπου οἷοι οἱ ἐκ

1 MSS. εκεῖνο οτ εκεῖ.

a See App. p. 508.
and bitter? Can we do so without the juices in the mouth, both those which are in accord with nature and those which are not? Surely not. Again, do the odours produced by burning incense present to us the natures of the substances in a pure and simple form, or in a combination, in which themselves and air, or sometimes also the fire which dissolves the material, are joined with the faculty possessed by the nostrils? From this we deduce that we do not apprehend colours, but only the combination produced by the light and the material substances to which the colours belong, nor smells, but only the mixture of the emanation from the substances with the all-admitting air; nor flavours, but only the something produced by the application of what we taste to the moisture in our mouths.

XLVII. Since these things are so, those who do not shrink from facile affirmation or negation of anything whatsoever deserve to be held guilty of folly or rashness or imposture. For if the properties of things by themselves are beyond our ken, and if it is only the mixture formed by the contribution of many factors which is open to our vision; if, once more, it is as impossible to discern through the combinations the particular form of each of the contributing factors as it is to see them in their invisibility, what course is left to us but to suspend our judgement?

And are we not warned against giving over-ready credence to uncertainties by other considerations? I allude to certain facts, the evidence for which is found practically over the whole world as known to us—facts which entail on Greek and barbarian alike the universal tendency to error which positive judgement brings. By these I mean of course ways of life
παίδων καὶ ἐθη πάτρια καὶ πολλοὶ νόμοι, ὅπως ἐν οὔδεν ὁμολογεῖται ταύτιδεν εἶναι παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώρας καὶ ἐθη καὶ πόλεις, μάλλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ κώμην καὶ οίκιαν ἐκάστην, ἀνδρὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ νήπιον παῖδα τοὺς ὅλους διακόριται· τὰ γοῦν αἰσχρὰ παρ’ ἥμιν ἔτεροις καλὰ, καὶ τὰ πρέποντα ἀπρεπῆ, καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἄδικα, καὶ ἀνόσια μὲν τὰ δόσια, νόμιμα δ’ αὐτ’ ἡ παράνομα, ἐτι δὲ ἰσετὰ τὰ ἐπαινετὰ καὶ ὑπόδικα τὰ τιμῆς ἀξία καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἐναντία ταῦτα νομίζουσι.

καὶ τί δεὶ μακρηγορεῖν τὸν ὑπὸ | ἔτερον ἀναγκαστέρων μεθελκόμενον; εἰ μέντοι βουληθεὶς τις ὑπὸ μηδεμᾶς ἄλλης κανονοτέρας θέας ἀγόμενος, ἐνευκαιρήσας τῷ προτεθέντι κεφαλαίω τὰς ἐκάστων ἀγωγὰς καὶ ἐθη καὶ νόμους ἐπιέναι χωρῶν, θυνῶν, πόλεων, τόπων, ὑπηκοόν ἡγεμόνων, ἐνδόξων ἀδόξων, ἔλευθερων οἰκετῶν, ἰδιωτῶν ἐπιστημόνων, οὐχ ἠμέραν μίαν οὔδε δύο, ἀλλὰ οὔδε μῆνα ἡ ἐναυτὸν, τὸν δὲ ἀπαντα ἐαυτοῦ κατατρίψει βίων, κἂν αἰῶνι χρήσηται μακρὺ, καὶ οὔδὲν ἢττον πολλὰ ἀδιερέυνητα καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτα καὶ ἀφώνα λήσει καταληπτῶν. οὐκοῦν ἄλλων παρ’ ἄλλοισ οὐ βραχεῖ μόνον διεστηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπαιδότων, ὡς ἀντισταθεῖ καὶ διαμάχεσθαι, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς προσπιττούσας διαφέρειν φαντασίας καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἀλλὰ πεπολεμώσθαι. XLVIII.

ων ὑπαρχόντων τις οὕτως ἔστι καὶ παράληπος, ὡς φάναι παγίως, ὧτι τὸ τούνδε ἐστὶ δικαίων ἡ φρόνιμον ἡ καλὸν ἡ συμφέρον; δ’ γὰρ

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*a Lit. "accepted to be the same with all."
*b The last words, if expressed in full, would run ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἐναντία τῶν ύφ’ ἥμιν νομίζομεν ταῦτα νομίζουσιν*. 418
from boyhood upwards, traditional usages, ancient laws, not a single one of which is regarded in the same light universally, but every country, nation and city, or rather every village and house, indeed every man, woman and infant child takes a totally different view of it. As a proof of this we see that what is base with us is noble with others, what is seemly and just with us is unseemly or unjust with them, our holy is their unholy, our lawful their unlawful, our laudable their blameworthy, our meritorious their criminal, and in all other matters their judgement is the opposite of ours.

And why prolong the subject when our attention is called elsewhere by more vital matters? Still if anyone undistracted by some newer subject of contemplation should care to devote his leisure to the subject which has been before us, and to examine the ways of life, usages and customs of different countries, nations, cities and places, subjects and rulers, high and low, freemen and slaves, ignorant and learned, it will occupy not only a day or two, not only a month or a year, but his whole lifetime, even though his years be many, and all the same he will leave behind him many such questions, which he knows not of, unexamined, unconsidered and unheard. Since then the divers customs of divers persons are not distinguished merely by some slight difference, but exhibit an absolute contrast, amounting to bitter antagonism, it is inevitable that the impressions made upon the mind should differ and that the judgements formed should be at war with each other. In view of these facts, who is so senseless and deranged as to assert positively that any particular thing is just or prudent or honourable or profitable? For what one determines to be such,
ΦΙΛΟ

ἀν οὖτος ὁρίσῃ, τάναντια μεμελετηκὼς ἐκ παῖδων ἐτερος ἀκυρώσει.

198 Ἔγὼ δ’ οὐ τεθαύμακα, εἰ πεφορημένοι καὶ μιγὰς ὁχλος, ἠθῶν καὶ νόμων τῶν ὅπωσον εἰσηγμένων ἀκλής δούλος, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐτι σπαργάνων ὑπακούειν ὡς ἄν δεσποτῶν ἢ τυράννων ἐκμαθῶν, κατακεκον- δυλισμένοι τὴν ψυχήν καὶ μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνάμενον πιστεύει τοῖς ἀπάξ παραδοθεῖσι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐάσας ἀγύμναστον ἀδιερωθέντος καὶ ἀνεξετάστοις συναυσέσει τε καὶ ἀρνήσει χρήται, ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων φιλοσόφων ἢ πληθὺς τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὗσι σαφῆς καὶ ἀφευδῆς ἐπιμορφάζεσθαι θηραν κατὰ στιφή καὶ λόχους διακέκριται, καὶ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνα πολ- λάκις δὲ καὶ ἔναντι οὐ περὶ ἐνὸς τίθεται τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐν οἷς αἱ ζητήσεις συνιστάνται: οἱ γὰρ ἀπειρον τὸ πάν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῖς πεπερα- σμένοι εἶναι λέγουσιν ή οἱ τὸν κόσμον ἀγένητον τοῖς γενητὸν ἀποφαινομένοι ή οἱ χωρίς ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἠγεμόνοις ἀλόγοι καὶ ἀπαντοματιζούσης ἐξ- άχυροις φοράς τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ὅλου καὶ τῶν μερῶν θαυμάστην τιν’ εἶναι ἡμιοχούντος καὶ κυβερνῶντος ἀπαίστως καὶ σωτηρίως θεοῦ πῶς ἄν δύναιτο τὰς αὐτὰς κατα- λήψεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ποιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων; αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν τάγαθον σκέψιν φαντασία ἃρ’ οὐκ ἐπέχειν μᾶλλον ἡ ὁμολογεῖν βιά-

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*a* See App. p. 508.

*b* Or “whatever their source” (or “authority”).

*c* It should be observed that the datives throughout this sentence are governed by τὰς αὑτὰς at the end.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 197–200

will be repudiated by another who has practised the opposite from childhood.

Now I for my part do not wonder that the chaotic and promiscuous multitude who are bound in inglorious slavery to usages and customs introduced anyhow, and who are indoctrinated from the cradle with the lesson of obedience to them, as to masters and despots, with their souls buffeted into subjection and incapable of entertaining any high or generous feeling, should give credence to traditions delivered once for all, and leaving their minds unexercised, should give vent to affirmations and negations without inquiry or examination. But I do wonder that the multitude of so-called philosophers, who feign to be seeking for exact and absolute certainty in things, are divided into troops and companies and propound dogmatic conclusions widely different and often diametrically opposite not on some single chance point, but on practically all points great or small, which constitute the problems which they seek to solve.

When some assert that the universe is infinite, others that it is finite, and some declare it to be created, others uncreated; when some refuse to connect it with any ruler or governor, but make it dependent on the automatic action of an unreasoning force, while others postulate a marvellous providence, caring for the whole and each part, exerted by a deity who guides and steers it and makes safe its steps, it is impossible that the substance of things should be apprehended by them in the same form.

Again, when the nature of the good is the subject of inquiry, do not the ideas which present themselves compel us to withhold judgement rather than give
PHILO

ζονται τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι νομιζόντων μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ θησαυρίζομένων αὐτὸ ἐν ψυχῇ, τῶν δὲ πρὸς πλεῖω κατακερματιζόντων καὶ ἄχρι σώματος 201 καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀποτεινόντων; οὕτωι λέγουσι τὰς μὲν τυχηρὰς εὐπραγίας δορυφόρους εἶναι σώματος, [388] ὑγείαν δὲ καὶ ἱσχὺν καὶ τὸ ὀλόκληρον καὶ ἀκρίβειαν αὐθητηρίων καὶ ὡσα ὀμοιότροπα τῆς βασιλείας ψυχῆς· τρισὶ γὰρ τῆς τάγαθος φύσεως κεχρημένης τάξει τὴν μὲν τρίτην καὶ ἐξωτάτην τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ὑπεικούσης ι πρόμαχον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῆς πρώτης μέγα πρόβλημα καὶ φυ- 202 λακτήριον γεγενηθαί. καὶ περὶ αυτῶν τούτων μέντοι καὶ βίων διαφοράς καὶ τελῶν πρὸς ἀ χρή τας πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ὡσα τῇ λογικῇ καὶ ἡθικῇ καὶ φυσικῇ πραγματείᾳ περιέχει γεγόνασι σκέψεις ἁμύθητοι, ὥν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδεμία παρὰ πάσι τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς συμπεφώνηται.

203 XLIX. Οὔκ εἰκότως οὖν τῶν δυνὴν θυγατέρων, βουλής τε καὶ συναινέσεως, ἀρμοσθεισῶν καὶ συνενασθεισῶν ὅ νοῦς ἁγνοί ἐπιστήμης χρώμενος εἰσάγεται; λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "οὔκ ἦδει ἐν τῷ 204 κομηθήναι αὐτᾶς καὶ ἀναστήναι". οὔτε γὰρ ὕπνον οὔτε ἑγρήγορον οὔτε σχέσιν οὔτε κίνησιν οὔτε σαφῶς καὶ παγίως καταλαμβάνει, ἄλλα καὶ ὅποτε ἀριστα βεβουλεύσαν δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα ἀβουλότατος ὃν εὑρίσκεται τῶν πραγμάτων μὴ

1 mss. ὑπ(άπ)ειλούσης. The correction ὑπεικούσης has been universally accepted, but the phrase, "the second and yielding one," is odd. The translator suggests ὑπ᾽ εἶλαρ οὖσης, i.e. "which is thus under shelter." The word εἶλαρ as used in Iliad ii. 338 etc. is very appropriate to the context, and Philo is fond of introducing Homeric words.

422
assent? For some hold that the morally beautiful is the only good and make the soul its repository, while others split up the good into subdivisions and extend it to include the body and things outside the body. These persons say that fortunate circumstances are the guards and attendants of the body, and that health and strength and soundness and exactness of perception in the sense-organs and all other things of the kind serve the same purpose to the sovereign soul. The nature of the good, they hold, divides itself into three classes, of which the third and outermost protects the weakness of the second, which again proves to be a strong bulwark and safeguard of the first. And with regard to these, as well as to the relative value of different ways of living, and the ends to which all our actions should be referred, and numberless other points, which are included in the study of logic, ethics and physics, a host of questions have arisen on none of which hitherto have the inquirers arrived at unanimity.

XLIX. We see then that the mind is fitly represented as labouring under absence of knowledge, when its two daughters, Deliberation and Assent, are in contact with it and become its bed-fellows. For we are told, "He knew not when they slept and rose up" (Gen. xix. 33, 35). The mind, it seems, does not grasp clearly or firmly either sleeping or waking, or yet rest or motion, but it is just when it thinks it has shewn its powers of deliberation at their best, that it proves to be most lacking in that power,

Or “that is, either rest or motion.”

2 “ignorance of knowledge” is a strange expression. Adler proposes χηρούμενος for χρώμενος. Perhaps ἄγνοια <ἀντ’> ἐπιστήμης.
όμοιον τοὺς προσδοκηθεῖσι λαβόντων τὸ τέλος·

205 καὶ ὅποτε συνεπιγράφονταί τισιν ὡς ἀληθέσιν ἔδοξε, τὴν ἐπ’ εὐχερεία καρποῦται κατάγνωσιν, ἀπίστων καὶ ἄβεβαιων, οἷς πρότερον ὡς βεβαιωτάτοι ἐπίστευε, φαινομένων ὡστε εἰς τὰ ἐναντία, ὃν ὑπετόπησε τίς, εἰωθότων περιστασθαί τῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον τὸ ἑπέχει εἶναι.

206 Λ. Διειλεγμένοι δὴ περὶ τούτων ἵκανώς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῷ λόγῳ τρεψώμεθα. ἔφαμεν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεθύειν καὶ τὴν πολλὰς πολλὰς μεγάλα βλάπτουσαν γαστριμαργίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἢ τοὺς χρωμένους ἐστὶν ἵδεῖν, κἂν τὰς τοῦ σώματος δεξαμενὰς ἀποπληρωθῶσι πάσας, ἐτὶ κενοὺς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὑμναὶς· οὕτως ὕπο πλῆθους ἃν ἐνεφόρησαν διακορεῖς γενόμενοι πρὸς ολίγον χρόνον καθάπερ οἱ πεπονηκότες ἀθληταὶ τὰ σώματα διαπνεύσωσι, πάλιν ἐπαποδύονται τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν.

207 ὁ γας βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀιγυπτίας χώρας, τοῦ σώματος, τῷ μέθης ὑπηρέτῇ δόξαι οἶνοχῶς δυσχερᾶν πάλιν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καταλαττόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις εἰσάγεται τοῦ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναρρηγνύντος πάθους ὑπομνησθεῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γενέσεως φθαρτῆσι, οὐκ ἐν ἀφάρτῳ τοῦ ἀγενῆτου φωτός· λέγεται γὰρ ὃτι "ἡμέρᾳ γενέσεως ἢν Φαραώ," ἥνικα ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τὸν ἀρχιοιχὸν ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς μετεπέμψατο τοὺς γὰρ φιλοπάθου ὦδιν λαμπρὰ τὰ [389 | γενητὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ ἠγείσθαι διά τὸ νυκτὶ καὶ

1 Adler proposes φωτι.

a See App. p. 509.
for the issue of events bears no resemblance to its expectations. And again when it has been pleased to subscribe to anything as true, it earns the condemnation passed on reckless thinking, for it appears that what it once believed in and thought to be most firmly established is really untrustworthy and insecure. The conclusion is that since things so often turn out the opposite of what we expect, the safest course is to suspend judgement.

L. This topic has now been sufficiently discussed. Let us turn our discussion to what follows next. We said that one thing signified by drunkenness is that gluttony whose great power for mischief is so widespread and constant, which leaves those who indulge in it, as we may see, with a void in their desires, even though they have every vacant place in their bodies filled. Such persons, when glutted and satiated by the quantities they have engorged, may for a while like weary-limbed athletes give their bodies a breathing-space, but ere long they make themselves ready to take part in the same encounter. So we see the King of Egypt, that is of the body, though he seemed to be angry with the cup-bearer who ministered to his drunkenness, represented in the holy books as being reconciled to him after a short time. He remembered the passion which excited his desires on his birthday—the day of his birth into a being destined to perish—not on the day of the light, which has no birth, a day which perishes not. For we are told that it was Pharaoh’s birthday (Gen. xl. 20) when he sent for the chief cup-bearer from the prison to pour the cup of reconciliation. It is characteristic of the friend of passion that things created and perishable seem to him bright and shining, because in re-
σκότω κεχρήσθαι βαθεί πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀφθάρτων ἐπιστήμην· οὖν χάρων εὐθὺς τὴν ἐξάρχουσαν ἡδονῆς μέθην καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην αὐτῆς δεξιοῦται.

210 Λ. τρεῖς δ' εἰσίν οἱ τῆς ἀκολάστου καὶ ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς ἐστιοῦχοι τε καὶ θεραπευταί, ἀρχισωτοπόιος, ἀρχιονοχός, ἄρχιμαγειρός, ὥν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος μέμνηται Μωυσῆς διὰ τούτων. "καὶ ὑργίσθη Φαραὼ ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσὸν εὐνοούσι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρχιονοχῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀρχισωτοπῷ, καὶ ἐθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι." ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄρχιμαγειρός εὐνοοῦσ. λέγεται γὰρ ἐτέρωθι: "κατῆχθη δὲ Ἰωσήφ εἰς Άγυπτον, καὶ ἐκτήσατο αὐτὸν εὐνοοῦσ Φαραὼ, ἄρχιμαγειρός," καὶ πάλιν: "ἀπέδοντο τὸν Ἰωσήφ τῷ στάδοντι

211 Φαραὼ, ἄρχιμαγειρῷ." τίνος δὴ χάρων οὔτ' ἀνήρ οὔτε γυνὴ τῶν λεχθέντων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἐπιτέρταται; ἢ τι σπείρει μὲν άνδρες γονᾶς υποδέχεσθαι δὲ γυναῖκες ἐκ φύσεως πεπαίδευνται, ὥν τὴν εἰς ταύτῳ σύνοδον αὐτίαν γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διαμονῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἁγόνου δὲ καὶ ἐστειρωμένης, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξευνοχισμένης ψυχῆς σιτίοις πολυτέλεσι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὅψιν περιέργους παραρτύσει χαίρειν μήτε τὰ ἀρέτης ἀρραβώνας ὁ λήθαισε στεφάνα καταβάλλεις δυναμένης μήτε τὰ καταβληθέντα παραδέξασθαι καὶ ἀναθρέψασθαι, ἀλλ' ὁι λυπρὰν ἀρουραν καὶ λυθώδη πρὸς διαφθορὰν μόνον πεφυκέναι τῶν οἰς ἀεὶ ζῆν

212 ὀφειλόντων; δόγμα δὴ τίθεται κοινωφελέστατον, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δημούργος ἡδονῆς σοφίας ἐστὶν ἁγόνος οὔτε ἀρρην ἦν οὔτε θήλεια, διὰ τὸ μήτε διδόναι

1 mss. εξ ἀρχόντων ἡδονῆν. 2 mss. ἄρχιμαγειρῷ.
lotion to knowledge of things imperishable, he dwells in night and profound darkness, and therefore at once he welcomes the drunkenness which brings pleasure in its train and him who is the minister of drunkenness.

LI. The weak-willed incontinent soul has three servants who provide its feasts, the chief baker, the chief butler and the chief cook, whom our most admirable Moses mentions in these words, “And Pharaoh was wroth with his two eunuchs, with the chief butler and the chief baker, and he put them in prison under the chief gaoler” (Gen. xl. 2, 3). But the chief cook is also a eunuch, for we have in another place, “and Joseph was brought down into Egypt and became the property of the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook” (Gen. xxxix. 1), and again “they sold Joseph to the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook” (Gen. xxxvii. 36).

Why is it that not a single one of these offices is entrusted to a real man or woman? Is it not because nature has trained men to sow the germs of life and women to receive them, and the mating of these two is the cause of generation and of the permanence of the All, while on the other hand it is the nature of the soul which is impotent and barren, or rather has been made so by emasculation, to delight in costly bakemeats and drinks and dishes elaborately prepared? For such a soul is neither able to drop the truly masculine seeds of virtue nor yet to receive and foster what is so dropped, but like a sorry stony field is only capable of blighting the successive growths, which were meant to live. In fact we have a doctrine laid down most profitable to us all, that every craftsman whose work is to produce pleasure can produce no fruit of wisdom. He is neither male nor female, for he is in-
μήτε λαμβάνει τὰ πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν ἴκανος εἶναι σπέρματα, μελετῶν δ’ αἰσχίστην κατὰ τοῦ βίου μελέτην, φθείρειν τὰ ἀφθαρτα καὶ οβεβλύναι τὰ μένοντα τῆς φύσεως λαμπάδια ἀσβεστα. τῶν τοιούτων οὖδεν ἐπιτρέπει Μωσῆς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ὁτι “θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομφένος οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου.” Λ.ΙΙ. τί γὰρ τῷ σοφίᾳ ἁγόνω λόγῳ ἀκροάσεως ἵερῶν ὀφέλος ἐκτετμημένω πίστιν καὶ παρακαταθήκην βιωφελεστάτων δογμάτων φυλάξει μὴ δυναμένῳ; τρεῖς δ’ ἄρ’ εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἑστιάτορες, σιτοποιός, οἰνοχόος, ὄφαρτυτης, εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ τριῶν χρήσεως τε καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐφέμεθα, σιτίων, ὑπόπου, ποτῶν· ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἷς πρὸς τὸ ύγιεινὸς καὶ μὴ ἀνελευθέρως ζῆν εἶναι ἀναγκὴς χρώμεθα, οἱ δὲ ἀμέτρων καὶ σφόδρα περιττῶν, ἡ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἀναρρηγνύντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος δεξαμενὰς πλήθει βαρύνοντα καὶ πιέζοντα μεγάλα καὶ | παντοδαπὰ τίκτειν νοσήματα φιλεῖ, οἱ μὲν οὖν ἤδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ παθῶν ἰδιῶται καθάπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δημοτικοὶ ἄμισὴ καὶ ἀνεπαχθή βιον ἔστε, οἳ δὲ ὄλγοδεις οἴντες, οὐ ποικίλων καὶ περιέργων τὴν τέχνην δέονται ὑπηρετῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀποκίλω χρωμένων ὑπηρεσία, μαγείρων, οἰνοχών, σιτοποιῶν. οἱ δὲ ήγεμονίαν καὶ βασιλείαν νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν καὶ πάντα καὶ μικρά καὶ μείζων πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἀναφέροντες

1 σιτοποιῶς Tr.: mss. and Wendland ἄρχισιτοποῖος.

* See App. p. 509.
capable of either giving or receiving the seeds whence spring the growth that perishes not, and the base craft he practises is aimed against human life. He destroys the indestructible and quenches the unquenchable ever-abiding lamps of nature. None such does Moses permit to enter the congregation of God, for he says, "He who has lost the organs of generation shall not come into the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 1). LII. For what use can he find in listening to holy words, who can beget no offspring of wisdom, when the knife has cut away the power of faith, and the store of truths which might best profit human life he cannot keep in his charge?

Now mankind, as we have seen, has three caterers, the baker, the cup-bearer and the cook. This is natural enough since we desire the use and enjoyment of these three things, bread, flesh and drink. But some desire only the bare necessities, the use of which is needed to keep life from being unhealthy and sordid; while others seek them in luxurious forms, which excite the cravings of the appetite, and in extravagant quantities, which oppress and overload the receptacles of the body, and often produce grave disorders of every kind. The first of these classes who are not specialists in pleasure or voluptuousness or passion are like the ordinary public in a city who live an inoffensive and innocuous life, who have few wants and therefore do not require versatile and highly-skilled artists to serve them, but only those who attempt no more than a plain and simple form of service, just cooks, cup-bearers and bakers. But the second class, holding that pleasant living is sovereignty and kingship, and judging all things great and small by this standard, consider it
ἀρχιμαγείροις καὶ ἀρχιοικόοις καὶ ἀρχισυμποιοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἄξιον χρῆσθαι, τούτων ἀκρως ἐκτετήρισθήσων ἐκαστῶν ὁν ἐπετίθενεσαν.

217 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων πεμμάτων ποικιλώτατα γένει οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῆς ὕλης διαφοραῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πρὸς οὐ μόνον τὴν γεύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀψεως ἀπάτην περιεργασμένα οἱ περὶ σιτοποιών ἀκροὶ μελέτωσι.

218 τὰ δὲ περὶ ἐξέτασιν οἰνοῦ θάττων ἀναδιδομένου καὶ μὴ κεφαλαλγοῦς καὶ τούναντίων ἀνθίμου καὶ εὐωδεστάτου, πολλὴν ἡ ὀλίγην ἀναδεχομένου τὴν μεθ' ὕδατος κράσιν εἰς σφοδρὸν καὶ σύντονον ἡ πράον καὶ ἀνειμένον ἐπιτηδείου πότον1 καὶ ὅσα τοιούτοτροπα ἀρχιοικόων ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τῆς τέχνης ἀφιγμένων τὸ τέλος.

219 ἰχθύας δὲ καὶ ὀρνείς καὶ τὰ παραπλησία ποικίλως ἀρτύσαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὦν ἦδυναι περιττοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς ἐνεργείας ὀφαρτυταί, μυρία χωρίς ὡς ἥκουσαν ἡ εἴδον ἄλλ' ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς μελέτης καὶ τριβῆς τῶν εἰς ἀβροδίαιτον καὶ τεθρυμμένον τὸν ἄβιωτον βίον ἐπινοήσαι δεινὸ.

220 ΛΠ. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗτοι πάντες ἐδείχθησαν εὐνοούχοι, σοφίας ἄγονοι· πρὸς δὲν δὲ συμβατηρίους τίθεται σπονδάς ὁ γαστρός βασιλεύς νοῦς οἰνοχῶς ὡς φίλουν γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ πρὸς μόνον τοῦτο διαφερόντως ἀκόρεστον, εἰ γε ὑπνοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐδωδῆς καὶ συνουσίας καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπλήρωτος οὐδείς, ἀκράτου δὲ

1 mss. πότον (drink), which Adler would retain.

See App. p. 509.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 216–220

their due to employ chief cooks, chief butlers, chief bakers, that is those who have worked up to a high pitch of refinement the arts which they severally profess. Milk cakes, honey cakes, numberless other kinds of bakemeats in the greatest possible variety, elaborately calculated to beguile the eye as well as the palate, not only with diversities of material, but also by the way in which the constituents are proportioned and the shapes in which they appear, engage the care and attention of the master-hands in confectionery. As for wine, whether it is such as is quickly digested and leaves no headache, whether on the other hand it has a fine bouquet and fragrance, whether it needs a small or great dilution to fit it for a fierce and heated carousal or a mild and quiet festivity, these and all such questions are the study of chief butlers, who have reached the very summit of their art. Again, the skilful dressing and preparation of fishes, birds and the like, and the flavouring of other savoury dishes, is a task readily accomplished by highly scientific professionals, whose constant drill and practice in catering for the life, which all its voluptuous luxury cannot make worth living, has given them the ingenuity to invent hundreds of other delicacies besides those which they have seen and heard of.

LIII. Observe that while all these three were shewn to be eunuchs and unable to beget wisdom, it was the butler with whom the mind, whose kingdom is the belly, made his compact of peace. For the passion for wine is extraordinarily strong in mankind, and is unique in this, that it does not produce satiety. For whereas everyone is satisfied with a certain amount of sleep and food and sexual intercourse and
σχεδόν ἄπαντες καὶ μάλιστ' οἷς τὸ πράγμα ἀσκεῖται: 221 πιόντες γὰρ ἐτί δυσώσι καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βραχυτέρων κυάθων, προϊόντες δὲ ταῖς μείζοσιν οίνοχοις ἐγχεῖν παραγγέλλουσιν· ἐπειδὰν «δ'» ἀκροβωρακες γενόμενοι χλανθῶσιν, οὐκέτι κρατεῖν ἕαυτῶν δυνάμενοι τὰς οἰνηρύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀμύστεις καὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας ὀλοὺς προσενεγκάμενοι ἀκράτους τὸ ἐπεισχύμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὁμοιὴ ἡ ἀπληστὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀρέξις ὥσπερ ἐτί λιμώττουσα μαμάζει: "ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄμπελος Σοδόμων ἡ ἄμπελος αὐτῶν" ἡ φήσει Μωυσῆς "καὶ ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς· θυμὸς δρακόντων ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος." Σόδομα μέντοι στείρωσι καὶ τύφλωσι ἐρμηνεύεται, ἄμπελω ὑπὲρ τοὺς έξ αὐτῆς γενομένοι άπεικάζει τοὺς οἶνοφλυγίας καὶ λαμαργίας καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων 223 ήδονῶν ἡπτους. ἀὶ δὲ αὐνίττεται, τοιαῦτ' ἐστιν εὕφροσύνης μὲν ἀληθοῦς οὐδὲν ἐμπέφυκε τῇ τοῦ φαῦλου ὕπνη φυτῶν ἀτε οὐχ ὑγιανοῦσαι κεχρημένη ῥίζαις, ἀλλὰ ἐμπερησμέναις καὶ τεφρωθείσαις, ὅποτε ἀνθ' ὦδατος τὰς κεραυνίους φλόγας θεοῦ τὴν κατὰ ἀσβεσσ τὴν καλῶς δικάσαντος δίκην ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀοβέστους ἐνυφεν, ἀκράτορος δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἐστειρωμένης τὰ καλὰ καὶ τεπηρομένης πρὸς πάντα τὰ θέας ἄξια, ὃν ἄμπελω παραβέβληκεν, οὐχὶ τῇ καρπῶν ἦμερων μητρί, ἀλλὰ ἡτὶς πικρίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ πανοργίας ὄργης τε καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἀκραχολωτάτων ἡθῶν οἰστική 1 mss. μαμάζει.
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the like, this is rarely so with strong drink, particularly among practised topers. They drink but do not slake their thirst and, while they begin with smaller cups, as they advance they call for the wine to be poured in larger goblets. And when they get mellow and well warmed, they lose all control of themselves, and put beakers and cans and whole basins to their lips and drain them at a draught until either they are overcome with deep sleep, or the influx of the liquor fills up the cavities and overflows. But even then the insatiable craving within them rages as if it were still starving. "For their vine is of the vine of Sodom," as Moses says, "and their tendrils of Gomorrah, their grapes are grapes of gall, a cluster of bitterness to them. Their wine is the wrath of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33). Sodom is indeed by interpretation barrenness and blindness, and Moses here likens to a vine and its produce those who are under the thrall of wine-bibbing and gluttony and the basest of pleasures. His inner meaning is of this kind. No plant of true gladness grows in the soul of the wicked, since it has no healthy roots, but such as were burnt to ashes, when God passed well-deserved sentence upon the impious, and the heavens rained instead of water the unquenchable flames of the thunderbolt. In such a soul all that grows is the lust which is barren of excellence, and blinded to all that is worthy of its contemplation, and this lust he compares to a vine; not that which is the mother of kindly fruits, but a vine which proves to be the bearer of bitterness and wickedness and villainy and wrath and anger and savage moods and tempers, the

* See App. p. 509.
γέγονε, δάκνουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχεων καὶ ἀσπίδων τρόπον ίοβόλων καὶ παντελῶς ἀνίατα.

224 ὃν ἀποτροπὴν εὐχώμεθα γενέσθαι τὸν πάντα ἱλεω ποτνώμενοι θεόν, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἄγριαν ταύτην ἁμπελον διολέσῃ καὶ τοῖς εὐνούχοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἁγόνοις ἀρετῆς ἀἰδίον ψηφίσῃ τι φυγήν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦτων ἡμέρα μὲν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν δένδρα τὰ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἐμφυτεύσῃ, γενναίους δὲ καὶ ἄρρενας ὡς ἀληθῶς καρποὺς καὶ λόγους χαρίσῃ τι δυναμένους μὲν ὁπεῖρειν καλὰς πράξεις, δυναμένους δὲ συναύξειν ἀρετὰς, ἵκανους δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἀπασαν συνέχειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν εἰς ἀεὶ συγγένειαν.
ON DRUNKENNESS, 223–224

vine which stings the soul like vipers and venomous asps, and that sting none can cure. Let us pray that these may be averted, and implore the all-merciful God to destroy this wild vine and decree eternal banishment to the eunuchs and all those who do not beget virtue, and that while in their stead He plants in the garden of our souls the trees of right instruction, He may grant us fruits of genuine worth and true virility, and powers of reason, capable of begetting good actions and also of bringing the virtues to their fullness, gifted too with the strength to bind together and keep safe for ever all that is akin to real happiness.
ON THE PRAYERS AND CURSES UTTERED BY NOAH WHEN HE BECAME SOBER
(DE SOBRIETATE)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

In this short treatise Philo concludes his discussion of Gen. ix. 20-27, which describe Noah's husbandry, vine-planting, drinking the wine, intoxication and nakedness, return to sobriety, and cursing or blessing his children. The verses here treated (24-27) run as follows:

I. (sections 1-20 of this treatise) And Noah returned to soberness from the wine and knew what his younger son had done to him.

II. (30-50) And he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant and bondman shall he be to his brethren."

III. (51-58) And he said, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be a servant, a bondman of him."

IV. (59-end) And he said, "May God widen for Japhet, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem and let Canaan become his servant."

I. This raises two points, the meaning of "becoming sober" and that of the "younger son." The former is treated briefly. Sobriety is conceived of mainly as sobriety of soul, which takes the same place in the soul as clear vision in the body, and thus provides it with thoughts which in their turn lead to good actions (1-5).

The word "younger" starts Philo on a discussion of the use made in the Pentateuch of words literally
ON SOBRIETY
denoting age, to shew moral relations. Ham is "younger" because his unfilial and indecent action proved his spirit of (youthful) rebelliousness (νεωτεροτητοια) (6). And so Ishmael is called a "child" when, as a little calculation will shew, he was twenty years old, because as a type of the falsely wise or sophist, he is, compared with the wise Isaac, a mere child (7-9). So too Moses calls the rebellious Israelites "blameworthy children" (10-11). Rachel (bodily beauty) is called younger than Leah (beauty of soul) (12). Joseph's "youth" in the moral sense is shewn by his staying in Egypt (the body) and his association with his illegitimate brethren (12-15). Conversely the wise Abraham is called the "elder," though the history represents him as less long-lived than his ancestors (16-18). The elders Moses is directed to choose mean those whose sterling worth he has proved (19-20). In particular the enactment forbidding the disinherition of the firstborn son of the hated wife in favour of the younger son of the beloved wife, which gave rise to the long allegory of De Sacrificiis, 19-44 is audaciously pressed into service. As in De Sacrificiis the beloved wife is Pleasure, the hated Virtue, but as Moses mentioned the parenthood of Pleasure first, her child is first-born in point of time and the name only belongs to the child of virtue in consideration of his moral superiority (21-26). So the younger in age Jacob takes the birthright from the elder Esau, and Jacob sets Ephraim who represents the faculty of memory, which comes later and is therefore younger, above Manasseh, who represents the more childish faculty of recollection, which is earlier and therefore older

* See note on § 6.
This division ends with a statement of the justice of cursing the "younger" (30).

II. But why did Noah curse Ham's son Canaan, against whom nothing is alleged, instead of Ham? (31-33). Because while Ham is evil potential or "in rest," Canaan is evil active or "in motion." To understand this we must consider these terms "rest" and "motion" with their respective congeners, "habit" or "faculty" (ἐτύπος) and "activity" (33-34). Now every workman or artist is called by such a name, even when he is not making anything, because he still has the faculty. But it is only when he is actually plying his trade or art that he incurs praise or blame (35-37). So too in the moral sphere. The possessor of good or bad qualities may have no opportunity for displaying them, but the qualities are still there (38-43). Ham means "heat," i.e. the latent disease in the soul, Canaan means "tossing," which represents the same in active motion. As no ruler punishes qualities till they actually produce crimes, Canaan properly incurs the curse, though, as one passes into the other, one may say that Ham is cursed through Canaan (44-47). Actual sin is the child of potential sin, and this is the real meaning of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children" (48). The same lesson is taught by the law of leprosy that only when the "bright spot" ceases to be stationary does the man become unclean (49), and also by God's word to Cain, "thou hast sinned; be still" (50).

III. The prayer for Shem speaks of the "Lord, the God of Shem." Shem is "the good" in its generic not in any of its special forms, and therefore to assert that God is Shem's God is to put the good
ON SOBRIETY

man on a level with God’s work, the Universe (51-54). And since “God” indicates the loving side of the Divine Nature, to say that the Lord is “Shem’s God” is to say that, like Abraham, he is God’s friend (55). And here Philo, adapting the well-known Stoic paradox, lays down that such a one alone is noble, rich, king and free (56-57). Finally the word “blessed” applied to God means that he who is thus blest can only repay God by blessing Him (58).

IV. In interpreting the prayer for Japhet Philo passes for a moment into one of his less austere moods. He suggests that the word “widen” means that Japhet may find good not only in the morally beautiful (τὸ καλὸν) but in the “preferable indifferents” of the Stoics, bodily and external advantages (59-61). As to the last half, “let him dwell in the houses of Shem,” the “him” may be God (Philo ignores the fact that in this case it could not be a prayer for Japhet), for God’s fitting dwelling is in the good man’s soul in the sense that it is especially under His care (62-64). And so in the literal narrative Shem is very properly represented as the ancestor of the Twelve Tribes who are called God’s “palace” (65-66). If “him” is Japhet we may see a correction of the prayer for his “widening,” a prayer that though for a time he may find good elsewhere, his final home may be the excellence of the soul (67-68). The treatise concludes with a few lines on “Canaan shall be their servant.” The fool is indeed the slave of the virtues, if possible, for his reformation and emancipation, if otherwise, for chastisement (69).
ΠΕΡΙ ΩΝ ΝΗΨΑΣ Ο ΝΩΕ ΕΥΧΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΤΑΙ

1. Τὰ περὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἐπομένης αὐτῆς γυμνότητος εἴρημέναι τῷ νομοθέτῃ διεξεληλυθότες πρότερον ἀρξόμεθα τοῖς λέχθεισι τὸν ἐξής προσαρμότευν λόγον· περὶ τούν ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἕγκυρον ἔποιησεν αὐτῷ ὁ νῦν οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος." τὸ νήφειν οὐ μόνον ψυχαίς ἄλλα καὶ σώμασιν ὑφελιμώτατον ἀνωμολόγηται· τὰς τε γάρ ἐξ ἀμέτρου πλησιμονῆς γινομένα νόσους ἀπωθεῖται καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πρὸς ἄκρα διεξάγοντα ἄκοντα καὶ ὀλα μέντοι τὰ σώματα οὐκ ἔχουσαν ἐπειδὴ ἀρνητικῶς πᾶσεν, ἄλλῳ ἐξαίρεται καὶ ἐπικουφίζει καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἰκείους ἐνεργείᾳ ἀνακαλεῖ πάσοι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐτοιμότητα ἐντόκτον· καὶ συνόλῳ σῶσιν δημιουργὸς κακῶν ἡ μέθη, τοσούτων ἔμπαλιν αἰσθήματα τὸ νηφαλίον. 3 ὁπότε οὖν καὶ σώμασιν, οἷς οὗτος ἀνακαλεῖ, λυσιτελέστατον τὸ νήφειν, οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον ψυχαίς, ὅπως φθερτῆς τροφῆς πᾶσα ἄλλοτριον; νηφούσης γὰρ διανοίας τί τῶν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις μεγαλειότερον; τίς δόξα; τίς πλούτος; τίς δυνα-

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a See Introduction to De Ebr. p. 309, note b.
ON THE PRAYERS AND CURSES
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I. Having in the foregoing pages dealt fully with the words of the lawgiver on drunkenness and the nakedness which followed it, let us proceed to carry on the thread of our discussion by treating of the topic which comes next in order, "And Noah returned to soberness from the wine and knew what his younger son had done to him" (Gen. ix. 24). We are all agreed that soberness is most profitable not only to souls but to bodies. For it repels the diseases which arise from excessive self-indulgence; it sharpens the senses to their utmost acuteness and acts indeed upon the whole of our bodies by engendering readiness in every part and thus prevents them from succumbing in weariness, and lifts them up and relieves them and recalls them to their proper activities. In fact, every evil which has drunkenness for its author has its counterpart in some good which is produced by soberness. Since then sobriety is a source of the greatest profit to our bodies, to which the use of wine is a natural practice, how much more is it profitable to our souls, which have no relation to any perishable food? What human gift or possession is greater than a sober understanding? What form of glory—or of wealth
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στεία; τίς ἰσχύς; τί τῶν πάντων ὡσα θαυμάζεται; φέρε μόνον τὸ ψυχῆς ὄμμα ὅλον ἰσχύσαι δι’ ὅλων διοικήσαι καὶ μηδέν ολὰ ὑπὸ ῥεύματος συγχυθῆναι μέρος ἢ καταμάζει τότε γὰρ μάλιστα ἐξωσπήσαι, σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν ἐμβλέπουν, τοῖς νοητοῖς | [393] ἀγάλμασιν ἐντεῦξεται, ἄν ἡ θέα ψυχαγωγοῦσα πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐτὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπονεῦει ἔάσει.

4 καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ τῷ νηφαλίῳ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βλέποντι ἐξωσπέστατα τῶν γένεσιν λαχότων μηδὲν ἐστιν ἰσότιμον; καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς περιττῶς πρὸς ἥμων πάντων τετίμηται· πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν τὰς ὀψεις ἀποβαλόντων καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐκουσίως προσαπίλευσαν καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν πηρώσεως θάνατον εἰναι
dικάσαντες ἑαυτοῖς. ὅσοι τοῖνυν ψυχῆς σώματος κρείττων, τοσούτῳ καὶ νοῦς ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμείνων. ὃς εἴπερ ἀπήμων εἰ ἢ καὶ ἄξιόμεοι πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν μέθην παράφορον ἐργαζομένων ἀδικημάτων ἢ παθῶν, πεπιστεύει, ὑπνοὶ καὶ ἰδίοι ἐμποιεῖν τῶν πρακτέων, ἐγχύγισαν ἢ ἀσπασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ θέας ἄξια πάντα ἀνεκδορκήσαι, μνήμαις μὲν ὑποβαλλοῦσαι ἐγειρόμενος, πράξεις δὲ τοὺς γνωσθεῖσιν ἐπομέναις χρώμενοι.

5 II. Τοῦ μὲν δὴ νήφοντος κατάστασις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη. “νεώτερον” δ’ ὅταν φῆ “νιόν,” οὐχ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἀναγράφει, νεώτεροποιῶν δὲ ἀγα-
or of political power—or bodily strength—or what among all the objects of human admiration, if only we may assume that the soul’s eye is nowhere suffused as by rheum or closed, but is able to open itself fully and completely? For at such times when with clarity of vision it gazes upon good sense and prudence in their true selves, it will have within its ken those ideal forms which are intelligible only to the mind, and in the contemplation of these will find a spell which will not suffer it to turn aside any more to aught of the objects of sense. And why should we wonder that sobriety and clear-sightedness in the soul is of higher worth than anything whose lot is cast among things created, for the bodily eyes and the light which our senses perceive are valued above measure by us all? We know indeed that many who have lost their eyes have lost their lives as well by their own free action, because they judged that death was a lighter evil to them than blindness. Well then, the mind has the same superiority to the eyes, as the soul has to the body. And if the mind be safe and unimpaired, free from the oppression of the iniquities or passions which produce the frenzy of drunkenness, it will renounce the slumber which makes us forget and shrink from the call of duty and welcoming wakefulness will gaze clear-eyed on all that is worthy of contemplation. The suggestions of memory will arouse it to decision and the actions to which these decisions lead will become its employment.

II. Such then is the condition of the sober. But when Moses speaks of the “younger son,” the words do not denote any particular degree of age, but suggest the tendency of the temperament which
πώντος ἐμφαίνει τρόπον διάθεσιν. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἤ
tὰ ἀθέατα κατιδεῖν παρὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην ἐβιάσατο ἡ
ἐκλαλήσαι τὰ ὀφείλοντα Ὑσυχάζοσθαι ἢ εἰς τούμ-
φανές προενεγκεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα οἴκοι συσκιάζονται καὶ
tὸς ψυχῆς ὄρους μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ
νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἦπτητο γελῶν τὰ ἔτερα
συμπίπτοντα, δέον ἐπιστένειν καὶ μὴ χλευάζειν ἐφ'
οἷς ἐκεῖ ἢ καὶ εὐλαβούμενον τὸ μέλλον σκυθρω-
7 τάξεν;
πολλαχοὶ μέντοι τῆς νομο-
θεσίας καὶ τοὺς ἡλικία προήκοντα νέους καὶ τοὺς
μηδέπω γεγονότας ἐμπαίων ὄνομαξει προσβυτέ-
ρους, οὐκ εἰς πολυτείπαν <καὶ ὀλυγοετίαν> ἀφορῶν
ἡ βραχὺν καὶ μήκιστον χρόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς ψυχῆς
8 δυνάμεις κινουμένης εἰ τε καὶ χείρων τοῦ γοῦν
 Ἰσμαήλ ἐκοσοετίαν ἣδη που βεβωκότα σχεδοῦν
κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἄρεταις τέλειον Ἰσαὰκ
σύγκρισιν ὄνομαξει παιδίον. " ἑλάβη " γάρ φησιν
" ἀρτους καὶ ἀσκὸν ὕδατος καὶ ἐδωκεν Ἀγαρ, καὶ
ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμον καὶ τὸ παιδίον," ἡνίκα
αὐτοῦ ὀκοθεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ πάλιν
" ἔπηκε τὸ παιδίον ὑποκάτω μιᾶς ἐλάτης," καὶ
" οὐ μὴ ἰδώ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδίου " καίτοι πρὸ
μὲν τῆς γενέσεως Ἰσαὰκ τρισκαίδεκα γεγονὼς
ἐτῶν Ἰσμαὴλ περιτέτημηται, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπταέτιν
ἡλικίαν παισαμένου τῆς ἐν γάλακτι τροφῆς ἐκείνου
τῶ τῆν ἐν παιδιαῖς ἱσότητα φέρεσθαι νόθος γνησίω
[394] | φυγαδεύεται σὺν τῇ τεκούσῃ. ἀλλ’ ὅμως παιδίον

a Philo reads into νεωτεροποία, in which νεωτερο- means
"innovation," the idea of νεωτερο, "younger."

b βιάζεσθαι followed by the inf. is used by Philo in the
sense of "to do a thing violently," cf. note on De Ebr. 143.
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loves rebelliousness and defiance. For how could Ham thus roughly defying custom and right have looked where he should not look, or how could he loudly proclaim what ought to be passed in silence, or expose to public view what might well be hidden in the secrecy of the home and never pass the boundaries of his inward thoughts, if he had not set his hand to deeds of defiance, if he had not mocked at the troubles of another, when he should rather bewail, instead of jeering at sights which call for the gloomy face that dreads the worse to come?

Often indeed does Moses in his laws give the name of the "younger" to those who are advanced in years, and the name of "elders" on the other hand to those who have not yet reached old age, for he does not consider whether the years of men are many or few, or whether a period of time is short or long, but he looks to the faculties of the soul whether its movements are good or ill. Accordingly when Ishmael had apparently lived about twenty years, Moses calls him a child by comparison with Isaac, who is full grown in virtues. For we read that when Abraham sent Hagar and Ishmael from his home, "he took loaves and a skin of water, and gave them to Hagar and put also the 'child' on her shoulder," and again "she cast down the 'child' under a single pine," and "I will not see the death of the 'child'" (Gen. xxi. 14-16). And yet Ishmael was circumcised at the age of thirteen years, before the birth of Isaac, and when the latter at about the age of seven ceased to be fed with milk, we find Ishmael banished with his mother, because he, the bastard, claimed to play on equal terms with the true-born. Still all the same, grown up as he was, he is called a child,
νεανίας ὤν ἡδη καλεῖται ὁ σοφιστής ἀντεξεταξόμενος σοφῶ· σοφίαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰσαάκ, σοφιστέλαν δὲ Ἰσμαήλ κεκλήρωταί, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκάτερον χαρακτηρίζωμεν, ἐν τοῖς ίδια λόγοις ἐπιδείκνυμεν. ὃν γὰρ ἔχει λόγον κομιδῆ νήπιον παιδίον πρὸς ἄνδρα τέλειον, τούτων καὶ σοφιστής πρὸς σοφὸν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια τῶν μαθημάτων πρὸς τὰς ἄρετας ἐπιστήμας.

III. καὶ ἐν ὀφθη μέντοι μείζον τὸν λεών ἀπαντα, ὅποτε νεωτέριζοι, τὸ τῆς ἄφρονος καὶ νηπίας ὄνομα ἠλικίας, τέκνα, καλεῖ· "δίκαιος" γὰρ φησὶ· καὶ ὅσιος ὁ κύριος· ἡμάρτων οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα μωμητά; γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη, ταῦτα κυρίω ἀνταποδίδοτε; οὕτως λαὸς μωρός καὶ οὐχὶ σοφὸς;" οὐκοῦν τέκνα ἐναργῶς ὅνομακε τοὺς μώμους ἐχοντας ἄνδρας ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ μωρίᾳ καὶ ἄνοια τὰ πολλὰ σφαλλομένους ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν ὄρθον βίον πράξεων, οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἀρχαῖον καὶ πρὸς ἄληθειαν βρεφώδες.

οὕτως μέντοι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, ἡ σώματος εὐμορφία, νεωτέρα Λείας, τοῦ κατὰ ψυχήν κάλλους, ἀναγράφεται· ἡ μὲν γὰρ θνητή, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον, καὶ ὅσα μέντοι τίμια πρὸς αἰσθήσεις, ἐνὸς μόνου τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν κάλλους ἀτελέοστερα.

οἷς ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ νέον τε καὶ νεώτατον αἰεὶ λέγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ, ὅταν ἐπιστατῇ τῆς ποίμνης μετὰ τῶν νόθων ἄδελφῶν, νέος προσαγορεύεται, καὶ ὅταν εὐχηται ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ φησίν. "νίος

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* Exod. xv. being the "lesser song" of Moses; cf. De Plant.
* See App. p. 510.

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thus marking the contrast between the sophist and the sage. For wisdom is Isaac's inheritance and sophistry Ishmael's, as we propose to shew in the special treatise, when we deal with the characteristics of the two. For the mere infant bears the same relation to the full-grown man as the sophist does to the sage, or the school subjects to the sciences which deal with virtues.

III. And indeed in the Greater Song, he calls the whole people when they shew a rebellious spirit, by the name which belongs to the age of folly and babyhood, that is "bairns." "The Lord is just and holy," he says; "have not the blameworthy bairns sinned against him? a crooked and perverse generation, is it thus that ye requite the Lord? Are ye a people thus foolish and not wise?" (Deut. xxxii. 4-6). We see clearly that he has given the name of "bairns" or "children" to men within whose souls are grounds for blame, men who so often fall through folly and senselessness and fail to do what the upright life requires. And in this he had no thought of literal age in the sense in which we use it of the bodies of the young, but of their truly infantine lack of a reasonable understanding.

Thus Rachel, who is comeliness of the body, is described as younger than Leah, that is beauty of soul. For the former is mortal, the latter immortal, and indeed all the things that are precious to the senses are inferior in perfection to beauty of soul, though they are many and it but one.

It is in accordance with this that Joseph is always called the young and youngest. For when he is keeping the flock with his bastard brothers, he is spoken of as young (Gen. xxxvii. 2), and when his father prays for him he says, "my youngest son,
13 ηυξημένος νεώτατος πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον." οὕτως δὲ ἐστὶν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπάσης ὑπέρμαχος δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονίας ἀκολα-κευτος ἑταῖρος, ὁ <τὸ> τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ψυχῆς πρεσβύτερον καὶ τιμώτερον ἁγαθὸν μήτω τέλειων εὑρημένοις. εἰ γὰρ εὐρήτο, κἀν ὅλην Ἀγιωττόν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγων ᾠχέτο. νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τρέφειν αὐτὴν καὶ τιθηνοκομεῖν μάλιστα σεμνύ-νεται, ἢς τὸ μάχιμον καὶ ἡγουμενεῖον ὅταν ἴδῃ ὁ ὀρὼν καταπεπτωμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένον, ὡμον
14 εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄδει. νέος μὲν οὖν τρόπος ὁ μήτω δυνάμεως μετὰ τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν1 ποιμαίνειν, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀλόγου ψυχῆς ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦειν, ἀλλ' ἐτι μετὰ τῶν νόθων, οἷς τῶν ἁγαθῶν τὰ δοκήσει2 πρὸ τῶν γνησίων καὶ τῶ
15 εἶναι παραριθμομένων τετίμηται. νεώτατος δὲ, κἀν ἐπίδοσιν καὶ αὐξήσιν πρὸς τὸ ἀμεινὸν λάβῃ, παρὰ τῷ τελείῳ νενόμισται μόνον ἁγαθὸν ἡγουμένῳ τὸ καλὸν· οὐ χάριν προτρέπτων φησὶ· "πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον," ἵνα τῷ πρεσβυτέρας γνώμης ὀρέχ-θητι, μη πάντα νεωτέριζε, ἴδῃ ποτὲ τὴν ἁρετὴν δι'[395] αὐτὴν μόνην | στέρξον, μη καθάπερ παῖς ἄφρων τῇ τῶν τυχηρῶν λαμπρότητι περιαυγαζόμενος ἀπάτης καὶ ψευδοὺς δόξης ἀναπτύμπλασο.
16 IV. Ὡς μὲν τοῖνυν πολλαχοῦ νέον οὐκ εἰς τὴν

1 mss. ἁρετῶν or εὑρητῶν: Adler suggests ἁρετὴς νῦν.
2 Wendland reads for the μετὰ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τὰ δοκήσει of the mss. μετὰ τῶν νόθων οἷς τὰ δοκήσει and inserts ἁγαθῶν after παραριθμομένων, producing the same meaning as the text here printed (after Adler), but with less transcriptional probability.

a So, with slight differences, the lxx. The Hebrew is entirely different.

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though grown, return to me” (Gen. xlix. 22).a Now Joseph is the champion of bodily ability of 13 every kind, and the staunch and sincere henchman of abundance in external things, but the treasure which ranks in value and seniority above these, the seniority of the soul, he has never yet gained in its fullness. For if he had gained it, he would have fled quite away from the length and breadth of Egypt, and never turned to look back. But as it is, he finds his chief glory in cherishing and fostering it—this Egypt over which the Man of Vision sings his hymn of triumph to God when he sees its fighters and its leaders sunk in the sea and sent to perdition. The 14 “young” disposition, then, is one which cannot as yet play the part of shepherd with its true-born brothers, that is, rule and keep guard over the unreasoning element in the soul, but still consorts with the base-born, who honour as goods such things as are good in appearance rather than the genuine goods which are reckoned as belonging to true existence. And “youngest” too this youth is held to be, even though he has received improvement and growth to something better,b when compared with the perfect or full-grown mind which holds moral beauty to be the only good. And therefore Jacob uses words of exhortation: “return to me,” he says, that is, desire the older way of thinking. Let not your spirit in all things be the spirit of restless youth. The time is come that you should love virtue for its own sake only. Do not like a foolish boy be dazzled by the brightness of fortune’s gifts and fill yourself with deceit and false opinion.

IV. We have shewn, then, that it is Moses’ wont 16

a These words interpret the ηύξημένοι of the quotation.
There is a play here on γῆρας and γέρας. If it is worth keeping, we might translate "by advance of years—of advance in honour." Cf. Quis Rer. Div. Her. 291, where γῆρας is said to be τὸ γέρως ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρώνυμον.

b See App. p. 510.

c The sense would be clearer without ὃς ιεροφάντας.

1 MSS. ἐνδεκα.
in many places to call a person young, thinking not of his bodily vigour, but only of his soul, and the spirit of rebelliousness which it displays. And now we will go on to shew that he applies the name of elder not to one who is bowed down with old age, but to one who is worthy of precedence and honour. Everyone who is versed in the sacred books knows that the wise Abraham is represented as more short-lived than almost all his forefathers. And yet, I think, to not a single one of these, long though their span of life beyond comparison was, is the term elder applied, but only to Abraham. This is seen by the words of the oracles, "Abraham was an elder advanced in years, and God blessed him in everything" (Gen. xxiv. 1). The phrase thus set before us seems to me to be an explanation of the reason why the Sage is called elder. For when through the watchful care of God the rational part of the soul is brought into a good condition and reasons rightly not merely in one direction, but wherever it applies itself, the thoughts which it thinks are "older" and itself must needs be older also. Thus too it is Moses' way to give the name of "elder" to those counsellors of the God-beloved, whose apportioned number was that of seven times ten. For we find "gather to me seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom thou thyself knowest that these are elders" (Numb. xi. 16). We see then that not the men of senior age, whom the common herd regard as initiators to the holy mysteries, but those whom the Sage alone knows were held worthy by God of the title of

As it stands, it must mean that the common opinion looks upon the old in age as the proper persons for such high functions. But υἱὸς ἀρρηκτίζω is a rare construction.
Philosophus ήξίωσε προσρήσεως· οὖς μὲν γὰρ ἂν οὖτος ἀποδοκιμάσῃ καθάπερ ἀργυραμοῖδος ἀγάθος ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς νομίσματος, κεκιβδηλευμένοι νεωτεροποιοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπαντεῖ· οὗ δὲ ἂν γνωρίμους ἐθελήσῃ ποιήσασθαι, δόκιμοι τε καὶ τὸ φρόνημα πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίον εἰσών.

21 V. ἐνὶ μέντοι νόμου διατάγματι τοῖς ἀκούειν ἐπισταμένοις εἰκάτερον ὡν εἴπον ἐναργῆςτερον φανεῖται δεδήλωκώς· "ἐὰν γὰρ γένονται" φησίν ἀνθρώπων δύο γυναικῶν, ἡγαπημένη καὶ μισομένη, καὶ τέκνωσιν αὐτῷ ἡ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἡ μισομένη, καὶ γέννηται υἱὸς πρωτότοκος τῆς μισομένης, ἢ ἢμέρα κληροδοτὴ τοῖς υἱοῖς τὰ υπάρχοντα, οὐ δυνῆσεται πρωτοτοκεύειν τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἡγαπημένης υπεριδὼν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μισομένης τὸν πρωτότοκον ἀλλὰ τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν τῆς μισομένης ἐπιγνώσεται, δοῦναι αὐτῷ διπλὰ ἀπὸ πάντων ὃν ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχή τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτῳ καθηκεὶ τὰ πρωτοτόκια."

22 | παρατετήρηκας ᾖδη, ὅτι τὸν μὲν τῆς στεργομένης υἱὸν οὐδέποτε πρωτότοκον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καλεῖ, τὸν δὲ τῆς μισομένης πολλακαί· καίτοι τοῦ μὲν τὴν γένεσιν προτέρου, τοῦ δὲ ἐκ τῆς στυγουμένης υστέρου δεδήλωκεν εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῆς προστάξεως· "ἐὰν γὰρ τέκνωσι" φησίν ἢ ἡ ἡγαπημένη καὶ ἡ μισομένη." ἀλλὰ ὅμως τὸ μὲν τῆς προτέρας γέννημα, κἂν πολυχρονιώτερον ἢ, νεώτερον παρ' ὀρθῷ λόγῳ δικάζοντι νεόμισται, τὸ δὲ τῆς υστέρας,

a Or "take as his familiars."

b Philo argues that the age (in the literal sense) of the two sons is shewn by the order in which the motherhood of
"elders." For those whom the Sage like a good money-changer rejects from the currency of virtue are all men of dross, men with the spirit of youth-like rebellion in their souls. But those whom he has willed to consider as known to him are tested and approved and must needs be elders in heart and mind.

V. Indeed there is one commandment of the law in which those who have ears to hear will perceive that he sets before us still more clearly the two truths of which I have spoken. For we read "if a man has two wives, one loved and the other hated, and the beloved and the hated each bear a son to him, and the son of her that is hated is the firstborn, it shall be that on the day on which he allots his goods to his sons, he shall not be able to give the right of the firstborn to the son of her whom he loves, and set aside the firstborn, the son of her whom he hates, but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of her whom he hates, to give him a double portion of all that he has gotten; for he is the beginning of his children and to him belong the rights of the firstborn" (Deut. xxi. 15-17).

You observe at once that the son of the beloved wife is never called by him "firstborn" or "elder," but the son of the hated wife is so called often. And yet at the very beginning of the commandment he has shewn us that the birth of the former comes first and the birth of the latter afterwards. For he writes, "if the beloved and the hated bear children." But all the same the issue of the wife mentioned first, though his years be more, is counted as younger in the judgement of right reason, while the child of the two wives is mentioned. This meaning would come out more clearly if we read προτέραν . . ὑστέραν.
κἂν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν χρόνοις ὑστερίζῃ, τῆς μείζονος καὶ πρεσβυτέρας μοῖρας ἥξιωται.

23 διὰ τί; ὅτι τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μὲν στεργομένην ἡδονής, τὴν δὲ στυγουμένην φρονήσεως εἶναι φαμεν σύμβολον τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πολὺς ὁμιλος ἀνθρώπων τὴν συνουσίαν ὑπερφυῶς ἀγαπᾷ δελέατα καὶ φίλτρα ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐπαγωγότατα ἐνδιδούσης ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχής ἀχρι πανιστάτου γῆρως, τῆς δὲ ἐκτόπως τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ περίσσικον διαμεμίσθη σε μικράριον παῖδες πάντοις δὲ τῶν γονέων καὶ τρεφόντων ὕφελμωτάτας μὲν ἀστεπεστάτας δὲ

24 υφηγήσεις. τίκτουσι δ' ἀμφότεραι, ἡ μὲν τὸν φιλήδονον, ἡ δ' αὖ τὸν φιλάρετον ἐν ψυχῇ τρόπων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φιλήδονος ἀτελής καὶ ὑπετῶς ἀεὶ παῖς ἐστι, κἂν εἰς πολυετίας αἰῶνα μήκιστον ἀφίκηται, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλάρετος ἐν γερουσίᾳ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐξ ἑτί σπαργάνων, τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, ἀγὴρως

25 ὅν τάττεται. παρὰ δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐμφανικῶς εἴρηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς μισουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀρετῆς γεγονότος, ὅτι "οὐτὸς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τέκνων," καὶ ἄλλος καὶ ἡγεμονία δήπου πρώτος ὄνω τοῦ λόγου "καὶ τούτω καθήκει τὰ πρωτότοκια" νόμω φύσεως, οὐκ ἀνομία τῇ παρ' ἀνθρώπωσ.

26 VI. Ἐπόμενος οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ὀσπερ ἐπὶ προτεθέντα σκοποῦ τῆς εὐστόχους τὰ βέλη κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν εἰςάγει τὸν Ἰακώβ γενέσει μὲν τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ νεώτερον—ὅτι ἀφροσύνη μὲν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν σύντροφος, ὑψίγονος δ' ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ ζήλος—, δυνάμει δὲ πρεσβυτέρου παρὸ καὶ

a See De Ebr. 48 (and note).
the wife mentioned afterwards, though he be later in the date of his birth, is held worthy of the greater and senior portion. Why? Because we declare that in the beloved wife we have a figure of pleasure and in the hated wife a figure of prudence. For pleasure’s company is beloved beyond measure by the great mass of men, because from the hour of their birth to the utmost limits of old age she produces and sets before them such enticing lures and love-charms; while for prudence, severe and august as she is, they have a strange and profound hatred, as foolish children hate the most wholesome but most distasteful directions of their parents and those who have the charge of them. Both are mothers; pleasure of the pleasure-loving, prudence of the virtue-loving tendency in the soul. But the former is never full grown but always in reality a child, however long and never-ending the tale of years to which he attains. But the other—the virtue-lover—is exempt from old age, yet “from the cradle,” as the phrase goes, he ranks as an elder in the senate of prudence. And therefore he says—and very forcible are his words—of the son of the hated wife—virtue who is hated by the multitude—that he is “the beginning of his children,” and truly so, because he is first in rank and precedence—and again, “to him belong the rights of the firstborn,” by the law of nature, not by the no-law which prevails among men.

VI. Following this law consistently and aiming his arrows skilfully at the mark he has set before him, Moses shews us Jacob as younger in years than Esau, but older in worth and value, since folly is congenital to us from our earliest years, but the desire for moral excellence is a later birth, and
PHILO

τῶν πρωτοτοκίων ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰξ ἐξίσταται, μετα-
27 ποιεῖται δ' οὗτος εἰκότως. τούτως
συνάδει καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ πολλῆς
περισκέψεως ἀνεξηγημένα, ἡνίκα ἐνθουσιῶν ὁ
σοφὸς ἀντικρὺς παρεστηκότων οὐκ ἐπιτίθησι ταῖς
κεφαλαῖς ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ κατ' εὐθὺ τὰς χεῖρας
ἐπενεγκῶν, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξας, ὅτι τῇ μὲν εὐωνύμῳ
τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δοκοῦντος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ νεωτέρου
28 τῇ δεξιᾷ ψυχή. καλεῖται δ' ὁ μὲν [ἐν] γενέσει
πρεσβυτέρος Μανασσῆς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος 'Εφραίμ,
ταῦτα δ' εἰ μεταληθθεὶ τὰ ὄνοματα εἰς 'Ελλάδα
γλώτταν, μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως εὑρεθήσεται
[397] σύμβολα: ἐρμηνεύεται γάρ | Μανασσῆς μὲν ''ἐκ
λήθης''—τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὄνοματι ἐτέρῳ καλούμενον
ἀνάμνησις. οἱ γὰρ δὲν ἐπελάθοντο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν
ἐρχόμενον ἐξω πρόεισι τῆς λήθης—, 'Εφραίμ δὲ
καρποφορία, μνήμης πρόσρησις οἰκειοτάτη, διότι
καρπὸς ὕφελιμώτατος καὶ τῷ ἁπτα τῶν ἀνόμων
ψυχαῖς τὸ ἄληστον ἐν ταῖς ἀδιαστάτοις <μνήμαις>.¹

29 μνήμαι μὲν οὖν ἤνωμωμένοις ἡδη καὶ παγίοις
συντυγχάνουσι, παρὸ καὶ νεώτερα εὐμοίσθησαν
ὅτε φυόμεναι: λήθη δὲ καὶ ἀνάμνησις ἐπαλλήλως
σχεδὸν ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐκάστω σύνεσιν, οὐ
ἐνεκά τὰ χρόνου πρεσβεία εὑρηται καὶ ἐπ' εὐωνύμωις
παρὰ σοφῷ ταξιαρχοῦντι τάττονται·
tῶν δὲ ἄρετῆς αἱ μνήμαι κοινωνήσουσι πρεσβείως,
ὡς τὸ θεοφιλὴς δεξιωσάμενος τῆς ἀμείνου παρ'
ἐαυτῷ μοῖρας ἀξιώσει.

30 Νήψατο οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ γνώσις ὁ σα ''ἐποίησεν

¹ Wendland ἐν μνήμαις ἀδιαστάτοις.
therefore Esau is forced to surrender the inheritance of the firstborn to the rightful claims of Jacob.

The same truth is borne out by the story of the sons of Joseph, a story which shews rich and careful thought. The sage, we read, under inspiration lays his hands on the heads of the boys who stood opposite him, but lays them not straight in front but crosswise, meaning to touch with his left hand the boy who seemed the elder and the younger with his right (Gen. xlviii. 13, 14). Now the elder boy is called Manasseh and the younger Ephraim—and if these names are translated into Greek we shall find they represent "reminiscence" and "memory." For Manasseh is by interpretation "from forgetfulness," another name for which is reminiscence, since anyone who is reminded of what he has forgotten, issues from a state of forgetfulness. Ephraim on the other hand is "fruit-bearing," a very suitable title for memory; since truth unforgotten, because memory has been unbroken, is a fruit most profitable, a real food to souls. Now memories belong to those who have reached settled manhood and therefore as being late-born are accounted younger. But forgetfulness and recollection follow in succession in each of us almost from our earliest years. And therefore theirs is the seniority in time and a place on the left, when the Sage marshals his ranks. But in seniority of virtue memories will have their share, and the God-beloved will lay on them his right hand and adjudge them worthy of the better portion which is his to give.

To resume. When the just man has returned to

* Cf. Leg. All. iii. 90-93.
αὐτῷ ὁ νεώτερος αὐτοῦ νιός ἀρὰς χαλεπωτάτας τίθεται· τῷ γὰρ ὅταν ὅ τοι ὁ νοῦς νήψῃ, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον εὐθὺς αἰσθάνεται ὅσα ἡ νεωτεροποίος ἐν αὐτῷ κακία πρότερον εἰργάζετο, ἃ μεθὺν 31 ἀδυνάτως καταλαβεῖν εἴχε. VII. τίνι μέντοι καταράται, σκεπτέον· ἐν γὰρ τι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐρεύνης ἁξίων ἔστιν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν ἀριστοῦντι ἡμαρτη-κέναι παιδί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκείνου μὲν νιό, ἕαυτοῦ δὲ νιῶν, οὐ φανερῶν οὐδὲν εἰσ γε τὸ παρὸν ἀδίκημα, 32 οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα, δεδήλωκεν· ὅ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ περιεργίας ἰδεῖ τὸν πατέρα γυμνὸν ἐθελήσας καὶ γελάσας ἢ εἴδε καὶ ἐκλαλήσας 1 τὰς ἐκόπτες ἡμυχα-σθέντα ὁ νιός ἤ τοῦ Νωέ Χάμ, ὃς ἐφ' ἀς ἐτερος ἡδίκησε τὰς αἰτίας ἐχὼν καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς καρπούμενος Χαναάν ἔστι· λέγεται γὰρ " ἐπικατάρατος Χαναάν· παῖς οἰκέτης [δοῦλος δούλων] ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς 33 αὐτοῦ." τί γὰρ ἡμαρτηκεν, ὃς ἐφ' ἀνταρ, οὕτως ἐσκέφασιν μὲν ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἰδοὺς οἰς ἐθος ἀκριβῶν τὰς ῥήτας καὶ προχείρους ἀποδόσεις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ πειθόμενοι τῷ ὑπο-βάλλοντι ὁρθῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἐγκατατάσσεις ἀπόδοσιν διερμηνεύσωμεν ἐκεῖνα ἀναγκαῖως προειπόντες·

34 VIII. σχέσις καὶ κίνησις διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἥρμια, φορὰ δὲ ἡ κίνησις· ἢς εἴδη δύο, τὸ μὲν μεταβατικὸν, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εἰποῦμεν. σχέσει μὲν ὀὖν ἂν ἄδελφον ἐξεσ, [398] κινήσει δ' ἐνέργεια. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον 35 παραδείγματι οἰκεῖω γνωριμώτερον γένοιτ' ἂν·

1 mss. ἐκ(ἐγ)γελάσας. 2 See App. p. 510.

a See App. p. 511.
ON SOBRIETY, 30–35

soberness and knows "what his younger son has done to him," he utters curses stern and deep. For indeed when the mind becomes sober, it must follow that it at once perceives the former doings of the young rebellious wickedness within it, doings which in its drunken state it was incapable of comprehending. VII. But who is it that he curses? Let us consider this, for this too is one of the questions which deserve our careful search, seeing that the person cursed is not the apparent sinner, Noah's son, but that son's son, Noah's grandson, though up to this point no clear wrongdoing great or small on his part has been indicated by Moses. It was Noah's son Ham, who from idle curiosity wished to see his father naked, and laughed at what he saw and proclaimed aloud what it was right to leave untold. But it is Canaan who is charged with another's misdeeds and reaps the curses. For it is said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant, a bondman shall be be to his brethren" (Gen. ix. 25). What, I repeat, was his offence? Perhaps this question has been considered on their own principles by those who are used to discuss in details the literal and outward interpretation of the laws. Let us rather in obedience to the suggestions of right reason expound in full the inward interpretation. Something, however, must be said by way of preface. VIII. The state of rest and the state of motion differ from each other. While the former is static, the latter is dynamic and is of two kinds, one passing from point to point, the other revolving round a fixed place. Habit is akin to rest, as activity is to motion. These remarks might be made more intelligible by a suitable illustration. The car-
τέκτονα καὶ ζωγράφον καὶ γεωργόν καὶ μουσικόν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τεχνίτας, καὶ ἰσχύουσιν ἁγωσὶν μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐνεργοῦντες, οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔθος καλεῖν ὁνόμασιν, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐν ἐκάστοις ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ ἀνείλη—36 φότες ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ τεκτονικὸς ξύλων ὕλην ἐργάζεται λαβῶν, ὁ δὲ ζωγράφος τὰ οἰκεία κερασάμενοι χρώματα ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνακος διαγράφῃ τοὺς τύπους ὅπως ἂν διανοῆται, ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ἀνατέμνων γῆς αὐλακας καταβάλλῃ τὰ σπέρματα, κληματίδας δὲ καὶ μοσχεύματα δένδρων ἐμφυτεύῃ, ἀμα δὲ τροφὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἄρδη καὶ ἐποχετεύῃ τοῖς φυτευθέντι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα γεωργικὰ πάσιν ἐγχειρῇ, ὁ δ' αὖ μουσικὸς αὐλοῖς καὶ κιθάραις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅργανοις μέτρα καὶ ρυθμοὺς καὶ πάσας μέλους ἱδέας ἁρμόττῃ—δύναται δὲ καὶ δίχα τῶν χειροκμήτων τῶν τῆς φύσεως ὄργανοις—καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκαστὸς τεχνιτῶν εἴτε ἐγχειρεῖ, τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐτερα ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκεία τοῖς προτέρους ὁνόματα προσ-γίνεται, τῷ μὲν τέκτονι τὸ τεκτονεῖν, τῷ δὲ ζωγράφῳ τῷ ζωγράφῳ ἤδη, καὶ τὸ γεωργεῖν μέντοι τῷ γεωργῷ, καὶ τῷ αὐλεῖν ἢ κιθαρίζειν ἢ θ’ δεῖν ἢ τι τῶν παραπλησίων ποιεῖν τῷ μουσικῷ.

37 τίσιν οὖν οἱ φόγοι καὶ οἱ ἔπαινοι παρακολουθοῦσιν; ἀρ’ οὖχὶ τοῖς ἐνεργοῦσι καὶ δρώσι; κατορθοῦντες μὲν γὰρ ἔπαινον, φόγον δ’ ἐμπαλιν καρποῦνται ¹ MSS. δύνηται.
ON SOBRIETY, 35-37

...penter, the painter, the husbandman, the musician and those who practise the other arts may be unoccupied and not employing any of the activities which belong to their arts, yet none the less we are accustomed to call them by the aforesaid names, because they have the knowledge and experience which they have acquired in their respective professions. But there are times when the carpenter takes and carves a piece of timber, or the painter after mixing the proper colours delineates on the canvas the forms which he has in mind, or the husbandman ploughs furrows in the land and drops the seed into them, and plants sprigs and suckers from the trees, and also supplies by watering and irrigation the nourishment so necessary to his plants, and sets his hand to all the other works of husbandry. Again there are times when the musician adjusts his metre and rhythm and any form of melody to his flute or harp or any other instrument, or he may perhaps use the natural without the handmade instrument and adapt his voice to all the notes of the gamut. At such times or when each of the other kinds of craftsmen takes his work in hand, we necessarily supplement the first set of names, which are based on the several kinds of knowledge, by others corresponding to them. We speak not only of carpenters, but of practising carpentry, not only of painters but of painting, not only of husbandmen, but of farming, not only of musicians, but of flute-playing, harp-playing, singing or some similar performance. Now which of the two categories is the subject of praise or blame? Surely those who are actually engaged in doing something. They it is whose success or failure entail respectively
diamaartánontes. oí δ' ἀνευ τοῦ τι ποιεῖν ἐπιστήμονες αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀκίνδυνον γέρας εἰληφότες ἔσυχιαν ἠρεμοῦσιν. IX. ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖνυν λόγος ἐφαρμόττει καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀφροσύνην καὶ συνόλως τοῖς κατ' ἁρετήν τε καὶ κακίαν: οἱ φρόνιμοι τε καὶ σωφρόνες καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ δίκαιοι τὰς ψυχὰς μυρίοι γεγόνασι φύσεως μὲν εὐμοιρία, νομίμως δ' ὑφηγήσεσι, πόνοι δ' ἀγητήτοις καὶ ἀκνυτάτοις χρησάμενοι, τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν ἐν ταῖς διανοίασι ἀγαλμάτων οὐκ ἠσχυναν ἐπιδείξασθαι διὰ πενίαν ἢ ἀδοξίαν ἢ νόσον σώματος ἢ τὰς ἄλλας κήρας ὅσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον περιπολοῦσι βίον.

οὐκοῦν οὗτοι μὲν ἀστερ δεδεμένα καὶ καθειργμένα ἐκτήσαντο ἁγαθά, ἔτεροι δ' εἰσίν οἱ λευμένοι καὶ ἄφετοι καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐχρήσαντο πάσι τὰς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ὑλὰς ἀφθονωτάτας προσλαβόντες. οἱ μὲν φρόνιμοι ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν προστασίαν πραγμάτων, οίς σύνεσιν καὶ εὐβουλίαν ἐνεπιδείξεται: οἱ δὲ σῶφρων τὸν εἰς ἀσωτίαν δεινὸν ἐπάραι καὶ παρακαλέσα τυφλὸν πλοῦτον, ἵνα βλέποντα ἁποδείξη: οἱ δὲ δίκαιος ἀρχὴν, δι' ἢς τὸ κατ' ἄξιαν ἁπονέμειν ἐκάστω τῶν ὑπόντων ἀκωλύτως δυνατὸς ἔσται. οἱ δ' ἁσκητῆς εὐσεβείας ἱερωσύνην καὶ χωρίων | ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτως ἀγιστείας ἐπιμέλειαν. οὔτε δὲ τούτων ἀρεταί μὲν εἰσιν, ἀκίνητοι δὲ ἀρεταί καὶ ἠσυχίαν ἁγοῦσιν,

1 Conj. Tr. κατ' ἀφροσύνην καὶ σύνεσιν. The last two words, which are needed for antithesis, may easily have fallen out before καὶ συνόλως.
2 So Wendland for ms. περιουσίαν, which perhaps in the sense of “abundance” is not quite impossible: Cohen παρουσίαν.
3 Conj. Tr.: Wendland ὑπηκόων: Adler πολίτων.

[399] ιερωσύνην καὶ χωρίων | ιερῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτως ἀγιστείας ἐπιμέλειαν. οὔτε δὲ τούτων ἀρεταί μὲν εἰσιν, ἀκίνητοι δὲ ἀρεταί καὶ ἠσυχίαν ἁγοῦσιν,

Here we have Philo’s favourite idea of the three elements
praise or blame. Those who possess the knowledge and nothing more, and are not actually doing anything remain in peace and find in their inactivity the privilege of security.

IX. The same principle then holds when the quality predicated is folly or virtue and vice in general. Those whose souls are prudent, or temperate, or courageous or just, have become so in numberless cases partly by happy natural gifts, partly by the directing influence of custom, partly by their own persistent and unsparing efforts, but poverty or obscurity or bodily disease, or the other mischiefs which beset human life, have made it impossible for them to manifest the beauty of the qualities which adorn their minds. These, then, possess their good qualities, as it were, in chains and durance. But there are others who find them entirely free, unconfined, unshackled in their hands, because in their case these gifts have been supplemented by rich and abundant material for their display. The man of prudence may have the charge of public or private business, in which he can shew his shrewdness and good judgement. The temperate man may have wealth, and while blind wealth is strong to incite and urge its possessors to licence, he may turn that blindness into eyesight. The just man may hold office, which will enable him to render without hindrance their several dues to all who are under his authority. The practiser of religion may have priesthood and the charge of holy places and the rites there performed. Virtues they still are apart from these opportunities, but they are of education, φύσει, διδασκαλία, ἀσκησις, usually typified by Isaac, Abraham and Jacob. Cf. note on De Sac. 5-7 (Vol. I. App. p. 488).

b Or possibly ἄγαλμάτων may mean the "ideas," cf. § 3.
καθάπερ δ' ἑτησουρισμένος ἐν ἀφανέσι γῆς μυχοίς ἀργυρός τε καὶ χρυσός οὐδὲν χρήσιμος.

42 τάλων τούνων κατὰ τὰ ἐναντία μυρίους ἐστὶν ίδεῖν ἀνάνδρους, ἀκολάστους, ἀφρονας, ἀδίκους, ἀσεβεῖς ἐν ταῖς διανοίασι υπάρχοντας, τὸ δὲ κακίας ἐκάστης αἰσχος ἀδυνατοῦντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δι’ ἀκαίριαν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν καιρῶν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦ δύνασθαι πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη κατασκήψη φορά, γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἀχρι τερμάτων ἀμυθήτων ἀναπιπλάντας κακῶν καὶ μηδέν, μὴ μικρὸν μὴ μέγα, ἀξίημον ἑώντας, ἀλλὰ ρύμη μιᾶ ἀνατρέποντας τε καὶ φθείροντας· ὡσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ δύναμις ἀποστικὸ τὸν ὕλης ἑσυχάζει, παρουσία δὲ ἀνακαίεται, οὕτως καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡ κακίαν ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀφορώσει, οὐτένονται μὲ κακοί αἰσχοί, καθάπερ ἐφην, καιρῶν, τυχηραίς δ’ εὐπορίαις ἀναφέλεται.

43 καὶ φθείροντας· ὡσπερ γὰρ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ δύναμις ἀποστικὸ μὲν ὕλης ἑσυχάζει, παρουσία δὲ ἀνακαίεται, οὕτως καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡ κακίαν ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἀφορώσει, οὐτένονται μὲ κακοί αἰσχοί, καθάπερ ἐφην, καιρῶν, τυχηραίς δ’ εὐπορίαις ἀναφέλεται.

44 Χ. Τίνος δή ταῦτ’ εἶναι εἶπον ἡ τοῦ διδάξαι χάριν, ὅτι ο μὲν υίος τοῦ Νῶε Χαμ ἡρεμούσης κακίας ἐστὶν ὄνομα, ὁ δὲ υἰόν τῆς ἡδῆ καὶ κινούμενης; ἔρμηνευται γὰρ θέρμη μὲν Χάμ, σάλος δὲ Χαναάν. θέρμῃ δὲ ἐν μὲν σώματι πυρετὸν ἐμφαίνει, κακίαν δὲ ἐν ψυχᾷς· ὅσα γὰρ, οἴμαι, καταβολῇ πυρετοῦ νόσος ἐστὶν οὐ μέρους ἄλλ’ ὅλου σώματος, οὕτως ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρώστημα ἐστὶ κακία. ἄλλ’, ὅτε μὲν ἡρεμεῖ, ὅτε δὲ κινεῖται· τὴν δὲ κίνησιν αὐτῆς ὅνομαζει σάλον, δς Ἐβραῖον.

45 γλώττη Χαναάν καλεῖται. νομοθετῶν δὲ οὖδεις ἑπιτίμων ὑρίζει κατὰ ἀδίκων ἡρεμοῦντων, ἀλλὰ δὴ ἑνομομένων καὶ τοῖς κατὰ ἀδίκων ἐργοῖς χρωμένων, καθὰπερ οὐδὲ τῶν δακετῶν οὐδὲν ἀνὴρ

1 Wendland conj. ἄλλ’ ἡδη.
ON SOBRIETY, 41–46

static and inactive virtues, like gold and silver laid up in hidden recesses of the earth where none can use them. Conversely we may see thousands who are cowardly, intemperate, foolish, unjust and irreligious at heart, but unable to display the ugliness of each vice, because of the inconvenience of their opportunities for sin. But when such possibility suddenly descends upon them in all its impetuous force, they fill land and sea to their utmost bounds with an untold host of evil deeds. They leave nothing great or small unharmed but work wrack and ruin in one concentrated outburst. For just as the capacity of fire is dormant or kindled into activity according as fuel is absent or present, so the powers of the soul which have vice or virtue in view are quenched by inconvenience of opportunities (to repeat the phrase), but burst into flame when chance throws facilities in their way.

X. These remarks have been made solely for the purpose of shewing that Ham the son of Noah is a name for vice in the quiescent state and the grandson Canaan for the same when it passes into active movement. For Ham is by interpretation “heat,” and Canaan “tossing.” Now heat is a sign of fever in the body and of vice in the soul. For just as an attack of fever is a disease not of a part but of the whole body, so vice is a malady of the whole soul. Sometimes it is in a state of quiescence, sometimes of motion, and its motion is called by Moses “tossing,” which in the Hebrew tongue is Canaan. Now no legislator fixes a penalty against the unjust when in the quiescent state, but only when they are moved to action and commit the deeds to which injustice prompts them, just as in the case of animals
ΦΙΛΟ

μέτριος κτεῖνειν ἃν ἑθελῆσαι μὴ μέλλον δάκνειν· λόγου γὰρ ὑπεξαιρετέον ψυχῆς ὑμότητα φύσει 47 [καὶ] κατὰ πάντων φονῶσαν. εἰκότως οὖν ὁ δίκαιος τὰς ἀρὰς τῷ νῦν Ἡχανάν δόξει τίθεσθαι· δόξει δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι δυνάμει τῷ νῦν Χάμ ἀντὸς γίνεται Ἡχανάν. ἐν γὰρ τὸ ὑποκείμενον κακία, ἢς τὸ μὲν ἐν σχέσει, τὸ δὲ ἐν κινήσει θεωρεῖται· προσβύτερον δὲ κινήσεως σχέσις, ὡς ἐγγόνου λόγον ἐχειν τὸ κινούμενον πρὸς τὸ 48 ἱσχόμενον· παρὸ καὶ τοῦ Ἡχαμ νῦὸς ὁ Ἡχανάν φυσικῶς ἀναγράφεται, σάλος ἡρεμίας, ἵνα καὶ | τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν ἐπαληθεύῃ τὸ “ἀποδιδόν ἀνομίας πατέρων ἐπὶ νῦὸς, ἐπὶ τρίτως καὶ ἐπὶ τετάρτως”. ἐπὶ γὰρ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα καὶ ὡς ἄν ἐγγόνι αὐτῶν λογισμῶν στείχουσι αἱ τιμωρίαι, καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔκεινον, εἰ μηδεμία προσγένοιτο πράξις ἐπὶληπτος, 49 ἀποδιδρασκόντων τὰ ἕγκληματα. διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ τῷ νῦῳ τῆς λέπρας ὁ μέγας πάντα Ἡμωὺς τὴν μὲν κίνησιν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῆς φοράν καὶ χῦσιν ἀκάθαρτον, τὴν δ' ἡρεμίαν καθαρὰν ἀναγράφει· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “ἐὰν διαχέχῃται ἐν τῷ δέρματι, μιανεῖ ὁ ἱερεύς. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ χῶραν μείνῃ τὸ τηλαύγημα καὶ μὴ διαχέχῃται, καθαριεῖ” ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐιναι μονὴν κακιῶν καὶ παθῶν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν,—

1 So mss. Wendland needlessly changed to λόγῳ, i.e. savagery must be eliminated by reason, but see De Ebr. 33.
2 So Wendland conjectures, though he prints the mss. καὶ αὐτοὺς. Grammatical usage seems to demand the change.
3 Conj. Tr.: mss. ἐκτὸς: Wendland from Nicetes Serranus (see App. p. 511) ἡσυχίαν καὶ μονὴν.

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that bite, unless they are going to bite, no wish to kill them would be felt by any right-minded person; for we must leave out of consideration the savagery which has a natural craving for indiscriminate slaughter. It is natural enough, then, that the just man should appear to lay his curses on the grandson Canaan. I say "appear," because virtually he does curse his son Ham in cursing Canaan, since when Ham has been moved to sin, he himself becomes Canaan, for it is a single subject, wickedness, which is presented in two different aspects, rest and motion. But rest takes precedence in point of age to motion, and thus the moving stands to the stationary in the relation of child to parent. Thus it agrees with the verities of nature when Canaan or tossing is described as the son of Ham or quiescence, and this serves to shew the truth of what is said elsewhere, "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation" (Exod. xx. 5). For it is upon the effects of our reasonings, what we may call their descendants, that punishments fall, while those reasonings taken by themselves go scot-free from arraignment, if no culpable action supervene. And therefore, too, in the law of leprosy Moses with his never-failing greatness lays down that the movement and wider extension and diffusion of the disease is unclean, but the quiescence is clean. For he says, "if it spread abroad in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean. But if the bright spot stay in one place and be not spread abroad, he shall pronounce him clean" (Lev. xiii. 22, 23). Thus the state of repose, because it is a standing-still of the vices and passions in the soul (and it is these which
ταύτα γάρ αἰνιγγέται διά τῆς λέπρας—οὐχ ὑπαίτιον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ κύνησιν καὶ φορὰν ὑποχον δέοντως.

τὸ παραπλήσιον καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως ¹ χρησθεῖσι λογίοις περιέχεται σημειωδέστερον λέγεται γὰρ πρὸς τὸν φαύλον ὥ οὗτος, "ἡμαρτες, ἡσύχασον," τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτι κωινοῦσα καὶ ἐνεργεῖν κατὰ τὴν κακίαν ἦν, ὅντος ἑνόχου, τοῦ δ' ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι ἵσχεον καὶ ἱπρεῖν, ἀνυπαίτιον καὶ σωτηρίου.

XI. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἰκανῶς γε, οἶμαι, προείρηται. τὰς δ' ἀρὰς [ἔχοντα], δὲν ἔχουσι λόγον, ἱδομεν· "ἐπικατάρατος" φησί "Χαναάν· πάς οἰκέτης ἐσται τοῖς ἄδελφοις αὐτοῦ" καὶ "ἐυλογητὸς κύριος ο Θεός Σήμ, καὶ ἐσται Χαναάν δούλος αὐτοῖς." ἔφαμεν πάλαι, ὅτι Σήμ ἑπώνυμος ἐστιν ἀγαθοῦ, καλοῦμενος οὐκ ὄνοματος εἰδεί, ἀλλ' ὅλον τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, παρόνι τὸ ἁγαθὸν ὄνομαστὸν μόνον καὶ εὐφημίας καὶ εὐκλείας ἄξιον, ὡς ἐμπαλιν ἀνώνυμον καὶ δυσώνυμον τὸ κακόν.

53 τίνος οὖν τὸν τῆς φύσεως τάγαθοῦ μεμοιραμένον εὐχῆς ἄξιοι; τίνος; κανοντάτης καὶ παρηλλαγ—

¹ Wendland ἰδομεν τὸν Κάιν, and αὐτὸν for τὸν φαύλον. See App. p. 511.
² For the meaningless ἔχοντα, ἐξῆς or ἐχομένως or εὐχᾶς τε have been suggested. The last suits the sense well, as the sequel deals with the blessing more than the curses. The Translator suggests as better accounting for the corruption τὰς δ' ἀρὰς <καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀρὰς> ἔχοντα.

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⁴ See App. p. 511.

⁵ In the lxx, as usually and rightly printed, ἡμαρτες is the apodosis of οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλξῃς. Philo here and in De Mut. 195, takes it as beginning a fresh sentence. Cf. De Agr. 127. So in Quaest. Gen. i. 64, 65 "Quid est, non quod non recte offeras, sed quod recte non dividis? . . . Quid est peccasti, quiesce?"
are figured by leprosy), is exempt from indictment, while the state of motion and progression is rightly held liable to arraignment. And a similar lesson is contained in a more striking form in the oracles in Genesis. For God says to the wicked one, “man, thou hast sinned, be still” (Gen. iv. 7). This implies that while sin, inasmuch as it is movement and activity with vice as its motive, is liable to punishment, stillness, because it is stationary and quiescent, is exempt from arraignment and a means of safety.

XI. This is enough, I think, by way of preface. Let us now observe the form which the curses take. "Cursed," he says, "is Canaan; a servant, a bondman, shall he be to his brethren," and "blessed is the Lord, the God of Shem, and Canaan shall be their slave." We have said before that Shem bears a name which means "good," that is to say, the name which he bears is not any specific name or noun, but is just "name," the whole genus, thus representing good, because good alone is a thing of name and is worthy of fair speech and fair report, just as bad on the other hand is nameless and of evil name.

What, then, is the prayer which Moses deems worthy of this participant in the nature of the good? What indeed? Surely a prayer unparalleled and unprecedented, to which

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*Probably, as Adler suggests, in the lost discourse on Noah's "nakedness." See Introduction to De Ebr. p. 309.
* *i.e.* Shem is by interpretation ὅνομα, which may mean either "name" or "noun." In either case as representing the generic as opposed to the specific names or nouns, it is equivalent to the best of the genus. *Cf.* a similar argument, Leg. All. iii. 175. See App. p. 512.
μένης, ἦ θνητὸς οὐδεὶς ὑπηρετήσαι δυνατός, ἂφ’ ἣς σχεδὸν ὥσπερ ἀπ’ ὠκεανοῦ βέουσιν αὐτὸ φθονοῦν καὶ ἀέναι πλημμυροῦσαι καὶ ἀναχεόμεναι τῶν καλῶν πηγαί. τὸν γὰρ κύριον καὶ θεὸν τοῦ τε κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων ἰδίᾳ θεὸν κατ’ ἐξαιρέτων χάριν τοῦ Σήμ μακαλεί. καὶ ὀρατίας ὑπερβολὰς τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπερβάλλει; σχεδὸν γὰρ ἵστομιομ ὅ τοῦτο λαχῶν γίνεται κόσμῳ ὅτε γὰρ τὸ ἐπιστατοῦν καὶ κηδόμενον ἀμφοῖν ταύτων, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτροπευόμενα κατ’ ἀναγκαῖον εὐθὺς ἐστιν ἵστομιμα. μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἐπιδαπφίζεται τὰ τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ μὲν γὰρ | αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου

μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἐπιδαπφίζεται τὰ τῶν δωρεῶν τοῦ μὲν γὰρ | αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου

[401] δεσπότης καὶ εὐεργήτης ἀνείρηται διὰ τοῦ κύριον καὶ θεὸς, τοῦ δὲ νοητοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σωτῆρ καὶ εὐεργήτης αὐτὸ μόνον, οὐχὶ δεσπότης η κύριος· φίλον γὰρ τὸ σοφὸν θεῷ μάλλον η δοῦλον. παρὸ καὶ σαφῶς εἰπὶ Ἀβραὰμ φάσκει· "μη ἐπικαλύψω ἐγώ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου;" ο δὲ ἔχων τὸν κλήρον τοῦτον πέραν ὅρων ἀνθρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας προελήλυθε· μόνον γὰρ εὐγενῆς ὁτε θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένος πατέρα καὶ γεγονός ἐσποιητὸς αὐτῷ μόνον νιός· οὐ πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ πάμπλουτος, ἐν ἀφθόνοις καὶ γνησίοις, οὐ χρόνῳ παλαιομένους, καὶ καινομένοις δὲ καὶ ἠβώσιν ἄτο θεόν ἐπιγεγμένος πατέρα καὶ γεγονός έμποιητὸς μόνος μόνοις· οὐκ ἐνδοξός, ἀλλ’ εὐκλεῆς, τὸν μὴ κολακεῖα νοθούμενον, ἀλλὰ βεβαιομένον ηλθεῖα καρποῦμενος ἐπαινοῦμον μόνος βασιλεύς, παρὰ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος λαβῶν τῆς ἐφ’ ἀπασκοάρχης τὸ κράτος ἀναταγωνιστοῦ μόνος

a The LXX has "My servant" (τοῦ παιδός μου), which Philo uses in Leg. All. iii. 27. The Hebrew has no equivalent. See App. p. 512.

b See App. p. 512.
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no mortal can act as ministrant, a prayer from which, almost as though it were from the very ocean, there pour forth fountains of things excellent, welling up and running over, unmeasured and inexhaustible. It is the Lord and God of the world and all that is therein, whom he declares to be peculiarly the God of Shem by special grace. And consider! What transcendency is not here transcended? For we may well say that he to whom this belongs is put on a level of value with the world; since when the same power rules and cares for both, the objects of this guardianship must needs by that very fact be of equal value. Surely, too, His gifts are such as shew a lavish hand. For while the words “Lord and God” proclaim Him master and benefactor of the world which is open to our senses, to that goodness which our minds perceive He is saviour and benefactor only, not master or lord. For wisdom is rather God’s friend than His servant. And therefore He says plainly of Abraham, “shall I hide anything from Abraham My friend?” (Gen. xviii. 17). But he who has this portion has passed beyond the bounds of human happiness. He alone is nobly born, for he has registered God as his father and become by adoption His only son, the possessor not of riches, but of all riches, faring sumptuously where there is nought but good things, unstinted in number and sterling in worth, which alone wax not old through time, but ever renew their youth; not merely of high repute, but glorious, for he reaps the praise which is never debased by flattery, but ratified by truth; sole king, for he has received from the All-ruler the sceptre of universal sovereignty, which none can dispute; sole freeman,
PHILO

έλευθερος, ἀφεμένος ἀργαλεωτάτης δεσποίνης, κενής δόξης, ἣν ὑπέραυχον οὔσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρο-πόλεως ἄνωθεν ὁ ἐλευθεροποιὸς καθεῖλε θεός.

τούτω δὴ τῷ τοσούτων καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβαλλόντων καὶ ἀθρόων ἀξιωθέντι ἄγαθῶν τί προσήκει ποιεῖν ἡ λόγοι καὶ ὀψαῖς καὶ ὑμνοῖς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀμείβεσθαι; τοῦτ’ ἔσθ’, ὡς έοικεν, ὃ αὐτίττεται διὰ τοῦ εὐλογημένοις κύριοι τὸ θεὸς Σήμ,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ τῶν θεῶν ἔχοντι κλήρον εὐλογεῖν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ἀρμόττει μόνον τοῦτ’ ἀντιπαρα-σχεῖν δυναμένω, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἀνὰ κράτος πάνθ’ ἀπλῶς ἀδυνατοῦντι.

XII. Τῷ μὲν δὴ Σήμε εὐχεται ταῦτα: τῷ δ’ Ἰάφεθ ὄποια, θεασώμεθα. “πλατύναι” φησὶν “ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰάφεθ, καὶ κατοικησάτω ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ Σήμ., καὶ γενέσθω Χανααν δούλος αὐτοῖς.” τοῦ ἄγαθον ἦγουμένου τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἐσταλται καὶ συνήκται τὸ τέλος—ἐνὶ γὰρ μυρίων ὄντων τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς τῷ ἡγεμόνι νῦ ἰσωφοροῦντοι εὐρέως, τῷ περὶ ψυχῆν, τῷ περὶ σώμα, τῷ περὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἀτ’ εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόμων κατακερματίζομενον εὐρύνεται. διότερ οἱ κοινοὶ εὐχεται τούτω προσ-γενέσθαι πλάτος, ὅπως καὶ ταῖς περὶ ψυχῆν ἀρεταῖς, φρονήσει καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἐκάστῃ τῶν ἀλλῶν, χρῆσθαι δύνατο καὶ ταῖς σώματος, ὑγείᾳ καὶ εὐαίσθησιᾷ δυνάμει τε καὶ ρώμῃ καὶ ταῖς τοῦτων συγγενέσιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς πλεον-

1 διὰ τοῦ] mss. αὐτοῦ or αὐτῷ : Mang. ἐν τῷ.
for he is released from the most tyrannous of mistresses, vain opinion, whom God the liberator has cast down from her citadel on the hill and humbled all her pride. What, then, of him who has been deemed worthy of blessings so great, so transcendent, so multitudinous? What should he do but requite his Benefactor with the words of his lips with song and with hymn? That is, it seems, the inner meaning of the saying, "blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem." For it is meet that he who has God for his heritage should bless and praise Him, since this is the only return that he can offer, and all else, strive as he will, is quite beyond his power.

XII. This then is Noah's prayer for Shem. Let us now consider the nature of his prayer for Japhet. "May God widen for Japhet," he says, "and let him dwell in the houses of Shem, and let Canaan become their servant" (Gen. ix. 27). If we hold that moral beauty is the only good, the end we seek is contracted and narrowed, for it is bound up with only one of our myriad environments, namely, with the dominant principle, the mind. But if we connect that end with three different kinds of interests, the concerns of the soul, those of the body and those of the external world, the end is split up into many dissimilar parts and thus broadened. And therefore there is a fitness in the prayer that breadth should be added to Japhet, that he may be able to use not only the virtues of the soul, prudence, temperance, and each of the others, but also those of the body, health, efficiency of the senses, dexterity of limb and strength of muscle, and such as are akin to these; and once again that he may have all the external

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*a* See App. p. 512.
εκτήμασιν, οσα εις πλούτον και δόξαν ἀπόλαυσίν
te και χρήσιν τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἥδων ἁγεται.1

ΧΙΙΙ. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλάτους ταύτα. τίνα δὲ ἐν
tοῖς οἶκοις εὑχεται τοῦ Σήμ κατοικήσαι, σκεπτέον
σαφῶς γὰρ οὐ μεμήνυκεν. ἐνεστὶ μὲν δὴ φάναι,
ὅτι τὸν ἥγεμόνα τοῦ παντός. τίς γὰρ οἶκος παρὰ
γενέσθαι δύναι' ἂν ἀξιοπρεπέστερος εὑρεθήναι
θεῷ πλὴν ψυχῆς τελείως κεκαθαρμένης καὶ μόνον
tὸ καλὸν ἡγουμένης ἁγαθόν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὀσα
νενόμισαι ἐν δορυφόρων καὶ ὑπηκόων λόγῳ

62 ταττούσης; κατοικεῖν δὲ ἐν οἶκῳ λέγεται ὁ θεὸς
οὐχ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ—περιέχει γὰρ τὰ πάντα πρὸς
μηδένως περιεχόμενος—, ἀλλ’ ὡς πρόνοιαν καὶ
ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνου τοῦ χωρίου διαφερόντως ποιοῦ-
μενος· παντὶ γὰρ τῷ δεσπόζοντι οἰκίας ἡ ταύτης

63 κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνήπται φροντίς. εὐχέσθω δὴ
πᾶς θεῶ, ὅτι τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὢμβρησεν ἁγαθόν,
οἰκήτορος λαχεῖν τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὃς τὸ βραχὺ
tοῦτο οἰκοδόμημα, τὸν νοῦν, ἐξαίρων εἰς ύψος ἀπὸ

64 καὶ τὸ ρητὸν μέντοι συνάδειν ἑοικεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Σήμ ὠσανεὶ
ῥίζα καλοκαγαθίας ὑποβεβληται, δένδρον δ’ ἡμερο-
τοκοῦν ἐκ. ταύτης ὃ σοφὸς 'Αβραὰμ ἀνέδραμεν,
οὗ τὸ αὐτῆκον καὶ αὐτομαθής γένος, Ἰσαὰκ, ὃ
καρπὸς ἦν, ἄφ’ οὗ πάλιν αὐτὶ διὰ πόνων ἀρεταῖ
κατασπέιρονται, δὲν ἀθλητής ἐστιν ὁ τῆς πρὸς
πάθη πάλην γεγυμνασμένος Ἰακώβ, ἀγγέλοις

65 γῆς τοῖς συρανοῦ συνάψει πέρασι. καὶ
tὸ ῥητὸν μέντοι συνάδειν ἑοικεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Σήμ ὠσανεὶ
ρίζα καλοκαγαθίας ὑποβεβληται, δένδρον δ’ ἡμερο-
tοκοῦν ἐκ ταύτης ὃ σοφὸς 'Αβραὰμ ἀνέδραμεν,
oὐ τὸ αὐτῆκον καὶ αὐτομαθής γένος, Ἰσαὰκ, ὃ
καρπὸς ἦν, ἀφ’ οὗ πάλιν αὐτὶ διὰ πόνων ἀρεταῖ
κατασπέιρονται, δὲν ἀθλητής ἐστιν ὁ τῆς πρὸς
πάθη πάλην γεγυμνασμένος Ἰακώβ, ἀγγέλοις

1 Wendland suggests ἀναφέρεται.
advantages which have their source in wealth and reputation and the means of enjoying and using such pleasures as are necessary.

XIII. So much for the "widening." But we must also consider who is meant, when he prays that "he" should dwell in the houses of Shem. For this is not clearly shewn. On the one hand, we may suggest that "he" is the Ruler of the universe. For what more worthy house could be found for God throughout the whole world of creation, than a soul that is perfectly purified, which holds moral beauty to be the only good and ranks all others which are so accounted, as but satellites and subjects? But God is said to inhabit a house not in the sense of dwelling in a particular place, for He contains all things and is contained by none, but in the sense that His special providence watches over and cares for that spot. For every master of a house must needs have the care of that house laid on him as a charge. Verily let everyone on whom the goodness of God's love has fallen as rain, pray that he may have for his tenant the All-ruler who shall exalt this petty edifice, the mind, high above the earth and join it to the ends of heaven.

And indeed the literal story seems to agree with this interpretation. For in Shem we have the foundation, the root, as it were, of noble qualities and from that root sprung up wise Abraham, a tree yielding sweet nutriment, and his fruit was Isaac, the nature that needs no voice to teach him but his own, and from Isaac's seed again come the virtues of the laborious life in which Jacob exercised himself to mastery, Jacob trained in the wrestling-bout with the passions, with the angels of
66 ἀλείπταις, λόγοις, χρώμενος. οὗτος τῶν δώδεκα κατάρχει φυλῶν, ὅσοι ὁ Χρησμὸς "βασιλεύον καὶ ἱεράτευμα θεοῦ" φασιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον Σήμ ἀκολουθίαν ὁ τοῖς οἴκοις ἣν εὐχὴ τοῦ θεῶν ἐνουκήσας. βασιλεύον γὰρ ὁ βασιλέως δημουθεν οἰκος, ἱερὸς οἴνως καὶ μόνος ἀσυλος.

67 "Ἰσως μέντοι τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡλίφθη ἀναφέρεται, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ Σήμ ποιηται τὰς διατριβάς· τῷ γὰρ καὶ τὰ σώματος καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς πλεονεκτήμαta ἁγαθὰ ἠγομένως καλὸν εὐξασθαὶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ ψυχῆς ἀναδραμέν πρὸς μὴ μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς αἰώνος ἁλήθεις δόξης διαμαρτεῖν, ἃ κοινὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπαρατότατων καὶ κακίστων ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πολυχρηματίαν ἤ ὁσα ὅμοιότροπα, νομίζαντα εἶναι ἁγαθὰ, τῆς ἀμφευδοὺς τῶν ἁγαθῶν μερίδος οὐδενὶ φαύλω συνταττομένης· ἀκοινώνητον γὰρ φύσει κακῷ τὸ ἁγαθὸν. διὰ τοῦτ' ἐν ψυχῇ μόνη τεθησαύρισται, ἡς τῶν κάλλους οὐδενὶ μέτεστι τῶν ἀφρόνων. τοῦτο ὁ γε προφητικὸς λόγος τὸν σπουδαῖον ἐγραφεὶ εὐχεσθαὶ τινὶ τῶν εὔαυτοῦ γνωρίμων λέγοντα "πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψον," [403] ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐπανελθὼν, τὸ καλὸν ὥς ἁγαθὸν μόνον δεξιωσάμενος, τὰς τῶν ἐτερο-

1 Wendland changed this to εὐλογίαν, but the ms. reading makes quite fair sense.
2 So Cohn and Wendland. The πρόλογος of the mss. does not make sense. For the correction cf. De Plant. 117.
3 mss. ἐγραψε μὲν: Wendland suggests τῶν σπουδαίων ἐγραψεν ἕνα.

* Or "God's thought," the Divine Logos being here regarded as plural. The allusion is to Gen. xxxii. 1, "The angels of God met him," which comes shortly before the story of the wrestling in verses 24 f.
ON SOBRIETY, 66–68

reason a to prepare him for the conflict. Once more 66 Jacob is the source of the twelve tribes, of whom the oracles say that they are "the palace and priesthood of God" (Exod. xix. 6), b thus following in due sequence the thought originated in Shem, in whose houses it was prayed that God might dwell. For surely by "palace" is meant the King's house, which is holy indeed and the only inviolable sanctuary.

Perhaps, however, the words of the prayer refer 67 to Japhet also, that he may make the houses of Shem his resort. For it is well to pray on behalf of him who holds bodily and external advantages to be forms of the good, that he should return to one only, even that which belongs to the soul, and not throughout his whole life fail to gain the true conception, nor think that health or wealth or the like, which are shared by the most wicked and abominable of men, are true goods. No, such participation in the good as is real and true is never found in association with what is worthless, for good by its very nature can have no partnership with evil. And that is why 68 this treasure is laid up in one place only—the soul—for in beauty of soul none of the foolish has part or lot.

This is the prayer which the prophetic scripture declares should be the prayer of the man of worth for anyone c of those who are his familiars—even "return to me" (Gen. xlix. 22)—the prayer that he may return to the mind of him who prays, and, welcoming moral beauty as the only good, leave behind him in the race those conceptions

b In the LXX βασιλείον λεπάτευμα, where βασιλείον no doubt means "royal." Philo's interpretation is, however, grammatically possible.

c Or "describes the man of worth as praying for one" etc.
δόξων παραδράμη περὶ τάγαθου φήμας. ἐν οὖν τοῖς οίκοις τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ λέγοντος μόνον εἶναι τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν κατοικησάτω, παροικήσας ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐπέρων, οἷς καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τετίμηται.

69 Εἰκότως μέντοι καὶ δοῦλον τὸν ἄφρονα τῶν ἀρετῆς μεταποιουμένων ἀνέγραψεν, ἢν ἡ κρεῖττονος ἐπιστασίας ἀξιωθείς ἀμέίνονι βίω χρήσηται ἢ ἐπιμένων τῷ ἁδικεῖν μετ’ εὐμαρείας αὐτοκράτορι ἡγεμόνων ἀρχὴ τῶν δεσποτῶν κολάζηται.
ON SOBRIETY, 68–69

of the good which are voiced by the perversely minded. Let him then dwell in the houses of the soul of him who holds that moral beauty is the only good, and merely sojourn in the houses of the others, who value also bodily and external things.

One point further. It is with good reason that Moses writes down the fool as the slave of them who lay claim to virtue, either that promoted to serve under a higher control he may lead a better life, or that, if he cling to his iniquity, his masters may chastise him at their pleasure with the absolute authority which they wield as rulers.
APPENDIX TO
QUOD DEUS SIT IMMUTABILIS

§ 3. Bounds which the lustral water has consecrated. For this use of περιρραντήρια see De Cher. 96 (and footnote). Below (8) it is used for the purification itself, as in Quod Det. 20.

§ 6. I give him to thee a gift. The stress which Philo lays on δίδωμι and δοτόν suggests that he had in mind a different version of the text from that of the LXX, where, though in v. 27 we have “the Lord gave me my request,” v. 28 runs “I lend him (κιχρώ) to the Lord, a loan (χρησιν) to the Lord.”

§ 14. Multiplied a thousand-fold. For this way of taking μυρία (as sing. fem.) it may be argued that it follows up the thought of η δὲ πολλὴ. On the other hand the words may be a reminiscence of Theaetetus 156 A, where Plato, speaking of the product of the union of τὸ ποιέιν with τὸ πάσχειν, says γίνεται εἰκόνα πλήθει ἀπειρα, in which case it would be better to take μυρία as plur. neut.

§ 18. Some future pleasure. A hit at the Epicureans; see note on Quod Det. 157; cf. also S.V.F. iii. 21.

§ 22. Indeed some maintain, etc. Evidently this refers to the Stoic doctrine of the constancy of the Sage; see quotation from Stobaeus in S.V.F. iii. 548, particularly the words οὐδὲ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲ μετατίθεσθαι οὐδὲ σφάλλεσθαι.

§ 24. Like a lyre. For the figure cf. De Sacr. 37. There is a hint of this thought (which should be distinguished from that of the soul as a harmony) in Rep. 554 f and Laws 653 b.

Ibid. The insertion suggested by Wendland is also advocated by him in De Ebr. 6. But though easy enough it is not required, and would be impossible in Quis Rer. Div. Her.
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207 ff. where τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἑπιστήμην is followed by a long excursus showing the universality of opposites and noting that the doctrine was taught by Heraclitus.

§ 27. So for example, οὕτως, which otherwise seems rather otiose, is perhaps used in the same idiomatic way as in Plato and elsewhere = “without more ado” i.e. “we often just turn from them.”

§ 31. Time. These two sections are reminiscent of Timaeus 37-38 Β, though there time is represented as coming into existence with the universe.

§ 32. The archetype and pattern of time. So in Timaeus 37 Β “so he bethought him to make a moving image of eternity (εἰκὼ κινητὸν αἰώνος) . . . moving according to number, even that which we have called time”; 38 Β time was made after the pattern of the eternal nature (κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς διαωνίας φύσεως).

§ 34. Thought quiescent in the mind. This definition of ἔννοια as ἀποκειμένη νόησις is Stoic (S.V.F. ii. 847). The definition of διανόησις as “thought brought to an issue” or “working out of the thought” is perhaps invented by Philo to fit the διενοήθη of his text. He means presumably that an ἔννοια becomes a διανόησις when it becomes the subject of active deliberation.

§ 43. Like a ring . . . it stamps. There seems some confusion here between the imprint and the power which makes it. This might perhaps be avoided by taking ἐκάστη τῶν αἰσθήσεων as subject to ἐναπεμάξατο.

§ 44. Sometimes of an appropriate kind. Cf. Plut. Adv. Coloten 1122 C τὸ δὲ ὀρμητικόν ἐγειρόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ φανταστικοῦ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία πρακτικῶς κινεῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπον. In adding to “sometimes the reverse,” “this condition of the soul is called ὀρμή,” Philo seems to be writing rather loosely, for when the impression is contrary to the nature of the animal, the resulting impulse was called ἀφορμή (aversion); see S.V.F. iii. 169.

Ibid. First movement. Another name for ὀρμή is φορὰ διανοιας ἐπί τι, while an ἀφορμή is φορὰ διανοιας ἀπὸ τίνος. In using the phrase πρῶτη κίνησις, which does not seem to appear elsewhere in our sources, Philo is perhaps thinking of the πρῶτη ὀρμή of animals defined as the instinct of self-preservation; see Diog. Laert. vii. 88.

§ 46. Mind is the sight of the soul. So Aristot. Top. 17,
APPENDICES

p. 108 a, 11 ως δύς εν ὀφθαλμῳ νοείν εν ψυχῇ, cf. Eth. Nic. i. 6, p. 1096 b 28. The saying is, however, older than Aristotle, who quotes as example of a metaphor from some unknown writer or speaker ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἀνήψεν εν τῇ ψυχῇ (Rhet. iii. 10. 7, p. 1411 b, 73).

Ibid. Something better and purer. i.e. the πέμπτη οὐσία, an idea which, originally Pythagorean, was adopted by Aristotle. Cf. Reid on Cic. Acad. i. 26. It is definitely referred to under that name by Philo, Quis Rer. Div. Her. 283.

§ 53. Laws in the proper sense of the word. Because νόμος is used in a wider sense for custom and the like. So in De Praemiiis 55 νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἡ λόγος προστάτων ἄριθμος καὶ ἀπαγορευόντων ἀ μὴ χρή.

Ibid. Leading statements. Or perhaps “principles.” Cf. 62. Philo can hardly have regarded Balaam’s words in Num. xxiii. 19 as being part of the actual legislation. He thinks of them rather as summing up the ideas upon which the law is based. Thus, in a parallel use of the two texts in De Som. i. 237, they are called “the sole two ways of all the legislation.” Every command or prohibition appeals either to love or fear.


§ 59. The reading ἀποπαυεῖ might seem to be supported by De Plant. 35. But not only are the terms used for the excretory process less offensive there, but any such meaning is practically given here clearly enough by καὶ τὰλλα . . . εἴποιμι. Wendland ultimately (Rhein. Mus. 82, p. 480) proposed παύεται, ἀποπαυσάμενος δὲ, but the ms. ἀποπαυεῖται is quite tenable.

§ 62. As the heavens or the universe. This is partly at least aimed at the Stoics, see Diog. Laert. vii. 148 (S.V.F. i. 164) where Zeno, Chrysippus, and Posidonius are all credited with holding τὸν θλὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανον as being οὐσίαν θεοῦ. Cf. ib. vii. 137.

§§ 65 ff. The thought of these sections has already been brought out in De Cher. 15, but with a different purpose. There it was used to illustrate the truth that the motive of the doer determines whether his action is right or wrong, here to show that falsehood may often be salutary to the
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person to whom it is said. In the note on De Cher. 15 it was pointed out that the thought might be drawn from Rep. 389 b. It should be added that it was adopted by the Stoics, see S.V.F. iii. 554, 555, where the cases of deceiving the sick and the enemy are specially mentioned.

§ 66. He will gladly endure. If the ms. reading is retained and ἀσμενός is taken with ἀπερεῖ, we must understand the latter as = “declines” and might translate the former by “only too gladly.” But the thought is strange. Wendland suggests removing ἀσμενός to a later place in the sentence, but the slight alteration suggested seems to the translator simpler.

§§ 70-73. The argument in these sections is very strange. The discussion in 51-69 would naturally lead up to the first explanation given in Quaest. Gen. i. 95 that the words “I was wroth because I made them” is a hyperbolical way of saying that the sins of men grew so great that they might be expected to anger even Him who knew no anger. But the explanation here given, which appears in an even less intelligible form in the Quaest., is something different. Philo seems to take the words as meaning “it was in anger that I made them,” and to explain them in the sense that since when men do evil, it is due to anger (and similar passions), and since the creation of men has actually resulted in evil, the creation may be said to be due to God’s anger. But not only is the explanation exceedingly strained, but it can only be got by using δὴ in a way not known to those “who settle Hoti’s business.” The suggestion that by putting ἐθύμωθην before δὴ ἐποίησα instead of after it the writer meant to indicate that the wrath was coincident with the creation, instead of after it, is still wilder. There is a strong likeness, which may only be superficial, to Leg. All. ii. 78.

§ 78. A condensed mass of ether. Cf. De Cher. 26, where the sun is φλογὸς πίλημα πολλῆς. That αἰθέριον means “of ether” not “in ether” is shown by Plut. Mor. 928 c (S.V.F. ii. 668). “The Stoics say that τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸ μὲν αὐγοειδὲς . . . οὐρανὸν γεγονὸς, τὸ δὲ πυκνωθέν καὶ συνειληθέν ἀστρα.” So ps.-Justin, Quaest. et Resp. ad Graecos 172 c ὁ ἥλιος πίλημα αἰθερεοειδὲς τῇ οὐσίᾳ.

§ 79. Friend and kinsman. Cf. Timaeus, 45 b, c, where the fire in the eyes is called ἄδελφῳ to that of the daylight
and forms with it ἐν σώμα οἶκειοθέν, whence vision is produced.

§ 84. For the breath, etc. This is the Stoic theory of hearing, cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 158 (S. V. F. ii. 872): “We hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion” (πληττόμενον) (Hicks’s translation). Also the definition in S. V. F. ii. 836 ἀκοή δὲ πνεῦμα διατείνον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔγεμον μεχρὶ ὅτων. For πλήξας cf. the derivation commonly given by ancient philologists, “verbum ab aere verberato.”

Ibid. For the consonance. One may suspect that for γάρ we should read δέ or καί, as we seem to have a second reason for the view that “we hear through a dyad,” founded apparently on Timaeus 80 β, where the two different notes μιὰν έξ οξείας καὶ βαρείας ξυνεκεράσαντο πάθην.

§ 89. Philo’s interpretation of the Nazarite vow has already been partially given in Leg. All. i. 17. When the Nazarite lets his hair grow, it signifies the growth of virtuous thoughts. The contact with the corpse which defiles the Nazarite and interrupts his vow is that temporary contact with spiritual death which may befall even the good. The hair is cut off, that is, the good thoughts are forgotten, but they will grow again. We find again what we have lost and the days of defection are blotted out.

§ 92. Asked him . . . of the source of his knowledge. The genitive (of the subject of the question) after πυνθάνομαι is certainly strange. If we accept “the father of his knowledge”-we must suppose that Philo thinks of a father as being the father of the son’s qualities. Cohn compares “the grandfather of his education,” De Sacr. 43, where see note, and also De Som. i. 47 ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης.

§ 97. Miserable are those. This thought of the fruitlessness of effort, where ability is wanting, has been worked out more fully in De Sacr. 113-117. There, however, one important exception is made. In 115 Philo laid down that moral effort is never wasted. He does not deny this here but confines himself to the practical and intellectual life.

§ 100. Achieve righteousness. A καθήκων or common duty does not become a κατόρθωμα unless done with a right motive and perhaps not even then, unless it is part of a generally virtuous course of conduct; see Zeller, Stoics, p. 265.
§ 101. <τῶν>. This insertion turns this difficult sentence into good sense, i.e. to pay a large sum duly, unless it is done willingly, shows no more real honesty than the admittedly dishonest course of paying some small deposit in the hope of inducing the depositor to entrust some large sum, which the person thus trusted will be able to embezzle. This "confidence trick" has been already mentioned in De Cher. 14, and appears again in De Plant. 101. In the absence of any complete banking-system, the depositing of property with individuals and their honesty and dishonesty in discharging the debt played a great part in commercial life.

§ 108. ἡτίς . . . εαυτῇ. The correction suggested in the footnote has this advantage over Wendland's that the scribe is more likely to have been misled by the repeated χαρίτων than by the repeated τῶν, and that αὐτῇ is a less violent change from εαυτῇ than πηγῇ. For the thought that the ἀγαθότες is itself a χάρις cf. Leg. All. iii. 78, where the ἀγαθότες καὶ χάρις is said to be the ἀρχὴ γενέσεως. For the coupling of προσβυτάτη with χάρις cf. De Cong. 38.

§§ 111-116. This allegory is evidently founded on Gen. xxxix., where in verse 1 of the LXX Potiphar is described as a chief cook and eunuch, while in verse 21 Joseph is said to find favour with the chief gaoler. Philo, of course, takes great liberties with the story, making Joseph an eunuch himself and ignoring the statement that it was the Lord who gave him this favour with the gaoler. Presumably he is so anxious to get an antithesis to Noah's finding favour with God, that he seizes on these words in verse 21, couples them with the convenient parts of the story, viz. that the person who found favour with the gaoler was the slave of the eunuch and instrument of pleasure, and ignores all the rest. It may be said in excuse that by so ignoring them he manages to find a text for a very impressive sermon.

§ 111. [σύλλογοι καὶ]. σύλλογοι is coupled with ἐκκλησία in De Som. ii. 184 (a closely parallel passage), cf. also Leg. All. iii. 81. But "meetings" or "gatherings" does not fit in well with μελετῶνται, and Wendland (who also suggests διάλογοι) may be right in omitting the words. It should be noted, however, the phrase σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ τὴν ἁγορὰν, i.e. gatherings and conversations after the assembly had broken up, actually occurs in Dem. De Falsa Leg. 133. Philo, who often shows a close acquaintance
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with Demosthenes, may have adopted the phrase, though somewhat straining it. If the words are retained we might translate "it is ever the practice to meet and talk of virtue."

§ 129. *Does not use it as its pilot.* Philo has evidently in his mind the similar but much more elaborate parable in *Rep.* 488 b-489 c, where the pilot is the true philosopher, and the inexperienced sailor the politicians, who obtain the mastery of the ship.

§ 135. *Defiles all these.* Philo again treats his text in a very arbitrary way. Instead of the things being cleared out, before the priest enters, to prevent their defilement, they are cleared out because they are defiled.

§§ 155 and 156. The contrast between the earthly and the heavenly goods is expressed in the allegory of the well-water and the rain. The former is earthly, scanty, obtained by labour; the latter heavenly, abundant, and showered on us without effort of our own. To labour for the former is an *érgon dúseλπιστία* because it shows that we lack the higher hope. For *dúseλπιστία* cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 164. Elsewhere, as in *De Post.* 136 ff. and *De Ebr.* 112 ff., the figure of the well calls up more favourable ideas to Philo.

§§ 162-165. Here we have, of course, Aristotle’s doctrine of the Mean, *cf.* particularly *Eth. Nic.* ii. 6 and 7, where both Philo’s first two examples are given. *Cf.* *De Mig.* 147, where the doctrine is ascribed to the "gentle and sociable philosophy," meaning apparently the Peripatetic.

§ 167. *Its essential nature.* Observe how closely this peculiarly Aristotelian expression (*τό τί ήν ελει* ) follows on the Aristotelian doctrine of the Mean.

§ 176. *The best of constitutions, democracy.* Philo several times speaks in this way of democracy (*De Agr.* 45, *De Conf.* 108, *De Abr.* 242, *De Spec. Leg.* iv. 237, *De Virt.* 180). In three of these places he contrasts it with ochlocracy, or mob-rule, while in *De Conf.* he gives as its ruling characteristic that it honours equality. He does not seem to have got this view, at any rate of the name democracy, from the schools. Neither Plato nor Aristotle speak of it with such favour, and the Stoics held that the best form of government was a mixture of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy (Diog. Laert. vii. 131). Here apparently the democracy which the world enjoys consists in each getting its turn.

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§ 13. But contribute nothing to the improvement of character. The δσα implies that some parts of dialectic and mathematics do contribute something. With regard to dialectic, this is explained in the sequel. With regard to "geometry," apart from its use as a προπαίδευμα, Philo would probably have held that, as it included arithmetic, the lore of sacred numbers gave it a higher and spiritual value. This appears very markedly in the disquisition on Four in this treatise.

§ 14. With its threefold division. This fundamental Stoic doctrine is given in Diog. Laert. vii. 40, with the same illustration as here. Another comparison given there and elsewhere is to the egg-shell, the white and the yolk. See Leg. All. i. 57 and note.

§ 41. They are the only real kings. For this well-known Stoic paradox see S. V. F. iii. 617 ff.; cf. De Sobr. 57.

§ 43. Uneven. This word perhaps gives the idea better than "superfluous." περίσσος is the regular name for "odd" numbers, i.e. those which are something over and above the right or even numbers (ἄρτιος). Other passages in which Jethro is described (De Ebr. 37 and De Mut. 103) were referred to in the note on De Sacr. 50, where, however, the translation "worldling" was perhaps too loose.

§ 73. οἰκώσιτος. Here and in De Plant. 104 Philo uses this word in a disparaging way, which does not appear in the examples quoted from other authors. Usually it means "living at his own expense." There is, however, an approach to it in Lucian, Somn. 1, where it is applied to a youth who is not yet earning his own living.

§ 80. Sense-perception made pure and clean. In Leg. All. ii. 66 and iii. 103, Miriam stood for rebellious sense.

§ 81. So we find. Here γοίν as often introduces the scriptural story on which the allegory is founded, the main point of which is the concluding words "horse and rider he threw
into the sea.” But there is also an allusion to the opening words, “Then sang Moses and the sons of Israel,” which, as usual, he interprets as “those who see.” The contrast, however, between “all the men” or “all that are men,” and “the best women” is curious, for in Ex. xv. 20 all the women sing the song. Perhaps Philo’s memory of the passage misled him.

§ 94. For these are able, etc. There seems to be an illogically in the sequel. The prayer which follows is not as we should expect, that the horseman should be able to control the horse, but that he should fall off. The best one can make of it is that, though it is meritorious to control passion, complete safety lies in getting rid of it.

§§ 95 ff. The parable of Dan has already been worked out in Leg. All. ii. 94 ff. The principal difference is that there the way (which as here is distinguished from the track) is the soul itself, instead of the road on which the soul travels.

§ 114. An iron-bound thong. The use in boxing of the caestus or leathern thong loaded with lead or iron is best known from the description in Aen. v. 405 ff. Mr. Whitaker’s ingenious suggestion of σιδηρού τρόπον for σιδηρού τρόπον (“like iron”) may perhaps be questioned on the ground that τρόπος is the thong used for fastening the oar to the thole. But it may have been used more generally, and if so gives an excellent sense. The construction of the ordinary reading is not quite clear.—F. H. C.

§ 119. The Olympic contest, etc. Perhaps rather “the only Olympic contest which can be rightly called sacred is” etc. Philo plays on Ὄλυμπιακός (derived from Olympia) and Ὄλυμπιος (from Olympus).

§§ 128, 129. The view that God causes good only is often insisted on by Philo, e.g. De Op. 75, and De Plant. 53. The thought is Platonic; see Timaeus, 29, 30 and 40, 41, Rep. 379 b, c, and elsewhere.

§ 132. ὑπαναπλέουσαν. Mangey’s conjecture of ἐπαναπολήσαν has some support from De Post. 149 ἐκ τῆς ἐπαναπολήσεως καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπιλεάνσεως τῆς πρώτου καταβληθείσης τροφῆς. Cf. also ἀναπολῶν, Spec. Leg. iv. 107. On the other hand we have ὑπαναιλεῖ, De Mut. 100.

§ 134. For what use is there . . . “partless”? The translation assumes that διαίρεσις is futile, because we ultimately arrive at a closed door. If we read ἀδιαίρετα, it is futile, because
we never arrive at a point where division ceases. In this case Philo adopts the doctrine of the infinite divisibility of matter, which was generally held though not without controversy (see Reid on Cic. Acad. i. 27). The same sense might perhaps be obtained by retaining διαιρετά, and taking it as "never finding before you (as a result of your division) separate parts which are called atoms." It should be noted that this philosophical evidence of the futility of διαίρεσις is merely subsidiary. The true reason, i.e. its moral uselessness, if unaccompanied by meditation, is given in 135.

§§ 140, 141. The grammatical and logical terms of the Stoics, here given, are nearly all stated (generally under the same names) by Diog. Laert. vii. 64-76, with examples which explain their meaning clearly. These are here given for the cases in which explanation is needed (Hicks's translation is used throughout).

Complete (τέλεια, D.L. αὐτο­τελή)—

"Socrates writes."

Incomplete (ἀτελή, D.L. ελ­λιπή)—

"Writes," for we ask "who writes?"

Questions (ἐρωτήματα)—

"Is it day?"

Inquiries (πόσματα)—

"Where does he live?"

Simple propositions (ἀξιώματα άπλα)—

"It is day."

Non-simple (οὐχ άπλὰ)—

"If it is day, it is light."

Hypothetical (συνημμένα, as subdivision of the οὐχ άπλὰ)—

"If it is day, it is light."

Inferential (παρασυνημμένα)—

"Since it is day, it is light."

Indicating more or less (τὰ διασαφώντα τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον).—

"It is rather daytime than night," or

Disjunctive (διεξευγμένα)—

"Either it is day or it is night."

Predicate (κατηγόρημα) was defined as "what is said of something"; in other words, "a thing associated with one
or more subjects”; or “a defective expression which has to be joined on to a nominative case in order to yield a judgement” (ἀξίωμα).

Complements (συμβάματα). The words in D.L. which deal with this are corrupt. Apparently the term means a verb requiring a nominative subject, and therefore is identical with κατηγορήματα, according to the third definition given above. It is opposed to παρασυμβάματα, where the verb is impersonal and the real subject is in another case, as μεταμέλει μοι, “it repents me” = “I repent.”

§ 142. Smooth movement. An Epicurean term (cf. note on De Post. 79), introduced here by Philo for a play on λειανόσω, and qualified by τό διντι to show that he uses it in a higher sense than the Epicureans.

§ 145. Heinemann proposed in preference to Wendland’s suggestion καί yap διαιρέσις ανευ μνήμης καί μελέτη ανευ διεξόδου των ἁριστων. No doubt μελέτη may be taken as the equivalent of μνήμη, but διεξόδος can hardly be equivalent to διαιρέσις. Perhaps the following adaptation of Wendland’s might be read: καί γαρ διαιρέσις ανευ μνήμης καί μελέτη καί διεξόδου των ἁριστων ἁγαθον ἀτελες, ἃσαυτως Δ μνήμη ανευ διαιρέσεως ἀτελες, in which the repetition of ἀτελες may have misled the scribe.

§ 160. Solidity. The term πῆξις is Stoic, see S. V. F. iii. 510. The life of ὁ προκόπτων only becomes really happy ὅταν αἱ μέσαι πράξεις ἀτιμία πῆξιν τινά λάβωσι.

§ 161. Unconscious of their wisdom. διαλεληθότες again is a Stoic term, though used rather of the fully wise, who do not yet realize their conversion, than, as here, of the man advancing to perfection; see S. V. F. iii. 539, 540.
APPENDIX TO DE PLANTATIONE

§ 3. Mr. Whitaker had left "ride upon" for ὀχείσθαι, and this is the natural meaning of the word; but the sequel shows that the fire rides upon the air, and the earth contains the water in its hollows (§ 10). At the same time the translation here substituted, "be held by," is not quite satisfactory. Probably ὀχείσθαι is corrupt. Some word indicating juxtaposition (διόροον κείσθαι?) seems to be needed.—F. H. C.

§ 6. Perfect parts. Cf. Quod Det. 154 and note, in which the dependence of this thought on Timaeus 32 c was pointed out.

§ 10. Masterpiece of literature. Or perhaps "literature." It seems to the translators doubtful whether Mangey, whom Wendland followed, was justified in substituting φωνή. The phrase ἐγγ. φωνή, cf. De Agr. 136, means speech which is capable of being analysed into the sounds which are represented by the γράμματα, and ἐγγ. μοσική will mean the same, except that while φωνή contemplates the letters as used for speech in general, μοσική contemplates them as used for the higher purpose of literary expression. The thought is enriched by the word; the action of the Logos in creating out of discordant στοιχεία the harmony of the Cosmos is compared with the way in which the στοιχεία of sound combine to form the medium by which we express our highest thoughts.

§ 29. The insertion of εἰς will no doubt make the construction easier, if we may assume that αἰσθήσεις can mean the organs of sense. But this seems doubtful (the passages in L. & S. 1927 quoted for it seem rather to mean the senses themselves as localized). Without εἰς the passage can be translated "taking our body, like some deep-soiled plot, as tree-beds, he made the senses for it," though it is true that we should have expected δὲξαμενή.—F. H. C.

§ 33. To say nothing of the fact, etc. This sense can no
doubt be obtained by excluding τῷ. But the combination in a single sentence of two such disparate thoughts, as (1) that the cause cannot be contained in the caused, (2) that the trees do not bear fruits, is odd. As there is admittedly some corruption, perhaps we may extend that corruption a little further and suppose that a fresh sentence and subject begins after περιέχεσθαι. It has been shown that God does not dwell in gardens; we now go on to show that He does not need the fruit. As a guess one might suggest φώμεν δὲ for τῷ μηδὲ, i.e. "And are we to say forsooth that the trees (as they would if they were really trees) bear yearly fruit?" Who then will eat them?—F. H. C.

§ 41. That is to say . . . irrational creatures. The ms. text and also the suggestions of Cohn and Mangey involve making the ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις the recipients of the privilege denied to the irrational creatures. But clearly the ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις represent the tilling of the garden and themselves constitute the privilege. The reading adopted brings out this meaning with no more departure from the manuscripts than the transplacement of ἐστὶν and the omission of οὖν. Wendland's proposal of ἀλ γοῦν ἀρετὴς δεκτικαὶ φύσεις, for ἀλ ὁν ἀσκήσεις τε καὶ χρήσεις, would give much the same sense, but with more drastic alteration, and the phrase ἀσκήσεις καὶ χρήσεις has every appearance of being genuine.

§ 61. For separation. Or "for dismissal" as R.V. in margin. Mr. Whitaker had intended to correct his translation in Leg. All. ii. 52 from "avter of evil" to this, though that is the usual meaning of the word. Whatever the LXX actually meant, the interpretation which follows here (cf. also De Post. 72) seems to show that Philo took the word in this passive sense, and to this he would be guided by the parallel phrase in Lev. xvi. 10 ὥστε ἐξαποστειλαί αὐτὸν εἰς ἀποπομπήν.—F. H. C.

§ 73 ff. The curious distortion of the story of Genesis which follows has this much excuse, that the accusative after φυτεύω would naturally mean the thing planted, whereas the LXX uses it for the soil, which again would naturally be expressed by the dative following ἐπὶ. The A.V. has "grove" in place of the LXX "field" or "hide"; the R.V. has "tamarisk tree."

§ 76. 10,000 is the end. Apparently because Greek has
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no name for higher numbers, except such as are compounded with \( \mu \nu \rho \iota \) or lower numbers.

Ibid. If we adhere to the line of progress, etc. Literally “according to the first arrangement (or “series”).” The word “first” is obscure. Possibly it may mean the series 1, 2, 3, etc., other secondary series being 1, 3, 5, etc., and 2, 4, 6, etc. The former would not reach 10,000, and the latter does not start from 1.

§ 93. Though by special grace, etc. An afterthought; no such reservation is made in 79-84.

§ 94. Natural duties. Or, as it has been rendered in earlier passages, “simple” or “common” or “daily” duties.

§ 95. Its crop. In 137, however, Philo seems to take \( \alpha \upsilon \theta \nu \) as referring to the Lord, i.e. “what He has produced.” But it would be quite in his manner to regard it as having both meanings.

§ 100. Indifferent. Or “belonging to the lower or preliminary stage,” as in 94. For the phrase cf. De Sacr. 43.

§ 101. Debtors or slaves. I.e. if anyone, slave or freeman, has entrusted a friend with some piece of property, he should retain it, if otherwise it will be seized by the master of the former, or the creditor of the latter. Heinemann would read \( \chi \rho \epsilon \omega \sigma \tau \alpha \delta \omega \lambda \upsilon \upsilon \), but it is improbable that slaves were entrusted in this way and surely impossible that debtors should be. For the remarks that follow cf. note on Quod Deus 101.

§ 106. A desire that good, etc. A verbatim quotation of the Stoic definition of \( \varepsilon \upsilon \nu \omicron \omicron \alpha \), see S. V. F. iii. 432.

§ 110. Philo oddly perverts the story of Jacob and the rods. It looks as if he took the words which follow the text which he quotes \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \ \tau \eta \nu \ \alpha \pi \delta \ \tau \omicron \upsilon \ \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \tau \sigma \sigma \\
\leuv \nu \rho \iota \nu \nu \kappa \iota \lambda \omicron \nu \) to mean “the spotted appeared white” instead of the opposite.

§ 111. By way of leaving behind us bodily concerns. The case of \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \ ) is strange, and the thought, though in itself quite Philonic, seems alien to the context. Perhaps read \( \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \ \tau \eta \nu \ \alpha \pi \delta \ \tau \omicron \upsilon \ \sigma \omega \mu \alpha \tau \sigma \sigma \ \nu \delta \eta \nu \ \pi \alpha \iota \iota \upsilon \nu \ \\
k\lambda \), i.e. “Just as the variegatedness leaves the body of the leper, so we,” etc.

§ 118. The soul’s chiefest good, etc. This passage, like De Op. 53, is evidently dependent on the eulogy of light in Timaeus 47 \( \Lambda \), see particularly, “Day and night . . . and months and years and the revolution of the years have
created number . . . and from these we have derived philosophy, than which no greater good has come . . . to mortal men ” (Archer-Hind’s translation).

The correction ἄγαθον for the senseless ἀπάτη has been universally accepted. But such a foolish corruption is strange. Is it possible that ἄκος ἀπάτης or some such phrase may have stood originally?

§ 123. “All” or “totality.” A Pythagorean idea, cf. Aristot. Met. i. 5, 968 a, “ten is thought to be perfect and to embrace the whole nature of number”; see Zeller, Pre-socratic Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 428. What applies to 10 applies to 4 also, since 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10. Philo is also probably thinking of the words πᾶς ὁ καρπός in his text from Leviticus.

§ 129. The family of the Muses, etc. Philo seems to be giving a spiritualized form of the legend in Hesiod, Theog 50 f., where Zeus lay for nine nights with Mnemosyne, who after a year bore the Nine Muses at a birth. πάμμουσον frequently means “very musical” but one can hardly help supposing that here there is an allusion to “all the Muses.”

§ 137. His products. See note on “its crop,” § 95.

§ 139. And concerning the number 4. The sense given in the translation can no doubt be obtained by merely omitting the καὶ before ἄ, and taking συνεκροτεῖτο in a rather unusual sense. But the phrasing is odd. The genitive τῶν ἄθλων cannot be governed by φερομένης, and must be taken as partitive, “those of the prizes which.” If we retain καὶ, we might perhaps translate “and about the things which were enjoined,” but the genitive τῶν ἄθλων then is unintelligible, as Wendland felt, who suggested for it (τὰ πρεσβεία) τῶν ἀριθμῶν.

But there is another possibility. The treatise up to now has consisted of three parts; the husbandry of God (1-73), the husbandry of the wise man (74-92), and the husbandry of the ordinary (progressing) man (93-138). In this last the number four was merely incidental. It seems possible that φερομένης like ἐπομένης agrees with γεωργίας, and that the meaning is the “husbandry which wins the prize assigned to four.” No doubt some corruption must be assumed to get such a meaning, but the following might be tentatively suggested: τῆς φερομένης τετράδος τῷ ἄθλῳ, ἥ κατά, κτλ. The last words will then mean “the husbandry which was trained (or ” worked “) according to the injunc-
tions and directions of the law." This would give quite a usual sense to συνεκροτείτο. The "working" or "train­ing" has been described in 100 ff.—F. H. C.

§ 142. Cf. Plutarch, De Garrulitate 4 (= 503) r. καὶ μήποτε τὸ ἕγαμον παρὰ τοὺς φιλόσοφους λύων ὁ ποιητὴς συνώσεως καὶ μέθης διαφοράν εἴρηκεν, συνώσεως μὲν ἀνέσιν μέθης δὲ φλυαρλαν . . οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι καὶ δριζόμενοι τὴν μέθην λέγουσιν εἶναι λήρησιν πάροινον· οὔτως οὐ ἡεϊται τὸ πίνειν, εἷ προσείη τῷ πίνειν τῷ σιωπᾶν· ἀλλ' ἡ μωρολογία μέθην ποιεῖ τὴν σιννωσιν. (Ibid. 504 B.)

"We may, indeed, believe that these lines of the poet a give the solution of the question discussed in the philosophic schools as to the distinction between mellowness and intoxication: mellowness produces unbending, but drunkenness foolish twaddling.

"In fact the philosophic definition of intoxication calls it 'silly talk in one's cups.' The blame, therefore, is not for drinking, if one can drink and yet at the same time hold his tongue. It is the foolish talk that converts mellowness into drunkenness" (Tucker's translation).

§ 145. "The others." I.e. those described in 143. Arnim would render "others," making a third class who are distin­guished from the first, in that they regard drunkenness as venial in the exceptional circumstances described in 146. But all that is stated there is that the wise man may be occasionally forced to relax his general rule of avoiding all occasions of heavy drinking, and this is not incompatible with the view stated in § 143.

§ 163. "After sacrificing." This derivation is ascribed to Aristotle by Athenaeus, Epit. ii. p. 40 c.

§ 165. Etymology. Arguments like this and the preceding one were a recognized method of proof both in philosophy and rhetoric. Cf. Cicero, Topica 35 and Academica i. 32 (with Reid's note). The first proof, though of a very similar kind, would perhaps have been classed rather as an argument "from definition."

§ 171. Right feelings. Arnim takes this Stoic term (εὐπάθειαι) as supporting his contention that the disputant is a Stoic. But apart from the fact that the word is a favourite with Philo, Arnim himself notes that much of the Stoic "jargon" had become common property.

a Homer, Odyssey, xiv. 468 ff.
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§ 172. Arnim connects this argument with the strict Stoic view (a) that every good thing has its opposite evil; (b) that all good things belong solely to the wise man, and all bad things to the fool; (c) that what is neither good nor bad (άδιάφορον) is shared by both, and therefore its opposite must be shared by both. From this he argues that the ascription of this statement to οἱ προτέροι shows that the disputant is a Stoic, since a member of an opposite school would not use such a form of words (“our predecessors”). If, however, it is assumed that the writer is a free lance, the argument seems doubtful. Moreover, the phrase ὡς ὁ τῶν προτέρων Χούος only applies to the statement that good and bad share soberness, and Arnim adduces no proof that this is Stoic.

§ 173. Inartistic. Cf. Aristot. Rhetoric i. 15. So called because “they are not due to the artist’s inventive skill, but are supplied to him from the outside, as it were, of his art” (Cope). The other four are laws, documents, questions by torture, oaths.

§§ 176 ff. This argument is stated by Seneca in Ep. 83 as having been put forward by Zeno, and Seneca refutes it in exactly the same way as it is refuted here. He proceeds to deal in the same way with another defence of Zeno’s argument, propounded by Posidonius, and then lays it down that the true way of proving the folly of drunkenness is to show its evil consequences—the loss of mental and bodily control, and the grave mischief which history shows that it has so often caused. If the suggestion made in Note (p. 211) to the Introduction is right, viz. that another speech followed, putting the case from the point of view of one who held that “the wise man will not get drunk,” it may very possibly have followed these lines.
§ 2. Sometimes he gives opposite orders. In Numb. vi. 3 the Nazarite during the period of his vow is forbidden wine. In v. 20 the LXX has “he shall drink it,” which Philo takes for a command.

§ 4. The ms. text, as Adler points out, gives better sense than Wendland’s correction (following Mangey). It is difficult to give any meaning to “the gladness which embraces the rest,” and below επιθυμία is the cause of ἀπληστία, not, as Wendland would make it, a synonym.

§ 12. For the reading ἐκδίδοϋσαι see Adler, Wiener Studien 44, p. 220. Apart from its superior ms. authority, it makes better sense; ἀπαιδευσία is not the source of all actions, as the other reading implies.

§ 14. Riotous liver. The odd word συμβολοκοπώ, which is apparently only found in the LXX and Apocrypha, is rightly enough traced by Philo to the συμβολαι or contributions which the feaster paid. The origin of the depreciatory suffix -κοπ. is obscure. Philo attempts to account for it after his usual manner in 23. Other similar formations are φαντασιοκοπεῖν, δωροκοπεῖν, πορνοκοπεῖν.

§ 21. Complete irregularity of life. Philo several times uses ἐκδιαιτησίς and its verb for the rejecting of what is required by the moral sense of the community. Thus the setting up of the golden calf is felt by the tribe of Levi to be an ἐκδιαιτησίς, De Spec. Leg. iii. 126, and violation of the Sabbath may become ἀρχή τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιαιτήσεως, De Som. ii. 123. The verb has occurred in De Gig. 21.

§ 30. “Father and mother,” etc. I.e. the terms may be used in the figurative sense given in this section, or in the other figurative sense given in 33, as well as literally. Or possibly the meaning of the sentence may be that, while in the text from
Deuteronomy the father and mother are grouped together, as acting in concert, their functions are really different.

§ 31. Obtained. The LXX has εκτισε instead of εκτήσατο. Ryle (Philo and Holy Scripture, p. 296) points out that Philo's word is a more accurate translation of the Hebrew and is actually used by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. He suggests that εκτισε may have resulted from a corrupt εκτήσατο.

§ 33. The disciples, who have followed in their company. The parable implied is that God and His wisdom are in the truest sense the parents of mankind (as included in the All). Reason and convention have been trained by the divine Pair to be the educators of mankind and thus stand to them in a sense as parents also.

§§ 36-64. The depreciation of the "feminine" element of convention in these sections cannot altogether be reconciled with the high estimate of it in 80-92. The best we can say for it is that Philo regards this "maternal" influence as good or bad, according as it is supported and regulated, or not, by the "paternal."

§ 42. Is not the Maker, etc. The argument is "God should be known to us from the beginning" (1) because He is the father of all, (2) because He presides at (belongs to) the beginning. It would be stated more logically if we transposed ἀρχηγέτης and ὁ κτίστης, "Is not the Maker of the Universe its ἀρχηγέτης and Father?" Indeed this meaning might be got, though somewhat unnaturally, out of the text as it stands, if we take καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ with ἀρχηγέτης as predicate instead of coupling it with ὁ κτίστης.

§ 48. The timeless also exists in nature. Literally "there are also timeless natures." Philo is here as often (e.g. De Plant. 120) contrasting the "physical" (in his sense) with the ethical. But the thought is obscure. Perhaps it is something as follows. The dealings of God (here identified with nature) are timeless and therefore the "Practiser" will neglect time-order and look to order in value and thus desire to pass from the lower to the higher (νεώτερος and πρεσβύτερος passing as often from the sense of precedence in time to that of precedence in value).

Ibid. The laws of human character. Or the department of thought which deals with human conduct; ἡθοποιός, literally "forming conduct" seems here to be used for ἡθικός. Cf.
Wendland wished to read ἡθικός, but the usage, though perhaps rare, is natural enough, as Greek philosophy holds that right conduct must be based on ethics, and conversely that a knowledge of ethics will produce right conduct.

§ 51. This section seems to mean that Philo was familiar with cases where those whose education in the Encyclopaedia had been neglected were at pains to repair the loss in later life. This is perhaps not surprising. The Encyclopaedia, or at least its most important elements γραμματική and rhetoric, were more studied by adults and entered more into the life of the upper classes than our school subjects do with us, and a man might well feel at a loss in good society without them. That Philo regards such a return to the Encyclopaedia as a retrograde step follows from his peculiar view of them. Taken at the proper time, i.e. in boyhood, they are almost indispensable as an introduction to philosophy. Taken later, they are mere vanity and thus at the end of 52 they are equated with "external goods."

Ibid. Left the right path. Or "missed their way," "gone where no road is." The phrase ἀνοδία χρήσθαι has occurred in De Agr. 101.

§ 56. Discoursing with herself. Rachel's answer to Laban is regarded as symbolizing the admission which every reflecting soul must make to itself of its inability to rise up against the "outward goods" which Laban represents. In using διαλόγους thus, Philo may have been influenced by Plato, Soph. 263 ο ο μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν διάλογος ἀνεῦ φωνῆς γιγνόμενος τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἡμῖν ἐπωνομάσθη διάνοια.

§ 70. The uttered word. For the Stoic distinction between λόγος προφορικός (speech) and λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (thought) see note on De Gig. 52. The latter, not the former, distinguishes men from animals, for ravens and parrots speak (S. V. F. ii. 135); still speech is nearer to the mind than the senses are.

§ 73. The treatment of the story differs considerably from that in Leg. All. iii. 242, De Post. 183, De Mut. 108. There the woman is pleasure or passion and the man is ignored; and the piercing through the "mother-part" is to prevent her engendering further evil. Here the woman is the belief which ascribes causation to creation itself, the man the ideas.
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or reasonings based on this belief, and the piercing through the womb is to show that no real power of bearing belongs to creation. Philo is of course assisted by δόξα being feminine, and λογισμός masculine.

§ 74. Adler aptly supports the ms. reading by τοῖς κοίνοις ἀνθρώπων ἔθεσιν ἀλίσκονται 68. But it must be admitted that this use of πρὸς for "belonging to" "like" is strange, if not, as Wendland says, impossible. Such phrases as πρὸς γυναῖκος ἐστι (regularly followed by the verb "to be," expressed or understood) are hardly parallel.

§ 84. For if you have learnt . . . mother. Adler points out that these words also as well as the quotation which follows are reminiscent of Proverbs. Cf. i. 8, "My son, hear the instructions of thy father and forsake not the laws (λῆκκος ἀπόστροφος) of thy mother."

§ 88. Art of arts. So ἀρετή is a τέχνη περί ὁλου τοῦ βίου (S. V. F. i. 560, where we have the Stoic doctrine that the wise man does all things which he undertakes well).

§ 95. Aggressor in wickedness. The exact meaning of ἀναπεπιβαίνειν is doubtful: clearly it is an antithesis to imitating their virtue. Perhaps "to go further and trample on them." Mangey translated it by "praevaticari."

Ibid. Vanity most honoured among the Egyptians. I.e. Apis, which Philo identifies with the Calf of Ex. xxxii. He is also thinking of Aaron's words in v. 4. The phrase "vanity of the Egyptians" recurs several times in Philo, generally with allusion to this incident.

§ 98. And he said. I.e. Moses, as the interpretation shows; see next note.

§ 98. Personal experience . . . the one who watches the course of events. In this interpretation Joshua and Moses apparently represent two aspects of the man's self. He feels the inward tumult, and then the reasoning side of his nature (the Moses in us) interprets the true cause. This reasoning side is identified with the Holy Word in 104.

§ 113. The full text of Numb. xxii. 17-18 should be compared with Philo's interpretation. ἐξάρχετε αὐτῷ φρέαρ, ὦρυζαν αὐτῷ ἄρχοντες ἐξελατόμησαν αὐτῷ βασιλείς ἐθνῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ κυριεύσαι αὐτῶν. The ἐξάρχετε of this is reproduced by ἐξάρχει in the previous section, and a comparison with De Vita Mosis i. 256 suggests that he interprets ὦρυζαν by searching for or finding wisdom (ἀναζητήσαι, in
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V.M. εὑρεσις) and ἐλατόμησαν by building it up (κατασκευασθαι, in V.M. κατασκευή), while “conquered” represents ἐν τῷ κυριεύσαν αὐτῶν.

§§ 114-118. In the original the captains have made the roll-call of their men and no one has failed to answer (διαπεφώνηκεν). In the allegory the aspirants to spiritual power (this is based on the description of them as καθεσταμένοι εἰς τὰς χιλιαρχιᾶς τῆς δυνάμεως, v. 48) make themselves masters (εἴληφασι) of the opposing forces of false courage. These, under the influence of the higher nature, are reduced to the mean, i.e. true courage, and thus none “is at discord.” This, which, though not the meaning of the LXX, is the natural meaning of the word, serves to connect the passage with the other songs of victory. Cf. De Conf. 55.

This rendering assumes the “captains” to be the antecedent of οὓς. It would make better sense to make λόγους the antecedent, for then πολεμικοῖς would be equated with the πολεμιστῶν of Numbers. We should have, however, then to take δυσὶν ἀντιτεταγμένους τέλεσιν as “arranged in two battalions”—an unnatural use of the dative.

§ 115. Two battalions. Combined with this military sense of τέλος there is perhaps the thought of the philosophical sense “purposes,” “motives.”

§ 132. Copies. It will be observed that εἰκόνες is used in a different sense to that of 134. The literal tabernacle and altar are both εἰκόνες (or symbols) of their spiritual counterparts. The spiritual altar is an εἰκών of the spiritual temple in the philosophical sense of the theory of ideas. But perhaps ταύτα stands for the phenomenal world in general, in which case we have the philosophical use or something like it.

§ 134. This section seems to the translator to raise difficult questions which he is unable to answer with any confidence, and leaves to some more accomplished Platonist. The tabernacle is generic virtue, the altar is the particular virtues, which one would naturally suppose to be the ordinary four, justice, temperance, etc. In what sense are these (a) perceptible by the senses yet (b) never actually perceived by them? The answer to (a) may perhaps be that by the particular virtues he does not mean the specific virtues in the abstract, but the manifestations of them in particular persons. This will agree with De Cher. 5, where the particular and specific virtues (ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ’ εἶδος) are contrasted with generic
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virtue, and then these particular virtues are defined as "virtues in the I," and therefore perishable, because the "I" is perishable! If this is so, what is the answer to (b)? Is it that while these virtues are conceivable in the individual, they are never realized? This hardly seems satisfactory.

The question between ἰδέας acc. plur. (Wendland and Cohn) and ἰδέας gen. sing. (Adler) may be argued as follows. For the acc. it may be said that Philo uses the word in a loose sense for the νοητὰ θεωρήματα of 132. Both generic and specific virtues belong to a different order of things from the material altar and tabernacle. Or again, if Philo means the specific virtues in the abstract, are not these also ἰδεῖαι, as well as the generic, which is their ἰδέα? On the other hand, the genitive is strongly suggested by the antithesis to αἰσθητῆ εἰκόν and the similar antithesis in 137.

§ 142. Right reason which is identical with law. This glorification of νόμος is definitely Stoic; see S. V. F. iii. 613.

§ 146. παρακινεῖν. As Adler points out, Philo is thinking of Phaedrus 249 ν, where the truly inspired (ἐνθουσιάζων) is reproved by the many as παρακινῶν.

§ 150. Hard day. Adler's suggestion that ἡμέρα means "(and at the same time) easy" finds some support in the quotation from Hesiod. But there is no such suggestion in the varlet's words. It must be remembered that Philo found the phrase in the LXX and did not invent it. We need not suppose that he gave ἡμέρα any definite meaning, or again he may have interpreted it as "a day's journey." And if he really found in it any such edifying suggestion, as Adler supposes, he would surely have enlarged upon it.

§ 157. Reason . . . unreason. The translator is baffled, as often, by the way in which Philo combines and intertwines λόγος as "reason" or "thought" with λόγος as "speech." He is working out the idea of soul-sight (intuition) and soul-hearing (learning by instruction). The latter may be equated with λόγος "reason," but as we learn through words it may also be equated with λόγος "word" and this is indicated by the antithesis of τοῖς λεγομένοις and τὰ δύνα in § 158.

§ 158. Mis-seeing or mis-hearing. Cf. S. V. F. iii. 548 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρορῶν οὐδὲ παρακοῦει νομίζουσι τὸν σοφὸν.

§ 170. There are many reasons for this. Here begins Philo's version of the "tropes of Aenesidemus," see Anal. Intr. pp. 314 f. It should be noted that Philo omits two of the
ten tropes, as they are stated by Sextus Empiricus (Pyrrh. Hyp. i. 36 f.) and Diogenes Laertius ix. 79-88. These two are (a) the differences in the sensations produced by different senses in the same individual, e.g. honey is pleasant to the taste, but unpleasant to the eye, (b) the different feelings produced by the same recurrence according to its rarity or frequency, e.g. when earthquakes are common they do not cause any excitement.

Ibid. In the first place. The first trope is called by Sextus (Pyrrh. Hyp. i. 36) "that of the variety in animals" (ὁ παρὰ τῆν τῶν ζώων ἡγήν), the argument being that, as animals are constructed so differently, we must suppose that the impressions which the same object gives them are different.

§ 172. Those who form judgements. The tropes were classified according as the difference of impressions arises from something in the subject who forms the impression (τὸ κρίνον) or from the object which creates the impression (τὸ κρινόμενον), or from both combined (Sextus, ibid. 38). The first, second, and third as given by Philo belong to the first class, the fifth to the second, and the other four to the third.

§§ 172-174. The introduction of these examples, which have no parallel in Sextus or Diogenes, is quite illogical. Clearly there is no suggestion that the polypus, chameleon, and elk receive different impressions. If germane at all they should come under the trope of "position," etc. (181) But with the exception of the dove's neck, the examples have no bearing on the argument, since these changes of "camouflage" are supposed to be actual changes. Philo, or the source from which he drew, was attracted by the interest of these supposed changes in the animal world and could not refrain from noticing them in a passage which deals with animals. That the illogicality did not altogether escape him is shown by his remarking that they belong to the κρινόμενα, not to the κρινόντα.

§ 173. The dove's neck. A common example with the "bent oar" of an illusion (see Reid on Acad. ii. 79). Sextus (ibid. 120) and Diogenes ix. 86 rightly give it under "position," but ascribe the change to the way the neck is turned (Lucr. ii. 801, like Philo, to the sun's ray).

§ 175. Impossibility of apprehension. This leading term of the Sceptics, properly speaking, applies to the object
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which cannot be apprehended, but came to signify their general doctrine. Hicks (Diog. Laert. ix. 61) translates it "agnosticism."

*Ibid.* Secondly. The second trope, called by Sextus ὁ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφοράν (*ibid.* 79). While the variety in animals was a prima facie ground for thinking that the animal man was liable to a similar instability of impressions, this is supposed to need special proof, which this trope gives.

*Ibid.* Not only do their judgements. I.e. of the same people. Wendland's proposed insertion of οἱ αὐτοὶ in contrast to έτεροι is unnecessary, though "the same" is implied. The changes in animals just mentioned being all in the same animal, suggest that there are analogous mental changes in individual men. This, however, belongs to the third trope and is only mentioned in passing, before we pass to the subject of the second trope.

§ 176. ἔπισπασάμενοι seems elsewhere, as in De Gig. 44, to suggest using influence or force to attract. Adler's ἀσπασάμενοι would be more natural; but there is hardly sufficient reason for the change. Perhaps ἔπασπασάμενοι. The word is only quoted from the 6th century A.D., but there are such things as ἄπαξ εἰρημένα in Philo.

§ 178. The third trope (Sextus's fourth), called by him ὁ παρὰ τὰς περιστάσεις, *ibid.* 100.

§ 181. The fourth trope (fifth in Sextus, who uses the same phrase as here, ὁ παρὰ τὰς θέσεις καὶ τὰ διαστήματα καὶ τοὺς τόπους), *ibid.* 119. For positions or attitudes (θέσεις), i.e. of the object itself, Sextus gives the dove's bent neck, and Philo's swimming fish perhaps come under this head. For surroundings (τόπου), Sextus gives the bent oar and also the faintness of candle-light in the sun. For distances from the observer (διαστήματα), Sextus gives the varying appearance of a ship at sea.

§ 184. The fifth trope (Sextus's seventh, *ibid.* 129, his sixth being taken by Philo in 190). Sextus calls it ὁ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ σκευασίας τῶν ὑποκειμένων. It would perhaps be better to translate ἐν τοῖς σκευαζομένοις by "preparations" simply and to omit "relative" and "in the various ingredients" in what follows; also to render συνθέσεις by "aggregations" rather than "compounds." Sextus explains that by σκευασίας he means συνθέσεις in general and the examples show that these need not be of more than one substance.
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§ 186. The sixth trope (Sextus’s eighth, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτο τυ), ibid. 135.

§ 190. The seventh trope (Sextus’s sixth, ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἐπιμυξίας), ibid. 124.

Ibid. Those which are in accord with nature, etc. i.e. apparently, pleasant or unpleasant. Cf. the definition of pleasure and pain in Timaeus 64 b. But the epithet would naturally be applied to the χυλοί in the sense of flavours, as in 191, rather than to the “ juices of the mouth.” The following point may perhaps be worth consideration. In the parallel in Sextus these mouth-juices are ὑλαὶ ἐν τοῖς γεύσεως τόποις ὑποκείμεναι. If we read here ἐνστομίων ὄων χυλῶν διὸ κτλ., i.e. “can we, without the substances in the mouth, tell what flavours are natural and what unnatural?” we should have a text which would easily lend itself to corruption.

§ 193. The eighth and last trope (Sextus’s tenth, stated by him as ὁ παρά αἰγώνας καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς δογματικὰς υπολήψεις), ibid. 145. The first two of them are repeated by Philo in the same words, and the δογματικὰ υπολήψεις appear in 198 ff. But there is nothing corresponding to the μυθικαί πίστεις, i.e. the popular superstitions which with the scientific theories of the philosophers are represented by the Sceptics as having such a total want of agreement as to put the coping-stone on the accumulation of evidence for human ἀκαταληψία.

Ibid. Ways of life. We might take αἰγώνας ἐκ παιδῶν to mean “systems of education,” but Sextus explains it as αἱρέσεις βίου ἐκ παιδῶν, i.e. the popular asceticism and Spartan discipline.

§ 198. Here begin the δογματικὰ υπολήψεις. The first part of the section bears a considerable resemblance to “Longinus,” De Sublimitate xlv. 3, 4, describing the tyranny of custom, from the cradle (ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι) and the buffeted (κεκονδνλισμένον) condition of the multitude.

§ 199. The opinions here mentioned may be roughly classified as following:

Infinite (Epicurean)—Finite (Stoic).
Created (Stoics and Epicureans)—Uncreated (Peripatetic).
No providence (Epicurean)—Providence (Stoic).
One “good” (Stoic)—Three “goods” (Peripatetic).

§ 206. Gluttony. This represents the ἀπληστία of 4 and 6.

§ 208. Cup of reconciliation. The phrase ἐπὶ σπονδάις
combines the idea of pouring wine as cup-bearer (Gen. xl. 21) and the common meaning of "on the conditions of a truce."

§ 213. Lost the organs of generation. For the literal meaning see A.V. έκτετμημένω πίστιν interprets ἀποκεκομένως, and παρακαταθήκην etc. interprets θλαδίας.

§ 218. Fine bouquet. The adj. ἄνθιμος or ἄνθινος is explained by Hesychius and the Scholiast as meaning (a) flavoured with herbs or flowers, (b) smelling like flowers. The latter is more suitable here.

§ 221. Cavities, or "stomachs," a use of ἄγκος not given in the dictionaries, but found in Plutarch, Mor. 652 ε and elsewhere (see Wyttenbach’s index).
APPENDIX TO DE SOBRIETATE

§ 12. Comeliness of the body ... beauty of the soul. Philo is thinking of Symposium 218 ε, where Socrates says to Alcibiades, “You must see in me that κάλλος, greatly different from the ευμορφία which I see in you.”

Ibid. Bastard brothers. This distinction between the sons of the concubines and those of the legitimate wives has already been made, though in a somewhat different way, in Quod Deus 119 ff.; see also De Mig. 95, where Asher in particular is the symbol αὐθητοῦ καὶ νόθου πλούτου. Below (66) and elsewhere all twelve are put on a level.

§ 18. The phrase thus set before us, etc. The thought of this section seems to be this; the phrase “God blessed him” explains in what sense Abraham was an elder, because the ευλογία of God necessarily produces ευλογιστία in man and this ευλογιστία is moral seniority. According to the Stoics τὸ ευλογιστεῖν in the selection of what is according to nature is the “end” of the individual man and brings him into agreement with the law of the universe, which is identical with Zeus (Diog. Laert. vii. 88). Philo, in his desire to equate the Stoic ideal with the divine blessing, more than once, e.g. Leg. All. iii. 191, 192, brings ευλογία into close connexion with ευλογιστία. The mere fact that they both contain εὐ and λόγος would be enough for him. But in De Mig. 70 he strengthens the connexion by explaining εὐλογήσω as ἐπαινετὸν λόγον δωρήσομαι.

§ 32. [δοῦλος δοῦλων]. This is given instead of the παῖς ὁικέτης of the LXX in Aquila’s version, whence Wendland supposes that it was interpolated into Philo’s text. Ryle on the other hand (Philo and Holy Scripture, p. 44), points out that Philo in quoting Gen. ix. 26 and 27 (in sections 51 and 59) uses δοῦλος where the LXX has παῖς, and infers that it is more likely that he had δοῦλος δοῦλων here. But in 51, where he quotes this verse 25 again, we have παῖς ὁικέτης without any variant or addition.

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§ 34. The state of rest. Philo seems always to use σχέσις in contrast to κίνησις (see Index). In calling it “akin” to έξις he is in general agreement with Stobaeus (S.F.V. iii. 111), where, after opposing τά ἐν κινήσει ἀγαθά to τά ἐν σχέσει ἀγαθά, he adds that some of the latter are also ἐν έξις, others ἐν σχέσει μόνον. He gives as examples of τά ἐν κινήσει joy and the like, of τά ἐν έξις the virtues and the arts when transformed by virtue and permanently established, of τά ἐν σχέσει μόνον “orderly quietude” (εὐτακτὸς ἡσυχία). From this use of έν σχέσει μόνον in contrast to ἐν κινήσει καὶ έξις comes the contrast between σχέσις itself and έξις as something transitory opposed to the less transitory, just as έξις in its turn is often opposed to διάθεσις, as something less permanent, or perhaps less essential and engrained (cf. on De Cher. 62). This use of σχέσις does not appear in Philo, though he uses the adverb so in Leg. All. iii. 210, where σχετικῶς καὶ εὔαλωτῶς ὡς ἀν ἐκ τυχῆς is contrasted with ἀπὸ έξις καὶ διαθέσεως. The distinction between έξις and διάθεσις is ignored in De Sobrietate as in Stobaeus, thus bringing έξις into agreement with the Aris­totelian use of the word.

§ 50. The oracles in Genesis. Wendland, in adopting the reading mentioned in the footnote (as well as in 49), is following the version of 49 and 50, quoted in Nicetes Serran­nus’s commentary on St. Luke. The ms. of this commentary is of the 12th century, but the date of the author is not stated. If Nicetes gives the true reading here, how are we to account for the wanton alteration from πρὸς τὸν Καὶν το περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός γένεσεως to περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως? The translators incline to think that the reading of the mss. is right. It is natural enough that, as the preceding quotations come from Exodus and Leviticus, Philo should want to indicate that this comes from Genesis and since, as he says (De Abr. 1), this book takes its name ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, the expression here used is not impossible. That Nicetes should have corrected a reference so vague and apt to mislead to something more definite is equally natural. Wendland’s statement about the general superiority of this excerpt to the mss. of Philo is hardly borne out by his practice. He follows them as often as he follows Nicetes.

§ 51. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem. When Philo wrote the Quaestiones (Quaest. in Gen. ii. 15), he clearly
read Κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός Σήμ, for not only is the text quoted as "benedictus est dominus deus, deus Sem," but the comment demands this, e.g. "bis nominatur benefica virtus dei." Should we read the same here? It is against it that when the verse is cited in 58 (but see note) the mss. again have only one ὁ θεός. On the other hand, the argument of 55 will become clearer. God is Lord God of the world, but God only of Shem.

§ 52. The interpretation of "Shem" as="name" and thence, as the best of names, "the good," does not appear elsewhere in what we have of Philo. But the idea was taken up by the Latin Fathers, though they characteristically substituted Christ for the good. So Ambrose, Ep. 7. 46 "Sem dicitur Latine nomen," Augustine, De Civitate Dei xvi. 2 "Sem quippe, de cuius semine in carne natus est Christus, interpretatur nominatus. Quid autem nominatius Christo?"

§ 56. My friend. This variant, which, as the argument shews, is deliberate, is especially noticeable in view of James ii. 23 φίλος ἐκλήθη θεοῦ. Ryle, l.c. p. 75, suggests that it was an earlier rendering, subsequently altered as too familiar, yet retaining its influence after the LXX became the standard version.

Ibid. He alone is nobly born. For this and the other "paradoxes" which follow see S.V.F. iii. 589 ff.

§ 58. Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem. Observe that Philo here substitutes εὐλογημένος for the εὐλογητός of the LXX which he followed in 51, though in De Mig. 107 he carefully distinguishes between the two as meaning respectively "the subject of blessing (by others)," and "worthy of blessing." It is quite possible, as Heinemann suggests, that he means us here to take Σήμ as dative. Compare his treatment of Δάν in De Agr. 99. In this case we should translate "let the Lord God be blessed by Shem." This rendering suits the argument which follows, and it is quite in Philo's manner to suggest such a double rendering, and further to imagine or accept a variant εὐλογημένος to fit it.

§§ 60 ff. For the three kinds of goods cf. De Ebr. 200 ff. and note on Quod Det. 7. Here Philo comes nearer to the Peripatetic view than in De Gig. 38. He is still nearer to it in Quis Rer. Div. Her. 285 ff.

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