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PHILO
IV

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PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

IV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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As was stated in the Preface to the last volume, Mr. Whitaker's versions of the treatises he had agreed to take in this volume and the fifth were in existence at his death. As it happens, however, his part in this volume was confined to one treatise of the four, viz. the De Migracione. This had reached the typescript stage, and just before his death I had sent him some corrections or suggestions which he had accepted. Since then, however, I have made a good many further alterations in that treatise. On the De Confusione he had sent me only a few suggestions, and my versions of the other two treatises he had not seen at all. Altogether I feel that, for good or for ill, I must take the final responsibility for this volume, and I have therefore ceased to use such phrases as "The Translators think" and used the first person singular instead. That the work has suffered by his absence, and that there are sure to be many things which I should have altered or modified if I had had his advice, need hardly be said.

A misunderstanding shewn by a reviewer makes me think that it would be well to say something about the textual notes. My own view has always been that, while it would be beyond the scope of a work of this kind to indicate the variants in the mss., places in which the text printed has no ms. authority should be recorded. Mr. Whitaker did not altogether
agree with me, and consequently in the first two volumes there was no consistent attempt to give this information, though the reproduction of the angular and square brackets did indicate insertions and omissions in the text. In the third volume and this, however, I have made it a rule to note all cases (except such as are merely orthographical) where the text printed is purely conjectural, however certain the conjectures may be. Further, it is to be understood that, unless it is stated otherwise, the text printed is that of Wendland. It does not follow, however, that any particular emendation of the text is due to Wendland, as I have not thought it necessary to distinguish between his emendations and those of Mangey, Markland and Turnebus, so long as he himself has adopted them. I also note all cases where I have not followed Wendland’s text, and, where the emendation is our own, have stated the fact. Of these last there are not many. But there are a good many more noted in footnotes or appendix where I feel fairly confident that the reading we have suggested is right, but have not that degree of certitude which would justify my printing it in the text itself. As to Wendland’s corrections, while I accept without question the facts of his *apparatus criticus*, I do not, as the work progresses, feel the same confidence in his judgement. He does not seem to me to consider sufficiently how the text which he adopts came to be corrupted to the form which it has in the mss. On the whole, however, the principle laid down in the preface of the first volume, that where hesitation does not amount to conviction the

* Omissions and insertions are of course not noted in the footnotes, as the brackets speak for themselves.
text of this standard edition should be preserved, has been followed in this volume with modification. A mild regret has also been expressed that no account of the mss. has been given. It is perhaps a pity that this was not attempted in the General Introduction. In apology it may be said that, leaving out of consideration excerpts and quotations, which form a considerable part of the evidence for the text, the mss. used by Cohn and Wendland, few of which are earlier than the thirteenth century and none earlier than the eleventh or tenth, amount to more than twenty in the six volumes and vary greatly with the different treatises; and that Cohn has declared at the end of his survey that no single ms. or family of mss. stands out in such a way that anything more than an eclectic recension of Philo’s text is possible.\(^a\)

I cannot conclude without again expressing the greatness of the debt I owe to Leisegang’s index. True, there are a good many words absent, on which one would be glad to be able to investigate Philo’s usage, and of the words dealt with I have sometimes found examples omitted, so that one has to be cautious in drawing negative conclusions from it. Still, on the whole, it is an admirable piece of work, and not only the present translator but all future editors of Philo will have in their hands an instrument which Mangey and Wendland would have given much to possess.

F. H. C.

February 1932.

\(^a\) Prolegomena to Vol. I, p. xli.
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)
   On the Giants (De Gigantibus)

III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-
    mutabilis 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 Lin-
    guarum)
    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)
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 SUPPLEMENT ¹ I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.
ON THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES
(DE CONFUSIONE LINGUARUM)
THE text of this treatise is Gen. xi. 1-9, which is given in full in the first section.

Philo begins by stating the objections which the sceptical critics had brought against the story. They had said that the project of building a tower to reach heaven was really the same as the Homeric myth of the Aloeidae (2-4), and had pointed out the absurdity of the idea (5). Secondly they had said that the story of the confusion of tongues was much the same as the fable that all animals originally understood each other's language and lost the privilege by presumption (6-8), and though the story in Genesis was a little more rational, still the idea that the multiplication of languages would serve to prevent co-operation in sin was absurd (9-13). Philo will leave the literalists to answer these criticisms as they can. His own answer is to give an allegorical interpretation of the whole story (14-15).

By "one lip and one voice" Moses is indicating a "symphony" of evils, which is seen not only in the multitude, but in the individual (16), where it sometimes takes the form of the external calamities of fortune (16-20), but still more in the passions which beset the soul (21-22), of which the deluge story is an allegory (23-25), as also the alliance against Abraham (26), and the attack of the whole people of Sodom upon the angel visitors (27-28). The illus-
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

tration which follows leads to a meditation on the word “lip” (χείλος) which also means “edge.” Moses met Pharaoh on the “lip” of the river. The Egyptians lay dead on the “lip” of the sea (29-36), and since “lip” means speech, we may see in this death the silencing of convicted falsehood (37-38), though here a caution is needed. There are many unskilled in refuting falsehood and they can only do so with God’s help (39).

The “symphony” of evil suggests the “symphony” of good, and this appears in the words of the patriarchs “we are men of peace, sons of one man.” The one man is the Divine Logos, and only those who acknowledge him are men of peace, while the opposite creed of polytheism breeds discord (40-43). Yet this peace is also a war against the symphony of evil. This thought leads to an exposition of Jeremiah xy. 10, particularly of the description by the prophet of himself as a “man of war” (43-51), and hence to the “symphony” gained by the Captains who fought against Midian (52-57), and the highest of all symphonies, when Israel would “do and hear,” that is would do God’s will even before they heard the commandment (58-59).

The next verse of the text is “as they march from the east (or “rising”) they found a plain in the land of Shinar (interpreted as shaking off) and dwelt there.” “Rising” and “shaking off” being applicable to good and ill lead to illustrations from other texts where these words occur (60-74). “Finding” suggests that the wicked actually seek evil (75), and

a The word is the motif running through the whole treatise.

b For a closer account of the connexion of thought in §§ 52-57 see note on § 57.
PHILO

“dwelling there” suggests the contrast (illustrated from sayings of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses) of the good man regarding himself as only a sojourner in the body (76-82).

We now come to the building of the city and tower. The third verse is “come let us make bricks and bake them with fire.” By “brick-making” is meant the analysing and shaping of evil-minded thoughts (83-90), and we are reminded that such brick-making is also imposed upon the Israel-soul, when once it is in bondage to Egypt (91-93). This last thought gives rise to a very loosely connected meditation on the vision of the Divine granted to the liberated Israel in Ex. xxiv. and the interpretation of its details (94-100). The “baking with fire” signifies the solidarity which sophistical argument gives to their vices, and so too we have “their brick became a stone” (101-102). But on the other hand the “asphalt became clay,” that is, God subverts their evil designs, before they attain the safety (ἀσφάλεια) of “asphalt” (103-104). Two thoughts on “asphalt” follow suggesting that its “safety” is rather the safety of bodily than of spiritual things (105-106).

“Let us build ourselves a city and tower whose head shall reach to heaven.” Our souls are cities and the fool summons all his senses and passions to help him build his city with its tower or acropolis to his taste (107-112). When the tower seeks to rise to heaven, it signifies the impious attempt of theological falsities (especially the denial of providence) to attack celestial truths (113-115). On the next words “let us make our name” Philo bursts into

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*a Partly induced by the occurrence of the words “brick” or “plinth” in the narrative.  
*b See note on § 102.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

invective against the madness of the wicked in actually flaunting their wickedness (116-118). It is true indeed that they have an inkling that there is a divine judgement awaiting them as they shew by the next words “before we are scattered abroad” (119-121). But this is only in the background of their thoughts. In general they are of Cain’s lineage and believe in the self-sufficiency of man, the folly of which Philo denounces in his usual way, and this self-sufficiency gives a second meaning to the words “its head shall reach to heaven” (122-128). But this tower will be overthrown even as Gideon overthrew the tower of Penuel (turning away from God), not in war but when he returned in peace—the true peace (129-132). By a third interpretation “heaven” may mean “mind,” and the attempt to reach it be the attempt to exalt sense above mind (133).

The words “the Lord came down to see the city and the tower” call for the usual protest against anthropomorphism, and Philo again emphasizes the truth that God’s Potencies are everywhere, while His essential nature is not in space at all (134-139). The intention of Moses in using the phrase is to shew us by God’s example the need of close examination before we dogmatize, and the superiority of sight to hearsay (140-141). As for the phrase the “sons of men,” some may scoff at it as a pleonasm, but the true meaning is that these builders are not, like the pious, “sons of God” (141-145), nor yet sons of “one man,” a that is the Logos (146-147). Sonship in fact is often in the scriptures used in this spiritual sense (148-149). The next words, “behold they are all one race and one lip,” give rise to the

a See § 41.
PHILO

thought that there may easily be unison in the worst disharmony (150-151), while in "they have begun to do this" "this" is the impiety against heaven which crowns their misdeeds to men. They only "began," for heaven is inviolable and blasphemies recoil upon the blasphemer (152-154), yet they are treated as though they succeeded, which is indicated by the words "the tower which they built" (155). (At this point Philo interpolates a curious piece of literalism; not only is it a physical impossibility to build such a tower, but anyone who attempted it would be blasted by the heat of the sun) (156-157). That the punishment entailed by the accomplished sin falls upon the undertaken sin is shewn in Balaam's fate (158-159), and the law which refuses sanctuary to him who has attempted murder (160). (Incidentally this law is given the spiritual meaning that the mind which believes God to be the author of evil as well as good and thus throws the responsibility for its own sins upon Him, is essentially unholy) (161). The next words, "nothing shall fail them of all they attempt," teach us that the greatest punishment God can give is to give the sinner opportunity without restraint, and this is illustrated (as in Quod Det. 141 ff.) by Cain's word "that I should be let free is the greater indictment (or punishment)" (162-167).

When we come to the words "let us go down and confound their tongues" we have first to explain the plural in God's mouth, of which he gives other examples (168-169). He then puts forward, as in De Op. 75, the theory (based on the Timaeus) that God committed certain tasks to his lieutenants, the Potencies and the spiritual beings called "Angels" (170-175). As man also has free will and is there-
fore capable of sin God shared the work of man's creation with His ministers, that He Himself should not be the cause of evil (176-179). So too He calls upon His subordinates (here definitely called Angels)⁶ to bring the punishment of "confusion" upon the impious (180-182). As for the word "confusion" (σύγχυσις) we may accept the philosophic usage in which it stands for a mixing so complete that the original properties of the ingredients are destroyed, in contrast to μίξις where the ingredients are merely juxtaposed, and κράσις where though chemically combined they can still be analysed (183-188). Thus σύγχυσις of the impious means that their powers are so annihilated that neither separately nor in combination they can work mischief (189). The literalist interpretation that the story merely describes the differentiation of languages may not be untrue, but it is inadequate. Had such differentiation been intended we should have expected some such term as separation or distribution rather than confusion, and moreover differentiation of function, as we see in the human organism, is beneficial rather than the reverse (190-195). That σύγχυσις implies destruction in this passage is confirmed by the words which follow, "the Lord dispersed them thence," for dispersion conveys a similar idea (196). The dispersion of the wicked will imply the reassembling of the good whom they had dispersed, in fact establish the "symphony" of virtues in the place of the "symphony" of evil. Viewed in this double light of "destruction" and "dispersion" the name σύγχυσις well describes the fool whose life is as worthless as it is unstable ⁷ (197-end).

⁶ See note on § 182. ⁷ See note on § 198.
ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΓΧΥΣΕΩΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩΝ

1 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦτων ἀρκέσει τὰ εἰρημένα. σκεπτέον δὲ εξῆς οὐ παρέργως, ἃ περὶ τῆς τῶν διαλέκτων συγχύσεως φιλοσοφεῖ· λέγει γὰρ ὡδε· "καὶ ἴν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἐν, καὶ φωνὴ μία πᾶσι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσαται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, εὗρον πεδίον ἐν τῇ γῆ Σεναάρ καὶ κατύκησαν ἐκεῖ. καὶ ἐπεν ἄνθρωπος τῷ πλησίον· δεῦτε πλυσθεύσωμεν πλύνομεν καὶ ὀπτῆσωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλύνθος εἰς λίθον, καὶ ἀσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ πηλὸς. καὶ ἐπον· δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν εὐαυτοὺς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὐ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἐως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον ὅπι οἰκοδόμησαν οἱ νῦν τῶν ἄνθρωπων. καὶ ἐπεν κύριος ἰδοὺ γένος ἐν καὶ χεῖλος ἐν πάντων· καὶ τοῦτο ἥρξατο ποιῆσαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔκλειψε ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἄν ἐπιθύνηται. δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλώσσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἕκαστος τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πλησίον. καὶ διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ

1 Wend. conjectures <η> ἀσφαλτος . . [ὁ] πηλὸς from 103; but see note there (App. p. 555).
ON THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

I. Enough has been said on these matters. The next question which demands our careful consideration is the confusion of tongues and the lessons of wisdom taught by Moses thereon. For he says as follows.

"And all the earth was one lip and there was one voice to all. And it came to pass as they moved from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there. And a man said to his neighbour, Come, let us make bricks and bake them with fire. And the brick became as stone to them and the clay was asphalt to them. And they said, 'Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower, whose head shall be unto heaven, and let us make our name before we are scattered abroad, on the face of all the earth.' And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men built. And the Lord said, 'Behold, they have all one race and one lip, and they have begun to do this, and now nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do. Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there, that they may not understand each the voice of his neighbour.' And the Lord scattered them abroad thence on the face of all the earth, and they
έπαύσαντο οίκοδομούντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς1 σύγχυσις, ὅτι ἔκει συνέχεε κύριος τὰ χείλη πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἔκειθεν διέσπερον αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς."  

II. | Οἱ μὲν δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πατρίῳ πολιτείᾳ, ψόγον καὶ κατηγορίαν αἰεὶ τῶν νόμων μελετῶντες, τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ὡς αὖ ἐπιβάθρασ τῆς ἀθεότητος αὐτῶν, οἱ δυσσεβεῖσ, χρώνται φάσκοντες· ἔτι νῦν σεμνηγορεῖτε περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ὡς τοὺς ἀληθείας κατόνας αὐτῆς περιεχόντων; ἵδιον γὰρ αἱ ἱερὰ λέγεσθαι βιβλίοι παρ' ὕμιν καὶ μύθους περιέχουσιν, ἐφ' οἷς εἰώθατε γελάν, ὃταν ἄλλων διεξιόντων ἀκούητε. καίτοι τί δει τῶν πολλαχῶν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐσπαρμένων ἀναλέγεσθαι ὡσεὶν σχολήν ἀγοντας καὶ ενευκαιρούντας διαβολαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ παρά πόδας ὑπομιμήσκειν; εἰς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐοικώς τῷ συντεθεντι ἐπὶ τῶν 'Αλωειδῶν, οὗ οἱ μέγιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν Ὄμηρος διανοηθήναι φησι τρία τὰ περιμήκιστα τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπιφορήσαι καὶ ἐπιχώσαι ἐπητιάζοντας τὴν εἰς οὐρανόν ὀδὸν τῶν ἀνέρχεσθαι βουλομένους εὐμαρή διὰ τοῦτων ἔσεσθαι πρὸς αἰθέριον ύψος ἀρθέντων· ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἔπος τουαύτα·

"Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὁσση  
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵνα οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη,  
"Ὀλυμπος δὲ καὶ Ὁσσα καὶ Πήλιον ὀρῶν ὀνόματα.

1 αὐτῆς] so lxx and the majority of mss.: Wend. αὐτοῦ; but cf. 196 τὴν κακίας πόλιν with 198 κακίας δύομα σύγχυσις.
ceased building the city and the tower. Therefore the name of the city was called ‘Confusion,’ because the Lord confounded there the lips of the whole earth, and the Lord scattered them thence over the face of the whole earth” (Gen. xi. 1-9).

II. Persons who cherish a dislike of the institutions of our fathers and make it their constant study to denounce and decry the Laws find in these and similar passages openings as it were for their godlessness. “Can you still,” say these impious scoffers, “speak gravely of the ordinances as containing the canons of absolute truth? For see your so-called holy books contain also myths, which you regularly deride when you hear them related by others. And indeed,” they continue, “it is needless to collect the numerous examples scattered about the Law-book, as we might had we leisure to spend in exposing its failings. We have but to remind you of the instances which lie at our very feet and ready to our hand.”

One of these we have here, which resembles the fable told of the Aloeidae, who according to Homer the greatest and most reputed of poets planned to pile the three loftiest mountains on each other in one heap, hoping that when these were raised to the height of the upper sky they would furnish an easy road to heaven for those who wished to ascend thither. Homer’s lines on this subject run thus:

They on Olympus Ossa fain would pile,
On Ossa Pelion with its quivering leaves,
In hope thereby to climb the heights of heaven.\(^b\)

Olympus, Ossa and Pelion are names of mountains.

\(^a\) Or, more literally, “means of approach to”; cf. De Agr. 56.

\(^b\) Od. xi. 315, 318.
πύργον δὲ ο νομοθέτης ἀντὶ τούτων εἰσάγει πρὸς τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων κατασκευαζόμενον θελησάντων ὑπ’ ἄνοιας ἁμα καὶ μεγαλαυχίας ὀυρανοῦ παῦσαι. πῶς γὰρ οὖθεν θερικέα δεινὴ; καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ τῆς συμπάσχεις μέρη γῆς ἑποικοδομηθεῖστ’ ἑραχεί θεμελίως καὶ ἀνεγερθεῖ τρόπων κίονος ἐν ὑμῖν, μυρίοις τῆς αἰθερίου σφαῖρας ἀπολειψάσθησαι διαστήμασι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοὺς ξητητικοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων, οἳ τοῦ παντὸς κέντρου εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἀνωμολόγησαν.

III. ἔτερος δὲ τοῖς συγγενήσ τοῖς περὶ τῆς τῶν θρόων ὅμοιων ὅμοφωνίας πρὸς μυθοπλαστῶν ἀναγράφεται. λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἁρα πάνθ’ ὡσα ζῶα χερσαῖα καὶ ἐνυδρα καὶ πτηνά τὸ παλαιὸν ὁμόφωνα ἔχειν, καὶ ὁντερ τρόπων ἀνθρώπων Ἐλληνοι μὲν Ἐλλησις, ἀρα τράβαροι δὲ βάρβαροι νῦν οἱ ὅμογλωττοί διαλέγονται, τούτων τὸν τρόπον καὶ πάντα πᾶσιν περὶ ὡν ἡ ἀραν ἡ πάσχειν τοις συνέβαινεν ἀμύλεαν, νῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις συνάχθεσθαι καὶ πάντα πάσιν ἡ δραία ἢ δραία εἰς τοὺς κακορρηγίας συνάχθεσθαι καὶ πάντα πάσιν, εἰ ποῦ τι λυσιτελές ἀπαντήσῃ, συνευφραῖνεσθαι.

7 τὰς τε γὰρ ἣδονὰς καὶ ἀηδίας ἀλλήλους ἀναφέροντα διὰ τοῦ ὁμοφώνου συνηδεῖτο καὶ συναδῆ- [406] ζετο, κακὸ τοῦτο τὸ ὁμοιότροπον καὶ ὁμοιοπαθὲς εὐφράκτεο, μέχριπερ κορεσθέντα τῆς τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας, δ’ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι φίλεῖ, πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἀνεφίκτων ἑρωτα ἔξωκελε καὶ περὶ ἀθανασίας ἐπρεβεύετο γῆρως ἐκλυσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς

1 MSS. μεγαλουργίας. 2 MSS. τάσα γὰρ οὖν. 3 MSS. συνέχεσθαι.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 5–7

For these the lawgiver substitutes a 5 tower which he represents as being built by the men of that day who wished in their folly and insolent pride to touch the heaven. Folly indeed; surely dreadful madness! For if one should lay a small foundation and build up upon it the different parts of the whole earth, rising in the form of a single pillar, it would still be divided by vast distances from the sphere of ether, particularly if we accept the view of the philosophers who inquire into such problems, all of whom are agreed that the earth is the centre of the universe. a

III. Another 6 similar story is to be found in the writings of the mythologists, telling of the days when all animals had a common language. The tale is that in old days all animals, whether on land or in water or winged, had the same language, and just as among men to-day Greeks talk with Greeks and barbarians with barbarians if they have the same tongue, so too every creature conversed with every other, about all that happened to be done to them or by them, and in this way they mourned together at misfortunes, and rejoiced together when anything of advantage came their way. For since community 7 of language led them to impart to each other their pleasures and discomforts, both emotions were shared by them in common. As a result they gained a similarity of temperament and feeling until surfeited with the abundance of their present blessings they desired the unattainable, as so often happens, and wrecked their happiness thereon. They sent an embassy to demand immortality, asking that they might be exempted from old age and allowed to

a See App. p. 553.
αἰεὶ νεότητος ἀκμὴν αὐτούμενα, φάσκοντα καὶ τῶν
παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡδι καὶ χρηκέναι ταύτης τῆς δώρεας, ἀποδώμενον γὰρ τὸ
γῆρας πάλιν ἐξ ύπαρχῆς ἀνηβάν. ἀτοπὸν δ’ εἶναι
ή τὰ κρείττω τοῦ χειρόνως ἐνός τὰ πάντα
λειψαν. δίκην μέντοι τοῦ τολμήματος ἔδωκε τὴν
προσήκουσαν· ἐτερόγλωστα γὰρ εὔθυς ἐγένετο, ὥσ
ἐξ ἐκείνου μηκέτ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπακούσαν δυνηθηναι
χάριν τῆς ἐν ταῖς διαλέκτοις εἰς ἄς ἡ μία καὶ
κοινὴ πάντων ἐτμήθη, διαφορᾶς.

IV. Ὅ δ’ ἐγγυτέρω τάληθος προσάγων τὸν
λόγον τὰ ἀλογα τῶν λογικῶν διέξειξεν, ὡς ἀν-
θρώποις μόνοις μαρτυρῆσαι τὸ ὁμόφωνον. ἐστὶ
δὲ, ὡς γέ φασι, καὶ τούτο μιθάδες. καὶ μὴν τὴν
γε φωνῆς εἰς μυρίας διαλέκτων ιδέας τομῆν, ἄν
καλεὶ γλώττης σύγχυσιν, ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ λέγουσιν
ἀμαρτημάτων συμβῆναι, ὡς μηκέτ’ ἀλλήλων ἀκρο-
μενοι κοινὴ συνδικώσιν, ἄλλα τρόπον τινὰ [ἀλλοί]
ἀλλήλους κεκωφωμένους * * * κατὰ συμπράξεις

10 ἐγχειρῶσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐπ’ ωφελείᾳ
φαίνεται συμβῆναι· καὶ γὰρ αἰθίς οὐδὲν ἤττον
κατὰ ἐθνη διωκόμενον καὶ μη μαῖ διαλέκτω
χρωμένων γῆ καὶ θάλαττα πολλάκις ἀμφιθένων
κακῶν ἐπιληψθῆ. οὐ γὰρ αἱ φωναί, ἀλλὰ αἱ
ὄμοτροποι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ξηλώσεις

11 τοῦ συναδικείων αἴτιαι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐκτετμημένοι

1 MSS. τῆς.
2 The translation follows Mangey in assuming that μη
alone has been omitted in the mss. Wend. (Rhein. Mus. liii.
p. 18) thought that this made the last part of the sentence
too much a mere repetition of the first part. He suggested
καὶ’ ἐκεῖτον ἐκαστος ἐργάζηται, ἀλλὰ μη.”
enjoy the vigour of youth for ever. They pleaded that one of their fellow-creatures, that mere reptile the serpent, had already obtained this boon, since he shed his old age and renewed his youth afresh, and it was absurd that the superior beings should fare worse than the inferior, or all than the one. However, for this audacity they were punished as they deserved. For their speech at once became different, so that from that day forward they could no longer understand each other, because of the difference of the languages into which the single language which they all shared had been divided.

IV. Now Moses, say the objectors, brings his story nearer to reality and makes a distinction between reasoning and unreasoning creatures, so that the unity of language for which he vouches applies to men only. Still even this, they say, is mythical. They point out that the division of speech into a multitude of different kinds of language, which Moses calls "Confusion of tongues," is in the story brought about as a remedy for sin, to the end that men should no longer through mutual understanding be partners in iniquity, but be deaf in a sense to each other and thus cease to act together to effect the same purposes. But no good result appears to have been attained by it. For all the same after they had been separated into different nations and no longer spoke the same tongue, land and sea were constantly full of innumerable evil deeds. For it is not the utterances of men but the presence of the same cravings for sin in the soul which causes combination in wrongdoing. Indeed men who have lost their
γλώτταν νεύμασι καὶ βλέμμασι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
tοῦ σώματος σχέσει καὶ κινήσει πολλάκις οὐχ ἤττον
tῆς διὰ λόγων προφορὰς ἀν θελήσωσιν ὑπο-
σημαίνουσιν. χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ἔθνος ἐν πολλάκις οὐχ
ὅμοφωνον μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ὤμονομον καὶ ὤμοδιατον
τοσοῦτον ἐπιβήναι κακίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀνθρώπων
ἀπάντων ἀμαρτήμασιν ἰσοστάσια δύνασθαι πλημ-
μελεῖν: ἀπειρία τε διαλέκτων μυρίῳ πρὸς τῶν
ἐπιτιθεμένον οὐ προϊδόμενοι τὸ μέλλον προκατ-
elήφθησαν, ὡς ἐμπαλιν ἐπιστήμη τοὺς ἐπικρεμα-
thέντας ἰσχυσιν φόβους τε καὶ κινδύνους ἀπώσασθαι·
ὡστε λυσιτελὲς μᾶλλον ἡ βλαβερὸν εἶναι τὴν ἐν
dιαλέκτοις κοινωνίαν, ἕπει καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ καθ'
ἐκάστην χώραν, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῶν αὐτοκρατών, δι'
oوثὲν οὔτως ὡς διὰ τὸ ὀμόγλωσσον ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν
διαστελοῦσι. κἂν εἰ μέντοι τις ἄνηρ πλείους ἀνα-
mάθοι διαλέκτους, εὐδόκιμος εὐθὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἐπι-
stαμένοις ἐστὶν ὡς ἢδη φίλιος ὥν, οὐ βραχὺ
gνώρισμα κοινωνίας ἐπιφερόμενος τὴν ἐν τοῖς
[407] ὄνομασι | συνήθειαν, ἄφ' ἦς τὸ ἀδεὶς εἰς τὸ μηδὲν
ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν ἔοικε πεπορίσθαι. τί οὖν ὡς
κακῶν αὐτῶν τὸ ὀμόγλωσσον εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιζε,
δέν οὐ ωφελιμώτατον ἰδρύσθαι;

V. Τοὺς δὴ ταῦτα συντιθέντας καὶ κακοτεχ-
nυντας ἰδία μὲν διελέγοντοι οἱ τὰς προχείρους
ἀποδόσεις τῶν ἀεὶ ξητομένων ἐκ τῆς φανερᾶς

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1 Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, <τὴν> τῶν.

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* The thought seems to be that the confusion of languages did but divide nation from nation, and a single evil nation can do all the mischief.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 11–14

tongue by mutilation do by means of nods and glances and the other attitudes and movements of the body indicate their wishes as well as the uttered word can do it. Besides a single nation in which not only language but laws and modes of life are identical often reaches such a pitch of wickedness that its misdeeds can balance the sins of the whole of mankind. Again multitudes through ignorance of other languages have failed to foresee the impending danger, and thus been caught unawares by the attacking force, while on the contrary such a knowledge has enabled them to repel the alarms and dangers which menaced them. The conclusion is that the possession of a common language does more good than harm—a conclusion confirmed by all past experience which shews that in every country, particularly where the population is indigenous, nothing has kept the inhabitants so free from disaster as uniformity of language. Further the acquisition of languages other than his own at once gives a man a high standing with those who know and speak them. They now consider him a friendly person, who brings no small evidence of fellow-feeling in his familiarity with their vocabulary, since that familiarity seems to render them secure against the chance of meeting any disastrous injury at his hands. Why then, they ask, did God wish to deprive mankind of its universal language as though it were a source of evil, when He should rather have established it firmly as a source of the utmost profit?

V. Those who take the letter of the law in its outward sense and provide for each question as it arises the explanation which lies on the surface, will no doubt refute on their own principles the authors
τῶν νόμων γραφῆς * * * ἀφιλονείκως, οὐκ ἀντι-
σοφιζόμενοι ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενοι τῷ τῆς ἀκολου-
θίας εἰρμῷ προσπταίειν οὐκ ἔωτη, ἀλλὰ κἂν, εἰ
tινα ἐμποδών εἰ, ῥαδίως ἀναστέλλοντι, ὅπως αἱ
tῶν λόγων διέξοδοι γίνονται ἀπταιστοί.

15 φαμέν τοῖνυν ἔκ τοῦ "τὴν γῆν εἶναι πᾶσαν χεῖλος ἐν
cαὶ φωνὴν μίαν" κακῶν ἀμυθίτων καὶ μεγάλων
συμφωνιῶν δηλοῦσθαι, ὅσα τε πόλεις πόλεσι καὶ
ἐθνεῖς ἐθνεῖς χώραις χώραις ἀντεπιφέρουσι, καὶ
ὅσα μὴ μόνον εἰς εαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ θείον
ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀνθρωποὶ· κατοί ταῦτα πλήθος ἔστων
ἀδικήματα. σκεπτόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὸς
ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἀδιεξήγητο τῶν κακῶν πλήθος, καὶ
μάλιστ' ὅταν τὴν ἀνάρμοστον καὶ ἐκμελή καὶ

16 ἀμοισοῦν ἵσχυς2 συμφωνιῶν.

VI. τὰ μὲν
dὴ τυχηρὰ τὶς ὅπων οἶδεν, ὅταν πενίᾳ καὶ ἄδοξίᾳ
σώματος νόσους ἢ πηρώσεις συνενεχθῶσι, καὶ
πάλιν ταῦτα ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήμασιν ἐκφρονος ὑπὸ
μελαγχολίας ἢ μακροδ γῆρως ἢ τινος βαρεῖας

1 The sentence as it stands cannot be translated. Wend.,
who places the lacuna after ἀφιλονείκως and inserts <ταμενό-
μενοῖ>, is no doubt right in assuming that a participle must be
supplied. But if one word has been lost, it is not improbable
that others have been lost. With his reading the whole
sentence is an elaborate compliment to the literalists, which
is not paralleled elsewhere, though occasionally, as in § 190, a
certain amount of respect for them is shown. But the over-
whelming argument against his view is φαμέν τοῖνυν, which
cannot make an antithesis to ἴδια μὲν but presupposes a δὲ
clause. Cf. De Somn. i. 102 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς
tοὺς τῆς ῥήτης πραγματείας σοφιστάς . . εἰρήσσω, λέγωμεν δὲ
ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων.
φαμέν τοῖνυν λόγον σύμβολον ἰμάτιον εἶναι. Philo in my
view is describing his own method and says that he will not
of these insidious criticisms. But we shall take the line of allegorical interpretation not in any contentious spirit, nor seeking some means of meeting sophistry with sophistry. Rather we shall follow the chain of logical sequence,\(^a\) which does not admit of stumbling but easily removes any obstructions and thus allows the argument to march to its conclusion with unfaItering steps.

We suggest then \(15\) that by the words "the earth was all one lip and one voice" is meant a consonance of evil deeds great and innumerable, and these include the injuries which cities and nations and countries inflict and retaliate, as well as the impious deeds which men commit, not only against each other, but against the Deity. These indeed are the wrongdoings of multitudes. But we consider also the vast multitude of ills which are found in the individual man, especially when the unison of voices within him is a disharmony tuneless and unmusical.

\(16\) VI. Who does not know the calamities of fortune when poverty and disrepute combine with disease or disablement in the body, and these again are mixed with the infirmities of a soul rendered distracted by melancholy or

\(^a\) The words which follow suggest that he means that each deduction from the text is logical, rather than that he takes each point of the narrative successively.
PHILO

άλλης κακοδαιμονίας γεγενημένης ἀνακραθῶσι; 17 καὶ γὰρ ἐν μόνον τῶν ἐιρημένων βιαίως ἀντι-
χαίλησαν ἱκανῶν ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν καὶ
τὸν λίαν ὑπέρογκον ἐστίν· ὅταν δὲ ἄθρόα ὦστερ
προστάξει μᾶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐν πάντα
σωρηδὸν ἐπιθῆται τὰ σώματος, τὰ ψυχῆς, τὰ
ἐκτὸς, τίνα σὺ ὑπερβάλλει σχετλιότητα; πεσόν-
tων γὰρ δορυφόρων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δορυφορούμενον
πίπτειν. δορυφόροι μὲν οὖν σώματος πλοῦτος,
εὐδοξία, τυμαῖ, ὀρθοῦντες αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ύψος αἰροντες
καὶ γαύρων ἀποδεικνύντες, ὡς τάναντια, ἀτιμία,
ἀδοξία, πενία, πολεμίων τρόπον καταράττουσι.

18 πάλιν τε δορυφόροι ψυχῆς ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὀψεῖς ὀσφρησίς
τε καὶ γεῦσις καὶ ἔμπειραν τὸ αἰσθήσεως στίφος,
ἐπὶ μέντοι ύγεία καὶ ὅσχυς δύνασί τε καὶ ρώμη
τούτοισ γὰρ ὦστερ ἐστώσι καὶ κραταιῶς ἐρη-
ρεισμένους ευερκέσιν ὅκους ὁ νοῦς ἐμπεριπατῶν
καὶ ἐπὶ διαιτώμενος ἀγάλλεται πρὸς μηδενός ταῖς
ἰδίαις ὄρμαΐς χρήσθαι κωλυόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐμαρεῖς
καὶ λεωφόρους ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχων τὰς διὰ πάν-
tων ὀδούς. τὰ δὲ τοὺς δορυφόρους τούτους ἐπιθρᾶ

[108] ἀντικάθηται, πῆρωσις αἰσθητηρίων καὶ νόσος, ἀλλ' ἐφὴν,
οἶς ἡ διάνοια συγκατακρημνισθῆναι πολ-
λάκις ἐμέλλῃσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τυχρὰ
ταῦτα ἀργαλέα σφόδρα καὶ σχέτικα εἰ ἐαυτῶν,
πρὸς δὲ τὴν <τῶν> ἐκ προνοίας σύγκρισιν κοινω-

21 τερα πολλῷ. VII. τῖς οὖν ἡ τῶν ἐκουσίων κακῶν
συμφωνία, πάλιν ἐν μέρει σκοπώμεν· τριμερῶν
ὕμων τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης τὸ μὲν νοῦς καὶ λόγος,

1 MSS. ἐπιθείναι.

20 Cf. De Ebr. 201 ff.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 17–21

senility, or any other grievous misfortune? For indeed a single item of this list is enough to upset and overthrow even the very stoutest, if it brings its force to bear upon him. But when the ills of body and soul and the external world unite and in serried mass, as though obedient to a single commanding voice, bear down at the same moment upon their lone victim, what misery is not insignificant beside them? When the guards fall, that which they guard must fall too. Now the guards of the body are wealth and reputation and honours, who keep it erect and lift it on high and give it a sense of pride, just as their opposites, dishonour, disrepute and poverty are like foes who bring it crashing to the ground. Again the guards of the soul are the powers of hearing and sight and smell and taste, and the whole company of the senses and besides them health and strength of body and limb and muscle. For these serve as fortresses well-walled and stayed on firm foundations, houses within which the mind can range and dwell rejoicing, with none to hinder it from following the urges of its personality, but with free passage everywhere as on easy and open high roads. But against these guards also are posted hostile forces, disablement of the sense-organs and disease, as I have said, which often bid fair to carry the understanding over the precipice in their arms.

While these calamities of fortune which work independently of us are full of pain and misery, they are far outweighed in comparison with those which spring from our deliberate volition. VII. Let us turn, then, to where the voice of unison is the voice of our self-caused ills and consider it in its turn. Our soul, we are told, is tripartite, having one part assigned
τὸ δὲ θυμός, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμία κεκληρώσθαι λέγεται. κηραίνει δὲ καθ' αὐτὸ τε ἐκαστον ἱδία καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλα πάντα κοινῆ, ἐπειδὰν ὃ μὲν νοῦς ὁμα τα ἀφροσύναι καὶ δειλίας ἄκολασίαι τε καὶ ἄδικαι σπείρουσι θερίση, ὃ δὲ θυμος τὰς ἐκμανεΐς καὶ παραφόρους λύττας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑδίνει κακὰ τέκη, ἢ δὲ ἐπιθυμία τοὺς ὅπο ηὐπιότητος ἄει κούφους ἔρωτας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι σώμασί τε καὶ πράγμασι προσιπταμένους ἐπιπέμψῃ πανταχόσει τὸτε γὰρ ὅσπερ ἐν σκάφει ναυτῶν, ἐπιβατῶν, κυβερνητῶν κατὰ τινα φρενοβλάβειαν ἐπ' ἀπωλείαν τούτων συμφρονησάντων καὶ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῇ νηῖ οὐχ ἵκιστα συναπώλοντο. βαρύτατον γὰρ κακῶν καὶ σχέδον ἀνίστων μόνον ἦ πάντων τῶν ψυχῆς μερῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνεις συνεργία, μηδενὸς οία ἐν πανδήμω συμφορᾶς δυνηθέντος ὑγιαίνει, ἢν τοὺς πάσχοντας ἰάται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἢμα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καμῦντων, οὗ ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος ἐφ' ὀμολογιμένη συμφορᾶ πιέσσαν κατέχει. τοῦ παθήματος τοῦτον <σύμβολον> ὁ μέγας ἀναγραφεῖς παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ κατακλυσμὸς ἔστι, "τῶν τε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταρρακτῶν" τοὺς κακίας αὐτῆς λάβρω φορὰς χειμάρρους ἐπομβρούων αὐτός καὶ "τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς," λέγω δὲ τοῦ σώματος, "πηγῶν" ἀναχεουσῶν τὰ πάθους ἐκάστος ῥεύματα πολλὰ ὅντα καὶ μεγάλα, ἀπερ εἰς ταύτων τοῖς προτέρους συνιόντα καὶ ἀναμμύνεια κυκάται τε καὶ τὸ δεδεμένον ἀπαν τῆς ψυχῆς στροβεῖ χωρίον

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a Or "a succession of desires" (ἀεὶ meaning "from time to time").
b For this translation of the frequently recurring phrase σώματα καὶ πράγματα, various versions of which have been
to the mind and reason, one to the spirited element and one to the appetites. There is mischief working in them all, in each in relation to itself, in all in relation to each other, when the mind reaps what is sown by its follies and acts of cowardice and intemperance and injustice, and the spirited part brings to the birth its fierce and raging furies and the other evil children of its womb, and the appetite sends forth on every side desires ever winged by childish fancy, desires which light as chance directs on things material and immaterial. For then, as though on a ship crew, passengers and steersmen had conspired through some madness to sink it, the first to perish with the boat are those who planned its destruction. It stands alone as the most grievous of mischiefs and one almost past all cure—this co-operation of all the parts of the soul in sin, where, as when a nation is plague-stricken, none can have the health to heal the sufferers, but the physicians share the sickness of the common herd who lie crushed by the pestilential scourge, victims of a calamity which none can ignore.

We have a symbol of this dire happening in the great deluge described in the words of the lawgiver, when the "cataracts of heaven" poured forth the torrents of absolute wickedness in impetuous downfall and the "fountains from the earth," that is from the body (Gen. vii. 11), spouted forth the streams of each passion, streams many and great, and these, uniting and commingling with the rainpour, in wild commotion eddied and swirled continually through the whole region of the soul.

given in previous volumes, see note on Quis Rerum (App.).

E.V. "windows of heaven."

LXX. ἀπὸ τῆς ἁβύσσου. E.V. "from the great deep."
24 δίναις ἐπαλλήλους. "ιδὼν" γάρ φησι "κύριος ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ κακίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πᾶς τις διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπιμελῶς τὰ πονηρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας" ἐγὼ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, λέγω δὲ τὸν νοῦν, μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔρπετὼν τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀλόγου τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων πληθύος ἐφ’ ὅς ἀνίατα ἡδυκήκει τίσασθαι; ἢ δὲ τιμωρία κατακλυσμός. 25 ἢν γὰρ ἐφεσίς ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ πολλὴ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲνος κωλύοντος φορά, ἀλλὰ προσαναρρηγνυμένων ἀδεὼς ἀπάντων εἰς χορηγίας ἀφθόνους τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ἐτοιμοτάτοις, καὶ μὴποτ’ εἰκότως: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τὶ μέρος διέφθαρσαν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἱνα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγιέσως σώζεσθαι δύνατο, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἀνοσον οὐδὲ ἀδιάφθαρτον αὐτῆς κατελείπετο. 26 VIII. Οὕτω εἰσὺν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς φάραγγος ὁμαιχμίαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέμενοι—κοῖλον γὰρ καὶ τραχὺ καὶ φαραγγώδες τὸ κακιών <καὶ> παθῶν χωρίον, ἀλμυρὸν τῷ ὅντι καὶ πικρὰς φέρον ὡδίνας—ὅν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ένώμοτον καὶ ἐνσπονδόν οὐθ’ ὀρκῶν οὕτε σπονδῖν τῆς αὐτῆς καθαιρεῖ· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "πάντες οὕτωι συνεφώνησαν ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τῆν ἀλυκήν· αὕτη ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἄλων." ἢ οὐχ ὅρας τοὺς ἐστειρωμένους σοφίαν καὶ τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν, ἡν ὦξυδερκεῖν εἰκός

1 Wend. and Mangey punctuate with a full stop before κοῖλον, thus apparently making ὡδίνας to be the antecedent of ὅν.
which formed their meeting-place. “For the Lord God,” it runs, “seeing that the wickednesses of men were multiplied on the earth, and that every man carefully purposed in his heart evil things every day,” determined to punish man, that is the mind, for his deadly misdeeds, together with the creeping and flying creatures around him and the other unreasoning multitude of untamed beasts (Gen. vi. 5-6). This punishment was the deluge. For the deluge was a letting loose of sins, a rushing torrent of iniquity where there was naught to hinder, but all things burst forth without restraint to supply abundant opportunities to those who were all readiness to take pleasure therein. And surely this punishment was suitable. For not one part only of the soul had been corrupted, so that it might be saved through the soundness of others, but nothing in it was left free from disease and corruption. For “seeing,” as the scripture says, that “everyone,” that is every thought and not one only, “purposed,” the upright judge awarded the penalty which the fault deserved.

VIII. These are they who made a confederacy at the salt ravine. For the place of vices and passions is hollow and rough and ravine-like; salt indeed, and bitter are the pangs which it brings. The covenant of alliance which they swore was destroyed by wise Abraham, for he knew that it had not the sanctity of oaths or covenant-rites. Thus we read “all these joined their voices to come to the salt-ravine; this is the salt sea” (Gen. xiv. 3).

Observe further those who were barren of wisdom and blind in the understanding which should naturally be sharp of sight, their qualities veiled under

* See App. p. 553.
κατὰ γιλώτταν, ἀπὸ νεανίσκου ἐως πρεσβυτέρου πάνθ᾽ ὁμοῦ τὸν λεών ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς ψυχῆς περιθέοντας, ἵνα τοὺς ξενωθέντας ἱεροὺς καὶ ὅσιους λόγους αὐτῆς φρουροὺς καὶ φύλακας ὄντας, αἰσχύνοντα καὶ διαφθείροντας, καὶ μηδένα τὸ παράπαν μήτε τοὺς ἄδικοὺς ἐναντιοῦντες μήτε τὸ ποιεῖν ἄδικον ἀποδιδράσκειν εἰς γνωκότα; οὐ γὰρ οἱ μὲν, οἱ δὲ οὐ, "πᾶς δ′," ὡς φησιν, "ὁ λαὸς περιεκύκλωσαν ἀμα τὴν οἰκίαν, νέοι τε καὶ πρεσβύται" κατὰ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν λόγων1 συνομοσάμενοι, οὔτε καλεῖν ἑδοὺς ἀγγέλους.

IX. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ γε θεοπρόπος Μωυσῆς θράσει πολλῷ βέντας αὐτοὺς ὑπαντάσας ἐφέξει, καὶ τὸν θρασύτατον καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς βασιλεά λόγον προστησάμενοι μιᾶς ῥύμης κατατρέχοντες, συναύζοντες τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ποταμοῦ τρόπον πλημμύροντες: "ιδοὺ" γὰρ φησιν "ὁ τῆς Αιγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ύδωρ ἀφικνεῖται. οὐ δὲ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ χείλος τοῦ ποτα-μοῦ." οὐκοῦν ο μὲν φαύλος ἐξεισών ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἄδικημάτων καὶ παθῶν ἄθροών φοράν, ἀπερ ὑδατὶ ἀπεικόστει, ὁ δὲ σοφός πρῶτον καὶ κτάται γέρας παρὰ τὸν ἑστῶτος ἀεὶ θεοῦ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀκλίνει καὶ ἄρρεπεί πρὸς πάντα δυνάμει λαβών.

31 εἴρηται γὰρ "οὐ δὲ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ," ἵνα ἐνδοιασμὸν καὶ ἑπαμφοτερισμὸν, ἀβεβαίου ψυχῆς διαθέσεις, ἀποδυσάμενος τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ βεβαιοτάτην διάθεσιν, πίστιν, ἐνδύσῃται. ἐπείτα δὲ

1 mss. θείων ἐργῶν καὶ λόγων (the correction seems to me somewhat conjectural).

* See App. p. 553,
their name of Sodomite—a—how the whole people from the young men to the eldest ran round and round the house of the soul to bring dishonour and ruin on those sacred and holy Thoughts which were its guests, its guardians and sentinels; how not a single one is minded to oppose the unjust or shrink from doing injustice himself. For we read that not merely some but the "whole people surrounded the house, both young and old" (Gen. xix. 4), conspiring against the divine and holy Thoughts, who are often called angels.

IX. But Moses the prophet of God shall meet and stem the strong current of their boldness, though, setting before them as their king their boldest and most cunning eloquence, they come rushing with united onset, though they mass their wealth of water and their tide is as the tide of a river. "Behold," he says, "the King of Egypt comes to the water, but thou shalt stand meeting him at the edge of the river" (Ex. vii. 15). The fool, then, will go forth to the rushing flood of the iniquities and passions, which Moses likens to a river. But the wise man in the first place gains a privilege vouchsafed to him from God, who ever stands fast, a privilege which is the congener of His power which never swerves and never wavers. For it was said to him "Stand thou here with me" (Deut. v. 31), to the end that he should put off doubt and hesitation, the qualities of the unstable mind, and put on that surest and most stable quality, faith. This is his

b This translation is given in despair. In this particular allegory of the soul, the λόγου no doubt take the form of thoughts, but the use is far wider. As manifestations of the Divine Logos the angels suggest not only spiritual influences, as in De Sobr. 65, but also spiritual beings, as in § 174.

c i.e. in scripture, cf. § 174.

d Or "dispositions."
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... τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὑπαντᾶ: "στήση" γάρ <φησιν> "ὑπαντιάζων". καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπαντῶν ἐν κινήσει, κατὰ δὲ ἦρεμιαν τὸ ἰστασθαι θεωρεῖται. λέγει δὲ οὐ τὰ μαχόμενα, τὰ δὲ τῇ φύσει μάλιστα ἀκολουθοῦντα: ὅτω γὰρ ἦρεμεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀρρεπῶς ἱδρύσθαι, συμβαίνει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι χαίρονται καὶ τὸν γαληνό-σαι δυνάμενον χειροποιήτως χειμώνων κυμαίνουσιν.

... τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν συνίστασθαι.  

... καὶ ἀρρενῶς ἵδρυσθαι, συμβαίνει πάσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι χαίρονται καὶ τὸν γαληνό-σαι δυνάμενον χειροποιήτως χειμώνων κυμαίνουσιν.

X. εὖ μέντοι γε ἔχει παρὰ | τὸ χείλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐναντίωσιν συνίστασθαι. χείλη δὲ στόματος μὲν ἐστὶν πέρατα, φραγμὸς δὲ τις γλώττης, δὴ ὃν φέρεται τῷ τοῦ λόγου ῥέμα, ὅταν ἀρξῆται κατέρχεσθαι. λόγῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισάρετοι καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς συμμάχῳ χρῶνται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀδόκιμων δογμάτων εἰσήγησιν καὶ πάλιν οἱ σπουδαῖοι πρὸς τῇ τῶν τούτων ἀναίρεσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀμειωτῶν καὶ ἀφευδῶς ἀγαθῶν κράτος ἀναντ-αγώνιστον. ὅταν μέντοι πάντα κάλων ἀνασείσαν- 

... ἀρταπεντές ἀπὸλλονται, τὸ ἐπινίκιον δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὁ σοφὸς ἄσμα χορὸν ἱερώτατον

... ἐμμελῶς ἄσεται: "εἴδε" γὰρ φησιν "Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους" οὐχ ἐτέρωθι "τεθνεώ- 

... καὶ λόγων φθοράν, οἷς εχρώντο διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης καὶ τῶν ἀλλων φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων.

1 MSS. φιλομαθείς.
2 Presumably a slip for τῆς θαλάσσης.

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first privilege—to stand; but secondly—strange paradox—he "meets." For "thou shalt stand meeting" says the text, though "meet" involves the idea of motion and "stand" calls up the thought of rest. Yet the two things here spoken of are not really in conflict, but in most natural sequence to each other. For he whose constitution of mind and judgement is tranquil and firmly established will be found to oppose all those who rejoice in surge and tumult and manufacture the storm to disturb his natural capacity for calmness.

X. It is well indeed that the opponents should meet on the lip or edge of the river. The lips are the boundaries of the mouth and a kind of hedge to the tongue and through them the stream of speech passes, when it begins its downward flow. Now speech is an ally employed by those who hate virtue and love the passions to inculcate their untenable tenets, and also by men of worth for the destruction of such doctrines and to set up beyond resistance the sovereignty of those that are better, those in whose goodness there is no deceit. When, indeed, after they have let out every reef of contentious sophistry, the opposing onset of the sage's speech has overturned their bark and sent them to perdition, he will, as is just and fit, set in order his holy choir to sing the anthem of victory, and sweet is the melody of that song. For Israel, it says, saw the Egyptians dead on the edge of the sea (Ex. xiv. 30)—not elsewhere. And when he says "dead" he does not mean the death which is the separation of soul and body, but the destruction of unholy doctrines and of the words which their mouth and tongue and the other vocal organs gave them to use.

Now the death of
λόγου δὲ θάνατός ἐστιν ἡσυχία, οὐχ ἢν οἱ ἐπιεικὲς
στεροὶ ποιοῦμενοι σύμβολον αἴδους μετέρχονται—
dύναμις γὰρ καὶ ἦδε ἐστὶν ἀδελφὴ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν
ταμευομένη μέχρι καιροῦ τὰ λεκτέα—, ἀλλὰ ἦν
οἱ ἐξεπεξεργαζότες καὶ ἀπειρηκότες διὰ τὴν τῶν
ἐναντίων ἵσχυν ὑπομένουσιν ἄκοντες λαβὴν' οὐδεμιᾶν

ἐθ' εὐρίσκοντες. ὥν τε γὰρ ἂν ἐφάπνωται, διαρρέει,
καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπιβῶσιν, οὐχ ὑπομένει, ὡς πρὶν ἢ
στήναι πίπτειν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ὥστερ ἡ ἔξοχες τὸ
ὑδηρρόον ὄργανον, ἔχει· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον αὐτὸ γεγό-
νασι βαθμοὶ τίνες, ὡν ὁ γεωπόνος, ὅταν ἡθελήσῃ
ποτίσαι τὰς ἀροῦρας, ἐπιβαίνει μὲν, περιολισθαίνει
d' ἀναγκαίως· ὑπέρ δὴ τοῦ μὴ πίπτειν συνεχῶς
πλησίον ἐχυρόν τινας χειρών περιδράττεται, οὐ
ἐνειλημμένος τὸ ὅλον σῶμα ἀπηρίκηκεν αὐτῶν·
ὥστε> ἀντὶ μὲν ποδῶν χειρῶν, ἀντὶ δὲ χειρῶν
ποσὶ χρήσθαι· ἵσταται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ χειρῶν, δι’ ὅν
εἰσὶν αἱ πράξεις, πράττει δ’ ἐν ποσίν, ἐφ’ ὅν εἰκὸς

ιστασθαι.

XI. πολλοὶ δ’ οὐ δυνάμενοι
tὰς πιθανᾶς τῶν σοφιστῶν εὐρέσεις ἀνὰ κράτος
ἔλειν τῷ μὴ σφόδρα περὶ λόγους διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
ἔργοις συνεχῇ μελέτῃν γεγυμνάσθαι κατέφγυγον ἐπὶ
tὴν τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ συμμαχίαν καὶ βοηθὸν αὐτὸν
ἐκέτευσαν γενέσθαι· καθὰ καὶ τῶν Μωυσείων γνω-
ρίμων τις ἐν ὑμνοῖς εὐχόμενος εἰπεν· “ἀλαλά
gενέσθω τὰ χείλη τὰ δόλια.” πῶς δ’ ἂν ἡσυχάσαι,
eἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν ἔχοντος
ὑπῆκουν ἐπιστομισθεὶς;

1 mss. βλάβην.

* Or “arguments,” εὐρέσεις being the technical term in rhetoric for collecting material for speech. See on De Mig. 35.
words is silence, not the silence which well-behaved people cultivate, regarding it as a sign of modesty, for that silence is actually a power, sister to the power of speech, husbanding the fitting words till the moment for utterance comes. No, it is the undesired silence to which those whom the strength of their opponent has reduced to exhaustion and prostration must submit, when they find no longer any argument ready to their hand. For what they handle dissolves in their hands, and what they stand on gives way beneath them, so that they must needs fall before they stand. You might compare the treadmill which is used for drawing water. In the middle are some steps and on these the labourer, when he wants to water the fields, sets his feet but cannot help slipping off, and to save himself from continually falling he grasps with his hands some firm object nearby and holding tight to it uses it as a suspender for his whole body. And so his feet serve him for hands and his hands for feet, for he keeps himself standing with the hands which we use for work, and works with his feet, on which he would naturally stand.

XI. Now there are many who though they have not the capacity to demolish by sheer force the plausible inventions of the sophists, because their occupation has lain continuously in active life and thus they are not trained in any high degree to deal with words, find refuge in the support of the solely Wise Being and beseech Him to become their helper. Such a one is the disciple of Moses who prays thus in the Psalms: "Let their cunning lips become speechless" (Ps. xxx. [xxxii.] 19). And how should such lips be silent, unless they were bridled by Him who alone holds speech itself as His vassal?
Τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν συνόδους ἀμεταστρέπτι φευκτεῖον, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδὸν πρὸς τοὺς συνόδους έσμεν ὕοι ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, εἰρηνικοὶ έσμεν" τεθαύμακα τῆς εὐάρμοστον συμφωνίας. ἐπεὶ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐμέλλετε, φήσαμιν ἃν, ὦ γενναῖοι, πολέμω μὲν δυσχεραῖν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀγαπᾶν, ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι πατέρα οὐ θητόν ἀλλ’ ἀθάνατον, ἀνθρωπον θεόν, ὃς τοῦ ἁίδου λόγος ὃν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστιν ἀφθαρτὸς; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν γένους συστηράμενοι, τῷ πολυθέω λεγομένῳ κακῷ προσνείμαστες έσυντος, ἀλλοὶ πρὸς ἀλλων τιμάς τραπομένοι ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις ἐμφυλίους τε καὶ ξενικάς ἐδημιούργησαν τὸν ἀπ’ αρχῆς γενέσεως ἀχρι τελευτῆς βίον πολέμων ἀκήρυκτων καταπλήσαντες. οἱ δὲ ἐνι γένει χαίροντες καὶ ἕνα πατέρα τὸν ὅρθον τιμῶντες λόγον, τὴν εὐάρμοστον καὶ πάμμουσον συμφωνίαν ἀρετῶν τεθαύμακότες, εὔδιον καὶ γαληνὸν δοκεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀργῶν καὶ ἄγενη τινα, ὡς ἐνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ σφόδρα ἀνδρείων καὶ ἱκονημένων κατὰ τῶν σπονδῶν λῦειν ἐπιχειροῦντων καὶ σύγχυσιν ὁρκῶν τοῖς ἐνιοὶ μελετῶντων τοῖς γὰρ εἰρηναιοὺς φύσει πολεμικοὺς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἀντικαθημένος καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας τοῖς τὸ ἐυσταθὲς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνατρέπουσιν. XII. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ ἐκάστου τῶν φιλαρέτων διάνοια διακειμένη τὸν τρόπον τούτον, ἔπειτα δὲ

This conception of the Logos recurs in §§ 62 and 146.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 40–44

Let us flee, then, without a backward glance from the unions which are unions for sin, but hold fast to our alliance with the comrades of good sense and knowledge. And therefore when I hear those who say "We are all sons of one man, we are peaceful" (Gen. xlii. 11), I am filled with admiration for the harmonious concert which their words reveal. "Ah! my friends," I would say, "how should you not hate war and love peace—you who have enrolled yourselves as children of one and the same Father, who is not mortal but immortal—God's Man, who being the Word of the Eternal must needs himself be imperishable?" Those whose system includes many origins for the family of the soul, who affiliate themselves to that evil thing called polytheism, who take in hand to render homage some to this deity, some to that, are the authors of tumult and strife at home and abroad, and fill the whole of life from birth to death with internecine wars. But those who rejoice in the oneness of their blood and honour one father, right reason, reverence that concert of virtues, which is full of harmony and melody, and live a life of calmness and fair weather. And yet that life is not, as some suppose, an idle and ignoble life, but one of high courage, and the edge of its spirit is exceeding sharp to fight against those who attempt to break treaties and ever practise the violation of the vows they have sworn. For it is the nature of men of peace that they prove to be men of war, when they take the field and resist those who would subvert the stability of the soul.

XII. The truth of my words is attested first by the consciousness of every virtue-lover, which feels what I have described, and secondly by a chorister of the
καὶ τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, ὦς κατα-
πνευσθεὶς ἐνθουσιῶν ἀνεφθέγξατο. "ὤ μῆτερ,
ηλίκων μὲ ἐτεκες, ἀνθρωπόν μάχης καὶ ἀνθρωπον
ἀγδίας πάσης τῆς γῆς; οὐκ ὡφείλησα, οὐδὲ
ὡφείλησάν μοι, οὐδὲ ἢ ἰσχύς μου ἐξέλπιν ἀπὸ
45 καταρῶν αὐτῶν." ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶς σοφὸς πᾶσι φαύλους
ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ἀσπονδός, οὐ τριηρῶν η μηχανημάτων
ἡ ὀπλών η στρατιωτῶν παρασκευή πρὸς ἄμυναν
46 χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ λογισμοῖς; οὔτ' ὁ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀπολέμω εἰρήνη συνεχὴ καὶ ἐπάλληλον
ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἵδιον καὶ κοινόν, μὴ κατὰ ἔθνη
καὶ χώρας η πόλεις καὶ κόμμας αὐτὸ μόνων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐν μέρει
συγκροτούμενον πόλεμον θεάσηται, τίς ἐστὶν ὦ γε
μή παραμὼν; κακίζων, νουθετῶν, σωφρονίζων, οὐ
μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ, τῆς ψυχῆς
αὐτῶ ἱρεμεῖν μὴ δυναμένης διὰ τὸ μεσοπόνηρον
47 φύσει; πάντα γὰρ ὃσα ἐν πολέμῳ δρᾶται κατ'
εἰρήνῃ συλώσων, ἀρπάζουσι, ἀνθραποδίζονται,
[412] λεγιλασθεὶς, | πορθοῦσιν, ὑβρίζουσι, αἰκίζονται,
φθείρουσι, αἰσχύνουσι, δολοφονοῦσι, ἀνικρον, ἢ
48 ὃσι δυνατώτεροι, κτείνουσι. πλούτον γὰρ ἡ δόξα
ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν σκοπὸν προτεθειμένος ἐπὶ τοῦτον
ἄσπερ βέλη τὸς τοῦ βίου πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀφιεῖ
ἰσότητος ἄλογοι, τὸ ἀνισον διώκει, κοινωνίαν ἀπο-
στρέφεσαι, μόνος τὰ πάντων ἐχειν ἄθροᾳ ἐσποῦδακε,
μισάνθρωπος καὶ μισάλληλος ἐστιν, ὑποκρινόμενος

1 For the question between ὡφείλησα ... ὡφείλησάν μοι
and ὡφέλησα ... ὡφελησάν με here and in § 50 see App. p. 553.
2 mss. χρώμενος ἐπιλογισμοῖς.
3 mss. παροίσι.

See App. p. 553.

Or "is organized." See on De Agr. 35.
prophetic company, who possessed by divine inspiration spoke thus: "O my mother, how great didst thou bear me, a man of combat and a man of displeasure in all the earth! I did not owe, nor did they owe to me, nor did my strength fail from their curses" (Jer. xv. 10). Yes, is not every wise man the mortal foe of every fool, a foe who is equipped not with triremes or engines, or body-armour or soldiers for his defence, but with reasonings only?

For who, when he sees that war, which amid the fullest peace is waged among all men continuously, phase ever succeeding phase, in private and public life, a war in which the combatants are not just nations and countries, or cities and villages, but also house against house and each particular man against himself, who, I say, does not exhort, reproach, admonish, correct by day and night alike, since his soul cannot rest, because its nature is to hate evil? For all the deeds of war are done in peace. Men plunder, rob, kidnap, spoil, sack, outrage, maltreat, violate, dishonour and commit murder sometimes by treachery, or if they be stronger without disguise. Every man sets before him money or reputation as his aim, and at this he directs all the actions of his life like arrows against a target. He takes no heed of equity, but pursues the inequitable. He eschews thoughts of fellowship, and his eager desire is that the wealth of all should be gathered in his single purse. He hates others, whether his hate be returned or not. His benevolence is hypocrisy. He is hand
PHILO

εὐνοιαν, κολακεῖας νόθης ἑταϊρὸς ὡν, φιλίας γνησίου
πολέμων, ἀληθείας ἐχθρός, ύπερμαχος ψεύδους,
βραδὺς ωφελῆσαι, ταχὺς βλάψαι, διαβαλεῖν προ-
χειρότατος, ύπερασπίσαι μελλητῆς, δεινὸς φενα-
κίσαι, ψευδορκότατος, ἀπιστοτάτος, δούλος ὅργῆς,
εὐκων ἡδονῆ, φύλαξ κακῶν, φθορεὺς ἀγαθῶν.

ΧΙΙΙ. ταύτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς
ἀδομένης καὶ θαυμαζομένης εἰρήνης περιμάχητα
κειμήλια, ἀπερ η ἐκάστου τῶν ἀφρόων ἀγαλματο-
φοροῦσα διάνοια τέθητε καὶ προσκυνεῖ. ἐφ' οἷς
εἰκότως καὶ πᾶς σοφὸς ἀχθεῖ, καὶ πρός γε τὴν
μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἑαυτοῦ, σοφίαν, εἰσκε λέγειν.
"ὁ μὴτερ, ἡλίκον με ἔτεκες," οὐ δυνάμει σώματος,
ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς <τὸ> μυσοπόνηρον ἀλκῆ, ἀνθρω-
πον ἀγαθίας καὶ μάχης, φύσει μὲν εἰρήνικον, διὰ
dὲ τὸ τοῦτο καὶ πολεμικόν κατὰ τῶν αἰσχυνόντων τὸ
περιμάχητον κάλλος εἰρήνης. "οὐκ ωφελησά, οὐδὲ
ωφελησάν μοι," οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἄγαθοῖς
ποτὲ ἐχρήσαντο, οὔτε ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐκεῖνων κακοῖς,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Μωυσεός γράμμα "ἐπιθύμημα
οὐδὲνος αὐτῶν ἔλαβον," σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
αὐτῶν γένος θησαυρισμένων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς
μέγιστον ὀφελος ὑπερβάλλον βλάβος. "οὐδὲ ἡ
ἰσχὺς μου ἔξελυτεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρων ἃς ἐτίθεντο μοι,"
δυνάμει δὲ κραταιοτάτη τῶν θείων ἐνειλημμένος
dογμᾶτων οὐδὲ κακούμενος ἔκάμφθην, ἀλλὰ ἔρρω-

1 mss. οὔτε, which is quite impossible. Wend., who retains
it in the text, notes "write οὔ, or place a lacuna after
ἐκάμφθην." It seems to me that, as the words are a para-
phrase of οὐδὲ ἡ ισχὺς κτλ. of the quotation, the easier
correction to οὐδὲ is reasonable.

2 mss. ἐκκακούμενος.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 48-51

and glove with canting flattery, at open war with genuine friendship; an enemy to truth, a defender of falsehood, slow to help, quick to harm, ever forward to slander, backward to champion the accused, skilful to cozen, false to his oath, faithless to his promise, a slave to anger, a thrall to pleasure, protector of the bad, corrupter of the good.

XIII. These and the like are the much-coveted treasures of the peace which men admire and praise so loudly—treasures enshrined in the mind of every fool with wonder and veneration. But to every wise man they are, as they should be, a source of pain, and often will he say to his mother and nurse, wisdom, "O mother, how great didst thou bear me!" Great, not in power of body, but in strength to hate evil, a man of displeasure and combat, by nature a man of peace, but for this very cause also a man of war against those who dishonour the much-prized loveliness of peace. "I did not owe nor did they owe to me," for neither did they use the good I had to give, nor I their evil, but, as Moses wrote, "I received from none of them what they desired" (Num. xvi. 15).

For all that comes under the head of their desire they kept as treasure to themselves, believing that to be the greatest blessing which was the supreme mischief. "Nor did my strength fail from the curses which they laid upon me," but with all my might and main I clung to the divine truths; I did not bend under their ill-treatment, but used my strength.

a E.V. "I have not taken one ass from them." The verse in the LXX. goes on οὐδὲ ἐκάκωσα οὐδένα αὐτῶν, which shows that οὐδὲνός is, as it is taken in the translation, masculine. Philo's interpretation, however (σύμπαν τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας γένος), suggests, perhaps, that he took it as neuter, "I did not receive their desire for anything."
μένως ὑπείρασα τοῖς ἔξεστον μὴ καθαρομένοις.

52 "ἐθετο" γὰρ "ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός εἰς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς
gείτοσιν ἡμῶν," ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμνοῖς που λέλεκταί,
pάντας τοὺς ὁρθῆς γνώμης ἐφιεμένους. ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἀντιλογικοὶ φύσει γεγόνασιν, ὥσιν τὸν ἐπιστήμης
καὶ ἀρετῆς ξηλὸν ἔσχον ἅτε, τοῖς γείτοσι ὕψος
ἀντιφιλονεικόντες, ἐλέγχοντες μὲν τὰς συνοίκους
ἡδονάς, ἐλέγχοντες δὲ τὰς ὁμοιαίτους ἐπιθυμίας,
δειλίας τε καὶ φόβους, τὸ παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν στίφος
δυσωποῦντες, ἐλέγχοντες μέντοι καὶ πάσαν αὐθη-
σων, περὶ μὲν ὃν εἶδον ὀφθαλμοὺς, περὶ δὲ
ηκουσαν ἄκοας, ὃς τε περὶ ἀτμῶν καὶ γεύσεως
περὶ χυμῶν, ἔτει δὲ ἀφάς περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς
προσπιττούσας τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων ἱδιότη-
tας, καὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν προφορικῶν λόγων περὶ ὤν
διεξελθεῖν ἢ ἐδοξε ; τίνα γὰρ ὑπὸ ὑ
διὰ τι ἡ αἰσθήσεις ἤσθετο ὡ ὁ λόγος διηρμήνευσεν
ἡ τὸ πάθος διείθηκεν, ἢξιον ἔρευναν μὴ παρέργως
καὶ τῶν σφαλμάτων διελέγχειν ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ
μηδενὶ τούτων ἀντιλέγων, ἀπασὶ δὲ ἔξης συνεπι-
νεύων ἐστον λέληθεν ἀπατῶν καὶ ἐπιτειχίζουν
ψυχῆς βαρεῖς γείτονας, οἱς ἀμείνον ὑπήκοοις ἡ ἁρ-
χουσί χρῆσατι ἡγεμονεύοντες μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ
πημανόντοι καὶ μεγάλα βασιλευόντος παρ' ἀυτοῖς
ἀνοίας, ὑπακούοντες δὲ τὰ δεόντ' ὑπηρετήσουσι
πειθηνίως οὔκεθ' ὅμοιος ἀπαυχενίζοντες.

55 οὕτως μέντοι τῶν μὲν ὑπακούειν μαθόντων, τῶν

1 καὶ μὲν δὴ] so mss. and Wend., but this combination of
particles seems to me hardly possible.

a Cf. De Gig. 46 τοὺς ἐάντων μὴ πεφυκότας νουθετεῖσθαι.
Lit. "the things belonging to the peculiarities of the
to reproach those who refused to effect their own purification.\textsuperscript{a} For “God has set us up for a contradiction to our neighbours,” as is said in a verse of the Psalms (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 7); us, that is all who desire right judgement. Yes, surely they are by nature men of contradiction, all who have ever been zealous for knowledge and virtue, who contend jealously with the “neighbours” of the soul; who test the pleasures which share our home, the desires which live at our side, our fears and faintings of heart, and put to shame the tribe of passions and vices. Further, they test also every sense, the eyes on what they see, the ears on what they hear, the sense of smell on its perfumes, the taste on its flavours, the touch on the characteristics which mark the qualities of substances as they come in contact with it.\textsuperscript{b} And lastly they test the utterance on the statements which it has been led to make. For what our senses perceive, or our speech expresses, or our emotion causes us to feel, and how or why each result is attained, are matters which we should scrutinize carefully and expose every error that we find. He who contradicts none of these, but assents to all as they come before him, is unconsciously deceiving himself and raising up a stronghold of dangerous neighbours to menace the soul, neighbours who should be dealt with as subjects, not as rulers. For if they have the mastery, since folly is their king, the mischief they work will be great and manifold; but as subjects they will render due service and obey the rein, and chafe no more against the yoke.

And, when these have thus learnt the powers in bodies” (τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἰδιότητας being practically equivalent to τῶν ἰδιοτητῶν). See further App. p. 554.
δ' οὐκ ἐπιστήμη μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάμει τὴν ἀρχήν λαβόντων πάντες οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπέρμαχοι ψυχῆς συμφρονήσουσι λογισμοὶ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προσελθόντες ἐροῦσιν· "οἱ παιδεῖς σου εἰλήφασι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὔ διαπεφώνηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς," ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ μουσικῆς ὀργανὰ ἄκρως ἡρμοσμένα πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις, οὕτως ἡμεῖς πάσαις ταῖς υφηγήσεσι συνηχήσαμεν, ἐκμελές ἢ ἀπωδὸν ὀυδέν ὀυτε ῥήμα εἰπόντες οὔτε ἔργον διαπραξάμενοι, ὡς τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ἀμοῦσων χορὸν πάντα ἀφωνον καὶ νεκρὸν ἀποδείξαι γελασθέντα τὴν τῶν σωματικῶν τροφὸν. Μαδιὰμ καὶ τὸν ἐκγονον αὐτῆς δερμάτινον ὄγκον Βεελφεγώρ ὄνομα ὑμοῦντα. γένος γάρ ἔσμεν "τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τοῦ" τὸν θεὸν ὅρωντος Ἰσραήλ," ὡς "διεφώνησεν οὐδεὶς εἰς," ἵνα τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὀργανον, ὁ κόσμος πᾶς, ταῖς ἀρμονίαις μουσικῶς μελωδηταί. διά τοῦτο καὶ Μωσῆς τῷ πολεμικωτάτῳ λόγῳ, ὅς καλεῖται Φινεές, γέρας εἰρήνην φησὶ δεδοσθαὶ, ὅτι ζήλον τὸν ἄρετῆς λαβὼν καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς κακίαν ἀρά-

1 MSS. οὐδὲ.

2 τροφὸν Mangey: mss. and Wend. τροφήν. See App. p. 554.

3 I have adopted ὑμοῦντα (originally suggested by G. H. W.) for the ὑπονοῦντα of mss. and Wend., who defends it as an antithesis to ὅρωντος in the next sentence. For a discussion of the text of the whole sentence see App. p. 554.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 55-57

lesson of obedience, and those have assumed the command which not only knowledge but power has given them, all the thoughts that attend and guard the soul will be one in purpose and approaching Him that ranks highest among them will speak thus: "Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war who were with us, and there is no discordant voice" (Num. xxxi. 49).a "We," they will continue, "like instruments of music where all the notes are in perfect tune, echo with our voices all the lessons we have received. We speak no word and do no deed that is harsh or grating, and thus we have made a laughing-stock of all that other dead and voiceless choir, the choir of those who know not the muse, the choir which hymns Midian, the nurse of things bodily, and her offspring, the heavy leathern weight whose name is Baal-Peor. For we are the 'race of the Chosen ones of that Israel' who sees God, 'and there is none amongst us of discordant voice'" (Ex. xxiv. 11)b that so the whole world, which is the instrument of the All, may be filled with the sweet melody of its undiscording harmonies. And therefore too Moses tells us how peace was assigned as the prize of that most warlike reason, called Phinehas (Num. xxv. 12), because, inspired with zeal for virtue and waging war against vice, he ripped

a For Philo's treatment of this text see De Ebr. 114 ff. and note.
b LXX. καὶ τῶν ἐπίλεκτων τοῦ 'Ισραήλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἰς, E.V. “and on the elders of Israel he laid not his hand.” Here clearly διαφωνεῖν means “to perish,” and so perhaps in Num. xxxi. 49. rather than “failed to answer his name.” Philo probably understood this, but for the purpose of his musical allegory gives the word its literal meaning.
μενος δλην αντεμε γενεσων, εξης τοις βουλομενοις, διακυψας και διερευνησαμενοις ακριβως οφει προ άκοης σαφεστερω χρησαμενοι μαρτυρι, πιστευσαι, δτη γεμει ηδε θυντων απιστως, εκ μονου του

58 δοκειν ηρτημενον. θαυμασιος μεν ουν η

λεχθεσα συμφωνια, θαυμασιωτατη δε και πασας

tas άρμονιας υπερβαλλουσα η ουν οπως, καθ

ην ο λαος άπας ομοθυμαδον εισαγεται λεγων·

"παντα δεα επεν ο θεος, ποιησομεν και άκουσο-

59 μεθα"· ουτοι γαρ ουκετι εξαρχουντει πειθονται λαγωι,

αλλα τω του παντος ήγεμονι θεω, δι δν προς τα

[414] έργα φθανουσι μαλλον η τους | λογους απαντων-

tes· των γαρ άλλων επειδαν άκουσωσι πραττοντων

ουτοι, το παραδοξοτατον, ήπο κατοκωχησει ένθρεου

πραξεων φαι προτερου, ειτα άκουσσους, ηναι μη

didaskalια και θηγησει δοκουσιν, αλλα έθελορμο

και αυτοκελευςτον διανοια προς τα καλα των έργων

υπανταν· έργασαμενοι δε άκουσσους φαισιν, οπως

επικρινους τα πραχθεντα, ει λογους θεους και ιεραις

παρανεσεις συναδει.

60 XIV. Τους δε συνομοσαμενους επ άδικημασιν

"απο ανατολων " φησι "κινησατας ευρειν πεδιον

ην τη γη Σενααρ κακει κατοικησαι," φυσικωτατα.

1 Perhaps εξης <δε>. Wend. places a lacuna before εξης, Cohn after it, corrected to εξης. Neither gives any suggestion as to what this lacuna contained. My reasons for thinking that there is no such lacuna are given in note a below.

a The course of the thought, as I understand, is this. By close examination, particularly of the senses (§§ 52, 53), we obtain a mastery of them, and thus reach the harmony of which the Captains of Num. xxxi. spoke (§ 55). This involves 42
open all created being; how in their turn that prize is given to those who, after diligent and careful scrutiny, following the more certain testimony of sight, rather than hearing, have the will to accept the faith that mortality is full of unfaith and clings only to the seeming. Wonderful then indeed is the symphony of voices here described, but most wonderful of all, exceeding every harmony, is that united universal symphony in which we find the whole people declaring with one heart, "All that God hath said we will do and hear" (Ex. xix. 8). Here the precentor whom they follow is no longer the Word, but God the Sovereign of all, for whose sake they become quicker to meet the call to action than the call of words. For other men act after they have heard, but these under the divine inspiration say—strange inversion—that they will act first and hear afterwards, that so they may be seen to go forward to deeds of excellence, not led by teaching or instruction, but through the self-acting, self-dictated instinct of their own hearts. And when they have done, then, as they say, they will hear, that so they may judge their actions, whether they chime with the divine words and the sacred admonitions.

XIV. Now those who conspired for iniquities, "moved," we are told, "from the 'east' (or 'rising') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt

the conviction of the untrustworthiness of all created things, and thus brings the Captains into line with Phinehas, whose ripping up of the "woman" γένεσις meant the same thing. Thus the prize of true peace goes first to Phinehas, but also in their turn (ἐξῆς) to the Captains. Historically, of course, they are linked with Phinehas, who was their leader in the war against Midian.

Or "through whom." See note on § 127.
PHILO

διπτὸν γὰρ εἶδος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνατολῆς, τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον, τὸ δὲ χείρον, ἄμεινον μὲν, ὅταν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων τρόπον ἀνάσχη τὸ ἀρετῶν φέγγος, χείρον δ', ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐπισκιασθῶσι, κακίαι δὲ ἀνάσχυσι. παράδειγμα τοῦ μὲν προτέρου τόδε: "καὶ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα ἐν Ἐδέμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς," οὐ χερσαίων φυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐρανίων ἀρετῶν, ἃς ἐξ ἀσωμάτου τοῦ παρ' ἐαυτῷ φωτὸς ἀσβέστους εἰσαεὶ γενησομένας ὁ φυτουργὸς ἀν-

61 στάτη γε πρόσρησις, εάν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσῃς. εάν δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἔκεινον, θείας ἀδιαφοροῦντα εἰκόνος, ομολογήσεις ὅτι εὐθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη

62 τὸ ἀνατολῆς1 αὐτῶ: τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον ὦν ὁ τῶν ὦν ἀνέτειλε πατήρ, ὃν ἔτερωθι πρωτόγονον ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι, μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὄνομα, πρὸς παράδειγμα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων ἐμόρφων ἐμὸρφου τὰ ἔδη.

63 XV. Τοῦ δὲ χειρονος ἀνατολῆς εἶδος ὑπόδειγμα τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βουλομένου τὸν ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταράσασθαι. πρὸς γὰρ ἀνατολαῖς εἰσάγεται κάκεινοι αἰκῶν, αἰτίνες δημωνεύονται ταῖς προτέραις ἐναντίοτητα καὶ μάχην πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐξούσιων. "እ Ἔκ Μεσοποταμίας" γὰρ φησι "μετεπέμψατο με Βαλάκ, εἷς ὄρεων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, γέγον.

1 Or perhaps ἀνατολή.

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a E.V. "branch" (margin, "bud").
there" (Gen. xi. 2). How true to nature! For there are two kinds of "rising" in the soul, the better and the worse. The better is when the beam of the virtues rises like the rays of the sun; the worse when virtues pass into the shadow and vices rise above the horizon. We have an example of the former in these words: "And God planted a pleasure in Eden towards the sun-rise" (Gen. ii. 8). That garden was not a garden of the plants of the soil, but of heavenly virtues, which out of His own incorporeal light the Planter brought to their rising, never to be extinguished. I have heard also an oracle from the lips of one of the disciples of Moses, which runs thus: "Behold a man whose name is the rising" (Zech. vi. 12), strangest of titles, surely, if you suppose that a being composed of soul and body is here described. But if you suppose that it is that Incorporeal one, who differs not a whit from the divine image, you will agree that the name of "rising" assigned to him quite truly describes him. For that man is the eldest son, whom the Father of all raised up, and elsewhere calls him His first-born, and indeed the Son thus begotten followed the ways of his Father, and shaped the different kinds, looking to the archetypal patterns which that Father supplied.

XV. Of the worse kind of rising we have an example in the description of him who wished to curse one who was praised by God. For he too is represented as dwelling at the "rising," and this rising though it bears the same name as the other is in direct conflict with it. "Balak," we read, "sent for me from Mesopotamia from the mountains from the rising saying, 'Come hither, curse for me..."
δεύρο ἄρασαι μοι ὡς μη ἄραται ὁ θεός." ἔρμη-
[415] νεῦται δὲ Βαλάκ ἄνους, εὐθυβολώτατα· πῶς | γὰρ
οὐκ ἄνοια δεινὴ τὸ ὃν ἑλπίσαι ἀπατᾶσθαι καὶ
γνώμην αὐτοῦ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ἀνθρώπων σοφί-
66 σμασι παρατρέπεσθαι; διὰ τούτῳ καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν
οἰκεὶ καταπεποντωμένης ὃσπερ ἐν μεσαντάτῳ
ποταμῷ βυθῷ τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυνα-
μένης ἀνανήξασθαι καὶ ἀνακύψαι· τούτῳ δὲ τὸ
πάθος ἀνατολῇ μὲν ἀφροσύνης, κατάδυσις δὲ
67 εὐλογιστίας ἐστὶν. οἱ τὴν ἀσύμφωνον
ὁν ἀρμοζόμενοι συμφωνών ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κινεῖσθαι
λέγονται. πότερον ἄρα γε τῶν <κατ ἀρετὴν ἢ
tῶν> κατὰ κακίαν; ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν τῶν κατ᾽ ἁρετὴν,
pαντελῆς ὑπογράφεται διαζευγίας· εἰ δὲ τῶν κατὰ
cακίαν, ἦνωμὲν τις κίνησις, καθάπερ ἐπὶ χειρῶν
ἐχει, οὐκ ἰδία κατὰ ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ
68 τινὶ τῷ ὅλῳ σώματι συγκινουμένων. ἄρχῃ γὰρ
καὶ ἀφορμὴ φαύλῳ πρὸς τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας
tὸ κακίας χωρίον· δοσὶ δὲ μετανάσται
μὲν ἁρετής εὐγένοντο, ταῖς δὲ ἀφροσύνης ἐχρῆσατο
ἀφορμαῖς, οἰκειότατον εὐφόρτους οἰκοδομής τότον, δὲ
Ἐβραίων μὲν γλώττη Σιναάρ, Ἐλλήνων δὲ ἐκ-
69 τιναγμὸς καλεῖται· σπαράττεται γὰρ καὶ κλονεῖται
καὶ τυνάττεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν φαύλων βίος, κυκώμενος
ἀεὶ καὶ ταραττόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ἵνα τοῦ ἄγαθοῦ
γνήσίῳ θησαυρίζομεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καθάπερ γὰρ
τῶν ἀποτυπωμένων ὧν μὴ ἐνώσει διακρατεῖται
πάντα ἐκπίπτει, τούτον μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ
συμπεπνευκότος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδικεῖν ἐκτετωμάχθαι τὸν

a Lit. "the things of virtue . . . of vice."
him whom God does not curse’” (Num. xxiii. 7, 8). Now Balak is by interpretation “foolish,” and the interpretation is most true. For surely it were the pitch of folly to hope that the Existent should be deceived, and that His surest purpose should be upset by the devices of men? And this is the reason why Balaam also dwells in “Mid-river-land,” for his understanding is submerged in the midmost depths of a river, unable to swim its way upward and lift its head above the surface. This condition is the rising of folly and the setting of reasonableness. Now these makers of a music whose harmony is disharmony, moved, we are told, “from the rising.” Is it the rising of virtue that is meant, or the rising of vice? If the former, the movement suggested is one of complete severance. But if it is the latter, it is what we may call an united movement, as when we move our hands, not apart or in isolation, but in connexion and accordance with the whole body. For the place where vice is located serves as the initial starting-point to the fool for those activities which defy nature. Now all who have wandered away from virtue and accepted the starting-points of folly, find and dwell in a most suitable place, a place which in the Hebrew tongue is called Shinar and in our own “shaking out.” For all the life of the fools is torn and hustled and shaken, ever in chaos and disturbance, and keeping no trace of genuine good treasured within it. For just as things which are shaken off all fall out, if not held fast through being part of a unified body, so too I think, when a man has conspired for wrongdoing, his soul

\[b\] For the Stoic conception of ἐρωτήματος see note on Quod Det. 49.
τρόπον ψυχῆς πᾶσαν γὰρ ἱδέαν ἀρετῆς ἀπορρίπτει, ὡς μῆτε σκιὰν μῆτε εἰδωλον αὐτῆς ἐμφανεσθαι τὸ
70 παράπαν. XVI. τὸ γοῦν φιλοσώματον γένος τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ’ “ὕπο τὸ ύδωρ” φεύγουν, ουτέ ἄπειρος ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν παθῶν φοράν, εἰσάγεται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ὑποδράμη
τὰ πάθη, τινάττεται καὶ κυκᾶται, τὸ μὲν εὐσταθὲς καὶ εἰρήναιον ἀποβάλλον ἀρετῆς, τὸ δὲ ταραχώδες ἑπαναφυάμενον κακίας: λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐξετύναξε τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους κατὰ μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης φεύγον-
71 τας ὑπὸ τὸ ύδωρ.” οὐτοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ μηδὲ τῶν Ἰωσῆφ εἰδότες, τὸν ποικίλον τὸν βίον τύφων, ἀλλ’ ἀποκεκλυμένοις χρώμενοι τοῖς ἀμαρτή-
μασιν, οὐδὲ ἵνας ἡ σκιὰν καὶ εἰδωλον καλοκαγαθίας 72 ταμευούμενοι: “ἀνέστη” γὰρ φησὶ “βασιλεὺς ἐτέρος ἐπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων,” ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὸ πανώστατον καὶ νεώτατον αἰσθητὸν ἄγαθον “ἡδεῖ τὸν Ἰωσῆφ,” ὡστὶς οὐ μόνον τελειώτητας ἀλλὰ καὶ προκοπάς, οὐδὲ ἑνάργειαν τὴν οἰάν δι’ ὀράσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλίαν τὴν δι’ ἀκοῆς γνησίου καλόν, 73 ἀκοῆς σύμβολον. ο ο μὲν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων νοῦς ἀπορρίπτει πᾶσαν τὴν ἁγάθον | φύσιν τρόπον τινὰ τυπαττόμενος, ἐμπαλην δ’ δὲ τῶν ἀστείων, ἅμιγος καὶ ἀκράτου μεταποιούμενος τῆς τῶν

1 mss. αὐτῆ.

See App. p. 554.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 69–73

is subject to a “shaking out,” for it casts away every form of good so that no shadow or semblance of it can be seen at all.

XVI. We have example in the Egyptians, the representatives of those who love the body, who are shewn to us as flying not from the water, but “under the water,” that is under the stream of the passions, and when they are submerged therein they are shaken and wildly disordered; they cast away the stability and peacefulness of virtue and take upon them the confusion of vice. For we are told, “that he shook off the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, fleeing under the water” (Ex. xiv. 27).

These are they who know not even Joseph, the many-sided pride of worldly life, and give way to their sins without veil or disguise, husbanding no vestige or shadow or semblance of honourable living. For there rose up, we are told, another King over Egypt, who “knew not” even “Joseph” (Ex. i. 8)—the good that is, which is given by the senses, the last and latest in the scale of goods. It is this same King who would destroy not only all perfection but all progress; not only the clear vision such as comes of sight, but the instruction also that comes of hearing. He says, “Come hither, curse me Jacob, and come hither, send thy curses upon Israel” (Num. xxiii. 7), and that is equivalent to “Put an end to them both, the soul’s sight and the soul’s hearing, that it may neither see nor hear any true and genuine excellence.” For Israel is the type of seeing, and Jacob of hearing.

The mind of such as these is in a sense shaken and casts forth the whole nature of good, while the mind of the virtuous in contrast claims as its own the Idea of the good, an Idea pure and unalloyed, and shakes and
άγαθών ιδέας, ἀποτυγάττει καὶ ἀποβάλλει τὰ φαύλα. 74 θέασαι γοῦν τὸν ἀσκητὴν οἷα φησιν· "ἄρατε τοὺς" θεοὺς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς μεθ' ύμῶν ἐκ μέσου ύμῶν, καὶ καθαρίσασθε καὶ ἀλλάξατε τὰς στολὰς ύμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντες ἀναβώμεν εἰς Βαυθῆλ," ἵνα, κἂν Λάβαν ἔρευνναι αἰτήται, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ μὴ εὑρεθῇ τὰ ἐίδωλα, <ἀλλὰ> πράγματα ὑφεστηκότα καὶ ὄντως ὑπαρκτά, ἐστηλιτευμένα ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοφοῦ διανοίᾳ, ὅπως καὶ τὸ αὐτομάθης γένος ᾿Ισαὰκ κληρονομεῖ· τὰ γὰρ ὑπαρκτὰ μόνος ὅτις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνει.

75 ΧVII. Παρατίθει δ' ὅτι οὐ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐν ὃ κατέμειναν, ἀλλὰ εὑρεῖν ἀνα-ζητήσαντας πάντως καὶ σκεφαμένους τὸ ἐπιτηδειό-τατον ἀφροσύνης χωρίον. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πᾶς ἄφρων οὐ παρ' ἔτερον λαμβάνει έαντὼ τὰ δὲ κακὰ ζητῶν ἀνευρίσκει, μὴ μόνοις ἀρκούμενοι τοῦτοι ἐξ ἄπερ ἡ μοχθηρᾶ φύσις δὴ έαντῆς βαδίζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστιθέεις τὰ ἐκ τοῦ κακοτεχνεῖν τέλεια γυμνάσια. ματα. καὶ εἴθε μέντοι πρὸς ὅλον ἔνδιατρύμας αὐτοῖς χρόνον μετανίστατο. γνωὶ δὲ καὶ καταμένειν ἄξιοι· λέγεται γὰρ ὃτι εὑρόντες τὸ πεδίον κατ-φώκησαν ως ἐν πατρίδι, ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης παρώκησαν. ἢττον γὰρ ἂν δεινὸν συντυχόντα ἀμαρτήμασιν ÿνεῖα αὐτὰ καὶ ωσπερ ἄλλοδατα νομίσας, ἀλλὰ μη οἰκεία καὶ συγγενῆ ύπολαβεῖν εἶναι παρεπιδημή-σαντες γὰρ κἂν ἀπέστησαν αὐθις, κατοικήσαντες δὲ βεβάιως καταμένειν εἰσάπαν ἔμελλον. 77 διὰ τοῦτο οἱ κατὰ Μωυσῆν σοφοὶ πάντες εἰσάγονται

1 mss. φύλλα. 2 mss. οὖν. 3 mss. ἀφροσύνης, which perhaps retain in the sense of "the folly-spot best suited to them." 4 μόνον mss.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 73-77

casts off what is worthless. Thus mark how the Man 74 of Practice speaks: "Take away the alien gods who are with you from the midst of you, and purify yourselves and change your raiment and let us rise up and go up to Bethel" (Gen. xxxv. 2, 3), so that, even though Laban demand a search, no idols may be found in all the house (Gen. xxxi. 35) but veritable substantial realities a graven, as though on stone, on the heart of the wise, realities which are the heritage of the self-taught nature, Isaac. For Isaac alone receives from his father the "real substance" (Gen. xxv. 5).

XVII. Again observe that he does not say that 75 they came to the plain in which they stayed, but that only after full search and exploration they found the spot which was the fittest for folly. For indeed every fool does not just take to him what another gives, but he seeks for evil and discovers it. He is not content with the evils only to which depravity proceeds in its natural course, but adds the perfected efforts of the artist in wickedness. And would that he might only stay for a while among them and then change his habitation, but as it is he determines to abide there. For they "found," we are told, "the plain and dwelt there," as though it were their fatherland. They did not sojourn there as on a foreign soil. For it were a less grievous thing if when they fell in with sins, they should count them strangers and outlanders as it were, instead of holding them to be of their own household and kin. For were it a passing visit they would have departed in course of time; their dwelling there was a sure evidence of a permanent stay. This is why all whom 77 Moses calls wise are represented as sojourners.

a See note on De Mig. 94.
παροικούντες· αἱ γὰρ τοῦτων ὡγχαὶ στέλλονται μὲν ἀποικίαν οὐδέποτε τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, εἰώθασι δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ φιλοθεάμονος καὶ φιλομαθοῦς εἰς τὴν περίγειον φύσιν ἀποδημεῖν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐνδιατρίψασαι σώμασι τὰ αἰσθήτα καὶ θνητὰ δ' αὐτῶν πάντα κατίδωσιν, ἐπανέρχονται ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ὅθεν ὤρμήσαν τὸ πρῶτον, πατρίδα μὲν τὸν οὐράνιον χῶρον ἐν ὃ πολιτεύονται, ἐξην δὲ τὸν περίγειον ἐν ὃ παρώκησαν νομίζουσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀποικίαν στειλαμένοις ἀντὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη ὅποτο πατρίς, ἡ δ' ἐκπέμφασα μένει τοῖς ἀποδεδημηκόσιν, εἰς ἄν καὶ ποθοῦσιν ἐπανέρχεσθαι. ]  

79 τοιγαροῦν εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ἔρει τοῖς νεκροφύλαξι καὶ ταμίαις τῶν θνητῶν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ βίου καὶ τύφου· "πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος εἰμι ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν," αὐτόχθονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι· τοῖς δὲ δεδημηκόσιν, εἰς ὅνομα· Ἐφρών, δ' ἐρμηνεύεται χοῦς. εἰκότως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς Ἰακώβ τὴν ἐν σώματι παροικίαν ὀλοφύρεται λέγων· "αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ζωῆς μου, ὡς παροικία, μικρὰ καὶ πονηρὰ γεγόνασιν· ὅκι ἐξίκοτο εἰς ἡμέρας τῶν πατέρων μου ὡς"  

80 παρώκησαν." τῷ δ' αὐτοδιδάκτῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἐχρήσθη τούτῳ· "μὴ καταβῆς εἰς τὸ πάθος Αἰγυπτον, κατοίκησον δ' ἐν τῇ γῆ ἡν ἂν σοι εἴπω," τῇ ἀδείκτῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ φρονήσει, "καὶ παροίκησαι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ," τῇ δεικνυμένῃ καὶ  

1 MSS. δὴ (δέ) ποτε.  
2 Perhaps as Mangey <τὸν> ὄνομα.  

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*a The LXX of course intended no such distinction between κατοίκησαι and παροίκησαι, or between the land of the first half and that of the second half of the verse.

52
Their souls are never colonists leaving heaven for a new home. Their way is to visit earthly nature as men who travel abroad to see and learn. So when they have stayed awhile in their bodies, and beheld through them all that sense and mortality has to shew, they make their way back to the place from which they set out at the first. To them the heavenly region, where their citizenship lies, is their native land; the earthly region in which they became sojourners is a foreign country. For surely, when men found a colony, the land which receives them becomes their native land instead of the mother city, but to the traveller abroad the land which sent him forth is still the mother to whom also he yearns to return. We shall not be surprised, then, to find Abraham, when he rose from the life of death and vanity, saying to the guardians of the dead and stewards of mortality, "I am a stranger and sojourner with you" (Gen. xxiii. 4). "You," he means, "are children of the soil who honour the dust and clay before the soul and have adjudged the precedence to the man named Ephron, which being interpreted is 'clay.'" And just as natural are the words of the Practiser Jacob, when he laments his sojourn in the body. "The days of the years of my life, the days which I sojourn, have been few and evil, they have not reached to the days of my fathers which they sojourned" (Gen. xlvii. 9). Isaac, too, the self-taught had an oracle vouchsafed to him thus, "Go not down into Egypt," that is passion, "but dwell in the land which I say to thee" (that is in the wisdom which has no material body, and none can shew it to another), "and sojourn in this land."
PHILO

αἰσθητὴ οὐσία, πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι ὅτι παροικεῖ μὲν ὁ σοφὸς ὡς ἐν ἔξνη σώματι αἰσθητῷ, κατοικεὶ δ᾽ ὡς ἐν πατρίδι νοηταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἃς λαλεῖ ὁ θεός ἀδιαφορούσας λόγων θείων. Μανυσῆς δὲ "γειώρας" φησίν "ἐιμί ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρια," διαφερὸντως οὐ μόνον ἔξνην τὴν ἐν σώματι μονὴν ὡς οἱ μέτοικοι νομίζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτριώσεως ἀξίαν οὐκ ἔμπαλιν οὐκειώσεως ὑπολομμῆσιν.

XVIII. Τὸ δ’ ὁμόφωνον καὶ ὁμόγλωττον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὁνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁδικῶν πράξεων κοινωνία βουλόμενος ὁ φαῦλος ἐπιδείξασθαι πόλιν ἀρχεται καὶ πύργον, ὡς ἀκρόπολιν τυραννώ, κακία κατασκευάζειν, καὶ τοὺς θιασώτας πάντας παρακαλεῖ τοῦ ἐργοῦ μετασχεῖν τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν προευτρεπισαμένους ὑλήν. "ἴτε" γὰρ φησὶ "πλινθεύσωμεν πλίνθους καὶ ὄπτησωμεν αὐτὰς πυρί," ἵσον τῷ νῦν ἐστίν ἡμῖν συμπεφορημένα καὶ συγκεχυμένα τὰ πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐναργῆ τύπων μηδένα μηδενὸς έιδους προφαίνεσθαι. ἀρμόττει δ’ ὀσπερ ἀνείδεον τινα καὶ ἀποιον οὐσίαν τὸ τε πάθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν παραλαβόντας εἰς τὰς ἀρμοττούσας πουότητας καὶ τὰ προσεχέστατα μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων ἄει τεμεῖν εἴδη πρὸς τέ ἐναργεστέραν κατάληψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσιν τε καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, ἡ πλείους ἔδονάς καὶ τέρψεις έοικεν

a The fanciful thought is as follows: What we speak is words not things. Therefore when God "speaks a land" (meaning virtues), those virtues are God’s words. He has this much excuse that eὶπω followed by the things spoken of is doubtful Greek.

b προσεχής (next) frequently means (the species) next to the genus, i.e. primary. Here each eιδος is προσεχής to the next above it.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 81–85

( Gen. xxvi. 2, 3), that is in that form of existence which may be shewn and is perceived by the senses. The purpose of this is to shew him that the wise man does but sojourn in this body which our senses know, as in a strange land, but dwells in and has for his fatherland the virtues known through the mind, which God “speaks” and which thus are identical with divine words. But Moses says, “I am an outlander in the alien land” (Ex. ii. 22). Thus he uses stronger terms. His tenancy of the body is not to him merely that of the foreigner as immigrant settlers count it. To alienate himself from it, never to count it as his own, is, he holds, to give it its due.

XVIII. Now the wicked man wishes to display his unity of voice and speech through fellowship in unjust deeds rather than in actual words, and therefore begins to build a city and a tower which will serve for the hold of virtue, as a citadel for a despot. He exhorts all those who form his company to take their share in the work, but first to prepare the suitable material. “Come,” he says, “let us make bricks and bake them with fire” (Gen. xi. 3). The meaning of this is as follows. At present we have all the contents of the soul in inextricable confusion, so that no clear form of any particular kind is discernible. Our right course is to take the passion and vice, which at present is a substance devoid of form and quality, and divide it by continuous analysis into the proper categories and the subdivisions in regular descending order till we reach the ultimate; thus we shall obtain both a clearer apprehension of them and that experienced use and enjoyment which is calculated to multiply our pleasure and delight.
86 εντίκτειν. πάρτε ὁυν οἱ λογισμοὶ πάντες βουλευτῶν των τρόπων εἰς τὸ ψυχῆς συνεδριον, ὁςοι <πρὸς> τὸν δικαιοσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς συγκατατάττεσθε ὀλεθρον, καὶ πεφροντισμένως δια-
87 σκεψῶμεθα, ὡς ἐπιθέμενοι κατορθώσωμεν· τῆς μέντοι κατορθώσεως ἐσονταὶ θεμέλιοι κραταίοτατοι οἶδε, ἄμορφοι μορφώσαι τύποις καὶ σχῆμασι καὶ περιγραφαῖς ἐκαστον ἰδία διακρίναι, μὴ κραδαι-
[418] ψιμενα1 καὶ χωλαῖνοντα, ἀλλὰ | πεπηγότα βεβαιῶς,
88 τῇ τοῦ τετραγώνου σχήματος οἰκειούμενα φύσει— ἀκράδαντον γὰρ τοῦτο γε—, ἵνα πλίνθου τινὰ τρόπον ἀκλινῶς ἔρημαστη τῆς βεβαίας καὶ τὰ ἐπ-
89 σκευαζομένους χαίροντα οἰκοδομήμασιν. έπειδὰν γὰρ τὶς τὴν ύδατος καὶ γῆς τὴν μὲν υγρὰν, τὴν δ' αὖ στερέαν οὐσίαν, διαλυομένας καὶ φθειρο-
90 μένας, ἀνακερασάμενος τρίτον μεθόριον ἀμφοῖν ἀπεργάσηται, δ' καλεῖται πηλὸς, τέμνων κατὰ μοῖρας τοῦτον οὐ παύεται σχῆματα περιτιθέσις ἐκάστῳ τῶν τμημάτων τὰ οἰκεία, ὅπως εὐ-
παγέστερα τε καὶ εὐφορώτερα γένηται· ῥαδίως γὰρ οὔτως ἔμελλε τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα τελειοῦσθαι.
1 mss. κραδαῖοντα.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 86–90

Forward then, come as senators to the council-hall of the soul, all you reasonings which are ranged together for the destruction of righteousness and every virtue, and let us carefully consider how our attack may succeed. The firmest foundations for such success will be to give form to the formless by assigning them definite shapes and figures and to distinguish them in each case by separate limitations, not with the uncertain equilibrium of the halting, but firmly planted, assimilated to the nature of the square—that most stable of figures—and thus rooted brick-like in unwavering equilibrium they will form a secure support for the superstructure.

XIX. Every mind that sets itself up against God, the mind which we call “King of Egypt,” that is of the body, proves to be a maker of such structures. For Moses describes Pharaoh as rejoicing in buildings constructed of brick. This is natural, for when the workman has taken the two substances of earth and water, one solid and the other liquid, but both in the process of dissolution or destruction, and by mixing them has produced a third on the boundary line between the two, called clay, he divides it up into portions and without interruption gives each of the sections its proper shape. He wishes thus to make them firmer and more manageable since this, he knows, is the easiest way to secure the completion of the building. This process is copied by the naturally depraved, when they first mix the unreasoning and exuberant impulses of passion with the gravest vices, and then divide the mixture into its kinds,

a Or “council,” the soul being looked upon as a collective body; cf. De Mig. 60.

b Or “more capable of sustaining the structure.”

57
διαπλάττοντοι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν οἱ βαρυδαιμονες, ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτειχισμὸς μετέωρος ἀρθή·
σεται, τὴν αἴσθησιν εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ ἀκοῆν, ἔτι δὲ
γεύσην δοφρησίν τε καὶ ἀφῆν, τὸ δὲ πάθος εἰς
ηδονήν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον τε καὶ λύπην, τὸ τε
κακιῶν γένος εἰς ἀφροσύνην, ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν,
ἀδικίαν καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῆ τούτως.

XX. ἦδη δὲ καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες
tines οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἤλειφαν,
ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀμένους καὶ γένους ὄντας ὅρατοι
βιασάμενοι κατηνάγκασαν πλυνθουργεῖν καὶ πόλεις
οἰκοδομεῖν ὄχυρας τῶν βασιλείων δοκοῦτι νῦ,
βουλόμενοι τούτο ἐνδείξασθαι, ὃτι δοῦλον μὲν τὸ
ἀγαθὸν κακοῦ πάθος τ᾿ εὐπαθείας δυνατότερον,
φρόνησις δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετή ἀφροσύνης καὶ κακίας
ἀπάσης ὕπηκοον, ὡς ὑπηρετεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄττ ἂν
προστάτη τὸ δεσπόζον. ἰδοὺ, γάρ φησι, καὶ ὁ
ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ διανυγέστατος καὶ καθαρώτατος
καὶ πάντων ὀξυωπέστατος, οὐ μόνον τὸν θεὸν ἔξεστι
καθορᾶν, ὅνομα Ἰσραήλ, ἐνθεΐεσ ποτε τὸς σω-
ματικὸς Αἰγύπτου δικτύους ἐπιταγμάτων βαρυ-
tάτων ἀνέχεται, ὡς πλύθων καὶ πάν τὸ γεώδης
ἔργαζεθαι μετὰ ἄργαλεωτάτων καὶ ἀτρυτοτάτων
πόνων· ἕφ οἷς εἰκότως ὀδυνᾶται καὶ στένει,
tούτο μόνον ὡς ἐν κακοῖς τεθησαυρισμένος κειμήλιον,

93 ἐκδακρύσαι τὰ παρόντα· λέγεται γὰρ ὕμως ὅτι
catεστέναξαν οἱ νεοὶ Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν. ὑμῶν
tὶς δ᾿ οὐκ ἂν τῶν εὗ φρονοῦντων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐργά καὶ τὰς ύπερβαλλούσας
σποудάς, αἰς ἂς ὑμῶν ἀργυρισμὸν ὡς ἄδειαν τὴν ἐν

* See App. p. 554.
sense into sight and hearing, and again into taste and smell and touch; passion into pleasure and lust, and fear and grief; vices in general into folly, profligacy, cowardice, injustice, and the other members of that fraternity and family—a—the materials which moulded and shaped, to the misery and sorrow of their builders, will form the fort which towers aloft to menace the soul.

XX. Ere now, too, there have been those who went to a further extreme, and not only worked up their own souls to do thus, but have violently forced their betters, the children of the race that has vision, to make bricks under duress and build strong cities (Ex. i. 11) for the mind which thinks itself their sovereign. They wished in this way to shew that good is the slave of evil and passion stronger than the higher emotions, that prudence and every virtue are subject to folly and all vice, and thus must render obedience to every command of the despotic power. "Behold," says the enemy, "the eye of the soul so translucent, so pure, so keen of vision, the eye which alone is permitted to look on God, the eye whose name is Israel, is imprisoned after all in the gross material nets of Egypt and submits to do the bidding of an iron tyranny, to work at brick and every earthy substance with labour painful and unremitting." It is but natural that Israel should sorrow and groan because of them; for the one solitary thing which he still treasures as a jewel amid his sufferings is that he can weep sore for his present state. There is sound wisdom in the words, "The children of Israel groaned because of their tasks" (Ex. ii. 23). Which of the wisely-minded, when he sees the tasks which many men endure and the extravagance of the zeal which
 sẻόνοις ἀπόλαυσιν εἰώθασι χρήσθαι, σφόδρα κατ-
γήσασαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν μόνον σωτῆρα θεόν ἐκβοήσαι, [419] ἵνα τὰ | μὲν ἐπικούφισθη, λύτρα δὲ καὶ σώζτρά
καταθεῖς τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτὴν ἐξέληται; 94 τίς οὖν ἐλευθερία βεβαιοτάτη; τίς; ἢ τοῦ μόνου
θεραπεία σοφοῦ, καθάπερ μαρτυροῦσι οἱ χρησμοί, ἐν οἷς ἐϊρηται "ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαὸν, ἵνα με
95 θεραπεύῃ." ἵδιον δὲ τῶν τὸ ὅν θερα-
πευόντων οἰνοχῶν μὲν ἢ σιτοποιῶν ἢ μαγείρων
ἐργα ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα γεώδη· μήτε διαπλάττειν μήτε
συντιθέναι σώματα πλίθου τρόπον, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ
tοῖς λογισμοῖς πρὸς αἰθέριον ὑψος, Μωυσῆν, τὸ
θεοφίλες γένος, προστησαμένου ἡμέραν τῆς ὀδοῦ.
96 τότε γὰρ τὸν μὲν τόπον, ὅς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ, ἐν
θεά-ς τοιν τὸν τόπον, ὃς ὧς ἄκλινής και άτρεπτος θεός ἐφέστηκε,
τα ο ὑπὸ τούς πόδας αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὧσεὶ ἐργον
πλίθου σαπφεῖρον καὶ ὡς ἃν εἴδος στερεώματος
tοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὸν αἴσθητον κόσμον, ὅν αἰνίττεται

1 Mangey suggests inserting after γεώδη: ἔπιτηδεῦειν (rather μὴτε ἔπιτηδεῦειν). This would avoid the zeugma of
associating διαπλάττειν with the ἐργα οἰνοχῶν.
2 δς δὴ λόγος ἐστὶ [this is my conjecture for the δς δῆλος ἐστι of all mss. and editions. It is based (1) on De Som.
i. 62, where Philo discussing the three senses in which τόπος
is used declares that one of these is the Divine Logos and
that this is the sense in which it is used in this passage,
Ex. xxiv. 10 (the same idea that τόπος = λόγος appears in
De Op. 20 and De Som. i. 117): (2) on the sequel in § 97,
where the identification of the τόπος ὃ δ θεὸς ἐφέστηκε with
the λόγος is clearly implied. The simple alteration of the
somewhat pointless δῆλος to δὴ λόγος makes this identification,
which otherwise comes in very abruptly, perfectly clear.
The use of δὴ with the relative constantly recurs in Philo.
3 Wend. τὰ β'—evidently wrongly. The δὲ is required to
balance the μὲν and to mark the antithesis between the Logos
and the Sensible World.
60
they commonly put forth to win money or glory or the enjoyment which pleasure give, would not in the exceeding bitterness of his heart cry aloud to God the only Saviour to lighten their tasks and provide a price of the soul’s salvation to redeem it into liberty? What then is the liberty which is really sure and stable? Aye, what? It is the service of the only wise Being, as the oracles testify, in which it is said, “Send forth the people that they may serve me” (Ex. viii. 1). But it is the special mark of those who serve the Existent, that theirs are not the tasks of cupbearers or bakers or cooks, or any other tasks of the earth earthy, nor do they mould or fashion material forms like the brick-makers, but in their thoughts ascend to the heavenly height, setting before them Moses, the nature beloved of God, to lead them on the way. For then they shall behold the place which in fact is the Word, where stands God the never changing, never swerving, and also what lies under his feet like “the work of a brick of sapphire, like the form of the firmament of the heaven” (Ex. xxiv. 10), even the world of our senses, which he indicates in this mystery. For it

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a LXX. εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ ἐστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. E.V. “They saw the God of Israel.”

b So, as the sequel shows, rather than “the place on which He stands.” This use of ἐφέστηκε with the dative may be paralleled, e.g. ἐπέστη τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Ῥηγίον τόποις, Polybius ix. 7. 10. Perhaps, however, read ἐνέστηκε. In De Som. i. 62 we have the οὗ ἐστήκει of the LXX.

c Or perhaps Philo may have taken the words to mean “like a kind of basis for the heaven.” Though in De Op. 36 he makes στερέωμα = the heaven, his identification of it here with the αἰσθητὸς κόσμος points to the latter interpretation.

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1 πλίνθον] so LXX. : MSS. λίθον.
PHILO

96 διὰ τούτων. εὐπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἐταιρεῖαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ δὲν ἱδεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερώτατον λόγον, μεθ' δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τελειώτατον ἔργον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον τὸ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐδέν ἦν ἀλλ' ἡ ταῦτα σπουδάζειν
98 ἀκριβῶς ήδεῖν. XXI. τὸν δὲ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου ὡς ἄν υποπόδιον θεοῦ φησιν εἶναι διὰ τάδε· πρῶτον μὲν ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεγονότι τὸ πεποιηκὸς αἰτίον, ἐπειτα δ' ὑπέρ τοῦ παραστήσαι, ὅτι οὐδ' ὁ κόσμος ἄπας ἀφέτω καὶ ἀπελευ- 
θεριαζόμενη κινήσει κέχρηται, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκέν ὁ κυβερνήτης θεὸς τῶν ὅλων οἰκονομῶν καὶ πηδα- 
λιουχῶν σωτηρίως τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ποσίν οὔτε 
χερσίν οὔτε ἀλλῷ τῶν ἐν γεγένεσθαι κεχρημένοις μέρει 
τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθὴ λόγον—"οὐ 
γάρ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός"—, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐνεκα αὐτὸ 
μόνον διδασκαλίας εἰσαγόμενον ἡμῶν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ 
ἐκβήναι μὴ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς 
συμβεβηκότων τὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀγενῆτου καταλήψεις
99 λαμβανόντων. παγκάλως δ' ἐξεὶ τὸ ἐν 
παραβολῆς εἶδει φάναι τὸν κόσμον ὡς εἶδος πλίνθου · 
dοκεὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐστάναι καὶ βεβηκέναι ὡς ἐκεῖνη 
κατὰ τὰς τῆς αἰσθητῆς ὤψεως προσβολᾶς, κέχρηται 
[420] δὲ ὁκυτάτη | κινήσει καί τὰς ἐν μέρει πάσας παρα- 
100 θεοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ μεθ' ἥμεραν ἥλιον καὶ νύκτωρ 
σελήνης φαντασίαν ὡς ἐστάτων οἱ σώματος ὀφθαλ- 
μοὶ λαμβάνουσι· καὶ τοίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι <τὸ> τῆς 
περὶ αὐτοῦ φορᾶς τάχος ἀναπτογωνιστὸν ἔστιν, 
εἰ γε τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν μᾶ ἤπειρολοῦσιν

1 MSS. οἰκονομῶν.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 97–100

well befits those who have entered into comradeship with knowledge to desire to see the Existent if they may, but, if they cannot, to see at any rate his image, the most holy Word, and after the Word its most perfect work of all that our senses know, even this world. For by philosophy nothing else has ever been meant, than the earnest desire to see these things exactly as they are. XXI. But when he speaks of the world of our senses as God’s footstool, it is for these reasons. First to shew that not in creation is to be found the cause which made it; secondly to make it plain that even the whole world does not move at its own free unshackled will, but is the standing-ground of God who steers and pilots in safety all that is. And yet to say that He uses hands or feet or any created part at all is not the true account. For God is not as man (Num. xxiii. 19). It is but the form employed merely for our instruction because we cannot get outside ourselves, but frame our conceptions of the Uncreated from our own experience. It is a fine saying when by way of illustration he speaks of the world as an appearance of brick. It does seem to stand fast and firm like a brick as we judge it when our outward sight comes in contact with it, but its actual movement is exceeding swift, outstripping all particular movements. To our bodily eyes the sun by day and the moon by night present the appearance of standing still. Yet we all know that the rapidity of the course on which they are carried is unapproached, since they traverse the whole heaven in a single day.

See App. p. 555.
So rather than the “impression produced upon our sight.”
Cf. ἡ δύσι προσβάλλουσα, Quod Deus 78.
XXII. Puroúntes δὲ τὰς πλίνθους εἰσάγονται συμβολικῶς, τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς κακίας θερμώ καὶ κινητικωτάτῳ λόγῳ κραταυόμενοι, ώς μὴ πρὸς τῶν σοφίας δορυφόρων ποτὲ καθαιρεθείεν, οἷς τὰ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ μηχανήματα συγκροτεῖται. διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται "ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ πλίνθος εἰς λίθον." τὸ γὰρ μανὸν καὶ κεχυμένον τῆς μὴ σὺν λόγῳ φορᾶς εἰς ἀντίτυπον καὶ στερεῶν φύσιν πιληθέν καὶ πυκνωθέν λόγοις δυνατοῖς καὶ ἀποδείξεως ἐχυρωτάτωσι μετέβαλεν, ἀνδρωθεῖσα τρόπον τινὰ τῇς τῶν θεωρημάτων καταλήψεως, ἣτις ἐν ἡλικίᾳ διαρρεῖ παιδικῇ διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς υγρότητα μήπω δυναμένης τοὺς ἐνσφραγιζομένους πήττειν καὶ διαφυλάττειν χαρακτῆρας.

"3Καὶ ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός," οὐκ ἐμπαλίνων ὄ πηλὸς ἀσφαλτος· δοκοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ φαύλοι τὰ ἀσθενῆ κραταυόμενα κατὰ τῶν ἀμειώνων καὶ τὰ διαλυόμενα καὶ ἱεράτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πήττειν, ἤν' ἐπ' ἐχυρωθεὶ καὶ τοξεύσωσιν ἄρετήν· ὁ δ' ἢλεως καὶ πατὴρ τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἐφήσει τὸ δεδημένον

1 mss. καταλαμβανόμενος. 2 mss. ἀντιτύπου καὶ στερεάς.
3 Wend. prints τὸ γὰρ μανὸν . . . χαρακτῆρας as a parenthesis, and treats καὶ ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἦν αὐτοῖς πηλός as a continuation of the text introduced by διὸ καὶ ἐπιλέγεται. But the words introduce a totally different thought from that which is given in §§ 101 and 102. Philo, as often, cites the text without any λέγεται or φησι.
So too also the whole heaven itself appears to stand still but actually revolves, and this motion is apprehended by the eye which is itself invisible and closer akin to the divine—the eye of the understanding.

XXII. When they are described as using fire with their bricks, it is a symbolical way of saying that they hardened and strengthened their passions and vices by the heat and high pressure of argument, to prevent their ever being demolished by the guards of wisdom, who are ever forging engines to subvert them. And therefore we have the addition, "their brick became stone to them" (Gen. xi. 3). For the looseness and incoherence of the talk which streams along unsupported by reason turns into a solid and resisting substance, when it gains density and compactness through powerful reasonings and convincing demonstrations. The power of apprehending conclusions grows, so to speak, to manhood, whereas in its childhood it is fluid through the humidity of the soul, which is unable as yet to harden and thus retain the impressions which are stamped upon it.

"And the asphalt was clay to them" (ibid.) Not the reverse, their clay was asphalt. The wicked may seem to make the weak cause strong against the better, and to harden the loose stuff which exudes from the weak, to obtain a firm footing from which to shoot their bolts against virtue. But the Father of excellence in His loving-kindness will not suffer the

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*a See App. p. 555.

4 mss. and all editions δεδεμένον. But "bound" is hardly sense. Mangey translates "substructiones," Stein "Gebilde," Yonge "buildings," which suggest that they all took it from δέμω. But this is surely impossible. Possibly we might read δεμόμενον or τόδε το μανόν.
PHILO

εκνικάν⁴ εἰς ἀδιάλυτον ἀσφάλειαν, ρεούσης σπουδῆς μὴ ύφεστώς έργον ως πλαδώντα πηλόν ἄναδείξας.² 104 εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ πηλὸς ἐγένετο³ ἀσφαλτος, μέχρι παντὸς ἀν ἵσως τὸ ἐν συνεχεὶ ρύσει γεώδες αἰσθητὸν εἰς ἀσφαλῇ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον δύναμιν ἐξενίκησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούναντίον ἡ ἀσφαλτος εἰς πηλὸν μετέβαλεν, οὐκ ἀθυμητέον· ἐλπίς γὰρ, ἐλπίς τὰ βέβαια τῆς κακίας ἑρείσματα κράτει θεοῦ 105 διακοπῆναι. τοιγαροῦν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπαλλήλῳ τοῦ βίου κατακλυμμῷ, μῆπω δυνάμενος δίχα αἰσθήσεως ψυχῆ μονὴ τὰ οντα ὄντως ὅραν, "τὴν κιβωτόν," λέγω δὲ τὸ σῶμα, "ἐνυδόθεν τε καὶ ἐξώθεν ἀσφάλτῳ" κατα- χρίσει βεβαιούμενος τὰς δι' αὐτοῦ φαντασίας καὶ ἐνεργείας, λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐπιστομοῦς ἐξελεύσεται χρησάμενος ἀσωμάτω 106 διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἁλθείας ἀντίληψιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀστείος ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀρχῆς φυτευθεὶς καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς τρόπος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὁ τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀστυ καὶ πατρίδα οἰκήσας ἀτε κοσμοπολίτης γενόμενος, ἐνδείης ποτὲ τῷ ἐπαληλιμ- μένῳ ως ἂν "ἀσφαλτοπίσσῃ" σώματι καὶ δοκοῦντι [421] τὰς πάντων <τῶν> ὑποκειμένων ἐν αἰσθήσει φαν- τασίας ἀσφαλῶς δέχεσθαι τε καὶ κεχωρικέναι,

¹ MSS. ἐκείνων.
³ MSS. ἀναδείξαι.
² MSS. γίνεται.
⁴ MSS. ἐν.

a The word is used here and in § 106 to preserve the obvious play between ἀσφαλῆ and ἀσφαλτος.

b The antithesis intended is that while the Noah-mind in its lower stages, when the sensible world is so absorbing, finds in the ark of the body a source of strength, which it will discard when the stress is past, the higher Moses-mind, which receives the Stoic name of ἀστείος from the first, never
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 103–106

platform to reach the condition of cement which defies dissolution, but makes the unsubstantial result of their fluid industry to be but as sloppy clay. For if the clay had become asphalt, what is now a piece of earth in constant flux and perceived only by the outward sense might have won its way in complete triumph to power fast-cemented and irremovable. But since the reverse has come to pass and the asphalt has changed to clay, we must not lose heart, for there is hope, aye hope, that the stout supports of vice may fall beneath the axe of God's might. So it was with just Noah. In the great ceaseless deluge of life, while he is as yet unable to behold existences as they really are through the soul alone apart from sense, he will "coat the ark," I mean the body, "with asphalt within and without" (Gen. vi. 14), thus strengthening the impressions and activities of which the body is the medium. But when the trouble has abated and the rush of the waters stayed, he will come forth and employ his understanding, free from the body, for the apprehension of truth.

On the other hand the mind called Moses, that goodly plant, given the name of goodly at his very birth (Ex. ii. 2), who in virtue of his larger citizenship took the world for his township and country, weeps bitterly (Ex. ii. 6) in the days when he is imprisoned in the ark of the body bedaubed as with "asphalt-pitch" (Ex. ii. 3), which thinks to receive and contain, as with cement, impressions of all that is presented through sense. He rests contented with it, but recognizes from the first, that the "asphalt" which serves the body, can never give the real "safety." See further, App. p. 555.
κατακλαίει μὲν τὴν ἐνδεσιν ἀσωμάτου φύσεως πιεσθεὶς ἐρωτι, κατακλαίει δὲ καὶ τὸν πλάνη, καὶ πυρρωμένον τῶν πολλῶν ἁθλίου νοῦν, ὅς ψευδώς δόξης ἐκκρεμασθεὶς ψῆθη τι παρ' ἐαυτῷ βέβαιοι καὶ ἀσφαλεὶς ἡ συνόλως παρά των τῶν γενομένων ἀτρεπτον ἠδρύθθαι, τοῦ παγίως καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀσαύτως ἔχοντος ἐστηλιτευμένου παρὰ μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ.

107 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῦτε καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἐαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὐδὲ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἔσται ἡ ἐς τὸν οὐρανοῦ” τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλει νοῦν πόλεις ὁ νομοθέτης οὐχὶ ταῦτα μόνον οἴεται εἶναι τὰς ἐπὶ γῆς δημιουργθείσας, ὡν εἰσὶν διὰ λίθου καὶ ξύλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θρωποὶ περιφέρουσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐαυτῶν ἐνιδρυμένας. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτὰ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἀρχέτυποι ἄτε θειότερας κατασκευῆς λαχοῦσαι, ἐκεῖναι δὲ μιμήματα ὡς ἃν ἐκ φθορῆς οὐσίας συνεστῶσαι. διττὸν δὲ πόλεις εἴδος, τὸ μὲν ἀμείνων, τὸ δὲ χείρον, ἀμείνων μὲν τὸ δημοκρατία χρώμενον ισότητα πολιτεία, ἣς ἀρχοντες εἰσὶ νόμος καὶ δίκη—θεοῦ δὲ ὅμοι ἡ τοιάδε—, χείρον δὲ τὸ κιβδηλεύον αὐτὴν, ὡς τὸ παράσημον καὶ παρακεκομμένον ἐν νομίσμασιν, ὁχλοκρατία, ἡ θαυμάζει τὸ ἀνισὸν ἐν ἠδικίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ καταδυναστεύουσον. ἐγγράφονται δ' οἱ μὲν ἀστεῖοι

1 I cannot think that the phrase θεοῦ δ' ὅμοι ἡ τοιάδε is right. And Cohn's and Wend.'s suggestions of (1) εὔνομωστῆ ὁ, (2) θεοῦ δ' ὅπας, (3) εὐδόκιμος seem to me quite wild. The only variants in the mss. are ἦτοι ἡ τοιαίτει and ἡ τοιαίτε for ἡ τοιάδε. From this I conjecture θεοῦ <ἐν> ὅμοι ἡ τοιάδε ἡταί, i.e. such a soul-city or such a πολιτεία is called in the Psalms God's (city). I understand Philo to be alluding to the use of the phrase “the city of God” in Ps. xlvi. 4 and 68.
weeps for his captivity, pressed sore by his yearning for a nature that knows no body. He weeps also for the mind of the multitude, so erring, so vanity-ridden, so miserable—the mind which clings to false opinion and thinks that itself, or any created being at all, possesses aught that is firm, fast-cemented and immutably established, whereas all that is fixed and permanent in circumstances and condition is graven as on stone in the keeping of God alone.

XXIII. The words, "Come, let us build for ourselves a city and a tower whose head shall be unto heaven," suggest such thoughts as these. The lawgiver thinks that besides those cities which are built by men's hands upon the earth, of which the materials are stones and timber, there are others. even those which men carry about established in their souls. Naturally these last are models or archetypes, for the workmanship bestowed upon them is of a more divine kind, while the former are copies composed of perishing material. Of the soul-city there are two kinds, one better, the other worse. The better adopts as its constitution democracy, which honours equality and has law and justice for its rulers—such a one is as a melody which sings God's praises. The worse, which corrupts and adulterates the better, as the false counterfeit coin corrupts the currency, is mob-rule, which takes inequality for its ideal, and in it injustice and lawlessness are paramount. The

a For Philo's conception of democracy see note on Quod Deus 176.

lxxxvii. 3. To interpret the phrase as meaning a just soul or a just condition of civic life is as natural for him as for a Christian to apply it to the Church. Philo regularly quotes the Psalms with the words ἐν ὑμνοις, as e.g. above 52, De Som. ii. 242 ἐπιεῖ καὶ ἐν ὑμνοις ἄδεται. See also App. p. 555.
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tώ τῆς προτέρας πολιτεύματι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων ἡ
πληθύς τῇν ἔτεραν καὶ χείρω διεξόωσαι, πρὸ
eὐκοσμίας ἀκοσμίαν καὶ σύγχυσιν πρὸ εὐσταθοῦς
καταστάσεως ἀγαπᾶσα.

110 Συνεργοῖς δὲ οἱ ἀφρῶν ἡξιοὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι
αὐτῶ μόνῳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ προτρέπει μὲν ὃρασιν,
προτρέπει δὲ ἄκον, παρακαλεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν
ἀναπερθέτως αὐτῶ συντετάχθαι, φεροῦσης ἐκάστης
τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιτήδεια πάντα· ἐπαίρει μέντοι
καὶ παραθηγέει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἀγίασαν ἐκ φύσεως
tῶν παθῶν στίφος, ἵνα ἄσκησιν καὶ μελέτην προσ-
λαβῶν ἀνύποιστον γένηται. τοὺτοὺς οὖν καλέσας
τοὺς συμμάχους ὁ νοῦς ἡξιοὶ· "οἰκοδομήσωμεν
ἐαυτῶς πόλιν," ἵσον τῷ ὀχυρωσώμεθα τὰ οἰκεία
καὶ φραξῶμεθα δυνατῶς, ὥς μὴ πρὸς τῶν κατα-
πρεχόντων εὐμαρῶς ἀλισκόμεθα· διέλωμεν καὶ δια-
νεύωμεν ὥσπερ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ ἰσον τῶν
πάντων ἐν ψυχῇ δυνάμεως προσκληρώσαντες τὰς μὲν
111 λογικῆς, τὰς δὲ ἀλόγως μερίδι· ἀρχοντας ἐλώμεθα
τοὺς ἰκανοὺς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, τιμάς, ἣδονὰς ἢφ'
ὡν ἀν δύνωνται περιποιεῖν ἀπάντων· τὴν πενίας
καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀιτίαν δικαιοσύνην τιθεμένους ἐκποιῶν
γράφωμεν νόμους, οἱ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον
βεβαιώσοιτο τοῖς πλέον ἐτέρων αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι δυνα-
112 μένους. "πύργος" δ᾽ ὑσ ἀν ἀκρόπολις κατ-
[422] εσκευάσθω τῇ | τυραννώ κακία βασίλειον ὀχυρώ-
τατον, ὡς οἱ μὲν πόδες ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλέως, δὲ
κεφαλῆς πρὸς οὐρανὸν φθανέτω τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ
114 μεγαλαυχίας ύψος ἐπιβάσα. τῷ γὰρ

1 I conjecture ὁ ἄνων. See App. p. 555.
2 MSS. ἀλισκόμεθα.

Lit. "have girded themselves with."
good have their names entered on the burgess-roll of the former type of state, but the multitude of the wicked are embraced under the second and baser type, for they love disorder rather than order, confusion rather than fixedness and stability. The fool not content with using himself alone thinks fit to use fellow-workers in sin. He calls upon the sight and the hearing and invokes every sense to range itself beside him without delay, each bringing all the instruments that are needed for the service. And further he spurs and incites that other company, the company of the passions, to put their un­tutored nature under training and practice and thus render themselves resistless. These allies, then, the mind summons, saying, “Let us build ourselves a city,” which means, “Let us fortify our resources and fence them in with strength, that we may not fall easy victims to the onset of the foe. Let us mete out and distribute the several powers of the soul as by wards and tithings, allotting some to the reasoning and some to the unreasoning portion. Let us choose for our magistrates such as are able to provide wealth, reputation, honours, pleasures, from every source available to them. Let us enact laws which shall eject from our community the justice whose product is poverty and disrepute—laws which shall assure the emoluments of the stronger to the succession of those whose powers of acquisition are greater than others. And let a tower be built as a citadel, as a royal and impregnable castle for the despot vice. Let its feet walk upon the earth and its head reach to heaven, carried by our vaulting ambition to that vast height.”

For in fact

b Or (if the perfect is to be emphasized) “stand complete.”
οντι ου μόνον επι των άνθρωπειων αδικημάτων ἱσταται, μετατρέχει δε και τα ολύμπια τους ἀσεβείας και άθεότητος λόγους προτείνουσα, ἐπειδὰν ή ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ θείον διεξέχη, ή ὡς ὅν οὐ προνοεῖ, ή ὡς ὁ κόσμος οὔποτε γενέσεως ἐλαβεν ἀρχήν, ή ὡς γενόμενος ἀστάτοις αἰτίαις ὃς ἄν τυχὴ φέρεται, ποτὲ μὲν πλημμελῶς, ποτὲ δὲ οὐχ ὑπατίως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλοῖων καὶ τεθρίππων εἰσωθεν 

115 γίνεσθαι· φιλεί γάρ ἔστιν ὅτε χωρὶς ἴνα ὅπως τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν ὁ τε πλοῦς καὶ ὁ δρόμος εὐθύνεσθαι· προνοίας δ' οὐ τὸ ὀλυγάκις, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἀνθρωπίνης πολλάκις, τῆς δὲ θείας ἀδιαστάτως αἰεὶ κατορθοῦν, ἐπεὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν ἀλλότριον ἄνωμολόγηται θείας συνάμεως. κατασκευάζουσι μέντοι συμβολικῶς ὡσανεί πύργον τὸν περί κακίας λόγοι οί φρενοβλαβεῖσι, τί βουλόμενοι ή ὑπόλειπεσθαι τὸ δυσώνυμον; XXIV.

116 λέγουσι γάρ· "ποιήσωμεν ἑαυτῶν ὅνομα." ϊ περιττῆς καὶ κεχυμένης ἀναισχυντίας. τί φατέ; νυκτὶ καὶ βαθεὶ σκότῳ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀδικήματα συγκρύπτειν οὐκείλοντες καὶ προκάλυμμα αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀληθῆ, τὴν γοὺς προσποίητον αἰδὼ πεποιήσθαι ή χάριτος ένεκα ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους ή διαδύσεως τῶν ἐφ' ἡμολογομένους ἀμαρτήμασι τιμωρμῶν, τοσοῦτον τῆς τύλης ἐπιβάινετε, ὅστε οὐ μόνον1 πρὸς φῶς καὶ λαμπρότατον ήλιον ἐναγάζεσθαι2 μήτε τὰς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀμενόνων ἀπειλᾶς μήτε τὰς ἀπαραίτήτους ἐκ θεοῦ δίκας τοῖς οὖτως

1 mss. μόνον οὐ.
2 mss. ἐναγάζεσθαι, which might be kept as depending on αξίως.

See note on De Ebr. 199.
that tower not only has human misdeeds for its base, but it seeks to rise to the region of celestial things, with the arguments of impiety and godlessness in its van. Such are its pronouncements, either that the Deity does not exist, or that it exists but does not exert providence, or that the world had no beginning in which it was created, or that though created its course is under the sway of varying and random causation, sometimes leading it amiss, though sometimes no fault can be found. For this last an analogy is often seen in ships and chariots. For the course of the one on the water and of the other on land often goes straight without helmsman or charioteer. But providence demands, they say, more than a rare and occasional success. Human providence frequently achieves its purpose, the divine should do so always and without exception, since error is admitted to be inconsistent with divine power.

Further, when these victims of delusion build up under the symbol of a tower their argument of vice, what is their object but to leave a record of their ill-savoured name? For they say, "let us make our name." What monstrous and extravagant shamelessness! What is this you say? You ought to be hiding your misdeeds in night and profound darkness, and to have taken, if not true shame, at least the simulation of it to veil them, whether to keep the goodwill of the more decent sort, or to escape the punishments which wait on open sins. Instead, to such a pitch of impudent hardihood have you come, that you not only let the full sunlight shine upon you and fear neither the threats of better men, nor the inexorable judgements of God, which

\(^b\) See App. p. 556.
άνοσιοργοίς ἀπαντωμένας καταδείσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πανταχόνσε φήμας ἀγγέλους τῶν οἰκεῖων ἀδικημάτων περιπέμπειν ἄξιοντε, ὡς μηδεὶς ἀμύντος μηδ' ἀνήκοος γένοιτο τῶν ὑμετέρων, ὡς σχέτλιοι καὶ παμμάριοι, τολμημάτων. ὀνόματος ὁν ποίον γλίχεσθε; ἢ τοῦ τοῖς πραττομένοις οἰκειοτάτου; ἃρ' οὖν ἐν ἐστι μόνον; γένει μὲν ὕσως ἐν, μυρίᾳ δὲ τοῖς εὑδεισιν, ἃ, κἂν ἱσυχάζητε, ἑτέρων λεγόντων ἀκοῦσεσθε· προπέτεια τοιών ἐστὶ μετὰ ἀναισχυντίας, ὑβρις μετὰ βίας, βία μετὰ ἀνδροφονίας, σὺν μοιχείαις φθοραί, σὺν ἀμέτρους ἑδονάις ἀόριστος ἐπιθυμία, μετὰ θράσους ἀπόνοια, μετὰ πανουργίας ἀδίκια, κλοπαί μετὰ ἀρπαγῆς, σὺν ψευδολογίαις ψευδορκίαι, μετὰ παρανομίων ἀσέβειαι. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τῶν τοιούτων ἔστ᾽ ὀνόματα. καλὸν γράφεσθαι δόξαν θηρωμένους τήν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἕφ᾽ οἷς εἰκός ἢν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ἐνιοί μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ἀμαχόν τινα ἰσχύν

117 ἔστ᾽ ὀνόματα. καλὸν γ' ἐναυχησίας κατισαμώνυσθαι δόξαν θηρωμένους τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκός ἢν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι. καὶ μὴν ἐνιοί μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ἀμαχόν τινα ἰσχύν

[423] ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου1 νομισθῆναι παρὰ πᾶσιν καρπώσαμενοι, οὐς τοῦ πολλοῦ θράσους ἢ ὅπαδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δύκη τίσεται καὶ τάχα τὸν ὕμεν γένοιν οὐ μαντευμένους μοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προορωμένους ὀλεθρον. φασὶ γάρ· "πρὶν διασπαρήναι," φροντίσωμεν ὀνόματος ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου2 καὶ δόξης. οὐκοῦν, εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, ζητεῖς ἡγεμόνας γινώσκετε; τί οὖν ἀμαρτάνετε; ἀλλὰ μήποτε τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀφρόνων διασυνιστήσατε, οὐ καίτοι μεγίστων ἐπικρεμαμένων οὐκ

1 mss. τοιούτων. Mangey and Wend. τοιούτως. But the ordinary usage of Greek demands the nominative when referring to the subject of the main verb, and this is usually, if not always, followed by Philo, e.g. ἀδικοῦντες 120.

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confront the authors of such unholy deeds, but you also deliberately send to every part rumours to report the misdeeds of which you yourselves are guilty, that none may fail to learn and hear the story of your shameless crimes. O wretched, utter miscreants!

What sort of name, then, do you desire? Is it the name that best befits your deeds? Is it one name only? One general name perhaps, but a thousand specific ones, which you will hear from the lips of others even if your own are silent. Recklessness with shamelessness, insolence with violence, violence with murder, seductions with adulteries, unbridled lust with unmeasured pleasures, desperation with foolhardiness, injustice with knavery, thefts with robbery, perjuries with falsehoods, impieties with law-breakings, these and the like are the names for such deeds as yours. It is indeed a fine cause for pride and boasting, when you pursue so eagerly the repute which these names give, names at which you should in all reason hide your heads for shame. With some indeed their pride in these names comes from the belief that they have gained invincible strength by the fact that all men think them such, and these God's minister Justice will punish for their great audacity. Though perhaps they have not merely a presentiment, but a clear foresight of their own destruction. For they say, "before we are dispersed" (Gen. xi. 4) let us take thought for our name and glory. Do you then know, I would say to them, that you will be scattered? Why then do you sin? But surely it bespeaks the mind of fools that they do not shrink from iniquity, though the gravest
This conception of wickedness as being in one sense immortal, though at the same time a perpetual process of dying to the true life, is Philo’s interpretation of the sign given to Cain that no one should kill him (Gen. iv. 15),

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αδήλως ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλάκις τιμωρών ἄδικεὶν ὅμως οὐκ ὁκνοῦσιν γνωριμωτάται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι ἄδηλούσθαι νομισθεῖσαι, ὅς ἐκ θεοῦ κατασκήπτευν συμβέβηκε. πάντες γὰρ οἱ φαυλό- 

120 τατοι λαμβάνουσιν ἐννοίας περὶ τοῦ μὴ λήσεων τὸ θεῖον ἄδικοντες μηδὲ τὸ δίκην υφέξεων εἰσάπαν ἵσχυσαι διακρούσασθαι· ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἱσασίν, ὃι σκέδασθίσονται; καὶ μὴν λέγουσιν “πρὶν ἡμᾶς 

121 διασπαρῆσθαι” ἀλλὰ τὸ συνειδός ἐνδοθεν ελέγχει καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἀδείητητα κεντεῖ, ὡς ἀκούσαι εἰς συναίνεσιν ἐπιστάσασθαι περὶ τοῦ 

τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους πάντα πρὸς ἀμείνοον τιμωρὸν ἄδεκαστον, ἄσεβων πράξεις ἔχονται ἐχθραίνονται ἄδικους καὶ λόγους 

122 τοὺς συνηγόρους αὐταῖς. XXV. ἀλλ' εἰςιν ἄπογονοι πάντες οὗτοι τῆς αἰεί μέν ἀπο- 

θνησκούσης, μηδέποτε δὲ τεθνηκυίας μοχθηρίας, ὅς Κάιν ἐστιν ὄνομα. ἡ ὀνείρι καὶ ὁ Κάιν υἱὸν γεννήσας, δὴ Ἐνώχ ἔκαλεσεν, ὅμωνυμον αὐτῷ 

[kαϊ] κτίζων εἰσάγεται πόλιν καὶ τρόπον τῶν θειοτέρων 

κατασκευῆς λαχόντων ἀνατροπῆς; γὰρ Ἐνώχ ἐρµηνεύεται χάρις σου· 

123 διάνοιαν μέν ηγείται χαρίζεσθαι τῶν τοῦ ἀνοσίων ἔκαστος 

διάνοιαν μὲν Ἰσαάκει χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτῷ τὰς τε 

καταλήψεις καὶ διανοήσεις, ὃφθαλμούς δὲ τὸ 

βλέπειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὡτα καὶ μυκτήρας ὁσφραί- 

σθαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τὰ ὀικεῖα ἑαυταῖς, 

ἐτι μέντοι καὶ τὰ φωνῆς ὀργανα τὸ λέγειν, θεὸν δὲ

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a This conception of wickedness as being in one sense immortal, though at the same time a perpetual process of dying to the true life, is Philo’s interpretation of the sign given to Cain that no one should kill him (Gen. iv. 15),
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penalties often menace them, openly and not obscurely. The punishments of God’s visitation may be thought to be hidden from our sight, but they are really well known. For all, however wicked, receive some general notions to the effect that their iniquity will not pass unseen by God, and that they cannot altogether evade the necessity of being brought to judgement. Otherwise how do they know that they will be scattered? They certainly do say, “before we are dispersed.” But it is the conscience within which convicts them and pricks them in spite of the exceeding godlessness of their lives, thus drawing them on reluctantly to assent to the truth that all human doings are surveyed by a superior being and that there awaits them an incorruptible avenger, even justice, who hates the unjust deeds of the impious and the arguments which advocate those deeds.

XXV. But all these are descended from the depravity which is ever dying and never dead, whose name is Cain. Is not Cain, when he had begotten a son whom he called Enoch, described as founding a city to bear his son’s name (Gen. iv. 17), and thus in a sense raising a building of created and mortal things to subvert those to which has fallen the honour to be the work of a diviner architect? For Enoch is by interpretation “thy gift,” and each of the unholy thinks that his understanding gives him his apprehension and reflections, that his eyes give him sight, his ears hearing, his nostrils smell, and the other senses the functions that belong to themselves severally, and again that the vocal organs give him speech, but God, he thinks, is either not the cause in any sense coupled with the absence of any mention of his death in Genesis. Cf. Quod Det. 177, De Fuga 60.
ἡ μὴ συνόλως ἡ μὴ ὧς πρῶτον αἰτιον [οὖν].

124 διὰ τούτου καὶ ἄν ἐγευπόνησε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς  ἐαυτῷ ταμιεύεσαι, καρποὺς δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ἀθίς προσ- 

125 τῶν γινομένων πρεσβυτέρας αἰτίας κατὰ τὸ πρεσβυτάτον τῶν αἰτίων ὁμολογῶν συνεπάθεσαί.

126 τῷ δ’ ἀσεβεῖ τοῦνατίον δοκεῖ, αὐτοκράτορα μὲν εἶναι τὸν νοῦν ἄν βουλεύεται, αὐτοκράτορα δὲ καὶ 

127 τὴν αἰσθήσεων ὁν αἰσθάνεται· δικάζειν γὰρ ἀνυπ-

128 ἡ μάλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλεγχόμενον; ἠ οὐχὶ 

129 καὶ ὁ νοῦς πολλάκις ὅσων ἠλέγχθη παρανοών, καὶ 

128 XXVI. τὸν φιλαυτίας κλήρον παραλαβόντες παίδες 

Or perhaps δίντα.

mss. ἀρχάς.

See App. p. 556.

Or "to whom also we owe our very being." ὁ δὲ ἄν

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THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 124–128

or not the first cause. And therefore 124 Cain retained in his own keeping the firstlings of the fruits of his husbandry and offered, as we are told, merely the fruits at a later time, although he had beside him a wholesome example. For his brother brought to the altar the first-born younglings of the flock, not the after-born, thus confessing that even the causes which come higher in the chain of causation owe their existence to the Cause which is highest and first of all. The impious man thinks the opposite, 125 that the mind has sovereign power over what it plans, and sense over what it perceives. He holds that the latter judges material things and the former all things, and that both are free from fault or error. And yet what could be more blameworthy or more 126 clearly convicted of falsehood by the truth than these beliefs? Is not the mind constantly convicted of delusion on numberless points, and all the senses judged guilty of false witness, not before unreasoning judges who may easily be deceived, but at the bar of nature herself whom it is fundamentally impossible to corrupt? And surely if the means of judgement 127 within us, supplied by mind and sense, are capable of error, we must admit the logical consequence, that it is God who showers conceptions on the mind and perceptions on sense, and that what comes into being is no gift of any part of ourselves, but all are bestowed by Him, through whom we too have been made.  

XXVI. Having received from 128 their father self-love as their portion, his children desire to add to it and raise it heaven high, until Justice who loves virtue and hates evil comes to the here to differ little from δι' ὧν. It thinks of God as the cause rather than as the maker.

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παρελθοῦσα καθέλη τὰς πόλεις, ὡς ἐπετείχισαν ψυχῇ τῇ ταλαίνῃ, καὶ τὸν πύργον, οὗ τούνομα ἐν τῇ τῶν κριμάτων ἀναγραφομένη βίβλω δεδήλωται.

129 ἐστὶ δὲ ὡς μὲν ἦμεις ἀποστροφῇ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ κατεσκευασμένον ὀχυρώμα διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πιθανότητος οὖν ἐνέκα ἐτέρου κατεσκευάζετο ἢ τοῦ μετατραπῆναι καὶ μετακληθῆναι διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς·

130 οὐτὶ ἄν γένοιτο ἀδικώτερον; ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε τὴν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τοῦτου καθαίρεσιν ὁ πειρατής τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ φονῶναί ἐμοί κατ’ αὐτὴς εὐτρέπισται, ὅτι Ἑβραίοι καλοῦσι Γεδεὼν, ὡς ἔρμηνεύεται πειρατήριον· "ὤμοσε" γὰρ φησὶν, "Γεδεὼν τοὺς ἀνδράς· Γαλλία λέγων· ἐν τῷ μὲ ἐπιστρέφειν μετ’ εἰρήνης τὸν πύργον τοῦτον κατασκάψω." πάγκαλον καὶ πρεπῶς ὅτι καὶ πρεποδεστῶς an αὐχήμα μισοπονήρων ψυχῆς κατὰ ἀσεβῶν ἕκομην τὸ βεβαιοῦσθαι καθαίρεσιν πάντα λόγων ἀποστρέφειν διάνοιαν ὑσιότητος ἀνατρέποντα. καὶ τέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸ ἀποκλίναι καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενον αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὥστε, τοῦτον δὲ καίρος ἐστὶ τῆς καθαίρεσις, τὸ παραδόξοτάτον, ἦ φησιν, οὗ πόλεμος, ἀλλ’ εἰρήνη διανοια γὰρ εὐσταθεῖα καὶ ἠρεμία, ἦν εὐσέβεια γεννᾶν τέφυκεν, ἀνατρέπεται πᾶς λόγως, ὅτι ἐδημιουργήσεν ἀσεβεία.

132 πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πύργον τινὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἥγειραν, ὡς ἄψαθαι τῶν οὐρανῶν περάτων, οὐρανῶν δὲ συμβολικῶς ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ,

1 Perhaps a slip for κριτῶν.
2 MSS. φρονῶν.
3 MSS. πάλιν.

a This is of course what the LXX. means by ἐπιστρέφειν.
aid. She razes to the ground the cities which they fortified to menace the unhappy soul, and the tower whose name is explained in the book of Judges. That name is in the Hebrew tongue Penuel, but in our own "turning from God." For the stronghold which was built through persuasiveness of argument was built solely for the purpose of diverting and deflecting the mind from honouring God. And what greater sin against justice could there be than this? But there stands ready armed for the destruction of this stronghold the robber who despoils injustice and ever breathes slaughter against her, whom the Hebrews call Gideon, which is interpreted the "Robbers' Hold." Gideon swore, we read, to the men of Penuel saying, "When I return with peace I will demolish this tower" (Jud. viii. 9). A grand boast, most fitting to the evil-hating soul whose edge has been made sharp against the impious, that it receives the strength to pull down every argument which would persuade the mind to turn away from holiness. And the words are true to nature, for when the mind "returns," all in it that was starting aside or turning away is brought to nothing. And the fit time for destruction of this, though clean contrary to expectation, is, as Gideon says, not war but peace. For it is through that stability and tranquillity of understanding, which it is the nature of piety to engender, that every argument is overturned which impiety has wrought. Many too have exalted their senses, as though they were a tower, so that they touch the boundaries of heaven, that is symbolically our mind, wherein range and dwell Philo perhaps gives it the sense of "turns round," "is converted."
καθ’ ὅν αἱ ἄρισται καὶ θεῖαι φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τολμῶντες αἴσθησιν μὲν διανοιάσας προ-κρίνουσιν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὰ νοητὰ πάντα ἐλείν ἀνὰ κράτος, εἰς μὲν δούλων τάξιν τὰ δεσπόζοντα, εἰς δὲ ἴγγεμόνων τὰ φύσει δοῦλα μεθαρμόσασθαι βιαζόμενοι.

XXVII. | Τὸ δὲ, "κατέβη κύριος ἱδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον" τροπικῶτερον πάντως ἀκουστέον· προσιενεί γὰρ ἢ ἀπιέναι ἢ κατιέναι ἢ τουναντίον <ἀν>έρχεσθαι ἢ συνόλως τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς κατὰ μέρος χώσι σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις ἵσχεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον ὑπολαμβάνειν ὑπερωκεάνιος καὶ μετα-
κόσμιος, ὃς ἔποιει ἐπιεῖν, ἔστιν ἄσέβεια. ταῦτα δὲ ἀνθρωπολογεῖται παρὰ τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνθρωπομόρφου θεοῦ διὰ τὰς τῶν παιδευομένων ἥμων, ὡς πολλάκισ ἐν ἑτέροις εἶπον, ὑφελείας. ἐπεὶ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τῷ κατιόντι τὸν μὲν ἀπολεί-
πεων, τὸν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνειν τόπον ἀναγκαῖον; ὕπὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλήρωται τὰ πάντα, περιέχοντος, οὐ περιεχομένου, ὃ πανταχοῦ τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συμ-
βέβηκεν εἰναὶ μόνως οὐδαμοῦ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ χώραν καὶ τόπον αὐτὸς τοῖς σώμασι συγγεγένηκε, τὸ δὲ πεποιηκός ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων θέμις εἴπειν περιέχεσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ, ὅτι τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ διὰ γῆς καὶ ὑδατοῦ ἄερος τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ τεινας μέρος οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἀπολέλουτε τοῦ κόσμου, πάντα δὲ συναγαγὼν διὰ πάντων ἀοράτοις ἐσφυγε δεσ-
those divine forms of being which excel all others. They who do not shrink from this give the preference to sense rather than understanding. They would use perceptible things to subdue and capture the world of things intelligible, thus forcing the two to change places, the one to pass from mastery to slavery, the other from its natural servitude to dominance.

XXVII. The words, "the Lord came down to see the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 5), must certainly be understood in a figurative sense. For to suppose that the Deity approaches or departs, goes down or goes up, or in general remains stationary or puts Himself in motion, as particular living creatures do, is an impiety which may be said to transcend the bounds of ocean or of the universe itself. No, as I have often said elsewhere, the lawgiver is applying human terms to the superhuman God, to help us, his pupils, to learn our lesson. For we all know that when a person comes down he must leave one place and occupy another. But God fills all things; He contains but is not contained. To be everywhere and nowhere is His property and His alone. He is nowhere, because He Himself created space and place coincidently with material things, and it is against all right principle to say that the Maker is contained in anything that He has made. He is everywhere, because He has made His powers extend through earth and water, air and heaven, and left no part of the universe without His presence, and uniting all
μοίς, ἵνα μὴ ποτε λυθεῖτ, οὐ̣ χάριν μελετήσας ὁ ὁμόν γὰρ ὑπεράνω τῶν δυνάμεων ὃν ἐπινοεῖται περιττεύειν, οὐ̣ * * * κατὰ τὸ εἶναι μόνον. τοῦτον δύναμις δὲ, καθ’ ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ διετάξατο τὰ πάντα, κέκληται μὲν ἐτύμως θεός, ἐγκεκόλπισται δὲ τὰ ὀλα καὶ διὰ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν διελήλυθε. τὸ δὲ θεῖον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ πανταχοῦ ὃν ὅμοιον τε καὶ καταληπτὸν οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔστω * * * ὁ δὲ στὰς ἐγὼ πρὸ τοῦ σεί’," δείκνυσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι δοκῶν, πρὸ πάσης δείξεως καὶ φαντασίας ύπερβαλῶν τὰ γεγονότα. τῶν οὖν μεταβατικῆς κινήσεως οὐνόματων οὐδὲν ἐφαρμόττει τῷ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῶ, τὸ ἀνω, τὸ κάτω, τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιά, τὸ ἐπὶ ἐνώνυμα, τὸ πρόσω, τὸ κατόπιν. ἐν οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπινοεῖται, ὡς ὁ δ’ αὖτι μετατρέπεται ἐναλλάττοι τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπινοεῖται, ὧς οὔθ ἂν μετάτρεπομενος ἑναλλάττοι τῶν λεχθέντων ἐπινοεῖται. λέγεται δ’ ὁ δὲ κατελθὼν Ἰδείν, δ’ προλήψει πάντα οὐ γενόμενα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι σαφῶς κατεληφθῶς, προτροπῆς ένεκα καὶ διδασκαλίας, ἓνα

1 I have not attempted to translate these corrupt words which appear in Mangey’s edition as οὐ̣ χάριν μελίσας ἓσω (“on account of which I will celebrate it in song”!) Wend. suggested θεῶ χάρισιν συνήμένα with no lacuna. But this bears little resemblance to the text. I suggest οὐ̣ χάριν ἐπινοεῖται πέρα τοῦ εἴναι που κατά τὸ εἴναι μόνον. As an alternative I suggest ἐπινοεῖται πέρα τοῦ εἴναι που κατά τὸ εἴναι μόνον (“is conceived of as transcending the idea of being in any particular place and in terms of existence only ”). See App. p. 556.

2 Wend. suggests οὐ̣κ ἐπινοεῖται περὶ τόπου, οὐ̣ κατὰ παραβαλὸμενον, εἶ μή κατά τὸ εἶναι μόνον. As an alternative I suggest ἐπινοεῖται πέρα τοῦ εἴναι που κατά τὸ εἴναι μόνον (“is conceived of as transcending the idea of being in any particular place and in terms of existence only ”).
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with all has bound them fast with invisible bonds, that they should never be loosed. . . . That aspect of Him which transcends His Potencies cannot be conceived of at all in terms of place, but only as pure being, but that Potency of His by which He made and ordered all things, while it is called God in accordance with the derivation of that name, holds the whole in its embrace and has interfused itself through the parts of the universe. But this divine nature which presents itself to us, as visible and comprehensible and everywhere, is in reality invisible, incomprehensible and nowhere. . . . And so we have the words “Here I stand before thou wast” (Ex. xvii. 6). “I seem,” He says, “the object of demonstration and comprehension, yet I transcend created things, preceding all demonstration or presentation to the mind.” None of the terms, then, which express movement from place to place, whether up or down, to right or to left, forward or backward, are applicable to God in His aspect of pure being. For no such term is compatible with our conception of Him, so that He must also be incapable of displacement or change of locality. All the same Moses applies the phrase “came down and saw” to Him, who in His prescience had comprehended all things, not only after but before they came to pass, and he did so to admonish and instruct us, that the absent,

3 This sentence has been completely confused in the mss. Wend. reconstructs it as follows: τὸ δὴ θείον ὀρατὸν τε καὶ καταληπτόν καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιαζόμενον ἄρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ οὐδαμοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐστιν ὡς ἀψευδέστατον ἑκείνον εἶναι τὸν χρησμὸν, ἐν ὧν λέεκται (cf. De Mig. 183), and this seems to be the general sense. In the next words στάς should probably be ἔστηκα.

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μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οἷς οὐ πάρεστιν, ἀβεβαίω χρώμενος εἰκασία, μακρὰν ἀφεστὸς προπιστεῦ̣, ἀλλ’ ἀχρὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλθὼν καὶ διακύψας εἰς ἑκαστα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ αὐγασάμενος· ὧμιν γὰρ ἀπλανὴ πρὸ ἀκοῆς ἀπατεώνος ἄξιον μάρτυρα τίθεσθαι. οὐ χάριν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄριστοι πολιτευόμενοι ἀναγέγραπται νόμος | ἀκοῆν¹ μὴ μαρτυρεῖν, ὅτι φύσει τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ δεκάζεσθαι ταλαντεύει· καὶ Μωυσῆς μέντοι φησὶν ἐν τοῖς <ἀπ>αγορευτικοῖς: “οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοῆν ματαίων,” οὐχὶ μόνον τοῦτο λέγων, <μή>² παραδέχεσθαι ψευδή λόγον ἢ εὐθήθ δι’ ἀκοῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν σαφῆ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν μακρὸν ὅσον ὀψεως ὑστερίζουσα διελέγχεται γέμουσα ματαιότητος ἀκοῆ.

141 XXVIII. Ταύτην φαμέν αἰτίαν εἶναι τοῦ λέγεσθαι “τὸν θεόν καταβεβηκέναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον θεάσασθαι.” οὐ παρέργως δὲ πρόσκειται ἃν ὥκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων/* ίσως γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν οὐκ εὐαγών ἐπιχλευάζων ἀμα: καίνον³ ἡμᾶς ἀναδίδασκει μάθημα ὁ νομοθέτης, ὅτι πύργους καὶ πόλεις οὐχ ἔτεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παῖδες ανθρώπων ἀνοικοδομοῦνται· τίς γὰρ τὰ γ’ οὕτως ἐμφανῆ καὶ περίσταται καὶ τῶν λίαν ἐξεστηκότων ἄγνοιε; ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ πρόχειρον τοῦτο καὶ κατημαξευμένον ἐν τοῖς ἑρωτάτοις χρήσμοις ἀναγεγράφθαι <νομίσῃς>, ἀλλ’ ὀπερ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἰχνηλατεῖται διὰ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ὄνομάτων.

1 mss. ἀκοῆ. See App. p. 556.
2 Wend. prints a lacuna after λέγων with note that Cohn suggests <ὅτι οὐ θέμις>. Mangey <μή>.
3 Heinemann suggests ἀναγκαίον for ἀμα καίνον.
who are at a long distance from the facts, should never form conclusions hastily or rely on precarious conjectures, but should come to close quarters with things, inspect them one by one and carefully envisage them. For the certitude of sight must be held as better evidence than the deceitfulness of hearing. And therefore among those who live under the best institutions a law has been enacted against giving as evidence what has been merely heard, because hearing's tribunal has a natural bias towards corrupt judgement. In fact Moses says in his prohibitions, "Thou shalt not accept vain hearing" (Ex. xxiii. 1), by which he does not merely mean that we must not accept a false or foolish story on hearsay, but also that as a means of giving a sure apprehension of the truth, hearing is proved to lag far behind sight and is brimful of vanity.

XXVIII. This is the reason we assign for the words "God came down to see the city and the tower," but the phrase which follows, "which the sons of men built" (Gen. xi. 5), is no idle addition, though perhaps some profane person might say with a sneer, "a novel piece of information this which the lawgiver here imparts to us, namely that it is the sons of men and not some other beings who build cities and towers." "Who," he would continue, "even among those who are far gone in insanity, does not know facts so obvious and conspicuous?" But you must suppose that it is not this obvious and hackneyed fact which is recorded for us in our most holy oracles, but the hidden truth which can be traced under the surface meaning of the words.
τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπιγραφόμενοι τῶν οίντων ὁσανεὶ πατέρας καὶ τὸ 
πολύθεαν εἰςηγούμενοι στιφὸς ἀπειρίαν ὁμοὶ καὶ 
πολυμιγίαν τῶν πραγμάτων καταχέαντες καὶ τὸ 
ψυχής τέλος ἣδονὴ παραδόντες δημιουργοὶ τῆς 
eιρήμενης πόλεως καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀκροπόλεως, 
eἰ δεὶ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, γεγονασὶ, τὰ ποιητικὰ τοῦ 
tέλους τρόπον οὐκοδομημάτων συναύξοντες, τῶν 
ἐκ πόρνης ἀποκυνθητῶν οὐδέν, ὡς γ’ οἴμαι, 
διαφέροντες, οὐς ὁ νόμος ἐκκλησίας ἀπελήλακε 
θείας εἰπὼν: "οὐκ εἰσελέυσεται ἐκ πόρνης εἰς 
ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου," ὅτι, καθάπερ περὶ πολλὰ τέλη 
πλανώμενοι τοξόται καὶ μηδενὸς ευστόχως ἐφιέμενοι σκοποὶ, 
μυρίας ἁρχὰς καὶ αἰτίας τῆς τῶν 
οίνων ὑποθεμένων γενέσεως ἔφεβοι πάσας 
tοῦ ἔνα ποιητήν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἡγνόησαν. 
οἱ δὲ ἐπιστήμης κεχρημένοι τοῦ εὐός 
υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται δεόντως, καθὰ καὶ 
Μωσῆς ὄμολογεὶ φάσκων· "υἱὸς ἐστε κυρίου τοῦ 
θεοῦ" καὶ "θεὸν τὸν γεννῆσαντά σε" καὶ "οὐκ 
αὐτὸς οὕτως σοι πατήρ," ἕπεται μέντοι τοῖς οὕτω 
tὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεῖσι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι 
νομίζειν, ὅπερ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἢδονῆς πρὸς ἐμπειρο-
πολέμων ἀνδρῶν ἀντιτειχίζεται πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν 
καὶ καθαίρεσιν ἔκεινον. καὶ 
καὶ μηδέπω μέντοι την 
χάνῃ τις ἀξιόχρεος ὃν νῦν θεοῦ προσαγορεύε-
σθαι, σπουδαζότω κοσμείσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτό-
γονον αὐτοῦ λόγον, τὸν ἁγγέλων προσβύτατον, ὡς 
ἀν ἠρχάγγελον, πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα· καὶ γὰρ 
ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὁ κατ’ εἰκόνα

* An obvious reference to Stoics and Epicureans.
What then is this truth? Those who ascribe to existing things a multitude of fathers as it were and by introducing their miscellany of deities have flooded everything with ignorance and confusion, or have assigned to pleasure the function of being the aim and end of the soul, have become in very truth builders of the city of our text and of its acropolis. They pile up as in an edifice all that serves to produce that aim or end and thus differ not a whit to my mind from the harlot's offspring, whom the law has banished from God's congregation with the words "he that is born of a harlot shall not enter the congregation of the Lord" (Deut. xxiii. 2). For like bowmen, whose shots roam from mark to mark and who never take a skilful aim at any single point, they assume a multitude of what they falsely call sources and causes to account for the origin of the existing world and have no knowledge of the one Maker and Father of all. But they who live in the knowledge of the One are rightly called "Sons of God," as Moses also acknowledges when he says, "Ye are sons of the Lord God" (Deut. xiv. 1), and "God who begat thee" (ibid. xxxii. 18), and "Is not He Himself thy father?" (ibid. 6). Indeed with those whose soul is thus disposed it follows that they hold moral beauty to be the only good, and this serves as a counterwork engineered by veteran warriors to fight the cause which makes Pleasure the end and to subvert and overthrow it. But if there be any as yet unfit to be called a Son of God, let him press to take his place under God's First-born, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called, "the Beginning," and the Name of
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άνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ὀρῶν, Ἰσραήλ, προσαγορεύεται.  
147 διὸ προῆχθην ὁλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπαινέσαι 
tὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν φασκόντων ὅτι "πάντες ἐσμέν 
νιοι ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου"· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μήπω ἰκανοὶ θεοῦ 
παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῆς ἁείδος 
eἰκόνος αὐτοῦ, λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου· θεοῦ γὰρ 
148 εἰκῶν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. καὶ πολλαχοῦ μέντοι 
tῆς νομοθεσίας νιοὶ πάλιν Ἰσραήλ καλοῦνται, τοῦ 
ὁρῶντος οἱ ἀκούοντες, ἐπειδὴ μεθ᾽ ὀρασιν ἀκοὴ 
δευτερείους τετίμηται καὶ τὸ διδασκόμενον τοῦ 
χωρίς ψηφήσεως ἐναργεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμέ̂νων 
λαμβάνοντος αἰεὶ δεύτερον. ἀγαμαί 
149 καὶ τῶν ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις ἱεροφαντθέντων, 
καθ᾽ ἂς οἱ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὑστερον ἀκμάσαντες 
καὶ βιώσαντες ἄνυπατίως νιοὶ τοῦ τὸν θεοῦ ὑμνή- 
σαντος Δαβίδ ἀναγράφονται, οὐ περιόντος οὐδ᾽ οἱ 
πρῶτοι ποτὲ τῶν ἦσαν ἱσως1 γεγενημένοι· ψυχῶν 
γὰρ ἀπαθανατιζομένων ἀρεταῖς, οὐ φθαρτῶν σωμά- 
των ἐς τέλει γένεσις, ἴν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοκάγαθιας 
ήγεμόνας ὡσανεῖ γεγενητὰς καὶ πατέρας ἀναφέρεσθαι 
συμβαίνει.

150 ΧΧΧ. Κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀδίκαίας σεμνυνομένων 
eἰπε κύριος: "ἵδον γένος ἐν καὶ χείλος ἐν πάντων," ἵ 
σον τῷ ἱδοῦ μία οἰκειότης καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ 
πάλιν ἀρμονία καὶ συμφωνία ἡ αὐτὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ, 
μηδὲν ἡλλοτριμένον τὴν γνώμην μηδ᾽ ἀπ- 
ἀδοντος, καθάπερ ἔχει καὶ ἔπει ἀνθρώπων ἀμούσων: 
τὸ γὰρ φωνητήριον αὐτοῦ ὄργανον πάσι τοῖς 
φθόγγοις ἐστιν ὅτε δι᾽ ὅλων ἐκμελές καὶ ἀπωδὸν

1 mss. πιστῶς.

a i.e. in § 41. b See App. p. 557.
God, and His Word, and the Man after His image, and "he that sees," that is Israel. And therefore I was moved a few pages above to praise the virtues of those who say that "We are all sons of one man" (Gen. xlii. 11). For if we have not yet become fit to be thought sons of God yet we may be sons of His invisible image, the most holy Word. For the Word is the eldest-born image of God. And often indeed in the law-book we find another phrase, "sons of Israel," hearers, that is, sons of him that sees, since hearing stands second in estimation and below sight, and the recipient of teaching is always second to him with whom realities present their forms clear to his vision and not through the medium of instruction. I bow, too, in admiration before the mysteries revealed in the books of Kings, where it does not offend us to find described as sons of God’s psalmist David those who lived and flourished many generations afterwards (1 Kings xv. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 3), though in David’s lifetime probably not even their great-grandparents had been born. For the paternity we find ascribed to the standard-bearers of noble living, whom we think of as the fathers who begat us, is the paternity of souls raised to immortality by virtues, not of corruptible bodies.

XXIX. But of those who glory in their iniquities, the Lord said "behold there is one race and one lip of them all" (Gen. xi. 5), that is, behold they are one connexion of family and fellowship of race, and again all have the same harmony and fellowship of voice; there is none whose mind is a stranger to the other nor his voice discordant. It is so also with men who have no gift of music. Sometimes their vocal organ, though every note is entirely tuneless and
οὐ μετρίως καθέστηκε, πρὸς ἀναρμοστίαν ἄκρως ἡμοσμένον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσύμφωνον συμφωνιάν μόνον ἁγγ. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτίδος τὸ κατασκευαστὸν1 τὸ παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· αἱ τε2 γὰρ ἀμφημερίαι καὶ διάτριτοι καὶ τεταρταίζουσι παρὰ παισῶν ἰατρῶν λεγόμεναι περίοδοι μεθ’ ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ περί τὰς αὐτὰς ὧρας κατασκηνοῦσι τὴν εἰς αὐτὰ1 καὶ τάξιν φυλάττουσι.

151 Τὸ δὲ "καὶ τοῦτο ἥρξαντο | ποιῆσαι" μετ’ οὐ μετρίου σχετικομοῦ λέλεκται, διότι τοῖς ῥαδιουργοῖς οὐ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὄμοιούς μόνον συγχεῖν δίκαια ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἦδη καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπιῶν ἐπιβαίνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀδικίαν μὲν στείραντες, ἀσεβεῖαν δὲ θερίσαντες. ὦφελος δὲ τοῖς ἀθλίοις οὐδὲν οὐ γὰρ ὅσπερ ἀδικοῦντες ἀλλήλους πολλὰ δὲν ἀν ἑθελήσωσιν ἀνύτουσι ἑργοῖς βεβαιούμενοι τὰ βουλαῖς ἀγνώμοσιν ἐπιλογισθέντα, οὔτως καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες· ἀξίομα γὰρ καὶ ἀπήμονα τὰ θεῖα, τοῦ δὲ πλημμελεῖν εἰς αὐτὰ οἱ δυσκάθαρτοι τὸς ἁρχὰς εὑρίσκονται μόνον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος φθάνουσιν εὐδέποτε. διὸ καὶ λέγεται τοῦτο: "ἥρξαντο ποιῆσαι" κορεσθέντες <γὰρ> οἱ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἀπληστοὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ αέρι, αἱ φθαρτῆς φύσεως ἔλαχε, κακῶν ἐπὶ τὸς ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θείας φύσεως μετατάξασθαι διενόθησαν, ἀς τὶ3 τῶν ὄντων ἐξ ἐν τοῦ κακογοριέαν ἐδοξέ στι διαθεῖναι τὸ παράσημον οὐδὲν· καὶ αὐτὸ μέντοι τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐ τοῖς κακογορομένοις ἐπιφέρει τινὰ ξημίαν, ἀ τῆς ἵδιοι φύσεως οὐποτ’ εξίσταται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατατιμωμένοις συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους. οὐκ

1 See App. p. 557.

2 MSS. ἐτ.

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highly unmelodious, is supremely harmonized to produce disharmony, with a consonance which it turns to mere dissonance. And the same studied regularity 151 may be noticed in fever. For the recurrences which are called in the medical schools quotidian, or tertian, or quartan, make their visitation about the same hour of the day or night and maintain their relative order.

The words "And they have begun to do this" 152 (Gen. xi. 6), express strong scorn and indignation. They mean that the miscreants, not content with making havoc of the justice due to their fellows, went further. They dared to attack the rights of heaven, and having sown injustice, they reaped impiety. Yet the wretches had no profit of it. For while in 153 wrongdoing each other they achieved much of what they wished and their deeds confirmed what their senseless scheming had devised, it was not so with their impiety. For the things that are God’s cannot be harmed or injured, and when these reprobates turn their transgressions against them, they attain but to the beginning and never arrive at the end. Therefore we have these words, “They have begun to do.” For when, insatiate in wrongdoing, they had taken their fill of sins against all that is of earth and sea and air whose allotted nature is to perish, they bethought them to turn their forces against the divine natures in heaven. But on them nothing that exists can usually have any effect save evil speech, though indeed even the foul tongue does not work harm to those who are its objects (for they still possess their nature unchanged), but only brings disasters beyond cure on the revilers. Yet that they 155

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επειδή μέντοι μόνον ἦρξαντο πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔλθειν ἀδυνατήσαντες ἀσεβείας, διὰ τοῦτ’ αὐτοῦς οὖχ ὡς διαπραξαμένους ἐκαστα δὲν διενοθησαν αἰτιατέον· οὔ χάριν καὶ τετελεισκέναι φησὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτοὺς οὐ τελειώσαντας, ἐπειδὰν λέγη· “κύριος κατέβη ἰδεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον,” οὐχ ὅν οἰκοδομῆσαι μέλλουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅν “ψυχοδόμησαν” ἤδη.

XXX. τὸς οὖν πίστις τοῦ μη τετελεσιούργησθαι τὴν κατασκευήν; ἡ ἐνάργεια πρώτη· γῆς γὰρ ὅτι οἱ μέρος ἀμήχανον οὐρανῶν φαύσαι διὰ τὴν ἐμπροσθεναὶ αὐτίαν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ κέντρον περιφερείας ἀπτεταί. δευτέρα δ’, ὅτι ὅ αἰθὴρ, ιερὸν πῦρ, φλόξ ἐστιν ἄσβεστος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοὶ τούνομα παρὰ τὸ αἰθεῖν, ὁ δὴ καίειν ἐστὶ κατὰ γλώτταν, εἰρήμενον. μάρτυς δὲ μία μοῖρα τῆς οὐρανίου πυρᾶς ἣλιος, ὅς τοσοῦτον γῆς ἀφεστώς ἄχρι μυχῶν τὰς ἀκτίνας ἐπιπέμπων αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀνατένωντα μέχρι τῆς οὐρανίου σφαίρας ἀέρα φύσει ψυχρὸν ὄντα τῇ μὲν ἀλεάινει, τῇ δὲ καταφλέγει τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅσα ἡ μακρὰν ἀφεστηκεν αὐτοῦ τῆς φορᾶς ἢ ἐγκάρσιο παραβέβληται ἀλεάινει μόνον, τὰ δ’ ἐγχύς ἢ ἐπ’ εὐθείας ὄντα καὶ προσανακαίει βία. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, τους ἀναβαίνειν τολμῶντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἀναγκαίον ἦν ἐμπεπρήσθαι κεραυνωθέντας, ἀτελεοὺς αὐτοῖς τῆς μεγαλουργηθείσης ἐπινοίας γενομένης; τοῦτ’ έοικεν αἰνίττεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὕτως λεγομένων.

1 Wend. suggests τὴν ἐμπροσθεν <ἀλεβέσαν>. The reference is to § 5.

2 MSS. δεύτερον.
only began and were unable to reach the end of
their impiety is no reason why they should not be
denounced as they would had they carried out all
their intentions. Therefore he speaks of their having
completed the tower, though they had not done so.
"The Lord," he says, "came down to see the city
and tower which they had built" already, not which
they intended to build (Gen. xi. 5).

XXX. What proof then have we that the structure
was not already completed? First, self-evident facts.
No part of the earth can possibly touch the heaven
for the reason already mentioned, namely that it is
just as impossible as it is for the centre to touch the
circumference. Secondly, because the aether, that
holy fire, is an unquenchable flame, as its very name
shews, derived as it is from αἰθέριν, which is a special
term for "burn." This is attested by a single part of
the heavenly expanse of fire, namely the Sun,
which, in spite of its great distance, sends its rays to
the corners of the earth, and both earth and the
naturally cold extent of air, which divides it from the
sphere of heaven, is warmed or consumed by it as the
case may be. For to all that is at a long distance
from its course or lies at an angle to it, it merely
gives warmth, but all that is near it or directly under
it it actually destroys with the force of its flames.
If this is so, the men who ventured on the ascent
could not fail to be blasted and consumed by the
fire, leaving their vaulting ambition unfulfilled.
That it was unfulfilled seems to be suggested by Moses in the words which follow. "They ceased,"

α See note on § 27.

β τούτο can only refer to ἀτέλεως, not to the curiously
literalistic arguments given in the preceding section.
PHILO

"έπαύσαντο" γάρ φησιν "οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον," οὐ δὴ σημεῖα τελειώσαντες, | [429] ἀλλὰ τελεσιουργῆσαι κωλυθέντες διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην σύγχυσιν.

Οὐ μὴν ἐκπεφεύγασι τὴν τῶν διαπράξεων αἰτίαν οἱ πρὸς τῷ βουλεύσασθαι καὶ ἐγκεχειρηκότες. 159 XXXI. τὸν γοῦν οἰωνόμαντιν καὶ τερατοσκόπον περὶ τὰς ἀβεβαιός εἰκασίας ματαιάζοντα—καὶ γὰρ μάταιος ἔρμηνευεται Βαλαάμ—φησιν ὁ νόμος τῶν ὁρῶν καταράσασθαι καὶ τῶν λόγων εὐφήμους ποιησάμενον εὐχάς, σκοπῶν οὐ τὰ λεχθέντα ἡ προμηθεία. θεοῦ μετεχαράττετο οὐκ ἀντὶ κιβδήλου νόμιμα, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν, ἐν τῇ βλάψοντα πρὸ τῶν ὡφελησόντων άν- ἐπολείτο. ἔστι δὲ φύσει πολέμων ταῦτα, στοχασμὸς ἀληθεία καὶ ματαιότης ἐπιστήμη καὶ ή δίχα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία κηφούση σοφία.

160 καὶ ἅν εἰς ἐνέδρας μέντοι τις ἐπικεφαλής ἀνελεῖν τινα μὴ δυνηθῇ κτεῖναι, τῇ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑποχος δίκη καθέστηκεν, ὡς δὲ γραφεῖς περὶ τοῦτων δηλοῖ νόμος: "ἐὰν" γάρ φησιν "τὶς ἐπιθήται τῷ πλησίον ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἀκίνητο καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἄποι τοῦ θυσιαστήριον λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι" καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτίθεται μόνον, οὐκ ἀνήρηκεν, ἀλλ' ἰσον ἡγήσατο ἀδίκημα τῷ κτεῖναι τὸ βουλεύςαι τὸν φόνον. οὐ χάριν οὐδὲ ἱκέτη γενομένω δεδωκεν ἀμνηστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶ μετον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάγειν

1 Mangey may be right in suggesting μάταιος Λαάς, the interpretation of the name given in De Cher. 32.
2 MSS. βλάψαντα . . . ωφελησάντων.
3 So MSS.: Mangey and Wend. θύμα, quite untenably, I think. The index gives no example where ἐνθουσιασμός is

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he says, "building the city and the tower" (Gen. xi. 8), obviously not because they had finished it, but because they were prevented from completing it by the confusion that fell upon them.

Yet as the enterprise was not only planned but undertaken, they have not escaped the guilt which would attend its accomplishment. XXXI. We have a parallel in Balaam, that dealer in auguries and prodigies and in the vanity of unfounded conjectures, for the name Balaam is by interpretation "vain." The law-book declares that he cursed the Man of Vision, though in words he uttered prayers of blessing, for it considers not what he actually said, words restamped under God's providence, like a true coin substituted for the false, but his heart, in which he cherished thoughts of injury rather than of benefit.

There is a natural hostility between conjecture and truth, between vanity and knowledge, and between the divination which has no true inspiration and sound sober wisdom. And indeed if a man makes a treacherous attempt against another's life, but is unable to kill him, he is none the less liable to the penalty of the homicide, as is shewn by the law enacted for such cases. "If," it runs, "a man attacks his neighbour to kill him by guile and flees to refuge, thou shalt take him from the altar to put him to death" (Ex. xxi. 14). And yet he merely "attacks" him and has not killed him, but the law regards the purpose of murder as a crime equal to murder itself, and so, even though he takes sanctuary, it does not grant him the privileges of sanctuary, but bids him be taken even from the

used in this depreciating sense. The δίχα ἐνθουσιασμοῦ μαντεία repeat οἰωνόμαντιs. *MSS. ἔπι.*
161 τὸν ἀνιέρω γνώμη χρησάμενον. ἀνιέρος δὲ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνον, ὅτι κατὰ ψυχῆς τῆς αἰεὶ ἐξὶν δυναμένης ἄρετῶν κτήσει τε καὶ χρῆσει τὸν διὰ προσβολῆς κακίας φόνον ἐβούλευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θεον τῆς ἀνοσιωργοῦ τόλμης αὐτίαται· τὸ γὰρ "κατα-φύγῃ" τουρών ὑποβάλλει νοῦν, διότι πολλοὶ τὰ καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἀποδιδράσκειν ἔθελοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ῥύασθαι τῶν ἐφ' οίς ἡδίκησαν ἄξιοντες ἐαυτοὺς τιμωριῶν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἁγίος τῷ κακοῦ μὲν μηδενὸς ἁγαθῶν δ' ἀπάντων αἰτίων προσβάλλουσι θεῶ. διὸ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν βωμῶν τους τοιούτους ἀπάγεως ὅσιον εἶναι ἐνομίσθη.

162 Δίκην δ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ τῶν ἐπ' ἀθεότητι λόγους οἰκοδομουμένων καὶ συγκροτοῦντων ὀρίζει, ἦν ἵσως τινὲς τῶν ἀφρόνων οὐ βλάβην, ἀλλ' ὕψιδειαν ὑποτεσσαύλοντες· "οὐ γὰρ ἐκλείψει" φησίν "ἐπὶ αὐτῶν πάντα ὅσα ἀν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν." ὡ τῆς ἀπεριγράφου καὶ ἀμέτρου κακοδαιμονίας, πάνθ' οίς ἃν ὁ φρενοβλαβέστατος ἐπιθύμηται νοῦς, ὑποχείρια εἶναι καὶ υπήκοα, καὶ μηδέν, <μὴ> μέγα μὴ μικρόν, ὑστερίζειν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερεὶ [430] φθάνοντα προαπαντάν πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐκάστας.

163 XXXII. ψυχῆς ταύτα φρονήσεως χρησμοῦσις ἐστίν ἐπίδειξις μηδὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἔχουσις ἐμποδῶν. εὐξαίτο γὰρ ἃν ὁ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνιάτως ἔχων τὰ εἰς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ νοῦ πάντ' ἐπιλυπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κλέπτειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ ἀνδροφονεῖν ἢ ἱεροσυλεῖν ἢ τινι τῶν ὄμοιοτρόπων ἐπιτιθέμενος εὐνοῦ, μυρία δ' εὐρίσκη τὰ κωλυ-98
holy place, because the purpose he has harboured is unholy. Its unholliness does not merely consist in this, that it plans death to be dealt by the arm of wickedness against the soul which might live for ever by the acquisition and practice of virtue, but in that it lays its abominable audacity to the charge of God. For the words "flee to refuge" lead us to the reflexion that there are many who, wishing to shirk all charges to which they are liable and claiming to escape the penalties of their misdeeds, ascribe the guilty responsibility, which really belongs to themselves, to God who is the cause of nothing evil, but of all that is good. And therefore it was held no sacrilege to drag such as these from the very altar.

The punishment which he decrees against those who "build" up and weld together arguments for godlessness is indeed extreme, though perhaps some foolish people will imagine it to be beneficial rather than injurious. "Nothing shall fail from them of all that they attempt to do," it says (Gen. xi. 6). What a misery, transcending limitation and measurement, that everything which the mind in its utter infatuation attempts should be its obedient vassal not backward in any service whether great or small, but hastening as it were to anticipate its every need. XXXII. This is a sign of a soul lacking good sense, which finds no obstacle in all that lies between it and its sin. For he who is not far gone in mortal error would pray that all the promptings of his mind's purposes should fail him, so that when he attempts to commit theft or adultery, or murder or sacrilege, or any similar deed, he should not find an easy path,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a} \&\cyrus implies guilt which demands, and is felt to demand, expiation.}\]

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σιερήσοντα. κωλυθείς¹ μὲν γὰρ τὴν μεγίστην νόσον, ἀδικίαν, ἀποβάλλει, σὺν ἄδεια δὲ ἐπεξελθὼν
164 ταῦτῃ ἀναδέχεται. τί οὖν ἔτι τὰς τῶν τυράννων τύχας ὡς μακαρίων² ξηλοῦτε καὶ θαυμάζετε, δι'
ας εὐπετῶς ἐκαστα ἐπεξίασω, ὡς ἄν ὁ ἐκλευτ-
τηκὼς κάκτεθριωμένος τέκη νοῦς, καὶ ἐν εαυτοῖς
dέον ἐπιστεύειν, εἰ γε ἀπορία καὶ [ἡ] ἀσθένεια
cakois λυσιτελές, ὡς περιουσία καὶ ἴσχυς ἀγαθοῖς
165 ὑφελιμώτατον;

εἰς δὲ τὶς τῶν ἀφρόνων
ήσθημένοις, εἰς ὅσην κακοδαιμονίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀγει
ἡ τὸν διαμαρτάνειν ἐκεχείρια, μετὰ παραπομπας
eιπε. "μείζων ἡ αἰτία μου τοῦ ἀφεθήναι." παγ-
χάλεσον γὰρ ἀχαλίνωτον ἀναθήναι ψυχήν ἀτύπασον
οὐσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, ἡν μόλις ἡνίαι μετ' ἑπανατάσεως
166 μαστίγων ἐστι κατασχόντα πραξάναι. διόπερ λόγον
tοῦ ἱλενθεοῦ μεστὸν ἡμερότητος ἐλπίδας χρηστὰς
ὑπογράφων τοῖς παιδείας ἑρασταῖς ἀνήρηται τοιόνδε:
"οὐ μή σε ἁνώ, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω'"
τῶν γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμῶν χαλασθέντων, οἷς δι-
εκρατεῖτο, ἡ μεγίστη παρέπεται συμφορά, κατα-
λεφθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, ὅσοι ὀλίγοι δεσμοὶ τὰς
167 σφίξας ἀλυτὰ ἐστίν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀκάθαρτον φθορᾶς

¹ MSS. κώλυσις.
² So Wend.: mss. ὁ μακάριοι, and so Mangey. I do not feel sure that Wend. is right. Philo is fond of these Platonic forms of address, and ὁ μακάριοι, like ὁ θαυμάσιος, conveys a note of expostulation, which is suitable enough here.

³ See App. p. 558.
⁴ Or perhaps "punishment," as Philo understands the
but rather a host of obstacles to hinder its execution. For if he is prevented, he is rid of that supreme malady, injustice, but if he carries out his purpose in security that malady will be upon him. Why then do you continue to envy and admire the fortunes of tyrants, which enable them to achieve with ease all that the madness and brutal savagery of their minds conceive, and hold them blessed, when rather our hearts should bewail them, since poverty and bodily weakness are a positive benefit to the bad, just as abundance of means and strength are most useful to the good? One of the foolish who saw to what a pitch of misery free licence to sin leads said boldly, "That I should be let free is the greater indictment" (Gen. iv. 13). For it is a terrible thing that the soul, so wild as it is by nature, should be suffered to go unbridled, when even under the rein and with the whip in full play it can hardly be controlled and made docile. And therefore the merciful God has delivered an oracle full of loving-kindness which has a message of good hope to the lovers of discipline. It is to this purport. "I will not let thee go nor will I abandon thee" (Josh. i. 5). For when the bonds of the soul which held it fast are loosened, there follows the greatest of disasters, even to be abandoned by God who has encircled all things with the adamantine chains of His potencies and willed that thus bound tight and fast they should never be unloosed. Further in another place he says, "All that are bound with a bond are clean" (Num. xix. 15), for unbinding is the cause of destruction which is

word. The text has been expounded in the same sense in Quod Det. 141. E.V. "My punishment is greater than I can bear."
αὕτων ἡ διάλυσις. μηδέποτ' οὖν ἰδὼν τινα τῶν φαύλων οἷς ἂν ἐπιθηται πᾶσιν εὐμαρῶς ἐπεξιόντα θαυμάσης ὡς κατορθοῦντα, ἄλλα τοῦντιν ὡς ἀποτυγχάνοντα οἰκτίζον, ὦτι ἄφορία μὲν ἀρετῆς, κακίας δὲ εὐφορία χρώμενος διατελεῖ.

168 XXXIII. Σκέψασθαι δ' οὖ παρέργως ἄξιον, τίν' ἔχει λόγον τὸ εἰρημένον ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· "δεῦτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλώτταν." φαίνεται γὰρ διαλεγόμενός τισιν ὡς ἂν συνεργοῖς αὐτοῦ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τάνθρωπον κατασκευῆς ἀναγέγραται.

169 "εἴπη" γάρ φησὶ "κύριος ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἥμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν" τοῦ "ποιήσωμεν" πλῆθος ἐμφαίνοντος· καὶ πάλιν "εἴπεν ὁ θεός· ίδον, γέγονεν Ἀδάμ ὡς εἰς ἡμῶν, τῷ γινώσκειν καὶ πονηρὸν'· | τὸ γὰρ ὡς εἰς ἡμῶν" οὐκ ἔφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλειόνων.

170 τίθεται. λεκτέον οὖν ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον, ὦτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἰσότιμον ύφέστηκε θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἐστιν εἰς ἁρχῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνι καὶ βασιλεύς, ὦ πρυτανεύεις καὶ διοικεῖν μόνος θέμας τὰ σύμπαντα. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκουρανίτη, εἰς κοίρανος ἐστῶ, εἰς βασιλεύς

οὐκ ἐπὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐν δίκη μᾶλλον ή ἐπί κόσμου καὶ θεοῦ· ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐνα ποιητήν τε καὶ πατέρα πάλιν καὶ δεσπότην ἀναγιανούν εἶναι. XXXIV. τοῦτο δὴ προδομολογηθέντος ἁκόλουθον ἂν εἴη συνισταῖνειν τὰ ἀρμόζοντα. τίν' οὖν ἐστι, σκοπῶμεν εἰς ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυθήτους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὺς

* Iliad, ii. 204, 205.
unclean. Never then, when you see any of the wicked accomplishing with ease whatsoever he attempts, admire him for his success, but contrariwise pity him for his ill-luck, for his is a life of continual barrenness in virtue and fruitfulness in vice.

XXXIII. We should give careful consideration to the question of what is implied by the words which are put into the mouth of God. "Come and let us go down and confuse their tongue there" (Gen. xi. 7). For it is clear that He is conversing with some persons whom He treats as His fellow-workers, and we find the same in an earlier passage of the formation of man. Here we have "The Lord God said 'let us make man in our own image and likeness'" (Gen. i. 26); where the words "let us make" imply plurality. And once more, "God said, 'behold Adam has become as one of us by knowing good and evil'" (Gen. iii. 22); here the "us" in "as one of us" is said not of one, but of more than one. Now we must first lay down that no existing thing is of equal honour to God and that there is only one sovereign and ruler and king, who alone may direct and dispose of all things. For the lines:

It is not well that many lords should rule;
Be there but one, one king,

could be said with more justice of the world and of God than of cities and men. For being one it must needs have one maker and father and master.

XXXIV. Having reached agreement on this preliminary question our next step will be to gather the relevant considerations into a coherent argument. Let us consider what these are. God is one, but He has around Him numberless Potencies,
καὶ σωτηρίος τοῦ γενομένου πάσας, αἷς ἐμφέρονται καὶ αἱ κολαστήριοι· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὕτα καὶ ἔπαν-ρθόσις. διὰ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, τὸ τού φαινομένου τούθε ἀρχέτυπον, ἱδέας ἀοράτοις συσταθεῖς, ὥσπερ οὖτος σώμασιν ὀρατοῖς. καταπλαγέντες οὖν τινες τὴν ἐκατέρου τῶν κόσμων φύσιν οὐ μόνον οἷος ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ήλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν, ἀπερ οὐδὲν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν. ὥν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν· κατιδών Μωυσῆς φησι· "κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεύ τῶν θεῶν" ἐνδειξιν τῆς παρ'. 174 ὑπηκόοις ἀρχοντὸς διαφοράς. ἐστι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων ἱερώτατος χορὸς ὑπάρχος ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἀγέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ταύτας ἐξωθε λαλεῖν ὁ θεοπιωδὸς λόγος· πάντ' οὖν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκάστων έν ταῖς ἁμοττούσαις δια-κεκοσμημένον τάξεαν υπηρέτην καὶ θεραπευτὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε τοῦ διακοσμήσαντος ήγεμόνος, ὃ ταξιαρχοῦντα κατὰ δίκην καὶ θεσμὸν ἐπεται-λιποταξίου γὰρ οὐ θέμις ἀλώναί ποτε τὸ θεῖον στράτευμα. βασιλεῦ δὲ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμεως ἐμπρεπὲς ὁμιλεῖν τε καὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑπηρεσίας, ὥσπερ ἁμοττει μὴ ὑπὸ μόνον πήγνυσθαι θεοῦ. χρείος μὲν γὰρ

1 MSS. ἐπίνοιαν.

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a See App. p. 558.
b Cf. Deut. iv. 19, which Philo probably has in mind.
which all assist and protect created being, and among them are included the powers of chastisement. Now chastisement is not a thing of harm or mischief, but a preventive and correction of sin. Through these Potencies the incorporeal and intelligible world was framed, the archetype of this phenomenal world, that being a system of invisible ideal forms, as this is of visible material bodies. Now the nature of these two worlds has so struck with awe the minds of some, that they have deified not merely each of them as a whole, but also their fairest parts, the sun, the moon and the whole sky, and have felt no shame in calling them gods. It was the delusion of such persons that Moses saw, when he says “Lord, Lord, King of the Gods” (Deut. x. 17), to shew the difference between the ruler and the subjects. There is, too, in the air a sacred company of unbodied souls, commonly called angels in the inspired pages, who wait upon these heavenly powers. So the whole army composed of the several contingents, each marshalled in their proper ranks, have as their business to serve and minister to the word of the Captain who thus marshalled them, and to follow His leadership as right and the law of service demand. For it must not be that God's soldiers should ever be guilty of desertion from the ranks. Now the King may fitly hold converse with his powers and employ them to serve in matters which should not be consummated by God alone. It is true indeed that the Father of

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a Very inaccurately quoted for ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, οὗτος θεὸς τῶν θεῶν.

b For the leading ideas of the following sections, viz. God as the cause of good alone and His employment of subordinates, see notes on De Op. 72, and De Agr. 128, with the references to Plato there given.
οὐδενός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς πατήρ, ὡς δεῖσθαι τῆς ἀφ’ ἐτέρων, εἰ ἐθέλοι δημιουργῆσαι, <συμπράξεως>,\(^1\) τὸ δὲ πρέπον ὅρων ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς γυνομένοις ταῖς ὑπηκόοις δυνάμεσιν ἐστιν ἀ διαπλάττειν ἐφῆκεν, οὐδὲ ταύταις εἰσάπαν αὐτοκράτορα δοὺς τοῦ τελεσιουργείν ἐπιστήμην,\(^2\) ἵνα μὴ τι πλημμεληθεὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς γένεσιν.

176 XXXV. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προτυπῶσαι· ὅν δὲ χάριν, ἣδη λεκτέον· ἤ μὲν φύσις τῶν ξύων εἰς τε ἄλογον καὶ λογικὴν μοιραῖ, ἐναντίας ἀλλη·[432] ζαῖς, ἐτμήθη τὸ πρῶτον, | ἢ δ’ αὐθ’ λογικὴ πάλιν εἰς τε το φθαρτόν καὶ ἄθανατον εἰδος, φθαρτόν μὲν τὸ ἄνθρωπων, ἄθανατον δὲ τὸ ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων, αἱ κατὰ τε ἀέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦσι.  

177 κακίας δὲ ἀμέτοχοι μὲν εἰσιν αὐταί, τὸν ἀκήρατον καὶ εὐδαιμονα κληρον εἰς ἄρχης λαχοῦσαι καὶ τῷ συμφορῶν ἄνθρωπων οὐκ ἐνδεδείσαι χωρίω, σώματι, ἀμέτοχοι δὲ καὶ <αἱ> τῶν ἄλογων, παρόσον ἀμοιροῦσαι διανοίας οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ λογισμοῦ συμβανόντων ἐκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀλήσκονται.

178 μόνος δὲ σχεδὸν ἐκ πάντων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἁγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἐχων ἐπιστήμην αἱρεῖται μὲν πολλάκις τὰ φαὐλότατα, φεύγει δὲ τὰ σπουδὴς ἄξια, ὡστ’ αὐτὸν\(^3\) μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ προνοεὶς ἀμαρτήμασι.  

179 καταγωγώσκεθαι.  

προσηκόντως οὖν τὴν τοῦτον κατασκευὴν ὁ θεὸς περιήψε καὶ τοῖς ὑπ-ἀρχοις αὐτοῦ λέγων: “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον,” ἵνα αἱ μὲν τοῦ ἄνθρωπου\(^4\) κατορθώσεις ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἁνα-

\(^1\) The insertion is perhaps unnecessary, as ὑπηρεσίας (which Mangey suggested in preference to συμπράξεως) might possibly be understood from the previous sentence.

\(^2\) Wend. suggests ἐξουσίαν, cf. § 181. If alteration is required, I should prefer ἐπιστήμην. Cf. De Cher. 24.
All has no need of aught, so that He should require the co-operation of others, if He wills some creative work, yet seeing what was fitting to Himself and the world which was coming into being, He allowed His subject powers to have the fashioning of some things, though He did not give them sovereign and independent knowledge for completion of the task, lest aught of what was coming into being should be miscreated.

XXXV. This outline was needed as premisses. Now for the inferences. Living nature was primarily divided into two opposite parts, the unreasoning and reasoning, this last again into the mortal and immortal species, the mortal being that of men, the immortal that of unbodied souls which range through the air and sky. These are immune from wickedness because their lot from the first has been one of unmixed happiness, and they have not been imprisoned in that dwelling-place of endless calamities—the body. And this immunity is shared by unreasoning natures, because, as they have no gift of understanding, they are also not guilty of wrongdoing willed freely as a result of deliberate reflection. Man is practically the only being who having knowledge of good and evil often chooses the worst, and shuns what should be the object of his efforts, and thus he stands apart as convicted of sin deliberate and aforethought. Thus it was meet and right that when man was formed, God should assign a share in the work to His lieutenants, as He does with the words “let us make men,” that so man’s right actions might be attribut-

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3 mss. ὡς ταύτα or ὡς ταῦτη.
4 So Wend. and Mangey: mss. νοῦ, which might be defended as equivalent to the ψυχή λογική below.
φέρωνται μόνον, ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι. Θεῷ γὰρ τῷ πανηγεμόνι ἐμπρεπέσει οὐκ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ κακίαν ὄδον ἐν ψυχῇ λογικῇ δι' ἑαυτοῦ δημιουρ-
γῆσαι: οὐ χάριν τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν τοῦτον τοῦ μέρους κατασκευὴν. ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον τῷ ἀκουσίῳ, τὸ ἐκουσίων, εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συμπλήρωσιν κατασκευασθὲν ἀναδειχθῆναι.

XXXVI. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ λελέχθω. προσήκει δὲ κάκεινο λελογίσθαι, ὅτι μόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αἰτίος, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός τὸ παράπαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων καὶ τελείο-
tatou ἀγαθὸν αὐτός ἦν. ἐμπρεπέστατον1 δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει δημιουργεῖν ἀριστο τῷ ἀρίστῳ,2 τὰς μέντοι κατὰ πονηρῶν κολάσεις διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν βεβαιοῦθαί. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ τελειωθέντος ἐξ ἀσκήσεως τόδε: "ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν." ὁμολογεῖ γὰρ καὶ οὕτος ἡδη, ὅτι τὰ μὲν γνήσια τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ φιλαρέτου τρέφει ψυχάς, ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναφέρεται μόνον ως αἰτίον, ἢ δὲ τῶν κακῶν μοῖρα ἄγγελος ἐπιτέτραπται πάλιν, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτοκράτορα ἐξουσία, ἐν μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς φθορὰν τευνότων ἢ σωτήριος αὐτοῦ κατάρχη φύσις. διὸ λέγει: "ἀκείωτε καὶ καταβάντες συγχέωμεν." οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβεῖς τουαύτης ἐπάξιοι δίκης τυγχάνειν, ἱλεως καὶ εὐερ-
γήτιδας καὶ φιλοδώρους αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ἀἰκειοῦσθαι τιμωρίας. εἰδὼς μέντοι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄφελίμους ὑπαρχοῦσας δι' ἑτέρων αὐτῶς ὀρίσεν·

1 MSS. ἐμπρεπέστατα.
2 MSS. τῶν ἀρίστων οὐ τῶν ἀριστῶν.
THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES, 179–182

able to God, but his sins to others. For it seemed to be unfitting to God the All-ruler that the road to wickedness within the reasonable soul should be of His making, and therefore He delegated the forming of this part to His inferiors. For the work of forming the voluntary element to balance the involuntary had to be accomplished to render the whole complete.

XXXVI. So much for this point, but 180 it is well to have considered this truth also, that God is the cause of good things only and of nothing at all that is bad, since He Himself was the most ancient of beings and the good in its most perfect form. And it best becomes Him that the work of His hands should be akin to His nature, surpassing in excellence even as He surpasses, but that the chastisement of the wicked should be assured through His underlings. My thoughts are attested also by the words 181 of him who was made perfect through practice, "the God who nourisheth me from my youth; the angel who saveth me from all evils" (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16). For he, too, hereby confesses that the truly good gifts, which nourish virtue-loving souls, are referred to God alone as their cause, but on the other hand the province of things evil has been committed to angels (though neither have they full and absolute power of punishment), that nothing which tends to destruction should have its origin in Him whose nature is to save. Therefore he says, "Come and 182 let us go down and confound them." The impious indeed deserve to have it as their punishment, that God's beneficent and merciful and bountiful powers should be brought into association with works of vengeance. Yet, though knowing that punishment was salutary for the human race, He decreed that it
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ἐδει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐπανορθώσεως ἀξιωθηναι, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς τῶν ἀεινῶν αὐτὸν χαρίτων ἁμγεῖς κακῶν

σῷκ οὗτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομιζομένων φυλαχθῆναι. 183 XXXVII. Τίς δὲ ἐστιν ἡ σύγχυσις, ἐρευνητέον. πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσομεν; οὔτως, ἂς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· πολλάκις οὓς πρότερον οὐκ ἤδειμεν, ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τινὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐχόντων ἐμφέρειαν ἐγνωρίσαμεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ πράγματα τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον, ἣ μὴ ῥᾴδιον ἐξ ἐαυτῶν καταλαμβάνεσθαι, δῆλα γένουτ' ἃν κατὰ τὴν τῶν οὐκείων αὐτοῖς ὀμοιότητα. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ συγχύσει πράγματα ὁμοία; ἢ μῖξις, ὡστερ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, καὶ κράσις· ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν μῖξις ἐν ξηραΐς, ἢ δὲ κράσις ἐν 184 υγραῖς οὐσίαις δοκιμάζεται. μῖξις μὲν οὖν σωμάτων διαφερόντων ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ παράθεσις, ὡστερ ἀν εἰ τις σωρὸν ποιήσει κριθᾶς καὶ πυροῦ καὶ ὀρόβους καὶ ἀλλ' ἄττα εἰς τῶν σπαρτῶν εἰς ταῦτο εἰςενεγκών, κράσις δ' οὗ παράθεσις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων μερῶν εἰς ἀλληλα εἰσδυομένων δι' ὅλων ἀντιπαρέκτασις, ἐτί δυναμένων ἐπιτεχνήσει τινὶ διακρίνεσθαι τῶν ποιοτήτων, ὡς εἰπὶ οἷον καὶ 185 ὑδατὸς φασὶ γίνεσθαι· συνελθούσας μὲν γὰρ τὰς οὐσίας ἀποτελεῖν κράσιν, τὸ δὲ κραθέν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἀναπλοῦσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἄλλοιν ἀντεπεπεθησθῇ ποιότηται· σπόγγω γὰρ ἡλαμβάνει σὲ μὲν ὑδρο ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι, τὸν δ' οἶνον ὑπολείπεσθαι· μήποτε

a Philo here seems to assign the work of punishment to the lower division of the ministers rather than to the Potencies, though elsewhere he treats it as belonging to the Kingly Potency indicated by the name of ὁ Κύριος, e.g. De Abr. 144, 145. Here the “angels” have the whole province of evil assigned to them, whether to save from it, as with Jacob, or to inflict it.

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should be exacted by others. It was meet that while mankind was judged to deserve correction, the fountains of God's ever-flowing gifts of grace should be kept free not only from all that is, but from all that is deemed to be, evil.

XXXVII. We must now inquire what is meant by "confusion." What should be our method? The following in my opinion. We often obtain a knowledge of persons whom we have not known before from their kinsfolk or those who bear some resemblance to them. And so in the same way things which in themselves are not easy to apprehend may reveal their nature through their likeness to their congener. What things then resemble confusion? "Mechanical mixture," to use the old philosophical term, and "chemical mixture." The first presents itself for examination in dry substances, the latter in liquid. Mechanical mixture of different bodies occurs when they are juxtaposed in no regular order, as when we collect barley and wheat and pulse or any other kind of grain and pile them together. Chemical mixture is not juxtaposition, but the mutual coextension and complete interpenetration of dissimilar parts, though their various qualities can still be distinguished by artificial means, as is said to be the case with water and wine. These substances if united do produce, we are told, a chemical mixture, but all the same that mixture can be resolved into the different qualities out of which it was composed. A sponge dipped in oil will absorb the water and leave the wine. Probably the explanation is that

b See App. p. 558 on this and the following sections.

a See App. p. 558.
έπειδήπερ εξ ύδατος ή σπογγίας γένεσις ἐστι, τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον, οὐδὲν, πέφυκεν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ κράματος, τὸ δ' ἀλλότριον ὑπολείπεσθαι, ὁ οἶνος. σύνχυσις δὲ ἐστὶ φθορὰ τῶν εἰς ἅρχης πουστήτων πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἀντι- παρεκτενομένων εἰς διαφερούσης μιᾶς γένεσις, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν ἱατρικῇ τετραφαρμάκου συντέτευχε· κηρὸς γὰρ καὶ στέαρ καὶ πίττα ῥήτην τε, οἷμαι, συνελθόντα ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ, συντεθείσης δὲ ἀμή- χανον ἐπὶ τὰς εἰς συνετέθη διακριθῆμα δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἐκάστη μὲν αὐτῶν ἡφάσθηκα, πασῶν δ' ἡ ἱθεῖα μίαν ἔξαερτον ἄλλην ἐγέννησε δύναμιν. 187

οταν δ' ἀπειλὴ σύνχυσιν τοῖς ἀσεβείς λογισμοῖς ὁ θεός, οὐ μόνον ἐκάστης κακίας τὸ τε εἴδος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφανισθῆναι κελεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συνερασθὲν εἰς αὐτῶν, ἢν μήτε τὰ μέρη καθ' ἐαυτὰ μήθ' ἡ πάντων σύνοδος τε καὶ συμφωνία περιβάλλεται των ἵπτεν ἐπὶ καθαρέσθε τῆς ἀμείνονος μοῖρας. οὐ χάριν φησὶν: " συγχέωμεν ἐκεῖ αὐτῶν τὴν γλώτταν, ἢν μὴ ἀκούσωσιν ἐκαστος τὴν φωνήν τοῦ πλησίον," ὅπερ ᾗσον ἐστὶ τούτων κωφῶν ἐκαστον ἐργασώμεθα ἑκάστης κακίας μερῶν, ὡς μήτε ἱδίαν ἀφιέν<φωνήν> μήτε συνηχοῦν ἐτέρῳ βλάβης μὴτε ἰδίαν άφιέν· 189

XXXVIII. ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐμφανεῖ καὶ προχείροις μόνον [434] ἐπακολουθοῦντες οὐνταν νυνί γένεσιν | διαλέκτων Ἐλληνικῶν τε καὶ βαρβάρων ὑπογράφουσαν οὖς

1 mss. μίαν. 2 mss. ἐπὶ. 3 mss. ἀφιέναι.

a See App. p. 558.
b Lit. "another single special power." This use of δύναμις which suggests both "nature" and "value" cannot be translated by any single or at least any singular word.
since the sponge is produced out of water, it tends to absorb out of the mixture the substance which is akin to it, the water, and leave the foreign substance, the wine. But confusion is the annihilation of the original varieties or qualities, which become coextensive through all the parts and thus produce a single and quite different quality. An example of this is the quadruple drug used in medicine. This is produced, I believe, by the combination of wax, tallow, pitch and resin, but, when the compound has been formed, it is impossible to analyse or separate the properties which went to form it. Each of them has been annihilated, and from this loss of identity in each has sprung another single something with properties peculiar to itself. But when God threatens impious thoughts with confusion He does not order merely the annihilation of the specific nature and properties of each separate vice. The order applies also to the aggregate to which they have contributed. He means that neither their separate parts, nor yet their united body and voice, shall be invested with strength to destroy the better element. And therefore he says, "Let us confound their tongue there, that each of them may not understand the voice of his neighbour" (Gen. xi. 7), and this is equivalent to "let us make each part of vice mute that it may not by its separate utterance nor yet in unison with the others be the cause of mischief."

XXXVIII. This is our explanation, but those who merely follow the outward and obvious think that we have at this point a reference to the origin of the Greek and barbarian languages. I

For this use of ἐξαιρετός cf. De Op. 62, where the senses have each their ἐξαιρετὸς ὡν.
οὐκ ἂν αἰτιασόμενος—ίσως γὰρ ἀλῆθεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ
χρῶνται λόγῳ—παρακαλέσαμ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτων
στήναι, μετελθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τροπικὰς ἀποδόσεις,
νομίσαντας τὰ μὲν ρητὰ τῶν χρησμῶν σκιὰς τινας
ώσανεὶ σωμάτων εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐμφανομένας δυνά-

191 με τὰ ύφεστώτα ἀληθεία πράγματα. δίδωσι
μέντοι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀφορμὰς τὸ είδος τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς
dιάνοιαν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτός, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἐφ'
ἀν νῦν ἔστων ὁ λόγος· τὸ γὰρ γνώμενον σύγχυσιν
προσεῖπε. καίτοι γε εἰ διαλέκτων γένε-

192 σιν αὐτὸ μόνον ἔθιλον, κἂν ὀνόμα εὐθυβολώτερον
ἐπεφήμισεν ἀντὶ συγχύσεως διάκρισιν· οὐ γὰρ
συγχείται τὰ τεμνόμενα, διακρίνεται δ' ἐμπαλιν,
καὶ ἔστων οὐ μόνον ἐναντίον ὀνόμα ὄνοματι, ἀλλ'
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would not censured such persons, for perhaps the truth is with them also. Still I would exhort them not to halt there, but to press on to allegorical interpretations and to recognize that the letter is to the oracle but as the shadow to the substance and that the higher values therein revealed are what really and truly exist. Indeed the lawgiver himself gives openings for this kind of treatment to those whose understanding is not blinded, as he certainly does in the case now under discussion, when he calls what was then taking place a "confusion."

Surely if he had merely meant that different languages then originated, he would have applied a more correct term and called it "separation" rather than "confusion." For when things are divided they are not "confused," but quite the contrary, "separated." And the contradiction is not merely one of name but of fact. Confusion—the process of fusing together—is, as I have said, the annihilation of the individual properties, and the production thereby of a single whole with its own properties, whereas separation is the division of one into several, as in the case of genus and the species, which form the genus. And therefore if the Sage's command was to divide speech, the single whole, by section into several languages, he would have used more apposite and exact terms such as dissection or distribution or separation, and not their opposite, confusion. But his purpose and desire is to break up the company of vice, to make her agreements of none effect, to do away with her fellowship, to annihilate and destroy her powers, to overthrow the might of her queenship which by her abominable transgressions she had

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194 νομίαις, καθελείν. οὖχ ὅρας ὅτι καὶ τῶν ψυχῆς ὁ πλάστης μερῶν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐτέρου κοινωνίαν ἔγαγεν; ἀλλ’ ὁφθαλμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσειαν, ὥτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν θεάσατο, χυλὸς δὲ ἐννοήσιον οὐκ ἂν ὅσφροιτο, ὦδ’ ἂν γεύσαιτο ὅρινες, δ’ αὖ λόγος οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πάθοι, οὐδ’ ἐμπαλιν ῥήξαι φωνῆν δύναιτ’ ἂν
195 αἰσθήσεις. ἔγινο ὡρ ὁ τεχνίτης, ὅτι τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἔκαστον τούτων τῆς τοῦ πλησίον φωνῆς λυσιτελές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμειν ἀσυγχότους χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ρήσων ὄφελειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀφηρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῆς κακίας εἰς ἀσύνχυσι καὶ φθοράν ἀχθήναι παντελῆ, ἵνα μῆτε συμφωνήσαντα μῆτε καθ’ ἑαυτὰ ὄντα ζημία τοῖς αμείνοσι γένηται.

196 Παρὸ καὶ λέγει. ""διέσπειρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐκεῖθεν," ἐν ὦσῳ τῷ ἐσκέδασεν, ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἄφανεὶς ἐποίησε· τὸ γὰρ σπείρειν ἀγαθῶν, κακῶν δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ διασπείρειν>, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπιδόσεως καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ἐτέρων ἐνεκα συμβαίνει, τὸ δ’ ἄπωλείας καὶ φθορᾶς. Βούλεται δὲ ὁ φυτούργος θεὸς σπείρειν μὲν ἐν τῷ παντὶ | καλο-καγαθίαν, διασπείρειν δὲ καὶ ἑλαύνεικ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πολιτείας τὴν ἐπάρατον ἀσέβειαν, ἐν ἦδη ποτὲ παύσωνται τὴν κακίας πόλιν καὶ τὸν ἄθεο-τητος πύργον οἰκοδομοῦντες μισάρετοι τρόποι.  

197 τούτων γὰρ σκεδασθέντων οἱ πάλαι πεφευγότες τὴν τυραννίδα τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἐνι θηρύγματι κάθοδον

1 So Wend.; cf. De Ebr. 190: mss. ἐννοήσιον or ἐν στόματι. The latter does not seem impossible.

2 mss. καὶ el . . . ἀφηρηται.
made so strong. Observe that he who fashioned the living being, brought none of its parts into fellowship with any other. The eyes cannot hear, nor the ears see; the palatal juices cannot smell, nor the nostrils taste; nor again can speech have any of the sensations which the senses produce, just as on the other hand the senses have no power of utterance. For the great Contriver knew that it was well for them that none should hear the voice of his neighbour. He willed rather in the interests of animal life, that each part of the living organism should have the use of its own particular powers without confusion with others, and that fellowship of part with part should be withdrawn from them, while on the other hand the parts of vice should be brought into confusion and complete annihilation, so that neither in unison nor separately by themselves should they become a source of injury to their betters.

That is why he adds—The Lord dispersed them thence (Gen. xi. 8), that is He caused them to be scattered, to be fugitives, to vanish from sight. For while sowing is the cause of good, dispersing or sowing broadcast is the cause of ill. The purpose of the first is to improve, to increase, to create something else; the purpose of the second is to ruin and destroy. But God the Master-planter wills to sow noble living throughout the All, and to disperse and banish from the Commonwealth of the world the impiety which He holds accursed. Thus the evil ways which hate virtue may at last cease to build the city of vice and the tower of godlessness. For when these are scattered, those who have been living in exile for many a day under the ban of folly's tyranny, shall receive their recall under a single
ευρήσουσι, γράφαντός τε καὶ βεβαιώσαντος θεοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ, ἐν οἷς διείρηται ὅτι "ἐὰν ἢ ἢ διασπορὰ σου ἀπ᾽ ἄκρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐως ἄκρον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκεῖθεν συνάξει σε". Ὁστε τὴν μὲν ἀρετῶν συμφωνίαν ἐμπρεπὲς ἀρμόζεσθαι θεῷ, τὴν δὲ κακίῶν διαλύειν τε καὶ φθείρειν. οἰκειότατον δὲ κακίας ὄνομα σύγχυσις· οὗ πίστις ἐναργῆς πᾶς ἄφρων, λόγοι καὶ βουλαίς καὶ πράξεων ἀδοκίμοις καὶ πεφορημέναις χρώμενοι.

1 MSS. κακίαν.

* i.e. the two ideas which have been connected with σύγχυσις are φθορά and διασπορά. The first of these is here
proclamation, even the proclamation enacted and ratified by God, as the oracles shew, in which it is declared that "if thy dispersion be from one end of heaven to the other he shall gather thee from thence" (Deut. xxx. 4). Thus it is a work well-befitting to God to bring into full harmony the consonance of the virtues, but to dissipate and destroy the consonance of vices. Yes, confusion is indeed a most proper name for vice, and a standing evidence of this is every fool, whose words and purposes and deeds alike are worthless and unstable.\textsuperscript{a}

expressed by \textit{άδόκιμος} which often means something not merely worthless but cast away as such. The second is expressed by \textit{πεφορημένος}. But see App. p. 559.
ON THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM
(DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

The subject of this treatise is Gen. xii. 1-4 and 6. This naturally falls into two divisions, of which the first contains the words of God to Abraham. This again is analysed as follows:

I. (a) The command to depart from country, kindred and father’s house.
   (b) To the land which I will shew thee (this constitutes the first promise or gift to Abraham).
   (c) And I will make thee a great nation (Second Gift).
   (d) And I will bless thee (Third Gift).
   (e) And I will magnify thy name (Fourth Gift).
   (f) And thou shalt be blessed (Fifth Gift).
   (g) I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee.
       And in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed (the gifts to others through Abraham.)

In the second part we deal successively with the statements.
   (a) He went as God spake to him.
   (b) And Lot went with him.
   (c) And Abraham was seventy-five years old, when he went forth out of Haran.
   (d) And Abraham travelled through the land to
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the length of it, to the place Shechem to the high oak.

"Land" means spiritually body, "kinsfolk," senses (2-4), while "father's house" is speech, and this last is illustrated by the way in which the Logos itself is spoken of as God's house (4-6). Thus the command is to alienate ourselves from these and so to "depart" to higher realities (7-12). Biblical examples of this departing follow: Abraham from Lot, the Exodus of Israel from Egypt (13-15), and in connexion with this Philo propounds the idea that when we read of Joseph's body being placed in a coffin in Egypt, and later of his bones being taken to Canaan at the Exodus, we have an allegory of the spiritual burial of the lower qualities, and the survival of the higher qualities of the mixed or Joseph mind (16-17). An enumeration of these higher qualities as shewn in the story of Joseph follows (18-23), and from this we pass back to the theme of "departure," as shewn in the order of Moses to make the Passover "with speed" (24-25), and (with a difference a) in the injunction in Gen. xxxi. 3 to Jacob to turn back to his father's land, which must be understood in the sense of wisdom (26-30). The last words of that passage, "I will be with thee," lead to a meditation on how independent of our efforts is the Divine presence and inspiration, which Philo illustrates from his own experience in literary composition (31-35), whence we pass almost insensibly to the consideration of the words of the First Gift, "The land which I will shew thee." After some thoughts about the "thing shewn," i.e. the perfect good, "the person who sees," i.e. the wise man, and the "Shewer," i.e. God (36-42),

a For the difference see note on § 26.
Philo points out that the shewing is in the future, thus calling for Abraham’s faith. He illustrates it further from the words of Deut. xxxiv. 4, “I shewed it to thine eyes but thou shalt not possess it,” and this points to the thought that possession of the perfect good is more than seeing it (43-46). And yet seeing is higher than hearing, and thus God’s words are said in certain places to be seen rather than heard, a noteworthy usage when we remember that hearing in the ordinary sense is even less than the other senses capable of being associated with sight (47-52).

We pass on to the Second Gift. “I will make thee a great nation.” Here nation can be taken to mean “multitude of qualities.” “Great” shews something more, namely that the qualities grow to their full stature (53-55). A great nation is elsewhere defined as one which draws nigh to God (56-59). Indeed, mere quantity or multitude is often spoken of as an evil thing, which is vanquished by the little and good (59-63). The many-footed is called an abomination in Leviticus. This reminds us that the footless which crawls on its belly, is equally an abomination (64-65). And thence he digresses for the moment to suggest that the breast stands for the spirited element, as the belly stands for desire, and it is when both these are excised as in the sacrificial directions of Lev. viii., and reason is left supreme, that we get both multitude and greatness (65-68). From another point of view the many-footed and the footless are respectively the polytheist and the atheist (69).

The Third Gift is “I will bless thee” (ξυλογήσω). Looking at the composition of the word, Philo takes this to mean “I will give thee excellent Logos.” Now Logos is both thought and speech, and this last
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leads him to the idea that mastery of language is needed by the sage and that otherwise he will be unable to hold his own against the sophist (70-75). This is illustrated first from the case of Cain and Abel and then from that of Moses, and there follows a commentary on Exodus iv. 10-16 in which "Aaron thy brother" is shewn to represent the speech or eloquence which rejoices when it finds clear conceptions to express (76-81). It is this use of language in the service of truth which is shewn by the story of Moses with Aaron's rod outdoing the Egyptian magicians (82-85).a

The Fourth Gift is "I will magnify thy name." Here "name" is interpreted as equivalent to what we seem. The seeming indeed is worthless without the being, but true happiness consists in both (86-88). The need of obedience to established custom is a necessary consequence, and here Philo takes the opportunity to define his attitude to the literal Law, Sabbath, Circumcision, Feast-days. Though these have their soul, namely the spiritual interpretation, they have also their body, and the body is the house of the soul, and must not be set at nought (89-94). The same lesson is taught by the "lesser substance" bequeathed by Abraham to the children of the concubines who, though of less account, were still children (94). So too Leah accounted herself blessed, because women will count her such, and by women are meant those comparatively earth-bound souls whose esteem is nevertheless valuable (95-96). This leads to an illustration from the work entrusted by Moses to the women—the senses, that is—but the senses also must have their due if happiness is to be

a Much of this part reproduces parts of Quod Det.

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had (97-100). This thought is further developed from Isaac’s prayer that Jacob may have the wealth of earth as well as of heaven, and from Aaron’s robe on which the sensible world is figured by the bells whose sound was to be audible when he entered the Holy Place (101-104). So the sensible must second the music of the mental in the great Choir, and the three-fold phrase of Ex. xxi., the “needful,” the “raiment,” and the “fellowship,” means that the sensible and the mental must be so blended that we shall find in the first the sacrament of the second (104-105).

Yet in the three next sections Philo swings round to the other point of view. The Fifth Gift is “Thou shalt be blessed.” Here he reads εὐλογητός (meet to be blessed), for the εὐλογημένος (subject to blessing) of our texts, and thence deduces, in spite of all that has been said, that true blessedness is to him who is worthy of it rather than to him who is so reputed by men (106-108).

In the next words, “I will bless them who bless thee, and curse them who curse thee,” we go on to shew what the Abraham mind can do for others. It stands to reason that to praise the praiseworthy is in itself a praiseworthy act, if done in sincerity. But this is an important exception, and thus the blessing of Israel by Balaam, splendid as it is, only brought on him God’s curse (109-115). Conversely, curses which are meant to benefit, such as the rebukes of those who have charge of the young, bring blessings on those who speak them. All depends on the intention (115-117).

The next words “And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed” shew that the blessing con-
ferred by the Abraham spirit is not to be limited to those who know its value. In one sense indeed the words may be applied to the individual himself. The perfect mind will sanctify all its tribes, that is, all its faculties (118-119). But in the wider sense the righteous man both by his influence and prayers is a pillar of society. We see this in God’s words to Moses (I will be merciful to them for thy word); in the willingness to spare Sodom, if only a few righteous could be found there; most of all in the story of Noah, who victorious over the deluge of moral decay, founded the line of Israel, which, though obscured at times, will be brought to the light again, when that season comes of which God spoke to Sarah (120-126).

The second part of the treatise begins with the words: “And Abraham went as the Lord spake.” Philo interprets this to mean that his way of going was in accordance with God’s word, i.e. his life was in accordance with God’s laws (127-132). And he proceeds to ask what the “end” and the “reward” of such “going” is. The true end and reward is to be able to recognize that the only thing we can know is our own ignorance (133-135). This leads to a denunciation of speculation about the universe instead of self-examination (136-138). A rambling discussion of some texts follows (139-142). And then in contrast to the “going” of Abraham, we have the weaklings who lag behind and are “cut off” as the “weary” part of Israel was by Amalek (143-144), though indeed there is a better kind of weariness which is typified by Leah (144-145). The treatment of this part concludes with the thought which has been fully developed in Quod Deus, that the true path

\( \text{For such thread of thought as there is see note.} \)
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

of the soul is, as Aristotle taught, along the Mean (146-147).

"Lot went with him." As Lot means "turning away," we see that this was a companionship not to imitate but to hinder, and this is proved by his later disaster and Abraham's separation from him (148-150). That this separation did not take place at once shews that the Abraham soul has still much to learn. The hindrance which is caused by such conflicting companionship is symbolized by the "mixed multitude," which went up from Egypt and caused Israel to wander for forty years (150-155). (Incidentally we hear of this multitude weeping and this leads to a short digression on good and bad tears (155-157).) While some refuse all intercourse with this mixed multitude others make alliance with it, as Joseph, ever the man of compromise, did when he was accompanied by the Egyptians to his father’s funeral (158-163). Some illustrations of good fellow-travelling (συνμπορζνεσθαί) are now given. Abraham's comrades in war; Isaac going with Abraham to the sacrifice, signifying the union of natural gifts with effort (164-167). And while it is natural that higher minds should be drawn up to God, as Aaron and his fellow priests were, Moses will cry "Unless thou journey with me (συμπορεύσῃ) bring me not up hence," for God must be our fellow-traveller (168-172). Abraham, too, "journeyed with the angels." For though in the imperfect state the Logos leads us, the perfected will walk at his side (173-175).

"Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went forth out of Haran." What do these words mean? We remember that originally he went from

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a See further note on § 167.
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Chaldea to Haran. Now Chaldea is astrology, which conceives of the universe as a whole where all the parts work in harmony with each other (176-179). So far Moses agrees with it: it is when the astrologers ignore God and His creative goodness that he disagrees (180-183). And when he shews Abraham as leaving Chaldea for Haran, that is, for the place of the senses, which is also the house of the mind, he is bidding us discard astrological speculations for the Socratic study of ourselves (184-189). And when we have done this we may leave Haran also, to contemplate God Himself, just as Saul had to be taken from the "baggage" before he could grasp the kingship (189-197).

"Seventy-five years old." Seventy is the number of the higher mind and reason (198-202), five of the senses (203-206), and both these are proved by many texts (203-206). The combination indicates an intermediate and necessary stage in the soul's progress (207). And so Rebecca bids Jacob even in his hour of triumph fly to Haran, for compromise with the senses is often necessary for a time (208-213). Yet Jacob also will ultimately leave Haran and "make a house for himself," that is, "the fear of God" which won, according to Ex. i. 21 "'their houses' for the midwives" (214-215).

"He travelled through the land to the length of it to the place Shechem, to the high oak." "Travelled through" shews us the course of the soul in its search for wisdom, a search which must cover the whole land i.e. whole of ethical philosophy (216-220). In Shechem, which means "shouldering," and in the oak, we find a symbol of the solid labour which such travelling entails (221-223). But we remember that in Genesis
we have a man Shechem, who represents evil labour, the seducer of Dinah. Or rather, the would-be seducer. For to Philo's mind the spiritual Dinah being Virtue can never be corrupted, and the treatise ends with the thought that the vengeance of her brothers and defenders will overtake the seducer with his purpose unattained (224-end).
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑΣ

1 Ι. "Καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ἀπέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οίκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν σοι δείξω· καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔδνος μέγα καὶ εὐλογήσω σε καὶ μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογητός. καὶ εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε καταράσομαι, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοί πάσαι αἱ φυλαί τῆς γῆς." "βουληθεὶς θεὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν καθήραι πρώτον αὐτῇ δίδωσιν ἄφορμήν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντελή τὴν ἐκ τριῶν χωρίων μετανάστασιν, σῶματος, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου τοῦ κατὰ προφοράν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν σώματος, τὴν δὲ συγγένειαν αἰσθήσεως, τὸν δὲ τοῦ πατρός οἶκον λόγου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι σύμβολον.

2 διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἔλαβε τὴν σύστασιν καὶ ἀναλύεται πάλιν εἰς γῆν—μάρτυς δὲ Ἡλέκτρι, ὅταν φῆ· "γῆ εἰ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ" καὶ γὰρ παγηναὶ φησίν αὐτὸ χοῦν εἰς ἀνθρωπεῖαν μορφὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαπλάσαντος, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸ λυόμενον εἰς τὰ δεθέντα λύεσθαι—, αἰσθήσεως δὲ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφόν ἐστὶ διανοίας, ἀλογον λογικῆς, ἐπειδὴ μᾶς ἄμφω μέρη ψυχῆς ταῦτα, πατρός δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὅτι πατήρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων [437] οἶκος δ' | λόγος, ὅτι πατήρ μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς σπείρων 132
ON THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM

I. "And the Lord said unto Abraham, Depart out of thy land, and out of thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, into the land which I shall shew thee; and I will make thee a great nation and will bless thee and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and them that curse thee I will curse, and in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 1-3).

God begins the carrying out of His will to cleanse man's soul by giving it a starting-point for full salvation in its removal out of three localities, namely, body, sense-perception, and speech. "Land" or "country" is a symbol of body, "kindred" of sense-perception, "father's house" of speech. How so? Because the body took its substance out of earth (or land) and is again resolved into earth. Moses is a witness to this, when he says, "Earth thou art and into earth shalt thou return" (Gen. iii. 19); indeed he also says that the body was clay formed into human shape by God's moulding hand, and what suffers solution must needs be resolved into the elements which were united to form it. Sense-perception, again, is of one kin and family with understanding, the irrational with the rational, for both these are parts of one soul. And speech is our "father's house," "father's" because Mind is our
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εἰς ἐκαστόν τῶν μερῶν τὰς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεις καὶ διανέμων εἰς αὐτὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐπιμέλειαν τε καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν ἀνημμένος ἀπάντων, οἰκός δὲ, ἐν ὧ διαιτᾶται, τῆς ἀλῆς ὑπεξηρημένος οἰκίας ὁ λόγος· καθάπερ γὰρ ἄνδρος ἑστια, καὶ νοῦ λόγος ἐνδιαίτημα. ἑαυτὸν γοῦν καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐνθυμήματα τέκη, ὠσπερ ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ λόγῳ διαθεὶς καὶ διακοσμήσας ἐπιδεῖκνυται. μὴ θαυμάσῃς δὲ, εἰ νοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν ἄνθρώπῳ κέκληκεν οἰκόν· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων νοῦν, τὸν θεόν, οἰκον ἔχειν φησι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον. οὐ τὴν φαντασίαν ὁ ἀσκητὴς λαβὼν ἀντικρος ὑμολογεῖ ὅτι “οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἂλλ’ ἢ οἰκὸς θεοῦ,” ἵσον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκός οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο τῶν εἰς δείξειν ἐρχομένων ἡ συνόλως πιπτόντων ὑπ’ αἰσθήσεως, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἂλλ’ ἀόρατος, ἀειδής, ψυχῇ μόνον ὡς ψυχῇ καταλαμβανόμενος. τὸς γὰρ γὰρ εἰς πλὴν ὁ λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν γε εἰς εἰληφότων, οὐ καθάπερ οἰακός ἐνειλημμένος ὁ τῶν ὅλων κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ ὅτε ἐκοσμοπλάστει χρησάμενος ὀργάνω τούτω πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπαίτιον τῶν ἀποτελουμένων σύστασιν;

1 MSS. ἀλῆς, which perhaps might be retained in the sense of the "homestead as a whole."

a Or "chamber," cf. Il. vi. 490 and elsewhere, where oikos is clearly the inner part of the house. For the thought that while mind has a wider range, its most intimate home is speech, cf. the explanation of τῶν ἐγγίστα as speech in De Ebr. 71.

b Or "this is not the House of God, only (yet) there is a House of God." Mr. Whitaker defended his translation by suggesting that Philo is following the occasional use of ἄλλ’ ἢ in the LXX for "certainly," e.g. 2 Chron. xix. 3. But the explanation which follows seems to me to point to the alternative translation given above, and in this case the use
father, sowing in each of the parts of the body the faculties that issue from itself, and assigning to them their workings, being in control and charge of them all; house—because mind has speech for its house or living-room, secluded from the rest of the homestead. It is Mind’s living-place, just as the hearth-side is man’s. It is there that Mind displays in orderly form itself and all the conceptions to which it gives birth, treating it as a man treats a house.

And marvel not at Moses having given to speech the title of Mind’s house in man; for indeed he says that God, the Mind of the universe, has for His house His own Word. It was the vision of this Word that the Self-trainer received when he emphatically declares “This is assuredly not the House of God” (Gen. xxviii. 17), as much as to say “The House of God is not this that is all round me, consisting of things at which we can point or that fall under sense-perception generally, no, not such is God’s House, but invisible, withdrawn from sight, and apprehended only by soul as soul. Who, then, can that House be, save the Word who is antecedent to all that has come into existence? the Word, which the Helmsman of the Universe grasps as a rudder to guide all things on their course? Even as, when He was fashioning the world, He employed it as His instrument, that the fabric of His handiwork might be without reproach.

of ἀλλή would be something like that in Deut. iv. 12 (quoted in 48). In De Som. i. 185 we have another way of taking the verse.

Or “soul in the true sense of the word.” Philo means that he is not using the word in the wider sense of the whole soul or life of the animal, but for the mind or dominant principal. See App. p. 560.
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7 II. Ὡς μὲν τοῖνον γῆν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, συγγένειαν δὲ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οἷκον δὲ πατρὸς τὸν λόγον αἰνίτεταί, δεδηλώκαμεν. τὸ δὲ "ἀπελθε ἐκ τούτων" οὐκ ἔσθι1 ὁμοιον τῷ διαζεύχθητι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπεὶ θάνατον ἢν διαγορεύοντος ἡ πρόσταξις, ἀλλὰ ἵσον τῷ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλοτριώθητι, πρὸς μηδενὸς 

8 περισχεθεῖσα αὐτῶν ὑπεράνω στῆθι πάντων ὕπήκοοι σοῦ εἰσι, μηδέποτε ὃς ἡγεμόν χρῶ· βασιλεὺς ἥν ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι πεπαιδευσό, πάντα τὸν αἰώνα γίνωσκε σεαυτόν, ὡς καὶ Μωυσῆς πολλαχοῦ διδάσκει λέγων "πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ"· οὔτως γὰρ ὃν τε ὑπακούει καὶ οἷς ἐπιτάττειν προσήκεν αἰσθήση. ἀπελθε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ σεαυτόν γεώδους, τὸ παμμίαρον, ὡς οὔτος, ἐκφυγὼν δεσμωτήριον, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὰς ὠσπερ εἰρκτοφύλακας ἤδονας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ παντὶ σθένει καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει, μηδὲν τῶν εἰς κάκωσιν παρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀθρόα συλλήβδην ἐπανατεινά- 

9 μενος. ἀπελθε κάκ τῆς συγγενοῦς αἰσθήσεως· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ κέχρηκας ἐκάστη σεαυτόν καὶ γέγονας ἀλλότριον τῶν δεδανεισμένων ἁγαθὴν ἀποβεβληκὼς τὸ ἱδίον. οἴδας δὲ, καὶ πάντες ἄρμαχαζων, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ σε ἁγουσί καὶ ὠτα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῆς συγγενείας πληθὺς ἀπασα πρὸς τὰ φίλα ἐαυτοῖς. ἐάν δὲ ἐθελήσῃς κομίσασθαι | τὰ σαυτοῦ δάνεια καὶ τὴν ἱδίαν κτῆσιν περιβάλεσθαι μηδὲν 

[438] 

1 MSS. οὐκέθ'.
II. We have now shewn how Moses uses "earth" to represent the body, "kindred" to represent sense-perception, "thy father's house" to represent speech. The words "Depart out of these" are not equivalent to "Sever thyself from them absolutely," since to issue such a command as that would be to prescribe death. No, the words import "Make thyself a stranger to them in judgement and purpose; let none of them cling to thee; rise superior to them all; they are thy subjects, never treat them as sovereign lords; thou art a king, school thyself once and for all to rule, not to be ruled; evermore be coming to know thyself, as Moses teaches thee in many places, saying "Give heed to thyself" (Ex. xxiv. 12), for in this way shalt thou perceive those to whom it befits thee to shew obedience and those to whom it befits thee to give commands. Depart, therefore, out of the earthly matter that encompasses thee: escape, man, from the foul prison-house, thy body, with all thy might and main, and from the pleasures and lusts that act as its jailers; every terror that can vex and hurt them, leave none of them unused; menace the enemy with them all united and combined. Depart also out of sense-perception thy kin. For at present thou hast made a loan of thyself to each sense, and art become the property of others, a portion of the goods of those who have borrowed thee, and hast thrown away the good thing that was thine own. Yes, thou knowest, even though all men should hold their peace, how eyes draw thee, and ears, and the whole crowd of thine other kinsfolk, towards what they themselves love. But if thou desire to recover the self that thou hast lent and to have thine own possessions about
αὐτῆς διαζεύξας ἢ ἄλλοτριώσας μέρος, εὐδαιμονος μεταποίησθη βίου, χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν οὐκ ὃθνεῖών ἄλλ' οἰκεῖων ἄγαθῶν εἰς ἀεὶ καρπούμενος.

12 ἀλλὰ μετανάστηθι κακὸ τοῦ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγου, ἡν πατρός οἶκον ὁνόμασεν, ὡς μὴ ρημάτων καὶ ὄνομάτων ἀπατηθεὶς κάλλεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν κάλλους, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις πράγμασι, διαζευχθῆς. ἀτοπον γὰρ ἡ σκιὰς σωμάτων ἡ μίμημα ἀρχετύπων φέρεσθαι πλέον σκιαὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμήματι έουκεν ἐρμηνεία, σώμασι δὲ καὶ ἀρχετύποις αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν διερμηνευομένων φύσεως πραγμάτων, ὃν τὸν ἐφιέμενον τοῦ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ δοκεῖν χρῆ περιέχεσθαι διοικιζόμενον ἀπ' ἐκείνων.

13 ἐκείνων. III. ἐπειδὰν γοῦν ὁ νοῦς ἀρξηται γνωρίζειν ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς νοητοὺς ἐνομιλεῖν, ἀπαν τὸ κλινόμενον τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἴδος ἀπώσεται, ὁ κέκληται παρ' Ἑβραίοις Λώτ. οὗ χάριν ὁ σοφὸς εἰσάγεται λέγων ἀντικρυς ἐν τοῖς δήλουμεν πρὸς τὸν ἐφιέμενον τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ άφθαρτων ἐρωτικατεσχημένον τῷ πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ θνητὰ ρέσοντι. παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ιεροφάντης μίαν τῆς νομοθεσίας ὅλην ἱερὰν καὶ τῆς Εξαγωγῆς ἀνεγραφεὶν ὁ σοφὸς ό νομισμένος τοῦ περιεχομένου χρησμοίς. ἀτε γὰρ παιδευτικὸς ὃν καὶ πρὸς νουθεσίαν καὶ σωφρονισμὸν ἐτοιμότατος τῶν οἰων τοῦ καὶ σωφρονίζεσθαι πάντα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 11-14

thee, letting no portion of them be alienated and fall into other hands, thou shalt claim instead a happy life, enjoying in perpetuity the benefit and pleasure derived from good things not foreign to thee but thine own. Again, quit speech also, "thy father's house," as Moses calls it, for fear thou shouldst be beguiled by beauties of mere phrasing, and be cut off from the real beauty, which lies in the matter expressed. Monstrous it is that shadow should be preferred to substance or a copy to originals. And verbal expression is like a shadow or copy, while the essential bearing of the matters conveyed by words resembles substance and originals; and it behoves the man, whose aim it is to be rather than to seem, to dissociate himself from the former and hold fast to the latter.

III. So we find that when the Mind begins to know itself and to hold converse with the things of mind, it will thrust away from it that part of the soul which inclines to the province of sense-perception, the inclining which among the Hebrews is entitled "Lot." Hence the wise man is represented as saying outright, "Separate thyself from me" (Gen. xiii. 9). For it is impossible for one who is possessed by love for all that is incorporeal and incorruptible to dwell together with one who leans towards the objects of sense-perception doomed to die. Right well, then, did the Sacred Guide inscribe one entire sacred book of the Law-giving "Exagoge" or "Leading out," for the name thus found was appropriate to the oracles contained in it. For being well qualified to train men and fully furnished for the admonition and correction of those who were capable of admonition and correction, he contemplates the task of taking out all the population
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λεων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας, τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῶν οὐκητόρων αὐτῆς ἐξελεῖν διανοεῖται, χαλεπώ- 
tatov καὶ βαρύτατον ἄχθος ἡγούμενος ὁρατικήν 
dιάνοιαν πρὸς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν πιεσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιτάγ-
μασίν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀττ' ἂν αἱ ἄνηλεεῖσ προστάτωσιν
15 ἐπιθυμίαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν στενάξαντας καὶ 
pολλὰ ἐκδικύσαντας τὴν σωματικὴν εὐθνίαν καὶ 
tὰς τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀφθονοὺς περιουσίας—λέγεται γὰρ 
ὅτι " ἠστέναξαν οἱ νεοὶ Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων"—
ὑφηγησαμένου τοῦ ἱλεως θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξοδον ο
προφήτης αὐτοῦ ρύεται.
16 Ἑσὸι δ' οἱ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς πρὸς σῶμα 
σπονδὰς ἔθεντο καὶ ὑπὲρ λάρνακι ἡ σορφ' ἡ ὄπως 
ὄνομάζειν ἐτέρως φιλον τῶδε ἐνετάφησαν. ὅτι τὰ 
μὲν ὅσα φιλοσώματα καὶ φιλοπαθὴς μέρη λήθη 
παραδοθέντα κατορύττεται, εἴ δὲ ποῦ τι φιλάρετον 
παρανέβλαστε, μνήμαις ἀνασώζεται, δι' ἂν τὰ 
17 καλὰ ἐνετάφησαν πέφυκε. IV. τὰ 
ὅστα Ἰωσήφ, λέγω δὴ τὰ μόνα ὑπολειφθέντα τῆς 
tοσαύτης φυχῆς ψυχῆς ἀδιάφθορα καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτα 
εἰδη, περιποιεῖται ὁ ἐρὸς λόγος, ἀτοπον ἡγούμενος 
καθαρά | μὴ καθαροὶς συνεζεύξθαι. τὰ 
18 δ' ἀξιομνημόνευτα ταῦτα ἢν· τὸ πιστεῦσαι ὅτι 
" ἐπισκέψεται ὁ θεὸς" τὸ ὁρατικὸν γένος καὶ οὐ

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a “Things outside the body” (see note on Quod Det. 7) interpret the “inhabitants of Egypt” in § 14, as “the things of the body” interpret Egypt.
b For the interpretation of these “works” or tasks as slavery to the passions and the like cf. De Conf. 93.
c Here begins the digression about Joseph which continues to the end of § 24. The opening words of § 16 are a medita-
tion on Gen. 1,26 “And Joseph died (ἐτελεύτησε, cf. μέχρι τῆς 
tελευτῆς) and was buried, and they laid him in a coffin (σορφ'), in Egypt.” The lesson deduced is that the compromising
of the soul right away from Egypt, the body, and away from its inhabitants; deeming it a most sore and heavy burden that an understanding endowed with vision should be under the pressure of the pleasures of the flesh, and should submit to such injunctions as its merciless cravings may lay upon it. These, indeed, groaned over and greatly bewailed their bodily well-being, and the lavish abundance of things outside the body, which was theirs, for we read that "the children of Israel groaned by reason of their works" (Ex. ii. 23). When they do this, the gracious God instructs His prophet regarding their coming out, and His prophet delivers them.

But some make a truce with the body and maintain it till their death, and are buried in it as in a coffin or shell or whatever else you like to call it. All the body-loving and passion-loving portions of these are laid in the grave and consigned to oblivion. But if anywhere by the side of these there grows up a virtue-loving tendency, it is saved from extinction by memories, which are a means of keeping alive the flame of noble qualities.

So the Holy Word, deeming it unfitting that pure things should have impure things associated with them, provides for the safe-keeping of Joseph's bones, by which I mean the only relics of such a soul as were left behind untouched by corruption and worthy of perpetual memory (Gen. l. 25). Those of the latter kind were these; Joseph's confidence that "God will visit" the race that has vision (Gen. l. 24), Joseph-nature is "buried in the body" and forgotten, but it may have higher things or "bones". These are remembered and serve to kindle excellence in others.

See App. p. 560.
παραδώσει μέχρι παντός αυτού ἀμαθία, τυφλή
decepώ, τὸ διακρίναι τα τε θνητα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ
tα αφθαρτα καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖσα περὶ τὰς σώματος
ηδονῶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παθῶν ἀμετρίας δηντα οὖντα
Αἰγύπτω καταλιπέων, περὶ δὲ τῶν αφθάρτων
σπονδῆν οποισασθαί, ὅπως μετὰ τῶν ἀναβαίνοντων
eis-τὰς ἁρετῆς πόλεις διακομισθῆ, καὶ ὀρκω την
19 σπονδῆν ἐμπεδώσασθαι. τίνα οὖν τὰ
αφθάρτα; ἢ πρὸς ηδονῆν ἄλλοτρώσις τὴν λέγου-
sαν synvασθωμεν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπεων ἀπο-
λαύσωμεν ἁγαθῶν, ἢ μετὰ καρτερίας ἁγχίνοια, δι' ἡς
tὰ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν νομιζόμενα ἁγαθά ὡς
ἀν ἐνύπνια ὕπτα * * * διακρίνει καὶ διαστέλλει,
ὁμολογῶν τὰς μὲν ἁληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς τῶν πραγ-
mατῶν συγκρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ θεόν, τὰς δὲ ἁδήλους
καὶ ἁσαφεῖς φαντασίας κατὰ τὸν πλάνητα καὶ
tύφου μεστὸν μῆτω κεκαθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων βίων
ταῖς διὰ σιτοπόνων καὶ μαγείρων καὶ οἰνοχών
20 τέρψει χαίροντα, τὸ μὴ ὑπήκουν, ἂλλ' ἀρχοῦτα
Αἰγύπτου πάσης, τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας, ἀνα-
γραφῆναι, τὸ αὐχεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν γένων εἶναι Ἕβραιῶν,
οἰς ἐθος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μεταν-
ιστασθαι—περάτης γὰρ ὁ Ἕβραῖος ἐρμηνεύεται—,
tὸ σεμνύσαθαι ὅτι " ὦδε οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδέν "—τὸ
γὰρ μηδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα σπουδαζόμενωνσ παρὰ τοῖς
φαύλοις ἐργάσασθαι, διαμισθῆσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀποστραφῆ-

1 MSS. σπουδήν.
2 Wend. conjectures τῶν ἁληθῶς δυτων. I am not sure
that it is necessary to suppose any lacuna.
3 MSS. σπουδαζόμενων.
4 See App. p. 560, on § 17.
5 An allusion to the description of Potiphar in the LXX
(Gen. xxxix. 1) as chief cook.
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and will not utterly hand it over to Ignorance, that blind task-mistress; his discernment between the mortal and the incorruptible portions of the soul and his leaving behind to Egypt those which had to do with bodily pleasures and other forms of unrestrained passion, while concerning the incorruptible parts he made an agreement, that they should accompany those who went up to the cities of virtue, and should be conveyed thither, and had the agreement secured by an oath. What, then, are the un-corrupted parts? His having nothing to do with Pleasure when she says, “Let us lie together” (Gen. xxxix. 7) and enjoy the good things of mankind: the shrewdness coupled with the resoluteness which enabled him to recognize the products of empty fancies which many accounted to be good, and to distinguish them as mere dreams from those which are really so; and to confess that the true and certain interpretations of things are given under God’s guidance (Gen. xl. 8), while the doubtful imaginations that have no certainty follow the rule and line of the erring and deluded life of men who have not undergone purification, a life that finds its joy in the delights provided by bakers and cooks and butlers. Other traits of incorruption were these: he was proclaimed not the subject, but the ruler of all Egypt, the domain of the body (Gen. xli. 41): he was proud to own himself a member of the Hebrew race (Gen. xl. 15), whose wont it is, as the name “Hebrew” or “Migrant” indicates, to quit the objects of sense-perception and go after those of Mind: he gloried in the fact that “here he had done nothing” (ibid.), for to have performed no single act such as the worthless people there admired, but to have utterly
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21 ναὶ πάντα οὐ μετρίως ἐπαυνετὸν—, τὸ ἐμπαίζειν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ πάντων παθῶν ἀμετριάς, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ μηδέπω γέγονεν ἀγαπᾶν ἰκανός, τὸ λοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀλήθους— (V.) δὴ δὴ θαυμάσασ σὸ ὅρῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον ἦν καταπλαγῆναι, φησί· "μέγα μοι ἐστιν, εἰ ἔτι ο νύς μου Ἰσοφή ζῆς," ἀλλὰ μὴ κεναις δόξαις καὶ τῷ νεκρο- 

22 φορομένωσι σώματι συντέθηκε,— τὸ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι "τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν," τῶν δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθόντων οὖνδενός, τὸ γνωριζόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πάντας τοὺς φιλοσωμάτους κινήσαι καὶ σαλεύσαι τρόπους ἐστάναι παγίως ἐπί τῶν ἴδιων οὐκομένων δογμάτων καὶ ἀνά κράτος ἀπώσασθαι, τὸ φάναι μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπεστάλθαι, ὥσπο δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονήσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς 

23 ἐννομὸν ἐπιστασίαν. ... πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτως ὁμοίτροπα τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ ἐρωτέρας ὄντα τάξεως, Αἰγυπτίων τὸν σωματικὸν οἶκον οἰκεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὐδ' ἐνθάπτεται σορῷ τὸ παράπαν, [440] ἐξώ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ θνητοῦ | κεχωρηκότα παρέπε- 

24 ταὶ ὀθεσμοθέτη λόγου Μωυσῆ ποδηγετούντι τροφεὺς γὰρ καὶ τιθήνης οὕτος ἀστείων ἔρων, λόγων, βουλευμάτων, ι', καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνακραθῆ ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑποσύγχυτον τοῦ θνητοῦ πολυμιγίαν, οὐδὲν ἠττον διακρίνει2 παρελθὼν, ἔνα μὴ μέχρι παντὸς τὰ

1 Wend. and Mangey put a comma after ἐπιστασίαν and correct ἀνέχεται, ἐνθάπτεται, παρέπεται of the mss. to the corresponding infinitives. See App. p. 560.

2 mss. diakrínetai. See App. p. 561.

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a See App. p. 560.

b The thought of the body as a dead thing from the first, which the soul supports, has been more fully developed in Leg. All. iii. 69 f. Cf. also De Agr. 25.

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hated and eschewed them all, was conduct that called for no slight praise: he derided lusts and all passions and their gross excesses (Gen. xxxix. 14, 17): a he feared God (Gen. xlii. 18) even though he was not yet ready to love Him: when in Egypt he claimed as his own the life that is real life, (V.) a claim which caused Israel to marvel in just amazement, and to cry, "It is a great matter in my eyes if my son Joseph still lives" (Gen. xlv. 28), and has not shared the death of vain opinions, and of the body the corpse he carries with him: b he confesses that he is God's (Gen. 1. 19), c not the property of any created being: when making himself known to his brethren he thrust perforce from his presence, shaken and tottering, all those frames of mind that make the body their delight and think that their own doctrines afford them a firm standing (Gen. xlv. 1 f.): he declared that he had not received his commission at the hands of men, but had been appointed by God (Gen. xlv. 7 f.) to be duly constituted controller of the body and of things outside the body. d And these are but a few of the traits indicative of the better and holier standing, which utterly refuse to dwell in Egypt the bodily tenement, are never buried in a coffin at all, but, having passed out of all that is mortal, follow the guiding steps of Moses, the Law-giving Word. For Moses is the nursing-father who rears with fostering care noble deeds, words, designs, which, albeit often mingled with their opposites owing to the chaos and confusion which besets mortality, he none the less comes forward and separates from

E.V. "Am I in the place of God?"

Again, as in § 15, the two lower goods serve to interpret "Lord of all his house and ruler of all the land of Egypt."
καλοκαγαθίας σπέρματα καὶ φυτὰ ἀφανισθέντα οὐχηται.

25 Καὶ προτρέπεται μᾶλα ἐρωμένως ἀπολυπεῖν τὴν παντὸς ἀτόπου χρηματιζοῦσαν μητέρα, μὴ μέλλοντας καὶ βραδύνοντας, ἀλλ’ ὑπερβάλλοντι τάχει χρωμένους· φησὶ γὰρ μετὰ σπονδῆς δεῖν θύειν τὸ Πάσχα, τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐρμηνευθέν διάβασις, ἵν’ ἀνευδοιάσω γνώμη καὶ προθυμία συντόνως χρωμένως δὸ νοῦς τῆν τε ἀπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἁμεταστρεπτῆ ποιήται διάβασιν καὶ τῆν πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν εὐχαριστίαν, δς εἰς ἑλευθερίαν οὐ προσδοκήσαντα

26 αὐτὸν ἔξειλετο. VI. καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, εἰ τὸν ὑπηγμένον κράτει πάθους ἀλόγου προτρέπει μὴ ἐνδιδόναι μηδὲ τῇ βύμῃ τῆς ἑκείνου φόρας κατασυρῆναι, βιάσασθαι δὲ ἀντισχόντα κἂν, εἰ μὴ δύνατο, ἀποδράναι; δεύτερα γὰρ ἐφοδος εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ δυναμένοις δρασμός ἐστιν· ὅποτε καὶ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν φύει καὶ μηδὲποτε παθῶν δούλον γεγενημένον, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀθλοῦντα τοὺς πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἄθλους, οὐκ ἐὰ μέχρι παντὸς τοῖς παλαιόμασι χρήσαται, μὴ ποτε τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα συνόδου χαλεπήν ἀπ’ ἑκείνων κῆρα ἀναμάξηται· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἣδη καὶ ἀντιπάλου κακίας 27 ἐγένοντο μιμηταί, ὡς ἀρετής ἐμπαλὶν ἐτεροί. διὸ λόγιον ἐχθρήσθη τοιόνδε· “ἀποστρέφου εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ εἰς τὴν γενεάν σου, καὶ ἔσομαι

α The thought of §§ 26-30 seems to be that while ordinary souls, typified by Israel leaving Egypt, must shun outward temptations, because they will prove too strong for them, even the Jacob-souls, who have proved their superiority, will do well to detach themselves and become immersed in that
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 24–27

the rest, that the germs and shoots of moral excellence may not permanently be obliterated and lost.

Moses also urges the Israelites to quit right stoutly 25 her who bears the name of mother of every monstrous thing, with no slow or lingering steps, but with exceeding speed; for he bids them with haste to sacrifice the Passover (Ex. xii. 11), which means "a passing over," to the intent that the Mind with resolute purpose and unfailing eagerness may carry out both its passing away from the passions without turning back, and its thanksgiving to God its Saviour, Who brought it forth into liberty when it looked not for it.

VI. And what is there to wonder at 26 in his urging the mind, that had been brought under the control of irrational passion, not to give in, nor to be swept down by the violence of that passion's current, but to resist with all its might, and, should it fail, even to run away? For flight remains as an alternative way of reaching safety for those who are not able to repel the danger. See how Moses deals with one who was by nature a sturdy fighter and had never become the slave of passions, but was always engaged in the conflict with each one of them? Even him he forbids to keep up his wrestlings to the end, lest one day, by perpetually meeting them, he should contract from them a pernicious taint: for many before now have proved imitators of an opponent's vice, as others on the other hand have imitated his virtue. For this reason a Divine intimation was 27 vouchsafed to him to this effect: "Turn back to the land of thy father and thy kindred, and I will be with thee" (Gen. xxxi. 3); as much as to say "Thou higher wisdom represented by Isaac, which is beyond all worldly thoughts.
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μετὰ σοῦ,” ἵσον τῷ γέγονας μὲν ἀθλητὴς τέλειος καὶ βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἡξιώθης ἀγωνοθετούσης ἀρετής καὶ προτεινούσης ἢς λά καὶ τὰ νικητήρια· κατάλυσιν δὲ ἢδη τὸ φιλόνεικον, ἵνα μὴ πάντοτε πονῆσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πονηθέντων ἀπόνασθαι δυνηθῆς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐνταυθοὶ καταμένων οὐδεποτε εὐρήσεις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐτὶ συνοικοὶ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς ἐνδιατρίβων ποιότησιν, ὁν Ἀδαμάντιον ἐστὶν ἔξαρχος—οὐνομα δὲ ποιότητος τοῦτοι ἐς τὴν πατρόφα τῆς ἱερῆς λόγου καὶ τρόπων τῶν ἁγίων πατρός· ἦ δὲ ἐστὶ σοφία, τῶν φιλαρετῶν ψυχῶν ἀριστοτέλους ἐνδιαίτημα. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδιδακτόν, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμόθεως καταβαίνει τῇ ἱερᾷ τῆς καὶ τῶν ασκητῶν πατρός· ήδὲ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἠδοναῖς, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδιδακτόν, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμόθεως καταβαίνει τῇ ἱερᾷ τῆς καὶ τῶν ασκητῶν πατρός· ήδὲ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἠδοναῖς, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδιδακτόν, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμόθεως καταβαίνει τῇ ἱερᾷ τῆς καὶ τῶν ασκητῶν πατρός· ήδὲ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἠδοναῖς, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδιδακτόν, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον, τὸ χρησμόθεως καταβαίνει τῇ ἱερᾷ τῆς καὶ τῶν ασκητῶν πατρός· ήδὲ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐντυγχάνειν δελεαζούσαις ἠδοναῖς,

a Perhaps an allusion to Gen. xxi. 8 “and the child grew and was weaned” (ἀτεγαλακτίσθη).

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hast proved thyself a perfect athlete, and been awarded prizes and crowns with Virtue presiding and holding forth to thee the meed of victory: but now it is time for thee to have done with strife, lest thou be ever toiling, and have no power to reap the fruits of thy toil. This thou wilt never find while thou remainest where thou art, dwelling still with the objects of sense-perception, and spending thy days surrounded by bodily existence in its varied aspects, whose head and chief is Laban, bearing a name meaning variety of character. Nay, thou must change thine abode and betake thee to thy father's land, the land of the Word that is holy and in some sense father of those who submit to training: and that land is Wisdom, abode most choice of virtue-loving souls. In this country there awaiteth thee the nature which is its own pupil, its own teacher, that needs not to be fed on milk as children are fed, that has been stayed by a Divine oracle from going down into Egypt (Gen. xxvi. 2) and from meeting with the ensnaring pleasures of the flesh. That nature is entitled Isaac. When thou hast entered upon his inheritance, thou canst not but lay aside thy toil; for the perpetual abundance of good things ever ready to the hand gives freedom from toil. And the fountain from which the good things are poured forth is the companionship of the bountiful God. He shews this to be so when to set His seal upon the flow of His kindnesses, He says "I will be with thee." VII. What fair thing, then, could fail when there was present God the Perfecter, with gifts of grace, His virgin daughters, whom the Father that begat them rears up uncorrupted and undefiled? Then are all forms of studying, toiling, practising at rest; and without
άναδίδοται δέ ἄνευ τέχνης φύσεως προμηθεία πάντα

32 ἀθρόα πάσιν ὑφέλμα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ

φορὰ τῶν αὐτοματιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἀφεσις, ἐπειδή-

περ ὁ νοῦς ἀφεῖται τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἱδίας ἐπιβολάς

ἐνεργεῖων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκουσίων ἤλευθέρωται
dιὰ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν ὑμένων καὶ ἀδιαστάτως

33 ἐπομβρούντων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα θαυμασίωτατα φύσει

καὶ περικαλλέστατα. ὃν μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὁδύνη δι᾽

ἐαυτῆς ἡ ψυχή, τὰ πολλὰ ἀμβλωθρίδια, ἡλιτόμηνα-

ὁσα δὲ ἂν ἐπινίφων ὁ θεὸς ἁρδη, τέλεια καὶ ὀλόκληρα

34 καὶ πάντων ἀρίστω γεννᾶται. τὸ ἐμ-

αυτοῦ πάθος, δ' ἡμυρίκιας παθῶν οἶδα, διηγούμενος οὐκ

ἀισχύνομαι. βουληθεὶς ἔστων ὅτε κατὰ τὴν συνήθη

τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δογμάτων γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν καὶ

ἀχρη συνθεῖναι ἀκριβῶς εἴδως, ἀγονον καὶ στείραν
eὐρῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπαρκότος ἀπηλλάγην, τὴν μὲν

κακίσας τῆς οἰήσεως, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὅντος κράτος

καταπλαγεῖς, παρ᾽ ὦν τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνοίγνυσθαι

35 τε καὶ συγκλείεσθαι μῆτρας συμβεβηκεν. ἔστι δὲ

ὅτε κενὸς ἐλθὼν πλὴρης ἐξαίφνης ἐγενόμην ἐπι-

νιφομένων καὶ σπειρομένων ἁνωθὲν ἀφανῶς τῶν

ἐνθυμημάτων, ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχὴς ἐνθέου κορυβαντιῶν

καὶ πάντα ἁγιοεῖν, τὸν τόπον, τοὺς παρόντας,

ἐμαυτόν, τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ γραφόμενα. ἔσχον γὰρ

ἐρμηνεῖαι, εὐφρεσίαν, φωτὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὀξυδερκε-

στάτην ὄμιον, ἐνάργειαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριθμο-

1 MSS. ἱδῶν.
2 MSS. οὐ.
3 MSS. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει, which Wend. prints, though
pronouncing it corrupt: Markland suggested ἔσχον γὰρ
ἐρμηνείας ῥεῖσιν. See App. p. 561.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 31-35

interference of art by contrivance of Nature there come forth all things in one outburst charged with benefit for all. And the harvest of spontaneous good things is called "Release," inasmuch as the Mind is released from the working out of its own projects, and is, we may say, emancipated from self-chosen tasks, by reason of the abundance of the rain and ceaseless shower of blessings. And these are of a most marvellous nature and passing fair. For the offspring of the soul's own travail are for the most part poor abortions, things untimely born; but those which God waters with the snows of heaven come to the birth perfect, complete and peerless.

I feel no shame in recording my own experience, a thing I know from its having happened to me a thousand times. On some occasions, after making up my mind to follow the usual course of writing on philosophical tenets, and knowing definitely the substance of what I was to set down, I have found my understanding incapable of giving birth to a single idea, and have given it up without accomplishing anything, reviling my understanding for its self-conceit, and filled with amazement at the might of Him that is to Whom is due the opening and closing of the soul-wombs. On other occasions, I have approached my work empty and suddenly become full, the ideas falling in a shower from above and being sown invisibly, so that under the influence of the Divine possession I have been filled with corybantic frenzy and been unconscious of anything, place, persons present, myself, words spoken, lines written. For I obtained language, ideas, an enjoyment of light, keenest vision, pellucid dis-

\[ \text{See App. p. 561.} \]
τάτην, οία γένοιτ’ ἃν δι’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκ σαφεστάτης δείξεως.

36 VIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δεικνύμενον τὸ ᾱξιόρατον καὶ ᾱξιοθέατον καὶ ᾱξιέραστον ἐστί, τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθόν, ὅ καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς πικρίας πέφυκε μεταβάλλον γλυκαίνειν, ἡδυσμάτων συμπάντων παράρτυμα κάλλιστον, δι’ οὐ καὶ τὰ μὴ τρέφοντα τροφὴ γίνεται σωτήριον. λέγεται γάρ ὅτι “ἐδείξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ξύλον, καὶ ἐνεβάλεν αὐτό εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ,” τὸν κεχυμένον καὶ πλαδώντα καὶ πικρίας γέμοντα νοῦν, ἵνα

37 γλυκανθεὶς ἡμερωθῆ. τὸ δὲ ξύλον τούτο οὐ μόνον τροφὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθανασίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται· τὸ γὰρ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς εἰς μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ φησὶν ἐπανεματισθαι, τὴν ἀγαθότητα δορυφορομένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὰς πρά-

[442] ξεων’ αὐτὴ γὰρ τὸν μεσαίτατον καὶ ἀριστότατον ἐν

38 ψυχῆς κεκλήρωται τόπων. ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν ἐστιν ὁ σοφός· τυφλοὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀμυδροὶ τὰς ὀψεις οἱ γε ἄφρονες. διὰ τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἐκάλουν πρότερον τοὺς βλέποντας. καὶ ὁ ἀσκητής ἐσπούδασεν ὡς ὀφθαλμόν ἀντίδον ἢ ἐφανείν ἀ πρότερον ἢκουε, καὶ τυγχάνει τοῦ καὶ ὁ ὀρῶν κλήρου τὸν ἕξ

39 ἀκοῆς ὑπερβᾶς. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ὀρῶντα Ἰσραήλ μεταχαράττεται τὸ μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας νόμισμα, οὗτος ἐπώνυμος ἦν Ἡσιοῦδος δι’ οὗ καὶ τὸ ὀρῶν γίνεται φῶς τὸ θεῖον, ἀδιαφοροῦν ἐπιστήμης, ἢ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς διοίγνυσιν ὀμμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὡτῶν τηλαυγεστέρας καὶ ἀριδηλοτέρας ἄγιεν καταλήψεις.

1 mss. ἀγαθῶν.
2 mss. τηλαυγεστάτας καὶ ἀριδηλοτάτας. The alternative (Mangey) is to retain the superlatives and correct ὡτῶν to νοητῶν ορ ὄντων.
tinctness of objects, such as might be received through the eyes as the result of clearest shewing.

VIII. Now the thing shewn is the thing worthy to be seen, contemplated, loved, the perfect good, whose nature it is to change all that is bitter in the soul and make it sweet, fairest seasoning of all spices, turning into salutary nourishment even foods that do not nourish. So we read “The Lord shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the water” (Ex. xv. 25), that is into the flabby, flaccid mind teeming with bitterness, that its savagery might be sweetened away. This tree offers not nourishment only but immortality also, for we are told that the Tree of Life has been planted in the midst of the Garden (Gen. ii. 9), even Goodness with the particular virtues and the doings which accord with them to be its bodyguard. For it is Virtue that has obtained as its own the central and most honourable place in the soul. Such is that which is shewn, and he that sees it is the wise man, for fools are blind or dim-sighted. That is why in former times they called the prophets seers (1 Sam. ix. 9); and the Trainer of self was eager to exchange ears for eyes, and to see what before he heard, and, going beyond the inheritance which has hearing as its source, he obtains that of which sight is the ruling principle. For the current coin of learning and teaching from which Jacob took his title is reminted into the seeing Israel. Hereby comes to pass even the seeing of the Divine light, identical with knowledge, which opens wide the soul’s eye, and leads it to apprehensions distinct and brilliant beyond those

a The concluding word “shewing” serves to bridge over transition from this meditation on the Spontaneous Blessings to the discussion of the First Gift to Abraham, i.e. “the land which I will shew thee.”
PHILO

δώσεις γὰρ διὰ μουσικῆς τὰ κατὰ μουσικὴν καὶ διὰ πάσης τέχνης τὰ ἐν ἐκάστη καταλαμβάνεται, οὔτω καὶ διὰ σοφίας τὸ σοφὸν θεωρεῖται. σοφία δὲ όυ μόνον φωτὸς τρόπον ὀργανον τοῦ ὀρᾶν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ὀρᾶ. αὐτὴ θεοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον [ἥλιον] φέγγος, όυ μίμημα καὶ εἰκών θλίος. ἦ δὲ δεικνύς ἐκαστα ὁ μόνος ἐπιστήμων θεὸς· ἀνθρώποι μὲν γὰρ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπίστασθαι λέγονται μόνον ἐπιστήμονες· ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῷ εἶναι ἢττον ἢ πέφυκε λέγεται· νικῶνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαντεῖς ἀπαξ λόγοι. τὴν δὲ σοφίαν αὐτοῦ διασυνιστήσων ὦ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον δεδημουργήκεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν γεγονότων ἱδρυκέναι βεβαιώτατα παρ' ἐαυτῷ· λέγεται γὰρ ὁτι “ἐιδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν,” ὡσ᾽ ἰσον τῷ ὃψιν ἐκάστοις προσέβαλεν, ἀλλ' εἶδησιν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ κατάληψιν ὅν ἐποίησεν εἰχεν. <οὐ> τοῖνυν\(^1\) εὑρεσθείς ύφηγεῖσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν καὶ δεικνύα τὰ καθ' ἐκαστά τοῖς ἀγνοούσιν ὅτι μῆ τῷ ἐπιστήμονι, ὅστις οὐχ ὃς ἀνθρωπος.

\(^1\) mss. ὃν ἐποίησεν. εἰχε τοῖνυν, which Mangey retained, changing ὅτι μῆ to ἀλλὰ μῆ. See App. p. 562.

\(^a\) i.e. the Israel-soul, the seer, first sees the light, i.e. knowledge, and this in its turn enables the soul's eye to see the objects of knowledge, and so knowledge (or wisdom) is the "instrument" of sight (§ 40). ἀδιαφοροῦν agrees with φῶς, not with τὸ ὀρᾶν.

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THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 39–42

gained by the ears.\textsuperscript{a} For as the application of the principles of music\textsuperscript{b} is apprehended through the science of music, and the practice of each science through that science, even so only through wisdom comes discernment of what is wise. But wisdom is not only, after the manner of light, an instrument of sight, but is able to see its own self besides. Wisdom is God's archetypal luminary and the sun is a copy and image of it. But he that shews each several object is God, who alone is possessed of perfect knowledge. For men are only said to have knowledge because they seem to know; whereas God is so called because He is the possessor of knowledge though the phrase does not adequately express this nature; for all things whatever that can be said regarding Him that is fall far short of the reality of His powers. He gives clear proof of His wisdom not only from His having been the Artificer of the universe, but also from His having made the knowledge of the things that had been brought into existence His sure possession. For we read "God saw all things that He had made" (Gen. i. 31). This does not just mean that He set His eyes on each of them, but that He had insight\textsuperscript{c} and knowledge and apprehension of the things which He had made. It follows then that to give teaching and guidance on each several thing, in fact to "shew" them, to the ignorant is proper only for the One who knows, seeing that He has not, as a man has, been profited by

\textsuperscript{a} That τὰ κατὰ means the "practical application" is brought out more clearly in \textit{Quod Det.} 114, where we have τὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην (sc. ἀρετὴν) ἐνεργήματα.

\textsuperscript{b} That \textit{τά κατά} means the "practical application" is brought out more clearly in \textit{Quod Det.} 114, where we have τὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην (sc. ἀρετὴν) ἐνεργήματα.

\textsuperscript{c} See App. p. 562.
υπὸ τέχνης ὥφέληται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρχή καὶ πηγὴ
tεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν ἀνωμολόγηται.

43 ΙΧ. Παρατετηρημένως δὲ οὐ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα, ἀλλὰ
tὸν μέλλοντα τῇ ὑποσχέσει χρόνον προδιώρισται,
eἰπὼν οὐχ ἢν δείκνυμι ἀλλ' " ἢν σοι δείξω," εἰς
μαρτυρίαν πίστεως ἢν ἐπίστευσεν ἡ ψυχὴ θεῷ, οὐκ
ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὸ εὐχάρι-
στον, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσδοκίας τῶν μελλόντων ἀρτηθείσα
gὰρ καὶ ἐκκρεμασθείσα ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς καὶ ἀνεν-
δοιαστὰ νομίσασα ἦδη παρεῖναι τὰ μῆ παρόντα διὰ
τὴν τοῦ ὑποσχομένου βεβαιότητα1 πίστιν, ἀγαθὸν |
[443] τέλειον, ἁθλον εὐρηται· καὶ γὰρ αὐθις λέγεται, ὅτι
"ἐπίστευσεν Ἄβρααμ τῷ θεῷ," καὶ Μωυσεὶ δὲ
ὀμοίως πᾶσαν ἐπιδεικνυμένος τὴν γῆν φησίν, ὅτι
"ἐδείξα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, κάκει οὐκ εἰσελεύσῃ."
45 μὴ μέντοι νομίσῃς ἐπὶ καθαίρεσει τοῦ πανσόφου,
ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐνιοὶ τῶν ἀπερίσκεπτων, τοῦτο
εἰρήσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εὐθῆς τοὺς δούλους οἰηθῆναι
πρὸ τῶν φίλων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρετής χώραν διανέμε-
σθαι. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο σοι βούλεται παραστῆσαι,
ὅτι ἐτερος νηπίων καὶ ἐτερος τελείων χώρος ἐστιν,
ὅ μὲν ονομαζόμενος ἀσκήσις, ο δὲ καλοῦμεν σοφία,
ἐπειτα ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει ὅρατα
μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἡ κτητά· κτήσασθαι μὲν γὰρ τὰ
θειοτέρας μοῖρας λαχῶντα πῶς ἐνεστὶ; ἰδεῖν δ' οὐκ
ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπασιν, ἐστὶ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον2
tῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ ἀξιωστάτῳ γένει, ὥ τὰ

1 mss. βεβαιότηταν. 2 mss. επὶ δ' αὐτῷ μόνω.

* Or, as Mangey, "referring to the death of."
science and its lore, but is acknowledged to be Himself the Source and Fountain-head of science and knowledge in all their forms.

IX. There is a deliberate intention when his words take the form of a promise and define the time of fulfilment not as present but future. He says not "which I am shewing" but "which I will shew thee" (Gen. xii. 1). Thus he testifies to the trust which the soul reposed in God, exhibiting its thankfulness not as called out by accomplished facts, but by expectation of what was to be. For the soul, clinging in utter dependence on a good hope, and deeming that things not present are beyond question already present by reason of the sure steadfastness of Him that promised them, has won as its meed faith, a perfect good; for we read a little later "Abraham believed God" (Gen. xv. 6). To Moses, too, He says in like manner, when He had shewn to him all the Land, "I shewed it to thine eyes, but thou shalt not enter in" (Deut. xxxiv. 4). You must not think that this was said, as some unconsidering people suppose, to humiliating the all-wise leader; for indeed it is folly to imagine that the servants of God take precedence of His friends in receiving their portion in the land of virtue. No, what he wishes to bring home to you first of all is that children have one place and full-grown men another, the one named training, the other called wisdom: secondly, that the fairest things in nature are objects of sight rather than of possession. For how is it possible to become possessed of things whose allotted place is nearer to the Divine? Yet to see them is within the bounds of possibility: though not for all. It is exclusively for the purest and most keen-eyed class, on whom the Father of all
idia epidemeikynomenos o twn olwv pathe erga megiv-
47 sthn pasowv charizeTai dwarpean. Theorh-
tikov gar tis ameivovn bios h mallon oikeiounmenos
logikov; dia touto kai tis twn thnhtovn zoov
fonhis kritirov ehoysis akoyh tous tou theou
logous o chrismoi fwtos tropov oromenous
mu-nousi legetai gar oti "pae d lasos eora tyn
fonhyn," ouk hikouen, epeidhper ouk aeros plhixs
yn dia twn stmatos kai glwtthi orhanyov to
ynoymenov, alla feggos arethes to perianyestaton,
logikis adiaforon pnyghs, o kai eteroni meunetai
tov tropov toytov "ymeis eowroke, sti ek tou
ouranov lelaleika pros ymaw," ouxi hikoysate, dia
48 tyn avthn aitian. Esti o pou tou akoustata twn
oratovn kai akoyhn orasewv diakrinei legwn:
"fonhyn rhmatewn ymeis hkoysate, kai omoima ouk
eidete all' h fonhyn," agan perittwv tyn men gar
eis onoma kai ribma kai synolws tay tov logou meri
temnomevn akousthyn eikotovs eiypen—vpd gar akoyhs
dokimazei—, tyn de my rhmatewn myd onomat-
tovn alla theou fonhyn, oormewn tay tis ynyghs
49 ommati, oratov deontwv eiysagei. Proeuvan de tay
"omoima ouk eidete" epiferei "all' h fonhyn,
yn pantovs eidete—tay gar proosupakoymenov
toy tain eih—'osb oin men tou theov logoi orasein
eixon tyn en yychi kritirov, akoyh de oin eis
onomatow kai rhmatewn ideas merizomenoi.
50 kaivos de ouw en apasi tyn episthymen kai totv

a Philo connects the "voice of words" with the gram-
matical use of rhmata for verbs and supposes the verse to
mean "ordinary human voice you hear, but God's voice
you see."
things, by shewing to them His own works, bestows an all-surpassing gift. For what life is better than a contemplative life, or more appropriate to a rational being? For this reason, whereas the voice of mortal beings is judged by hearing, the sacred oracles intimate that the words of God are seen as light is seen; for we are told that “all the people saw the Voice” (Ex. xx. 18), not that they heard it; for what was happening was not an impact on air made by the organs of mouth and tongue, but virtue shining with intense brilliance, wholly resembling a fountain of reason, and this is also indicated elsewhere on this wise: “Ye have seen that I have spoken to you out of Heaven” (Ex. xx. 22), not “ye heard,” for the same cause as before. In one place the writer distinguishes things heard from things seen and hearing from sight, saying, “Ye heard a voice of words, and saw no similitude but only a voice” (Deut. iv. 12), making a very subtle distinction, for the voice dividing itself into noun and verb and the parts of speech in general he naturally spoke of as “audible,” for it comes to the test of hearing: but the voice or sound that was not that of verbs and nouns but of God, seen by the eye of the soul, he rightly represents as “visible.” And after first saying “Ye saw no similitude” he adds “but only a Voice,” evidently meaning the reader to supply in thought “which you did see.” This shews that words spoken by God are interpreted by the power of sight residing in the soul, whereas those which are divided up among the various parts of speech appeal to hearing. Fresh and original as is the insight which he shews in all cases, there is a special

See App. p. 562.
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İdías kaì ëxénos kekainouýrghkev eîpòv òrattìn eînai tìn fwayne, tìn mònìn scheidòn tòv ën ëmìn oux òrattìn òpexýrhménnìs diaîoías: tà mév gàr [444] kàtã | tòs állass aiðhìseis pànì òrattà, tà xrw- mata, oi xuloi, oi átmoi, tà òthermà, tà ynxrò, tà leîa, tà traxèa, tà malakà kài sklhra, ëi swìmata.

51 tì dé èstì tòuto, safèstèron ìrò: ò xulòs òrattòs ëstìn, oux ë xulòs, ìllì ë monòn swìma, tà gár ë xulòs ìsètai ë géwùsì kài ò átmòs, ë mën átmòs, ùpò rìnvìn ìzètasthìsetai, ë dè swìma, kài pròs òfhalmòn kài tà állass taúthì

52 dokimàsthìsetai. fwayne dì è ouî ñì ìkounstòn ouî ës swìma, ei dì kài swìma ëstìn, òrattòn èstìn pèfukewn, állass dúo tautà tàw ën ëmìn àòrata, vòus kài lògos. állass gár oux òmouì tà ìmèteron ìxeìon tò òtheì òfwayne òrghìçì: tà mèn gár ìmèter- ron àèrì kírrnatai kài pròs tàw sughýn tàpòn kàtaphìsgêi, tà ìsta, tà dè òtheìn àkràtòu kài àmugùs èstì lògou, òfamòntos mèn àkòhn dià lèptótìta, òrmìvì dè ùpò òfychì àkraîfñoùs dià tìn ën tà blàpetìn òxútìta.

53 X. Òukòuìn méta tìn àpòlèviòn tàw thnìtòn pròtòn ò òthòs xàrìzìsetai tì òfychì ðwvraì, ìs ìfhì, èpìdeìxì kài òtherìvàn tàw àthanaòtw, ðeutèràn <dè> tìn èis plèðhòs òmou kài mégeòs tàw àrètìs dògmàtw èpìdoçìw lègìa gàr: “kài pouìsò sè èis èthwòs méga,” dìa mèn tàu ìthnuò tà plèðhòs, dìa dè

1 mss. ìxeì (ìxìçì) èn or ìxìçìa.
2 mss. (and, strange to say, all editions) àkrapòûs, a word impossible in this context.

* The thought seems to be that, while none of our sensa-
and unusual originality in this instance in his saying that the voice is visible, practically the only thing in us, if understanding be left out of consideration, which is not visible: for the objects of the senses other than the eyes are all of them, colours, savours, perfumes, things warm, things cold, things smooth, things rough, things soft and hard, visible as bodies.

What this means I will state more clearly. The savour is visible, not as a savour, but only as a body, for as savour, it is the taste that will know it; and the odour, as odour, will be assayed by the nostrils, but as body, by the eyes also; and the rest will be subject to the same double test. But it is not the nature of voice to be visible whether we regard it as something audible or as body, if body indeed it is; but of our properties these two are invisible, mind and speech. The truth is that our sound-producer is not similar to the Divine organ of voice; for ours mingles with air and betakes itself to the place akin to it, the ears; but the Divine is an organ of pure and unalloyed speech, too subtle for the hearing to catch it, but visible to the soul which is single in virtue of its keenness of sight.

X. So then, the first boon which God vouchsafes to the soul after it has relinquished mortal things is, as I have said, the shewing of things immortal and the power to contemplate them; and the second, progress in the principles of virtue, alike as regards number and "greatness": for He says, "And I will make thee to become a great nation," implying by the word "nation" their number, and by the

tions are visible, those of taste, smell, and touch are produced by visible objects.

b According to the Stoics φωνή is a body, but Philo does not unreservedly accept this.
PHILO

toû megalou tîn pròs toû ameînos auξhîsan paraîam-

54 Bánwv. tîn dê toû posoû kath' èkâteron èìdos, tô te èn megeîthei kai to èn plîthei, paraîaîxhîsan diassvn-

isthîs kai o tîs Aîghîptou basileus: "ìdov'" gâr

fhsî "tô génoû tôw vîwôn 'Israîlî méga plîthos,"

èpeidh' ge ámfôtera tô òratikî tôû òntos génei

prosmaîrureî, òs plîthîw te kai mégeîdos kthpa-

mèn, tô peri tôîn bîw kai lògon katorthômata.

55 oû gâr, òpast èn tis tôw èn tôûs ònômâswn éîrînôn
diafulâtton, polû plîthos, èllâ màga èîpten, éidîs

tô polû kath' autô òtelès mégeîdos, èî mà prôsblâboi
dûnamw nòhsewos kai ëpipistîmhs. tî gâr ôfeloô

pollâ mèn thewrîmata paraîamvbàneîv, èkastôn dê

autôn eîs tô òrmôttôn mégeîdos múh swnaûxhîsai;
oûde gâr àgrôs téleîos, òw muîria mún òssa ènvûpárchei

fûtâ xamai'îshla, téleîon dê mèdèn èrnoûs gewrgikh

têkhnì swnanèblassèn òdhi kàrpatokèîn dunamevôv.

56 toû dê megeîbous kai plîhous tôw

calwôn àrkhî kai télos ò adiástatôs peri thèou

muîmhî kai ò katàklhshs tôs âp' autôn ñmamakhîas

prôs tôîn èmfûlîon kai swnkexhûmôn kai swnexh

tôû bîwôn pôlemwn. lêgei gâr: "ìdov' làs sofôs kai

ëpipistîmwn tô èthnos tô méga tôutô. òti poîôn èthnos

méga, òw èstit thèos èngyîzwon òs kûrios ò thèos ëmôw

ev pása iòs àn autôn èpikalèswmèthâ;"

57

[445]
oûkouv òti kai prôs boîthhiaînv dûnamis | àrwgoûs

euêrpsîs èfèdrepheî parà thèw kai autôs ò ëgêmîwv

a Lit. "growth to something better."

b See App. p. 562.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 54–57

word "great" their improvement in quality." How great their advance was in either respect, alike in "greatness" and in number, is made evident by the words of the King of Egypt, "Lo the race of the children of Israel is a great multitude." (Ex. i. 9). There he bears witness to the race that has eyes to see Him that is, that it has acquired both multitude and greatness, high achievement, that is, both in conduct of life and in principle. For he did not say, as a man strictly observing the association of noun and epithet would say, "much multitude," but "a great multitude," knowing that "much" is but an incomplete greatness, if it stands by itself without the addition of the power to understand and know. For what advantage is there in receiving (from our teachers) the results of study in plenty, unless we go on to develop each of them to its fitting stature? For a field, too, is but an imperfect one which contains any number of plants only a little above the ground, but in which no fully formed growth has shot up aided by skilful tillage and able now to yield fruit.

The greatness and large number of the good and noble has for its beginning and end the perpetual recollection of God, and the calling down of the aid that comes from Him, to counter the intestine warfare of life, unbroken in its bewildering irregularity, for it says: "Lo this great nation is a wise and understanding people: for what kind of great nation is there, which has God drawing nigh to it, as the Lord our God in all things in which we call upon Him?" (Deut. iv. 6 f.). So far it has been shewn that there is waiting ready and equipped at God's side strong help to come to our succour, and that the Sovereign Ruler will Himself
έγγυτέρω πρόσεισιν ἐπ’ ὡφελεία τῶν ἀξίων ὡφελείσθαι, δεδήλωται. ΧΙ. τίνες δ’ οἱ τοῦτων ἐπάξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσίν; ἦ δὴν οἳ οἱ σοφίας καὶ ἐπιτήμους ἐρασται πάντες; οὕτω γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων, ὃν εἶπε, λεώς, ὃν ἐκαστὸς μέγας εἰκότως ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων ὁρέγεται, ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ λίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως, τοῦ μὴ διαζευγθῆναι θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ συνεγγύζοντος σταθερώς ἀνευ καταπλῆξεως ὑπομεῖναι. οὕτως δ’ ὁρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάλου λεώ, τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγύζειν ἢ “ὡς θεὸς συνεγγύζει.” ὁ μὲν δὴ κόσμος καὶ ὁ κοσμοπολίτης σοφὸς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀναπέπλησται, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὁμοίως πλείοσι μὲν κέχρηται κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ ἐλάττωσι. σπάνιον γὰρ ἐν πεφυρμένω καὶ συγκεχυμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλὸν. διόπερ ἐν χρησιμοῖς ἄδειται: “οὐκ ὅτι πολυπληθεῖτε παρὰ πάντα τὰ θεη, προείλετο κύριος ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξελέξατο— ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε ὁλιγοστοὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ θεη—, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν κύριον ὑμᾶς.” εἰ γὰρ τις βουληθεὶς τὸν χίλου μᾶς ψυχῆς ὁσπέρ κατὰ ἐθνη διανείμαι, πολλὰς μὲν ἄν εὐροὶ τάξεις ἀκοσμοῦσας, ὃν ἦδονα τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἢ λύπαι ἢ φόβοι ἢ πάλιν ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ αἱ τοῦτων συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφαί ταξιαρχοῦσι, μίαν δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον εὖ διακεκοσμημένην, ὃς ὁ ὅρθος λόγος ἀφηγεῖται. παρὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀδικὸν πλήθος πρὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ δικαίου προτετίμηται, παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὸ σπάνιον ἀγαθὸν πρὸ μνημῶν ἀδικων. ὃ καὶ παρ-
draw near for the benefit of those who are worthy to receive His benefits. XI. But who are they that are worthy to obtain these? Is it not clear that all the lovers of wisdom and knowledge are so? For these are the wise and understanding people which was spoken of, each member of which is with good reason great, since he reaches out after great things; and after one most eagerly, never to be severed from God, the supremely Great, but without dismay steadfastly to abide His approach as He draws near. This is the defining mark of the people that is "great," to draw nigh to God, or to be that "to which God draws nigh." Now the world and the wise man, the world-citizen, is filled full of good things many and great, but the remaining mass of men experiences evil things in greater number, but fewer good things; for in the medley and confusion of human life that which is fair and goodly is rare and scanty. And for this reason the sacred oracles contain this utterance: "Not because ye are numerous beyond all the nations did the Lord prefer and choose you out: for ye surpass all the nations in fewness; but because the Lord loveth you" (Deut. vii. 7 f.). For were a man to desire to distribute, as it were into nations, the crowd contained in a single soul, many disorderly companies would he find, commanded by pleasures or desires or griefs or fears or again by follies and wrongdoings, and the nearest kinsfolk of these, but one only well-ordered, of which right reason is the captain. Now, in the judgment of men the multitude of the unjust is preferred to the single just; but in God's judgement the few good to the myriad unjust; and He charges the just

\[a\] See note on De Op. 3.
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XII. "ἀ γὰρ πολυπληθεῖ " φησίν "ποσὶν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς τοῖς ἐρπουσιν" ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐ φάγεσθε, [446] ὅτι βδελύματά ἐστιν." ἀλλ' οὗ μίσους ἐστὶν ἐπαξια ψυχὴ μή καθ' ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα ἂν πλείστα βαίνουσα ἐπὶ τήν γῆν καὶ τὰ σώματα περιλυχνεύονι καὶ συνόλως εἰς τὰς οὐρανοῦ θείας περιόδους ἀνακύψαι μὴ δυναμένη; καὶ μὴν ὁσπερ τὸ πολὺπουν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἄπον ἐν ἐρπετοῖς ψεκτον, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν, τὸ δ' ὃτι 166
never to agree with such a multitude: for He says "Thou shalt not be with many to engage in wickedness" (Ex. xxiii. 2). Should we then be so with few? Nay, not with any bad man: and the bad man, one though he be, is made manifold by wickednesses, and to range oneself by his side is a very great disaster: on the contrary it behoves us to shew a vigour free from terror and resist him and be at war with him. For it says "If thou go out to war against thine enemies and see horse and rider," that is passion, the insolent, the restive, the unruly, and the passion-loving mind mounted on it, "and a people more numerous than thou art," even the devoted followers of these leaders advancing in serried mass "thou shalt not be afraid of them." One as thou art thou shalt have One fighting on thy side, even the Ruler of all, as it says, "for the Lord Thy God is with thee" (Deut. xx. 1). This companionship brings wars to an end, builds up peace, overthrows the host of evil things to which we grow accustomed, rescues the scanty band of those beloved of God, every loyal adherent of which loathes and hates the battalions of the earth-bound.

XII. For it says: "Whatsoever hath many feet among all creeping things that creep upon the earth, ye shall not eat, for they are an abomination" (Lev. xi. 42). Now, is not a soul deserving of hatred which moves over the ground not on one part of itself but on all or most parts, even licking with a relish the things of the body, and altogether incapable of lifting its eyes to the holy revolutions of heaven? And further among creeping things just as that which has many feet is disallowed, so too is that which has no feet, the former for the reason just given, the latter be-
ολον δι' ολων πεπτωκεν ἐπὶ γῆν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύτατον ἔξωρομενον· πάντα γὰρ τὸν πορευόμενον ἐπὶ κοιλίαν ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι φησι, τὸν τὰς τῆς γαστρός ἴδονας μεταδιώκοντα αἰων- 66 τόμενος. ἐνιοὶ δὲ προσυπερβάλλοντες οὐ μόνον τῷ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἑχρήσαντο γένει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς πάθος, τὸν θυμόν, προσεκτή- 67 σαντο, βουληθέντες ὅλων τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλόγον ἐκζωπυρήσαι μέρος, τὸν δὲ νοῦν διαφθείρατο· τὸ γὰρ εἰρημένον λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ὁφεώς, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀλόγου καὶ φιλοπαθοῦς ἀνθρώπου χρήσιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔστι θείοις· "ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ πορεύσῃ" περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ στέρνα ὁ θυμός, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμίας εἴδος ἐν κοιλίᾳ· πορεύεται δὲ ὁ ἀφρών δι' ἀμφοτέρων, θυμοῦ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, ἀεὶ μηδένα διαλείπτων χρόνον, τὸν ἴνα δὲ καὶ ἔκρυτην ὁ θυμὸν, τὸν δὲ νοῦν, ἔρημον καὶ μηδένον νοῦν ἀποβαλὼν· ὁ δ' ἐναντίος τοῦτω θυμοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἑκτέτμηται, κυβερνήτην δὲ ἐπιγέγραται λόγου θείον, καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ θεοφιλέστατος, ὃς, ὅταν τὰς ὅλοκαύτους τῆς φύσεως ἱεροὺς λαθοὺς, ἢ τὴν μὲν κοιλίαν ἑκπλυνεῖ," τοῦτοι δὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμίας εἴδος ἐκνίφειται, τὸ δὲ "στηθύνην ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τῆς τελειώσεως ἀφελεῖ," σύμπαντα δῆπον τὸν πολεμικὸν θυμόν, ἢν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος καὶ ἀμευνὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ λογικόν, μηδένος ἀντι- στώντος έτι καὶ μεθέλκοντος ἐλευθέροις καὶ εὐγε- νέσι τῷ οντὶ χρήσηται πρὸς τὰ καλὰ πάντα ὅρμαις. 68 ὁυτῶς γὰρ εἰς τε πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος
cause it lies its full length sprawling upon the earth, lifted out of it by nothing even to the smallest extent: for it says that all that goeth upon the belly is unclean (ibid.), indicating by this figure the man who is in pursuit of the pleasures of the belly.

But some, exceeding all bounds, in their determination to kindle into activity all the irrational portion of the soul, and to destroy the mind, have not only indulged all that comes under the head of desire, but taken to them also its brother passion, fierce spirit. For that which was said, "Upon thy breast and thy belly shalt thou go" (Gen. iii. 14), in the literal sense applies to the serpent, but is really a truly Divine oracle applying to every irrational and passion-loving man; for the breast is the abode of fierce spirit, and desire dwells in the belly. The fool's whole course through every moment of his journey depends on this pair, fierce spirit and desire; since he has got rid of mind, who is the charioteer and monitor. The man of the opposite character has excised fierce spirit and desire, and chosen as his patron and controlling guide the Divine Word. Even so Moses, best beloved of God, when offering the whole burnt sacrifices of the soul, will "wash out the belly" (Lev. viii. 21), that is, will cleanse away desire in every shape, but "the breast from the ram of consecration he will take away" (Lev. viii. 29). This means, we may be sure, the warlike spirit in its completeness; and the object of taking it away is that the better portion of the soul, the rational part, that is left, may exercise its truly free and noble impulses towards all things beautiful, with nothing pulling against it any longer and dragging it in another direction.

In these circumstances it will improve both in number.
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ἐπιδώσει· λέγεται γάρ· "ἔως τίνος παροξυνοῦσιν ὁ
λαὸς οὗτος· καὶ ἔως τίνος οὐ πιστεύσουσί μοι ἐν
πάσι τοῖς σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς· πατάξω
αὐτοὺς θανάτῳ καὶ ἀπολῶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ποιήσω σὲ
καὶ τὸν οίκον τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ
πολὺ ἡ τοῦτο·" ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία
χρώμενος πολὺς ὁμιλος καταλῦσῃ τῆς ψυχῆς,
pάντως εὐθὺς ὁ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως διεξηρτημένος
69 ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ
πολύτοιον καὶ ἀπον, ἑναντία οὐντα ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν
[447] ἔστετῶν, ἀκάθαρτα | ἀναγράφεται, οὗτος καὶ ἡ
ἀθεος καὶ πολύθεος ἀντίπαλοι ἐν ψυχῇ δόξαι
βέβηλοι. σημείων δὲ· ἀμφοτέρας ὁ νόμος ἐκκλη-
σίας ἰερᾶς ἀπελήλακε, τὴν μὲν ἄθεον θλαδίαν καὶ
ἀποκεκομένου εἰρξας ἐκκλησίας ἐκκλησίας, τὴν δὲ πολύ-
θεον τὸν ἐκ πόρνης ὁμοίως κωλύσας ἀκούειν ἡ
λέγειν· ἄθεος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄγονος, πολύθεος δὲ ὁ ἐκ
πόρνης τυφλῶττων περὶ τὸν ἀληθὴν πατέρα καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἀνθ' ἐνὸς γονεῖσ ἐπιγραφόμενος.¹

70 XIII. Δύο μὲν αὐτὰ δωρεαὶ προείρηνται, θεω-
ρητικοῦ τε ἐλπὶς βίου καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος
τῶν καλῶν ἐπίδοσις. τρίτῃ δ' ἐστὶν εὐλογία, ἢς
ἀνευ βεβαιώσασθαι τὰς προτέρας χάριτας οὐκ ἐστὶ·
lέγει γὰρ· "καὶ εὐλογήσω σε," τούτῃ τῇ ἐπ-
αισθητὰν λόγον δωρήσομαι· τὸ γὰρ εὐ πάντως ἐπ' 1

¹ mss. αἰνιττόμενος. See App. p. 562.

a Cf. De Ebr. 213.
and greatness: for it is said: "How long shall the people provoke? and how long shall they refuse to trust Me in all the signs which I wrought among them? I will smite them with death and will destroy them, and I will make thee and thy father's house a nation great and numerous beyond this one" (Num. xiv. 11 f.). For, in the soul when once the great concourse is broken up, in which fierce spirit and desire prevail, there rises and springs up without fail another concourse, even that which wholly depends on the rational nature. Now just as the creature with many feet and that without feet, opposite species in the genus of creeping things, are proclaimed unclean, so also atheism and polytheism, mutually antagonistic doctrines in the soul, are alike profane. Here is the indication of this: the Law has expelled both of these doctrines from the sacred assembly, atheism, by debarring a eunuch from membership of it; a polytheism, by likewise forbidding the son of a harlot to be a listener or speaker in it (Deut. xxiii. 1 f.). For the sterile man is godless; and the son of a whore is a polytheist, being in the dark about his real father, and for this reason ascribing his begetting to many, instead of to one.

XIII. Two gifts have been already spoken of, which are these, a hope held out of a life of contemplation, and progress towards abundance and "greatness" of things fair and beautiful. A third gift is "blessing" or excellence of reason and speech, and apart from this it is not possible to make the former gracious gifts secure. He says "And I will bless thee," i.e. "I will endow thee with excellent reason and speech." "Blessing" or "eulogy" is a word compounded of
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71 ἀρετῆς· λόγος δὲ ὁ μὲν πηγὴ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ ἀπορροή, πηγὴ μὲν ὁ ἐν διανοίᾳ, προφορὰ δὲ ἡ διὰ στόματος καὶ γλώττης ἀπορροή. ἐκάτερον δὲ εἴδος λόγου βελτιωθήναι πολὺς πλοῦτος, διάνοιαν μὲν εὐλογιστία πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μείζω χρωμένην, προφορὰν δὲ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ἤνιοχομένην.

72 πολλοὶ γὰρ λογίζονται μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐρμηνεύως κακοῦ προὐδόθησαν, λόγου, μουσικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον οὐκ ἐκπονήσαντες· οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλώ ἐρμηνεύσαν μὲν ἐγένοντο δυνατώτατοι, βουλευσάσθαι δὲ πιστοί· καθάπερ οἱ λεγόμενοι σοφισταῖ τούτων γὰρ ἄχορευτος μὲν καὶ ἄμουσος ἡ διάνοια, πάμμουσοι δὲ αἱ διὰ τῶν φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων.

73 διέξοδοι. χαρίζεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀτελεὶς οὐδέν, πλήρη δὲ καὶ τέλεια πάντα· διὸ καὶ νῦν τὴν εὐλογίαν οὖχ ἐνί λόγον τμῆματι, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἑπιτείμηται δικαίως τὸν εὐεργετούμενον καὶ ἐνθυμεῖται τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰ νοθέντα δυνατῶς· ἡ γὰρ τελειότητα δι' ἀμφοῦ, ὡς έοικε, τοῦ τε υποβάλλοντος τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καθαρῶς καὶ τοῦ διερμηνεύοντος αὐτὰ ἀπταίστως. ἦ οὖχ ὅρᾶς τὸν Ἀβελ—ὸνομα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ θυρτὰ πενθοῦντος καὶ τὰ ἀθάνατα εὐδαιμονίζοντος—, ὡς ἀνεπιλήπτω μὲν κέχρηται διανοίᾳ, τῷ δὲ μὴ γεγυμνάσθαι περὶ λόγους ἔτητηι πρὸς δεινοῦ παλαίσαι Κάων ἡ τέχνη μᾶλλον ἡ ἰώμη περι-

1 mss. καὶ.

* For Philo’s use of εὐλογιστία in connexion with εὐλογεῖν see note on De Sobr. 18.

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"well" and "logos." Of these, "well" connotes nothing but excellence: "logos" has two aspects, one resembling a spring, the other its outflow; "logos" in the understanding resembles a spring, and is called "reason," while utterance by mouth and tongue is like its outflow, and is called "speech." That each species of logos should be improved is vast wealth, the understanding having good reasoning at its command for all things great and small, and utterance being under the guidance of right training. For many reason excellently, but find speech a bad interpreter of thought and are by it betrayed, through not having had a thorough grounding in the ordinary subjects of culture. Others, again, have shewn great ability in expounding themes, and yet been most evil thinkers, such as the so-called sophists; for the understanding of these men is wholly untrained by the Muses, whose united voice is heard in the output of the vocal organs. But God bestows on those who obey Him no imperfect boon. All His gifts are full and complete. And so, in this case also, He does not send the blessing or "logos-excellence" in one division of logos, but in both its parts, for He holds it just that the recipient of His bounty should both conceive the noblest conceptions and give masterly expression to his ideas. For perfection depends, as we know, on both divisions of logos, the reason which suggests the ideas with clearness, and the speech which gives unfailing expression to them. Do you not notice Abel, whose name stands for one to whom things mortal are a grief and things immortal are full of happiness, how, though he has the advantage of a faultless understanding, yet through lack of training in speaking he is worsted by Cain, a clever wrestler
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75 γενέσθαι δυναμένου; διὸ καὶ θαυμάζων τῆς περὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμορφίας τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶμαι τοσοῦτον, ὅτι προκληθεὶς εἰς ἀμιλλαν λόγων ἥκεν ἀγωνιούμενος, δέον ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἡρεμίας στηναι πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντα τῷ φιλονείκῳ, εἶ δὲ ἄρα ἐβούλετο πάντως διαγωνίσασθαι, μὴ πρότερον κοινισθαί ἦ

[448] τοῖς | τεχνικοῖς παλαίσμασιν ἐνασκηθῆναι: τῶν γὰρ ἀγροκοσόφων οἱ τὰ πολιτικὰ κεκομψεμένοι μᾶλι−

76 στὰ πως εἰώθασι περιεῖναι. XIV. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς οὐ πάνσοφος παραιτεῖται μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν ευλόγων καὶ πιθανῶν ἐπίσκεψιν ἔλθεῖν, ἀφ̇’ οὖ τὸ ἀληθεῖας φέγγος ἦρξατο ο θεὸς ἐναστράπτειν αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας αὐτῆς ἀθανάτων λόγων, ἀγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ πλειόνου ἐμπειρος γενέσθαι πραγμάτων−ἀποχρώσα τὰ καὶ τῶν ἐρωτᾶτων αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ζητήσεις τῷ φιλοθεάμονι−, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ σοφιστῶν, οὐς αἱ μυθικαὶ πιθανότητες πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐναργείας τετίμηναι. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τοῖς τού πανηγεμόνοις ἐμπειριστῇ πράγμασιν ο νοῦς, οὐδὲν ἐτέρον προσδεῖται πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν νοητῶν μόνη διάνοια ὀφθαλμὸς ᾦ δυσκόλως ἐνωπώστατος· ὅταν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ αἰσθήσεις ἡ πάθος ἡ σώμα, ὅν ἔστιν ἡ Αἰγύπτου χώρα σύμβολον, δεησεται καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους τέχνης ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνάμεως. οὐ χάριν ἐπάγεσθαι τὸν Ἀαρὼν αὐτῷ διείρηται, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον· "οὐκ ἓδον" φησίν "Ἀαρὼν ἐδελφὸς σου;"

1 MSS. ΄όσι.
able to prevail by skill rather than strength? Wherefore, admiring as I do his character for its rich natural endowment, I find fault with him in so far as, when challenged to a contest of words, he came forward to engage in it, whereas he ought to have maintained his wonted quietude, totally disregarding his quarrelsome brother; and, if he was quite bent on fighting it out, not to have entered the lists until he had had some practice in scientific grips and tricks; for village sages usually get the worst of it when they encounter those who have acquired the cleverness of the town.

XIV. That is why Moses, the man of all wisdom, though he excuses himself from investigating well-worded and specious arguments, from the time that God began to flash into him the light of truth by means of the undying words of the very self of Knowledge and Wisdom (Ex. iv. 10), yet is led none the less to look into them, not for the sake of gaining acquaintance with a greater number of subjects—for the lover of contemplation finds researches touching God and His most holy powers all-sufficing—but with a view to getting the better of the sophists in Egypt, for whom specious sounding fables are of more value than the clear evidence of realities. Yes, whensoever the mind is moving amid matters concerned with the Ruler of all, it needs no extraneous help in its study, inasmuch as for objects of intellectual apprehension unaided mind is an eye of keenest sight: but when it is occupied besides with matters affected by sense-perception or passion or the body, of which the land of Egypt is a symbol, it will need alike the art of speaking and ability in exercising it.

For the sake of this he was enjoined to call to his aid Aaron, the logos in utterance. "Lo," saith He, "is not Aaron

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a Or "express." ἀπαγγελία is often used in rhetoric as a synonym for ἐμφήνεια. See on § 35.
b See App. p. 563.
c Or "in himself" (ἐν αὐτῷ). See App. p. 563.
d The phrase ῥημάτων καὶ λόγων must not be confused with the common collocation ῥ. καὶ ὀνομάτων ("verbs and nouns")
thy brother?" For the logical nature being the one
mother of them both, its offspring are of course
brothers. "I know that he will speak" (He con­
tinues). For it is the property of understanding to
apprehend, and of utterance to speak. "He," saith
He, "will speak for thee." For the mind, unable to
report the thoughts stored up in it, employs speech
which stands hard by as an interpreter, for the making
known of its experiences. Then He adds, "Lo, it is
he that shall come out to meet thee": for it is indeed
a fact that speech meeting the mind's conceptions,
and wedding the parts of speech to them, mints them
like uncoined gold, and gives the stamp of expression
to what was unstamped and unexpressed before. And
saith He, "On seeing thee he will rejoice in it" (Ex. iv. 14):
for speech does exult and is glad, when
the conception is not indistinct, because it finds
that the wording which issues from its rich store of
terms apt and expressive and full of vividness is
fluent and unhalting when the thought is luminous.
XV. And similarly when the ideas to be expressed are
in any way deficient in clearness, speech is stepping
on empty air and is apt to slip and have a bad fall
and be unable to get up again. "And thou shalt speak
to him and shall put My words into his mouth." This
is equivalent to saying "Thou shalt suggest to him
the thoughts," for "thoughts" are nothing else than
God's "words" or speech. For without the prompter
speech will give forth no utterance, and mind is the
prompter of speech, as God is of mind. "And he
shall speak to the people for thee, and he shall be thy
mouth, and thou shalt be his Godward things"

for speech in general. Here the ῥημάτων echoes the ῥηματα of
the quoted text, and is then interpreted by λόγων (speech).
τὸν θεόν"· ἐμφαντικῶτατα τὸ τε "προσλαλήσει σοι" φάναι, οἷοι διερμηνεύσει τὰ σά, καὶ ὅτι "ἐσται σοι | στόμα"· διὰ γὰρ γλώττης καὶ στοματος φερόμενον τὸ τοῦ λόγου νάμα συνεκφέρει τὰ νοήματα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λόγος ἐρμηνεύς διανοίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ διάνοια γίνεται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἑνθυμήματα, ὅν μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἐπίσκοπος.

82 ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστὶ τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀγώνα σοφιστικῷ ἀπαντῶν ἐπιμεληθῆθαι λόγων ἐρρωμένως οὕτως, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκφεύγειν τὰ παλαιόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντεπτιθέμενον ἀμφοτέροις, τέχνη τε καὶ δυνάμει, περι-

83 εὑναι. ἢ οὐχ ὅρᾶς τοὺς ἑπαοιδούς καὶ φαρμακευτᾶς ἀντισοφιστεύοντας τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ καὶ τοὺς παραπλη-

σίους τολμώντας ἐγχειρεῖν, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἱδίαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποφήναι περιβόηστον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ διασώραι καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ γινόμενα; καὶ γὰρ τὰς βακτηρίας εἰς δρακόντων μεταστοιχείον δύσεις, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αἷμα μετατρέπουσι, καὶ τῶν βατράχων τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν ἐπωδαίς ἀνέλκου-

84 σιν ἐπὶ γῆν, καὶ πάντα οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὰ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ὀλεθρον συναύξοντες ἀπατῶν δοκοῦντες ἀπατῶνταi. πρὸς οὐς πῶς ἐνήν ἀπαντῆσαι μὴ τὸν ἐρμηνεύα διανοίας λόγον, Ἀαρών ἐπίκλησιν, ἑτοι-

1 mss. σόφισμα.

The sense of the section is that human thoughts being in the charge of or inspired by God may be called God's words, and thus the mind which conceives them is "the Godward things," i.e. stands in the relation of God to the mouth.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 81–84

(Ex. iv. 15 f.). Very vivid are his expressions. Not only does he say "he shall speak to them for thee," as much as to say "he shall put thy thoughts into words"; but he adds "he shall be thy mouth"; for the stream of speech flowing over tongue and mouth carries forth the thoughts with it. But, whereas speech is understanding's interpreter manward, understanding occupies toward speech the position of its Godward things, namely thoughts and intents, which are in God's charge solely. It is a vital matter, then, for one about to face a contest with sophists to have paid attention to words with such thoroughness as not only to elude the grips of his adversary but to take the offensive in his turn and prove himself superior both in skill and strength. You must have observed how the aim of those who use charms and enchantments, when they bring their trickery into play against the Divine word and dare to attempt to do things like those which it does, is not so much to win honour for their own skill as to traduce and ridicule the miracles which are taking place. They transform the rods into real snakes, and turn the water to the colour of blood, and by incantations draw up on to land what frogs are still left (Ex. vii. 12, 22, viii. 7), and, as they add one thing to another tending to their own destruction, they are cheated, miserable fools, while they think that they are cheating. How would it have been possible for Moses to encounter these men, had he not had in readiness speech the interpreter of thought, who is called Aaron? In this place Aaron or speech is spoken of as a "mouth"; further on he will also bear the

\[b\] i.e. after Aaron had called up frogs over the whole land of Egypt.
καὶ προφήτης κεκλήσεται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπιθειά-ςας προσρηθῇ θεός· "δίδωμι γάρ σε" φησί· "θεὸν Φαραώ, καὶ Ἦλλαρών ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔσται σου προφήτης." ὦ ἀκολουθίας ἐναρμονίου· τὸ γὰρ ἑρμηνευόν τὰ θεοῦ προφητικὸν ἐστὶ γένος ἐνθέω

κατοκωχῆ ὑπὸ καὶ μανία χρώμενον· τοι-γαροῦν "ἡ ράβδος ἡ Ἦλλαρών κατέπιε τὰς ἐκεῖνων ράβδους," ὡς δηλοὶ τὸ λόγιον· ἐγκαταπίνονται γάρ καὶ ἀφανίζονται πάντες οἱ σοφιστικοὶ λόγοι τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἐντέχνῃ ποικιλίᾳ, ὡς ὀμολογεῖν ὅτι "δάκτυλος θεοῦ" τὰ γινόμενα ἐστὶν, ὅσον τῷ γράμμα θείον διαγερεῖται αἱ σοφιστεῖαν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἠπτα-σθαν· δακτύλῳ γὰρ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πλάκας, ἐν αἷς ἐστηλεύθησαν οἱ χρησμοὶ, φησίν ὃ ἱερὸς λόγος γραφήμαι· διόσπερ οὐκέτι δύνανται οἱ φαρμακευταὶ στήναι ἐναντίον Πούσσεϊ, πιάτουσι δ' ὡς ἐν ἀγώνι ῥώμη τοῦ ἀντιπάλου νικηθέντες καρτερᾷ·

XVI. Τίς οὖν ἡ τετάρτη δωρεά; τὸ μεγαλ-ώνυμον· φησὶ γάρ· "μεγαλυνῶ τὸ ὄνομα σου." τὸ δὲ ἐστὶν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τοιόνδε· ὥσπερ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ καλὸν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι λυπιτελές. καὶ ἀμείων μὲν δόξης ἀλήθεια, εὐδαι-μον δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· μυρίοι γὰρ ἀνόθως καὶ ἀκολο-κεύτως προσελθόντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτῆς ἐναγασάμενοι κάλλος, τῆς παρὰ τούς πολλοὺς φήμης οὐ φροντίζοντες ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, κακοὶ νομοθέτευσιν οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοί· καὶ μῆν | [450] οὐδὲ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὀφελῆς μὴ πολὺ πρότερον τοῦ εἶναι

1 Mangey suggests κραταιοτέρα.
name of "prophet," when the mind too is inspired and entitled "God." For He says "I give thee as God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet" (Ex. vii. 1). How perfect is the harmony shewn in the sequence of thought! For it is the prophet kind, when under the influence of a Divine possession and ecstasy, that interprets the thoughts of God. Accordingly "Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (Ex. vii. 12), as the oracle shews. For all the arguments of sophists are devoured and done away with by Nature's many-sided skill, and the acknowledgement is made that these events are the Finger of God (Ex. viii. 19), and the word "Finger" is equivalent to a divine rescript, declaring that sophistry is ever defeated by wisdom; for holy writ, speaking of the tables on which the oracles were engraved, says that they were written by the Finger of God (Ex. xxxii. 16). Wherefore the sorcerers can no longer stand before Moses, but fall as in a wrestling-bout vanquished by the sturdy strength of the opponent (Ex. viii. 18).

XVI. What, then, is the fourth gift? That of a great name; for He says "I will make thy name great" (Gen. xii. 2). The meaning of this appears to me to be as follows. As it is an advantage to be good and morally noble, so is it to be reputed such. And, while the reality is better than the reputation, happiness comes of having both. For very many, after coming to Virtue's feet with no counterfeit or unreal homage and with their eyes open to her genuine loveliness, through paying no regard to the general opinion have become the objects of hostility, just because they were held to be bad, when they were really good. It is true that there is no good in being
προσόντος, οὕσπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων πέφυκεν ἑχειν· εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοσοῦντα ὑγιαίνειν ἢ τὸν ὑγιαίνοντα νοσεῖν ὑπολάβοιεν, ἢ δόξα καθ' αὐτὴν

88 οὐτε νόσον οὕτε ὑγείαν ἐργάσεται. ὦ δὲ ἀμφότερα δεδώρηται ὁ θεός, καὶ τὸ εἶναι καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, οὕτως πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν εὐθαίμων καὶ τῷ ὀντι μεγαλώνυμος. προνοητέον δ' ὦς μεγάλου πράγματος καὶ πολλὰ τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον ὑφελοῦντος εὐφημίας. περιγίνεται δ' αὕτη σχεδὸν ἀπασιν, ὦσι χαίροντες σὺν ἀσμενισμῷ μηδὲν κινοῦσι τῶν καθεστηκότων νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν οὐκ ἀμελῶς φυλάττουσιν.

89 Εἰσι γὰρ τινὲς οἱ τοὺς ρητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ μὲν ἄγαν ἦκρίβωσαν, τῶν δὲ ραθύμως ἀληθινοὶ οὕτως μεμψαίμην ἀν ἐγώγη τῆς εὐχερείας. ἔδει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, νοθεῖςεός τε τῶν ἀφανῶν ἀκριβεστέρας καὶ ταμιείας τῶν φανερῶν ἀνεπι-

90 λήπτων. νυνὶ δὲ ὦσπερ ἐν ἔρημῳ καθ' ἐαυτοῖς μόνοι ζῶντες ἢ ἄσωματοι ψυχαὶ γεγονότες καὶ μήτε πόλιν μήτε κώμην μήτ' οἶκιαν μήτε συνόλως θίασον ἀνθρώπων εἰδότες, τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπερκύψαντες τὴν ἀλῆθειαν γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ἐρευνῶσιν· οὕτως ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος διδάσκει κρηστῆσεις ὑπολήψεως περιοριτικόν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐθεσι λύειν, ἃ χεστείον καὶ μείζους ἄνδρες ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠρισαν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἡ
thought to be this or that, unless you are so long before you are thought to be so. It is naturally so in the case of our bodies. Were all the world to suppose the sickly man to be healthy, or the healthy man to be sickly, the general opinion by itself will produce neither sickness nor health. But he on whom God has bestowed both gifts, both to be morally noble and good and to have the reputation of being so, this man is really happy and his name is great in very deed. We should take thought for fair fame as a great matter and one of much advantage to the life which we live in the body. And this fair fame is won as a rule by all who cheerfully take things as they find them and interfere with no established customs, but maintain with care the constitution of their country.

There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach. As it is, as though they were living alone by themselves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls, and knew neither city nor village nor household nor any company of human beings at all, overlooking all that the mass of men regard, they explore reality in its naked absoluteness. These men are taught by the sacred word to have thought for good repute, and to let go nothing that is part of the customs fixed by divinely empowered men greater than those of our time. It is quite true
εβδόμη δυνάμεως μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀπραξίας δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ γενητὸν διδαγμά ἐστι, τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς νομοθετηθέντα λύωμεν, ὡς πῦρ ἐναύει ἢ γεωπονεῖν ἢ ἀχθοφορεῖν ἢ ἐγκαλεῖν ἢ δικαίωσιν ἢ παρακαταθήκας ἀπαίτειν ἢ δάνεια ἀναπράττειν ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν, ὥσα κἂν τόσο μὴ ἐορτῶδεσι καιροῖς ἐφείται· μηδ’ ὅτι ἡ ἐορτή σύμβολον ψυχικῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεον εὐχαριστίας, ἀποταξόμεθα ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἔτησίους ὥρας πανηγύρεσι· μηδ’ ὅτι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι ἡδονῆς καὶ παθῶν πάντων ἔκτομῇ καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσιν ἀσεβοὺς ἐμφαίνει, καθ’ ἂν ὑπέλαβεν ὅ νοῦς ἰκανὸς εἶναι γεννᾶν δὴ ἐαυτοῦ, ἀνέλωμεν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ περιτομῇ τεθέντα νόμον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀγιότητας καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀμελήσουμεν, εἰ μόνοις προσέξομεν τοῖς δι’ ὑπονοιῶν δῆλοις· ἀλλὰ χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι οὐκέναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ [451] ἐκεῖνα· ὡσπερ οὖν σώματος, ἐπειδή | ψυχῆς ἐστιν οἶκος, προνοητέον, οὐτω καὶ τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων ἐπιμελητέον· φυλαττόμενον γὰρ τῶν ἀριθμὸτερον κάκεινα γνωρισθῆσαι, ᾧ εἰσιν οὕτω σύμβολα, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μέμψεις καὶ κατηγορίας ἀποδιδράσκειν. οὐχ ὅρας, ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ σοφῷ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ μικρὰ προσεῖναι φησί, καὶ καλεῖ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα

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a The force of περὶ would perhaps be given better by "inherent in." The thought is that the Sabbatical rest reminds us that all our labouring is ineffectual compared with the eternal activity of God. Cf. Quis Rerum 170, and De Cher. 87 ff.

b Or "keeping of festivals (in general)." Cf. De Spec. Leg. ii. 41.

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that the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of
the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings. But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid
down for its observance, and light fires or till the
ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in
court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of
deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are
permitted to do as well on days that are not festival
seasons. It is true also that the Feast is a symbol of gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we
should not for this reason turn our backs on the
general gatherings of the year's seasons. It is true
that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the
excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting
away of the impious conceit, under which the mind
supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own
power: but let us not on this account repeal the law
laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignor­
ing the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other
things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except
what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things.
Nay, we should look on all these outward observances as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as
resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we
have to take thought for the body, because it is the
abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter
of the laws. If we keep and observe these, we shall
gain a clearer conception of those things of which these
are the symbols; and besides that we shall not incur
the censure of the many and the charges they are
sure to bring against us. Notice that it says that wise Abraham had good things both great
and small, and it calls the great ones "property,"
υπάρχοντα καὶ υπαρκτά, ἃ τῷ γνησίῳ κληρονομεῖν ἐφείται μόνῳ, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ δόματα, ὡνὶ οἱ νόθοι καὶ ἕκ παλλακῶν ἄξιοῦνται; ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐν ἐοικε τοῖς φύσει, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς θέσει νομίμοις.

95 XVII. "Αγαμαι καὶ τῆς παναρέτου Λείας, ἦτις ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσῆρ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐστὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ νόθου σύμβολον πλούτου, φησὶ: "μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαριόζοι με αἱ γυναικεῖς." στοχάζεται γὰρ ὑπολήψεως ἑπιεικοὺς, δικαιοῦσα μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀρρένων καὶ ἀνδρείων ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, παρ' οἷς ἡ ἀλώβητος φύσις καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀδέκαστον τετίμηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν θηλυτέρων, οἱ τῶν φαινομένων πάντα τρόπον ἢττηνται μηδὲν ἐξω τούτων θεωρητὸν νοῆσαι δυνάμενοι.

96 τελείας δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι μεταποιεῖσθαι, καὶ σπουδάζειν μὴ μόνον παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρωτίδι εὐδοκίμευν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας ἐπαινεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ Μωσῆς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐργῶν κατασκευὴν οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξίν ἐπέτρεψε συνεισθαι: τὰ τε γὰρ νήματα πάντα τῆς ἕκαστον καὶ πορφυρὰς καὶ κοκκίνον καὶ βύσσου καὶ τριχῶν αἰγείων ἑπιτελοῦσι, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν κόσμον ἀόκνως εἰσφέρουσι, "σφραγίδας, ἔνυστια, δακτυλίους, περιδέξια, ἐμπλόκια," πάνθ᾽ ὡσα χρυσὸν ἐλεῖ τῆν ὕλην, τὸν σῶματος κόσμον ἀντικαταλλάθημεν τοῦ τῆς

97 τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδι εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐστίας ἐπαινεῖσθαι.

98 εὐσεβείας· προσφιλοτιμούμεναι μέντοι καὶ τὰ κάτοπτρα ἑαυτῶν συγκαθιεροῦσιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λουτήρος κατασκευὴν, ἵνα τοὶ μέλλοντες ἱερουργεῖν

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*a Philo interprets the ὑπάρχοντα of the LXX (property), as equivalent to the philosophical term, υπαρκτά (really existing). See App. p. 563.
that is, realities, which went by entail to his legitimate son alone. The small ones it calls "gifts," and to receive these the base-born sons of the concubines are deemed worthy (Gen. xxv. 5, 6). The former correspond to natural, the latter to positive laws.

XVII. I admire also all-virtuous Leah, because when Asher was born, symbol of counterfeit wealth the outward and visible, she cries "Happy am I, for the women will call me happy" (Gen. xxx. 13). She aims at being favourably regarded, thinking praise due to her not only from thoughts masculine and truly manly, by which the nature that has no blemish and truth impervious to bribes is held in honour, but also from those which are more feminine, which are wholly at the mercy of appearances and powerless to understand anything presented to contemplation outside them. It is characteristic of a perfect soul to aspire both to be and to be thought to be, and to take pains not only to have a good reputation in the men's quarters, but to receive the praises of the women's as well.

It was for this reason that Moses gave in charge not to men only but to women also to provide the sacred appointments of the Tabernacle: for it is the women who do all the weavings of blue and scarlet and linen and goat's hair (Ex. xxxv. 22 f.), and they contribute without hesitation their own jewellery, "seals, ear-rings, rings, bracelets, hair-clasps," all that was made of gold, exchanging the adornment of their persons for the adornment of piety. Nay, in their abounding enthusiasm, they dedicate their mirrors for the making of the laver (Ex. xxxviii. 26), to the end that those who are about

Or "ways of thinking" "attitudes of mind"; cf. De Plant. 61.
This point, in which "hands" are clearly interpreted by εγχειρήματα, and "feet" by ἐφορμεῖ καὶ ἐνίδρυται, follows in the LXX after the statement that the laver was made out of the mirrors of the women. In the Hebrew this does not appear in this place, but the ordinance that the laver should be so used comes in both Hebrew and LXX in Ex. xxx. 19 f.

"Fasting," in the spiritual sense of course, is interpreted by καρτερίας. The word is used because in the LXX the women who offered the mirrors fasted on the day when the laver was made.

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1 Perhaps ἐφιδρυται (G.H.W.); cf. ἐφιδρύσεις of feet, Leg. All. iii. 138.

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to perform sacred rites, as they are washing hands and feet,\textsuperscript{a} that is, the purposes which they take in hand and which form the base and support of the mind, may be helped to see themselves reflected by recollecting the mirrors out of which the laver was fashioned: for if they do this they will not overlook any ugly thing shewing itself in the appearance of the soul, and being thus purified will dedicate the most sacred and perfect of offerings, the offering of fasting\textsuperscript{b} and perseverance.

These, in whose eyes Leah, that is 99 virtue, desires to be honoured are citizen women and worthy of their citizenship; but there are others without citizenship who kindle a fire to add to the misery of the wretched mind; for we read that "women further kindled in addition\textsuperscript{c} a fire against Moab" (Num. xxi. 30). Is it not the case, that each 100 one of the fool's senses, kindled by the objects of sense, sets the mind on fire, pouring upon it a great and impassable flame, in violent and resistless current? It is best, then, that the array of women, that is of the senses, in the soul, should be propitiated, as well as that of the men, that is of our several thoughts: for in this way shall we feel the journey of base of the laver was made. The Hebrew word which seems to be obscure is given in A.V. as "assembled," in R.V. "serving." By ηδη Philo seems to mean that only when the "mirror" has been used for self-examination, and the "feet and hands" of the soul cleansed, can the true offering of "fasting" be made.

\textsuperscript{c} The προσ- in προσαναφλέγουσαι reproduces the προσεξέκαυσαι of the text. How Philo interprets the prefix appears in \textit{Leg. All.} iii. 234. The fire kindled by the senses is an \textit{addition} to purely mental troubles.
διεξόδω χρησόμεθα. XVIII. παγκάλως\textsuperscript{1} διὰ τὸ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ αὐτομαθὴς Ἰσαάκ εὐχεταὶ τῷ σοφίᾳ ἔραστῇ καὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ λαβεῖν ἀγαθά: φησὶ γάρ· "δώῃ σοί ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πιοτητος τῆς γῆς," ἵσον τῷ πρότερον μὲν συνεχῇ σοι τὸν νοητὸν καὶ οὐρανιον ἅτον ἄρδοι, μὴ λάβρως ὡς ἐπικλύσαι, ἀλλ' ἥρεμα καὶ πράως καθάπερ δρόσον ὡς ὀνήσαι· δεύτερον δὲ τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ γήμων πλοῦτον χαρίσαιτο λιπαρὸν καὶ πίονα, τὴν ἑναντίαν πενίαν ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν ἀφανάς.

'Εαν μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἄρχιερέα λόγον ἔξετάζῃς, εὑρήσεις συνώδα φρονοῦντα καὶ τὴν ιερὰν ἐσθήτα αὐτῶ πεποικιμενήν ἐκ τε νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων· ἂς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μακροτέρων ἢ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καυρὸν δεῖται λόγων καὶ ύπερθετέον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πέρασιν ἔξετάσωμεν, κεφαλῆ τε καὶ βάσεις. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐστὶ "πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρὸν, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος, ἀγίασμα κυρίω," ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ποσίν ἐπὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ ὑποδύτου κώδωνες καὶ ἀνθίνα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ σφραγίς ἱδεὰ ἐστὶν ἱδεῶν, καθ' ἢν ὁ θεὸς ἐτύπωσε

\textsuperscript{1} Previous editions print παγκάλως with the preceding sentence as adverb to χρησόμεθα. But this seems a little overdone as praise of the more or less compromising life here described. An examination of the other 35 examples of παγκ. in the index shows that Philo generally uses it near the beginning of the sentence, in nearly all in praise of some saying or incident in Scripture, and in all in connexion with some verb, expressed or implied, of speaking. The form παγκάλως διὰ τοῦτο καὶ is exceptional, but differs very slightly from the common διὰ τοῦτο παγκάλως.
life better than it else would be. XVIII. Admirable therefore also is the prayer of Isaac the self-taught for the lover of wisdom that he may receive the good things both of mind and of sense: "May God give thee," he says, "of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth" (Gen. xxvii. 28), which is equivalent to saying in the first place "May He pour down on thee perpetually the heavenly rain apprehended by mind alone, not violently so as to deluge thee, but in gentle stillness like dew so as to do thee good"; and secondly "May He grant thee the earthly, the outward and visible wealth; may that wealth abound in marrow and fatness and may its opposite, the poverty of the soul and its parts, be withered and dried up by His grace."

If again you examine the High Priest the Logos, you will find him to be in agreement with this, and his holy vesture to have a variegated beauty derived from powers belonging some to the realm of pure intellect, some to that of sense-perception. The other parts of that vesture call for a longer treatment than the present occasion allows, and must be deferred. Let us however examine the parts by the extremities, head and feet. On the head, then, there is "a plate of pure gold, bearing as an engraving of a signet, 'a holy thing to the Lord'" (Ex. xxviii. 32); and at the feet on the end of the skirt, bells and flower patterns (Ex. xxviii. 29 ff.). The signet spoken of is the original principle behind all principles, after which God shaped or formed the universe, incorporeal,

a Or "the Logos as revealed in the High Priest." The thought that the High Priest (in general, not Aaron in particular) represents the Divine Logos is worked out in De Fug. 108 ff. In De Gig. 52 the phrase is given a less exalted meaning.
τὸν κόσμον, ἀσώματος δήποτε καὶ νοητή, τὰ δ' ἄνθινα καὶ οἱ κώδωνες αἰσθητῶν ποιοτήτων σύμβολα, ὥν ὀρασις καὶ ἀκοή τὰ κριτήρια.

104 ἄγαν δ' ἐξήτασμένως ἐπιφέρει ὅτι "ἔσται ἀκουστή φωνή αὐτοῦ εἰσίντος εἰς τὰ ἁγιά," ἵνα πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ θεία καὶ ὄντως ἁγία εἰσιούσης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις ωφελούμεναι κατ' ἀρετὴν συνηχῶς καὶ ὄλον τὸ σύστημα ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐμμελῆς καὶ πολυάνθρωπος χορός, ἐκ διαφερόντων φθόγγων ἀνακεκραμένων ἐν μέλος ἐναρμόνων συνάδη, τὰ μὲν ἐνδόσιμα τῶν νοημάτων ἐμπνεύστων—ἡγεμόνες γὰρ τοῦ χοροῦ τοῦτού τὰ νοητὰ—, τὰ δ' ἐπόμενα τῶν αἰσθητῶν συναναμελοῦμεν, ἀ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος 105 χορευταῖς ἀπεικάζεται. συνόλως γάρ, ἢ φησιν ὁ νόμος, "τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὸν ἰματισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀμιλίαν," τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐδει, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν βεβαιῶς προσνέμειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν δεόντα, τὰ νοητὰ ἐστὶν ἁγαθά, ἀ δει καὶ ἰ χρή γενέσθαι λόγῳ φύσεως, ὁ δ' ἰματισμὸς τὰ περὶ τῶν φαινόμενων τοῦ βίου κόσμου, ἢ δ' ὀμιλία ἢ καθ' ἐκάτερον τῶν εἰρημένων εἰδῶν συνέχεια καὶ μελέτη, ἢν οὐα τὰ ἀφάνη νοητὰ τοιαύτα καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ φαίνεται.

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[453] XIX. | Πέμπτη τοίνυν ἐστὶ δωρεά ἢ κατὰ ψυλὸν 
μόνον τὸ εἶναι1 συνισταμένη· λέλεκται δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς

1 Mangey regarded this as corrupt and proposed κατὰ τὸ εὐλογημένον αὐτῶν εἶναι. Possibly we might read τὸ <τι> εἶναι.

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a In R.V. "Her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage." By "fellowship" or perhaps "intimacy" Philo may mean either that the νοητά are brought into close association with the αἰσθητά, or that the soul is brought into intimate touch with both.

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we know, and discerned by the intellect alone; whereas the flower patterns and bells are symbols of qualities recognized by the senses and tested by sight and hearing. And he has well weighed his words when he adds: "His sound shall be audible when he is about to enter into the Holy Place" (Ex. xxviii. 31), to the end that when the soul is about to enter the truly holy place, the divine place which only mind can apprehend, the senses also may be aided to join in the hymn with their best, and that our whole composite being, like a full choir all in tune, may chant together one harmonious strain rising from varied voices blending one with another; the thoughts of the mind inspiring the keynotes—for the leaders of this choir are the truths perceived by mind alone—while the objects of sense-perception, which resemble the individual members of the choir, chime in with their accordant tuneful notes. For, to say all in a word, we must not, as the Law tells us, take away from the soul these three things, "the necessaries, the clothing, the fellowship" (Ex. xxii. 10), but afford each of them steadily. Now, the "necessaries" are the good things of the mind, which are necessary, being demanded by the law of nature; the "clothing," all that belongs to the phenomenal world of human life; and the "fellowship," persistent study directed to each of these kinds, that so in the world of sense we may come to find the likeness of the invisible world of mind.

XIX. To proceed then; the fifth gift is that which consists in simple being only, and it is mentioned

b i.e. in being (something) as opposed to "seeming," which was the keynote of the Fourth Gift. See critical note.
προτέραις, οὐχ ὡς εὐτελεστῆρα ἐκείνων, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς ὑπερκύπτουσα καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα πάσας. τί γὰρ ἂν εἰὴ τοῦ πεφυκέναι καὶ ἀψευδός καὶ ἀπλάστως ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐλογίας ἐπάξιον τελεώτερον;

107 "ἐση" γὰρ φησὶν "εὐλογητός," οὐ μόνον εὐλογημένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις τε καὶ φήμαις παραριθμεῖται, τὸ δὲ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐλογητῷ. ᾽ωσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐπαινετὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐπανεισῆξαι διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ κρείττον καὶ τὸ ψεκτὸν εἶναι τοῦ ψέγεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον—τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῷ πεφυκέναι, τὰ δὲ τῷ νομίζεσθαι λέγεται μόνον, φύσις δὲ ἡ ἀψευδῆς δοκήσεως ἐχυρώτερον—, οὐτώς καὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ὀπέρ ἦν εἰς εὐλογίαν ἄγεσθαι δοξαζόμενον, τὸ πεφυκέναι εὐλογίας ἄξιον, κἂν πάντες ἰσχύσαι, κρείττον, ὀπέρ εὐλογητὸν ἐν τοῖς χρήσµοις ἅδεται.

108 XX. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἄθλα² τῷ γενησομένῳ δωρεῖται σοφῶ· ἀ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπονέμει διὰ τὸν σοφὸν, ἐξῆς ἰδωμεν. "εὐλογήσω" φησί "τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταρωμένους σε κατ-

109 αράσομαι." τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι παντί τῶν δήλων, λέγεται δ᾿ οὐ δι᾿ ἐκείνων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν εὔρομοστον ἀκολουθιαν τὸν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁ ἐπαινῶν ἐγκωμιαστὸς καὶ ὁ ψέγων ἐμπαλίν ψεκτὸς. ἐπαινοῦ δὲ καὶ ψόγουν οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῶν λεγόντων καὶ γραφόντων πιστῶν δύναμιν, ὡς ἡ τῶν γνωμένων ἀλήθεια· ᾧστ᾿ οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ψέγειν ἀν

¹ MSS. τὸ εὐλογεῖσθαι . . . τῷ πεφυκέναι. ² MSS. ἐσθλὰ.
after those which precede it not as being of less value than they, but as outtopping and over-passing them all. For what could be more perfect than to be by nature good and free from all feigning and pretence, and worthy of blessing? For he says "Thou shalt be one to be blessed" (Gen. xii. 2), not only "one who has been blessed," for the latter is reckoned by the standard of the opinions and report of the many; but the former by that of Him Who is in reality "blessed." For as being praiseworthy differs for the better from being praised, and being blameworthy for the worse from being blamed, the one pair expressing an inherent character, and the other nothing more than men's opinion of us; and nature that cannot lie is a more sure foundation than opinion; so being blessed by men, which we have found to be an introduction into blessing by the avenue of repute, is inferior to natural worthiness of blessing, even though that finds no expression on human lips; and it is this which is celebrated in the sacred oracles as "blessed."

XX. These are the prizes which He bestows upon him who is to become wise. Let us see next those which He accords to others too for the wise man's sake. "I will bless," He says, "those that bless thee, and those that curse thee I will curse" (Gen. xii. 3). That these promises as well as the others are made to shew honour to the righteous man is clear to everybody, but they are set forth not on that account only, but because they so admirably fit in with and follow the truth of facts, for encomiums are due to him who praises the good man and blame again to him who blames him. Praise and blame are not accredited so much by the ability of speakers and authors, as by the truth of facts; so that we do not feel that either
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δοκοιεν, οὐσι τι ψεύδος ἐν ἐκατέρω παραλαμβάνουσιν εἴδει. τους κολάκας οὐχ ὅρασιν, οἵ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἀποκινιόμενοι τῶν κολακευμένων τὰ ὅτα θρύπτωντες, οὐχ ἐπινεύοντες ἐφ’ ἐκάστω τῶν λεγομένων αὐτὸ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ῥήσεις μακρὰς συνείροντες καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι μὲν τῇ φωνῇ πολλάκις, ἀεὶ δὲ τῇ διάνοιᾳ κατ’ αρώμενοι; τὶ οὖν ἂν τις εὐ φρονών εἴποι; ἄρ’ οὐχ ἀρκεῖν ἐκθρόνους μᾶλλον ἡ φίλους τῶν λέγοντας οὕτως καὶ ψέγειν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπαυειν, κἂν δράματα ὀλὰ συντιθέντες ἐγκωμίων ἐπάδωσι;

112 τοιγαροῦν ὁ μάταιος Βαλαάμ ὄμνους μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερβάλλοντας ἄδων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ "οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς," ἀσμάτων τὸ ἱερόπρεπον εὐκομία δ’ εἰς τὸν ὃρωντα, Ἰσραήλ, μυρία διεξερχόμενος ἁσταθῆ μὲν καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ παρὰ τῷ σοφῷ κέκριται νομοθέτη, καταράσθαι δὲ, οὐκ εὐλογεῖν, νενόμισται. τοῖς γὰρ πολεμίωσι φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθώ συνταχθέντα μάντιν γενέσθαι [454] κακόν κακών, ἀρὰς μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ θέμενον χαλεπωτάτας γένει τῷ θεοφίλει, εὐχάς δὲ ἀναγκασθέντα διὰ στόματος καὶ γνώμης ὑπεφυστάτας προφητεύσαι: τὰ μὲν γὰρ λεγόμενα καλὰ ὁντα ὁ φιλάρετος ὑπήχει θεός, τὰ δ’ ἐννοοῦμενα—φαυλότερα γὰρ ἂν—

115 ἐτικτεν ἡ μισάρετος διάνοια. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων χρησμός: "οὐ γὰρ ἔδωκε" φησίν "ὁ θεὸς τῷ Βαλαάμ καταράσασθαι σοι, ἄλλ’ ἐστρέψε τὰς κατάρας εἰς εὐλογίαν," καίτω πάντων

1 mss. ἔδοιν.
2 So all mss. (except H²): Wend. ὄντας.
3 mss. εὐλογῶν (-ον).
4 mss. μάτην οὔ μηνυτὴν.
term is applicable to the words of those who give falsehood any place in either. Do you not see the toadies who by day and night batter to pieces and wear out the ears of those on whom they fawn, not content with just assenting to everything they say, but spinning out long speeches and declaiming and many a time uttering prayers with their voice, but never ceasing to curse with their heart? What then would a man of good sense say? Would he not say that those who talk in this way talk as though they were enemies rather than friends, and blame rather than praise, even though they compose and recite whole oratorios of panegyric to charm them? Accordingly, that empty one, Balaam, though he sang loftiest hymns to God, among which is that most Divine of canticles "God is not as man" (Num. xxiii. 19), and poured out a thousand eulogies on him whose eyes were open, even Israel, has been adjudged impious and accursed even by the wise lawgiver, and held to be an utterer not of blessings but of curses. For Moses says that as the hired confederate of Israel's enemies he became an evil prophet of evil things, nursing in his soul direst curses on the race beloved of God, but forced with mouth and tongue to give prophetic utterance to most amazing benedictory prayers: for the words that were spoken were noble words, whose utterance was prompted by God the Lover of Virtue, but the intentions, in all their vileness, were the offspring of a mind that looked on virtue with loathing. Evidence of this is afforded by the oracles relating to the matter; for it says "God did not give Balaam leave to curse thee, but turned his curses into blessing" (Deut. xxiii. 5), though indeed every word he
 philo

όσα εἶπε πολλῆς γεμόντων εὐφημίας. ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ ταμιευομένων ἐπίσκοπος ἱδών, ὃ κατιδεῖ ἐξεστὶ μόνῳ, τὰ ἀθέατα γενέσθαι, τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἀπὸ τούτων ψῆφον ἡνεγκε, μάρτυς ἀφευδέστατος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐπεὶ καὶ τούναντιον ἐπαινεῖν μᾶρθμοι καὶ κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντα τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ διάνοιαν εὐλογεῖν τε καὶ εὐφημεῖν. σωφρονιστῶν ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔθος, παιδαγωγῶν, διδασκάλων, γονέων, πρεσβυτέρων, νόμων· οὐκεῖν τοὺς ἀναγάγουσιν γὰρ, ἐστὶ δ' ὅπου καὶ κολάζοντες ἐκαστοὶ τοῦτον ἀμείνους τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπεργάζονται τῶν παιδευομένων. καὶ ἐκθρόνος μὲν οὔδεις οὐδενί, φίλοι δὲ πάσι πάντεσ· φίλων δὲ ἀνόθω καὶ ἀκιβδήλω χρωμένων εὐνοία τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐργον ἐλευθερος στομεῖν ἀνευτοῦ κακονοείν. μηδὲν οὖν μήτε τῶν εἰς εὐλογίας καὶ εὐχὰς μήτε τῶν εἰς βλασφημίας καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν προφορὰ διεξόδους ἀναφερέσθω μᾶλλον ἡ διάνοια, ἀφ' ἃς ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκάτερον εἰδος τῶν λεχθέν ἐκάτερον εἰδος τῶν λεχθέντων δοκιμάζεται.

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XXI. Ταύτα μὲν ὑδύ πρῶτον διὰ τῶν ἀστεῖων ἐτέροις συντυχάνειν φησίν, ὅταν ἡ ψόγον ἢ ἐπαινοῦν ἡ εὐχὰς ἢ κατάρας ἐθελήσωσιν αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι· μέγιστον δ' ἐξής, ὅταν ἡ συχάζωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, τὸ μηδὲν μέρος φύσεως λογικῆς ἀμέτοχον εὐεργεσίαν ἀπολείπεσθαι. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι “ἔνευλογηθήσονται ἐν

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*a i.e. the text speaks of his “curses,” though actually there was no cursing at all.

b The translation supposes that Philo is alluding to the Athenian office of σωφρονιστῶν, officials appointed to look after the morals of the Ephebi in general and particularly in the gymasia. Philo certainly often introduces special Attic terms from his reading. But it is at least as probable 198
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uttered was charged with fulness of benediction. But He Who looks upon what is stored up in the soul, saw, with the Eye that alone has power to discern them, the things that are out of sight of created beings, and on the ground of these passed the sentence of condemnation, being at once an absolutely true Witness, and an incorruptible Judge. For on the same principle praise is due to the converse of this, namely, when one seems to revile and accuse with the voice, and is in intent conveying blessing and benediction. This is obviously the custom of proctors, of home tutors, schoolmasters, parents, seniors, magistrates, laws: all of these, by reproaches, and sometimes by punishments, effect improvement in the souls of those whom they are educating. And not one of them is an enemy to a single person, but all are friends of them all: and the business of friends inspired by genuine and unfeigned goodwill is to use plain language without any spite whatever. Let no treatment, then, that is marked by prayers and blessings on the one hand, or by abusing and cursing on the other hand, be referred to the way it finds vent in speech, but rather to the intention; for from this, as from a spring, is supplied the means of testing each kind of spoken words.

XXI. This is Moses' first lesson; he tells us what befalls others for the virtuous man's sake, whenever they consent to visit him with blame or praise, with prayers or imprecations: but greatest of all is that which follows; he tells us that, when these hold their peace, no portion of rational existence is left without its share of benefit bestowed: for He says that "In
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119 soi pásai ai phulai tís geús." esti de touto
dogmatikóstaton· éan gár ó noús ánousos kai áphe-
mwos diatelse, taís perí autón ápásais phulais
te kai dynámesin úgainenósiai xréitaí, taís te
kath' órasin kai ákoin kal óssai aiosthíkai kai
pálin taís kata tás hídonás te kai épithymías kai
óssai anti pathón eis eúpáthetai1 metaxaráptontai.

120 ōdhe méntoi kai oíkos kai pólis kai
khúa kai ethn kai klímatá geús énous ánndros kaló-
kagáthias prômenouménou megálhís ápílausan év-
daimonías, kai mállothi otiw meta gnómhs agathís
ò theòs kai dúnamen éndowsen ánanagwóniston, ós
mousikó kai panti tekhny tá kata múusikín kai
pásan tékhnyn árhoına η εὔλων úlhn nupri. tó gár
ónti éreisima tou genvous tón ánðròpton estin ó
dikaios, kai óssa mév autós échei, proferón eis
muéseon épi wpheliei tón | chrismoménwos áphdona
didwsei, òssa de aú mé eúrískh par' eautò, tó
muónon pámploston aítetai théon. ó dé tóv ouránwv
ánvizes thesanovó ómbreí kai epíwfei tá agáthá
áthròa, ós tón perigewen ápántwv tás déxiamentás
121 plhmmwronías anaxuthínai. tauta dé tóv iktetn
éautov lógovn ouk ápoustrafeis eúthei dwreísthai:
légetai gár éterwv Mwuslewós ikeутésontov:
"ílews autois émi kata to réhma sou". tóoto dé,
ósa éouken, isodunamei tó "éneulogyhénontai en

1 Perhaps read eúpáthelas. Elsewhere the plural is used
when in contrast with páthē.

a lógos seems to anticipate ríma. Otherwise we might
translate "His suppliant Word," as Moses is sometimes
identified with the Divine Logos.

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thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 3). This is a pregnant and significant announcement; for it implies that, if the mind continues free from harm and sickness, it has all its tribes and powers in a healthy condition, those whose province is sight and hearing and all others concerned with sense-perception, and those again that have to do with pleasures and desires, and all that are undergoing transformation from the lower to the higher emotions. Further there have been instances of a household or a city or a country or nations and regions of the earth enjoying great prosperity through a single man giving his mind to nobility of character. Most of all has this been so in the case of one on whom God has bestowed, together with a good purpose, irresistible power, just as He gives to the musician and every artist the instruments which his music or his art requires, or as He gives to fire logs as its material. For in truth the righteous man is the foundation on which mankind rests. All that he himself has he brings into the common stock and gives in abundance for the benefit of all who shall use them. What he does not find in his own store, he asks for at the hands of God, the only possessor of unlimited riches; and He opens his heavenly treasury and sends His good things, as He does the snow and the rain, in ceaseless downpour, so that the channels and cavities of earth's whole face overflow. And it is His wont to bestow these gifts in answer to the word of supplication, from which He does not turn His ear away; for it is said in another place, when Moses had made a petition, "I am gracious to them in accordance with thy word" (Num. xiv. 20); and this is evidently equivalent to "In thee shall all the tribes
ΦΙΛΟ

σοι πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς." οὖ δὲ χάριν καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἄβραὰμ πεπειραμένος τῆς ἐν ἀπασὶ τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος πεπίστευκεν ὅτι, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀφανισθῆ, μικρὸν δὲ τι λείψανον ἀρετῆς ἀπὸ ἐμπύρευμα διασώζηται, διὰ τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο κάκειν ὀικτεῖτε, ὡς πεπωκότα ἐγείρειν καὶ τεθνηκότα ἔστησεν. σπινθήρ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βραχὺ-

τατός ἐνυφόμενος, ὅταν καταπνευσθεὶς ἀναλάμφη, όταν καταπνευσθεὶς ζωπυρηθῇ, μεγάλην ἐξάπτει πυρὰνκαὶ τὸ βραχὺτατον οὐν ἀρετῆς, ὅταν ἐλπίσῃ χρηστᾷ ὑποθαλπόμενον ἀναλάμψιη, καὶ τὰ τέως μεμυκότα καὶ τυφλὰ ἔξωματει καὶ τὰ ἀφανισθῆ ἀναβλαστεῖν ἐποίησε καὶ ὃσα ὑπὸ ἀγονίας1 ἐστείρωτο εἰς εὐφορίας εὐ-

τοκίας περιήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸ σπάνιον ἐπι-

φροσύνη θεοῦ πολὺ γίνεται χεόμενον, ἐξομοιοῦν τὰ ἀλλὰ ἐαυτῷ. XXII. εὐχόμεθα οὖν τὸν ὃς ἐν οἰκίᾳ στύλον νοῦν μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀνθρωπὸν δὲ ἐν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν δίκαιον διαμένειν εἰς τὴν τῶν νόσων ἀκέσιν. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑγιαίνοντος τὰς παντελῆ σωτηρίαν ὁμιλοῦσαν διείλεν. διότι2 οἴμαι ὅτι σωτὴρ θεὸς τὸ πανακέστατον φάρ-

μακών, τὴν ἔλεος δύναμιν, τῷ ἰκέτῃ καὶ θεραπευτῇ προτείνασ ἐαυτῷ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καμάντων σωτηρίαν ἐπιτρέπει, καταπλάττοντι τῶν ψυχῆς τραυμάτων, ἀπὸ ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος τῶν κακῶν ὡμολογοῦσιν ἀκονθισθεὶς διείλεν. ἐναργεύστατον δὲ παράδειγμα Νῶε ὁ δίκαιος, ὃς τῷ μεγάλῳ κατακλυσμῷ τῶν τοσοῦτων μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαταποθεντῶν ἐρρωμένως

1 mss. ἁγνολας. 2 mss. δ᾽ ὦ ἐτί.
of the earth be blessed." And it is by reason of this that Abraham, the wise, when he had made trial of God's unvarying loving-kindness, believed that, even if all else be done away, but some small relic of virtue be preserved as a live coal to kindle with, for the sake of this little piece He looks with pity on the rest also, so as to raise up fallen things and to quicken dead things (Gen. xviii. 24 ff.). For a smouldering spark, even the very smallest, when it is blown up and made to blaze, lights a great pile; and so the least particle of virtue, when, warmed into life by bright hopes, it has shone out, gives sight to eyes that erst were closed and blind, and causes withered things to bloom again, and recovers to prolific fertility all that were barren by nature and therefore without offspring. Even so scanty goodness by God's favour expands and becomes abundant, assimilating all else to itself.

XXII. Let us pray then that, like a central pillar in a house, there may constantly remain for the healing of our maladies the righteous mind in the soul and in the human race the righteous man; for while he is sound and well, there is no cause to despair of the prospect of complete salvation, for our Saviour God holds out, we may be sure, the most all-healing remedy, His gracious Power, and commits it to His suppliant and worshipper to use for the deliverance of those who are sickly, that he may apply it as an embrocation to those soul-wounds which were left gaping by the sword-edge of follies and injustices and all the rest of the horde of vices. The most patent example is righteous Noah, who, when so many parts of the soul had been swallowed up by the
έπικυματίζων καὶ ἐπινηχόμενος υπεράνω μὲν ἔστη τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων, διασωθεὶς δὲ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ βίζας ἐβάλετο, ἐξ ὅν οἶα φυτὸν τὸ σοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος· ὀπερ ἥμεροτοκῆσαν τοὺς τοῦ ὅρωντος, Ἰσραήλ, τριττοὺς ἦνεγκε καρποὺς, αἰῶνος μέτρα, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἐσται καὶ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἁρετῇ, ὡν ἀκαρίᾳ μὲν ἵσως ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκιάζουσιν, ὅ δὲ ὀπάδος θεοῦ καιρὸς ἀποκαλυπτεῖ πάλιν, ἐν ὧ καὶ ἡ φρόνησις ἀρρένιοι Σάρρα, οὐ κατὰ τᾶς χρονικῶς τοῦ ἑτοὺς ὥρας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀχρονως άκμας καὶ εὐκαιρίας ἐπανβοῦσα·

[456] λέγεται γὰρ· | “ἐπαναστρέφων ἦζω πρὸς σε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτον εἰς ὥρας, καὶ ἔξει νῦν Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ σου.”

XXIII. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δωρεῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς γενησομένοις τελείοις καὶ δι’ αὐτοὺς ο θεὸς ἔτεροις εἰσὶν χαρίζεσθαι, δεδήλωται. λέγεται δὲ ἔξης ὅτι “ἐπορεύθη Ἀβραὰμ καθὰ περ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ πρὸς.” τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἀριστᾶς ἰεροphiλοσοφήσασιν ἀδόμενον τέλος, τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζην· γίνεται δὲ, ὅταν ο νοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁρετής ἀτραπὸν ἐλθὼς κατ’ ἔξους ὀρθοῦ λόγου βαίνῃ καὶ ἐπηται θεῷ, τῶν προστάξεων αὐτοῦ διαμεμνημένος καὶ πάσας ἄεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐργοὺς τε καὶ λόγους βεβαιούμενος. “ἐπορεύθη γὰρ, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν

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\[a\] Here for the moment Noah represents the righteous mind in the soul, but in the rest of the section he is rather the righteous man in the race.

\[b\] Possibly, to judge from the similar passage in De Socr. 65, Shem, or perhaps more generally the ancestors of Abraham.

\[c\] See App. p. 563.
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great Flood,\textsuperscript{a} valiantly riding upon the waves that buoyed him up, stood firm high above every peril, and, when he had come safe through all, put forth from himself fair roots and great,\textsuperscript{b} out of which there grew up like a plant wisdom’s breed and kind; which, attaining goodly fertility, bore those threefold fruits of the seeing one, even of “Israel,” that mark the threefold divisions of eternity,\textsuperscript{c} Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; for in the All virtue is, shall be, has been: covered with a dark shadow, it may be, by men’s missings of the due season but revealed again by due season that ever follows in God’s steps. In such due season does “Sarah” who is sound sense, give birth to a man-child, putting forth her fruit not according to the changes of the year measured by lapse of time, but in accordance with a fitness and fulness of season that time does not determine: for it is said “I will certainly return unto thee according to this season when the time comes round; and Sarah thy wife shall have a son” (Gen. xviii. 10).

XXIII. We have now dealt with the subject of the gifts which God is wont to bestow both on those who are to become wise and for their sake on others. We are told next that “Abraham journeyed even as the Lord spoke to him” (Gen. xii. 4). This is the aim extolled by the best philosophers, to live agreeably to nature;\textsuperscript{d} and it is attained whenever the mind, having entered on virtue’s path, walks in the track of right reason and follows God, mindful of His injunctions, and always and in all places recognizing them all as valid both in action and in speech. For “he journeyed just as the

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. De Op. 3 and note. Philo here as elsewhere (e.g. Quis Rerum 214) is suggesting that Greek philosophy is derived from Moses.
αὐτῷ κύριος·” τοῦτο δὲ ἐστι τοιοῦτον· ὡς λαλεῖ ὁ θεὸς—λαλεῖ δὲ παγκάλως καὶ ἐπανετῶς—, οὕτως ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐκαστὰ δρᾶ τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνων ἀμέμπτως τοῦ βίου, ὡστε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγων αὕτω δὲ θείων. ἔτερωθι γοῦν φησιν ὅτι ἐποίησεν Ἀβραὰμ “πάντα τὸν νόμον μου”. νόμος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρα ἡ λόγος θείος προστάτων ἄ δεὶ καὶ ἀπαγορεύων ἄ μὴ χρή, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ φάσκων ὅτι “ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νόμον.” εἰ τοῖς νόμοις μὲν ἐστὶ θείος ὁ νόμος, ποιεῖ δ’ ὁ ἀστείος τὸν νόμον, ποιεῖ πάντως καὶ τὸν λόγον. ὅσθ’, ὀπερ ἐφην, τους τοῦ θεοῦ λόγους πράξεις εἶναι τοῦ σοφοῦ. τέλος οὖν ἐστι κατὰ τὸν ἱερωτάτου Μωυσήν τὸ ἔπεσθαι θεῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἔτέρωθι φησίν· “ὀπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ,” κινήσει <μὴ>¹ χρώμενον τῇ διὰ σκελῶν—ἀνθρώπου μὲν γὰρ ὁχήμα γῆ, θεοῦ δὲ ἐι καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος, οὐκ οἶδα—, ἀλλ’ ἐοικεν ἀλληγορεῖν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τὰ θεία δόγματα παριστάς ἀκολουθίαν, ὅτι ἡ ἀναφορά πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου γίνεται τιμήν. XXIV. ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸν ἀκάθεκτον πόθον τοῦ καλοῦ παραινεῖ καὶ κολλᾶσθαι αὐτῷ· “κύριον” γάρ φησι “τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθῇς καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσῃς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ.” τὸς οὖν ἡ κόλλα; τὸς; εὐσέβεια δήπου καὶ πίστις· ἀρμόζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἐνοῦσιν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀφθάρτω φύσει διάνοιαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ

¹ Some mss. κινήσει μὲν.

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a In the lxx, however, the verb is ἔφυλαξε, and not ἐποίησε which is demanded by the argument.

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Lord spake to him " : the meaning of this is that as God speaks—and He speaks with consummate beauty and excellence—so the good man does everything, blamelessly keeping straight the path of life, so that the actions of the wise man are nothing else than the words of God. So in another place He says, "Abraham did all My law" (Gen. xxvi. 5) : “Law” being evidently nothing else than the Divine word enjoining what we ought to do and forbidding what we should not do, as Moses testifies by saying "he received a law from His words" (Deut. xxxiii. 3 f.). If, then, the law is a Divine word, and the man of true worth "does" the law, he assuredly "does" the word: so that, as I said, God’s words are the wise man’s "doings." To follow God is, then, according to Moses, that most holy man, our aim and object, as he says elsewhere too, "thou shalt go in the steps of the Lord thy God" (Deut. xiii. 4). He is not speaking of movement by the use of our legs, for, while earth carries man, I do not know whether even the whole universe carries God; but is evidently employing figurative language to bring out how the soul should comply with those Divine ordinances, the guiding principle of which is the honouring of Him to Whom all things owe their being. XXIV. Using still loftier language to express the irrepressible craving for moral excellence, he calls on them to cleave to Him. His words are: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him shalt thou serve, and to Him shalt thou cleave" (Deut. x. 20). What then is the cementing substance? Do you ask, what? Piety, surely, and faith: for these virtues adjust and unite the intent of the heart to the incorruptible Being: as Abraham when he believed is said to "come near
πιστεύσας "έγγιζεν θεῷ" λέγεται. εὰν μέντοι πορεύόμενοι μήτε κάμη, ώς ὑπενδοὺς ὁκλάσαι, μήτε ῥαθυμήσῃ, ώς παρ’ ἐκάτερα ἐκτραπόμενος πλανάσθαι τῆς μέσης καὶ εὐθυτενὸς διαμαρτῶν ὅδου, μμησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς δρομεῖς τὸ στάδιον ἀπταίστος ἀνύση τοῦ βίου, στεφάνων καὶ ἀθλών ἐπαξίων τεύξεται πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἔλθων. ἦ οὖ τοῦτ’ εἰσὶν οἱ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ [457] ἄθλα, μὴ ἀναλήσαι τοῦ | τέλους τῶν πονηθέντων, ἀλλ’ ἐφικέσθαι τῶν δυσεφίκτων φρονήσεως περάτων; τί οὖν τοῦ φρονεῖν ὀρθώς ἐστὶ τέλος; ἀπροσφύγην ἐαυτοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ γενητοῦ καταψυχήσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι εἰδέναι πέρας ἐπιστήμης, ἐνὸς οίντος μόνου σοφοῦ τοῦ καὶ 135 μόνου θεοῦ. διὸ καὶ παγκάλως Μωυσῆς καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν γενομένων αὐτῶν εἰσήγαγεν εἰπών. "ἐίδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα οὐσία ἐποίησε, καὶ ιδοὺ καλὰ λίαιν." οὐδενὶ γὰρ εξῆν τὰ συσταθέντα κατιδεῖν ἄκρως ὅτι μὴ τῷ πεποιηκότι. πάριτε νῦν οἱ τύφου καὶ ἀπαίδευσίας καὶ πολλῆς ἀλαζονείας γέμοντες, οἱ δοκησίσοφοι καὶ μή μόνον ὁ ἐστὶν ἑκαστὸν εἰδέναι σαφῶς ἐπιφάσκοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας προσαποδιδόναι διὰ θρασύτητα τολμώντες, ὡσπερ ἦ τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσθαι παρατυχόντες καὶ ὡς ἑκαστα καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελεῖτο κατιδόθης ἥ σύμβουλοι περὶ τῶν κατασκευαζόμενων τῷ δημιουργῷ γενόμενοι. 137 εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάξ ἀπάντων μεθέμενοι γνωρί—

1 MSS. ἐτὶ φάσκοντες.
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to God” (Gen. xviii. 23). If, however, as 133 he goes on his way, he neither becomes weary, so that he gives in and collapses, nor grows remiss, so that he turns aside, now in this direction, now in that, and goes astray missing the central road that never diverges; but, taking the good runners as his example, finishes the race of life without stumbling, when he has reached the end he shall obtain crowns and prizes as a fitting guerdon. Are not the crowns and prizes 134 just this, not to have missed the end of his labours, but to have obtained those final aims of good sense that are so hard of attainment? What, then, is the end of right-mindedness? To pronounce on himself and all created being the verdict of folly; for the final aim of knowledge is to hold that we know nothing, He alone being wise, who is also alone God. Accordingly Moses does right well in representing 135 Him as both the Father of the universe and Overseer of the things created, where he says: “God saw all things which He had made, and lo! they were fair exceedingly” (Gen. i. 31): for it was not possible for anyone perfectly to see the things which had been formed save their Maker. Come forward 136 now, you who are laden with vanity and gross stupidity and vast pretence, you that are wise in your own conceit and not only declare (in every case) that you perfectly know what each object is, but go so far as to venture in your audacity to add the reasons for its being what it is, as though you had either been standing by at the creation of the world, and had observed how and out of what materials its several parts were fashioned, or had acted as advisers to the Creator regarding the things He was forming—come, I say, 137 and then, letting go all other things whatever, take
σατε έαυτους καί ούτινες έστε σαφῶς εἶπατε, κατὰ 
tὸ σῶμα, κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, κατὰ τὴν αἰσθήσειν, κατὰ 
tὸν λόγον, καθ’ ἐν τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον τῶν εἰδῶν. 
tί ἐστιν ὅρασις ἀποφήγνασθε καὶ πώς ὅρατε, τί ἂκοή 
καὶ πώς ἄκουστε, τί γεύσις, τί ἀφή, τί ὀσφρήσις καὶ 
pώς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐνεργεῖτε ἡ τίνες εἴσον αἱ τούτων 
πηγαί, ἀφ’ ὅν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ταῦτα συμβέβηκε. μὴ 
γὰρ μοι περὶ σελήνης καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα 
kατ’ οὐρανόν καὶ κόσμον οὔτως μακρὰν διωκισμέ-
νων καὶ τὰς φύσεις διαφερόντων ἀερομνητεῖτε, ὡ 
κενοὶ φρενῶν, πρὶν ἄνυτος ἐρεννῆσαι καὶ γνώναι. 
τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἰσως καὶ περὶ ἔτερων διεζιοῦσι 
πιστενεῖτο πρὶν δὲ ούτινες έστε αυτοὶ παραστῆσαι, 
μὴ νομίζετε κριταὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ μάρτυρες ἄψευδε-
οντος δὴ τοῦτον 
τον τρόπον 
τελεωθείς ό 
νους 
αποδώσει τὸ τέλος τῶ 
τελεσφορῶ 
θεῖο 
kατὰ τὸ ἱερῶτατον γράμμα· νόμος γάρ ἐστὶ τὸ 
tέλος εἶναι κυρίου. πότε οὖν ἀποδίδοσιν; ὅταν 
“ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὅν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 
tῇ τρίτῃ” παραγένηται, παρελθὼν τὰς πλείους 
μοίρας τῶν χρονικῶν διαστημάτων καὶ ἡδη πρὸς 
tὴν ἁρχην μεταβαίνων φύσιν· τότε γὰρ καὶ τὸn 
ἀγαπητῶν ὑών ἱερουργῆσει, οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπὸ—οὐ γὰρ 
tεκνοκτόνος ὃ σοφὸς—, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετώσης 
ψυχῆς γέννημα ἁρρέν, τὸν ἐπανθήσαντα καρπὸν 
αὐτῆς, οὐ πώς ἦνεγκεν οὐκ ἐγνώ, βλάστημα θείον.

a See App. p. 563.
b i.e. since God is all and self nothing. But perhaps 
“when these things are so,” “the mind being now perfected,”
i.e. when it has reached the τέλος described in § 133, after 
which the argument was interrupted to explain what the 
τέλος is.
knowledge of yourselves, and say clearly who you are, in body, in soul, in sense-perception, in reason and speech, in each single one, even the most minute, of the subdivisions of your being. Declare what sight is and how you see, what hearing is and how you hear, what taste, touch, smelling are, and how you act in accordance with each of them, or what are the springs and sources of these, from which is derived their very being. For pray do not, O ye senseless ones, spin your airy fables about moon or sun or the other objects in the sky and in the universe so far removed from us and so varied in their natures, until you have scrutinized and come to know yourselves. After that, we may perhaps believe you when you hold forth on other subjects: but before you establish who you yourselves are, do not think that you will ever become capable of acting as judges or trustworthy witnesses in the other matters.

XXV. This being the case, the Mind, when he has reached the summit, will render the sum of his tribute to God the consummator, in accordance with the all-holy writ, for there is a law that the sum is the Lord’s (Num. xxxi. 28 f.). When, then, does he render it? When he has arrived “on the third day at the place which God had told him of” (Gen. xxii. 3), having passed the greater number of the divisions of time, and already quitting them for the existence that is timeless: for then too he will sacrifice his only son, no human being (for the wise man is not a slayer of his offspring), but the male progeny of the rich and fertile soul, the fruit that blossomed upon it. How the soul bore it she does not know: it is a Divine growth; and

\[\text{Or “due.” Philo is playing on the double meaning of } \tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma.\]
οὐ φανέντος ἡ δόξασα κυοφορῆσαι τὴν ἀγνοιαν τοῦ συμβάντος ἀγαθοῦ διηγεῖται φάσκουσα· "τίς ἀναγγελεὶ Ἀβραὰμ" ὡς ἀπιστοῦντι1 δήπου περὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς γένους ἀνατολήν, ὧτι "θηλάζει παιδίῶν Σάρρα," οὔχι πρὸς Σάρρας θηλάζεται; τὸ γὰρ αὐτοδίδακτον τρέφεται μὲν ὑπ' οὐδενός, | [458] τροφή δ' ἐστὶν ἅλλον, ἀτε ἰκανὸν διδάσκειν καὶ 141 μανθάνειν οὐ δεόμενον. "ἔτεκον γὰρ νιόν," οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκες Αἰγυπτιαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῆν, ἀλλ' ὡς αἱ Ἑβραίαι ψυχαι, "ἐν τῷ γήρα μου," ὅτε τὰ μὲν ὡσα αἰσθητὰ καὶ θυντα μεμάρανται, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἀνήβηκεν, α 142 γέρως καὶ τιμῆς ἐστὶν ἐπάξια. καὶ ἔτεκον μανικυκῆς τέχνης οὐ προσδεηθείσα· τίκτομεν γὰρ καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τινας ἑπικοινωνιας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνευ τῶν ἐξ ἑθους συνεργοὺντων, οπείροντος καὶ γεννώντος θεοῦ τα ἀστεία γεννήματα, τα δὸντι προσηκόντως κατὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐμνηστησία τεθέντα νόμον ἀποδίδοται· "τὰ γὰρ δωρά μου, δόματα μου, καρπώματα μου" φησὶ "ἀπαρνήσασθε προσφέρειν ἐμοί." 143 XXVI. Τούτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ὀδοῦ τῶν ἐπομένων λόγους καὶ προστάξει νομίμως καὶ ταύτη βαδιζόντων, ὃ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀφηγηται· ὁ δὲ

1 mss. ἀπειθοῦντι.

a See App. p. 563.
b "Midwife," in allusion to Ex. i. 19; "goodly," to Ex. ii. 2 (lxx. ἀστεῖον: cf. Heb. xi. 23). The connexion of thought in §§ 139-142 is as follows. The idea that Isaac's sacrifice typifies the offering of the soul's consummation suggests other thoughts about this soul-birth: (1) that the soul is unconscious of what it is bearing, (2) that it comes in the 212
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when it appeared she that seemed to have given birth to it acknowledges her ignorance of the good thing that had occurred in the words “who shall announce to Abraham” (for she assumed that he did not believe in the rising up of the breed that learns without a teacher), “who shall tell Abraham that Sarah is suckling a child” (Gen. xxi. 7)? It does not say “a child is being suckled by Sarah,” for the kind that is taught without a teacher is nourished by no one, but is a source of nourishment to others, being capable of teaching and not needing to learn. “For I bare a son,” she continues, not as Egyptian women do in their bodily prime (Ex. i. 19), but as the Hebrew souls do, “in my old age” (Gen. xxi. 7), at a time, that is, when all things that are mortal and objects of sense-perception have decayed, while things immortal and intellectually discerned have grown young again, meet recipients of honour and esteem. Furthermore, “I gave birth” without requiring extraneous aid from the midwife’s skill: for we give birth even before there come in to us any imaginations of man’s knowledge, without the co-operation that custom supplies, for God begets and sows the seed of those goodly births, which, as is meet and right, are rendered to Him Who gave them, in fulfilment of the law laid down for thanksgiving: “My gifts, My endowments, My fruits” He says, “be careful to offer unto Me” (Num. xxviiii. 2).

XXVI. This is the end of the way of those who follow the words and injunctions of the law, and march in whatever direction God leads the way: but

ripeness of spiritual “old age”; and this contrast between Sarah and the Egyptians suggests a further contrast, namely that the Hebrew-soul needs no “midwife.”
ΦΙΛΟ

ὑπενδοὺς ύπο τοῦ πεινώντος ἡδονῆς καὶ λίχου
παθῶν, ὄνομα Ἀμαλήκ—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ λαὸς
ἐκλείξων—, ἐκτετμῆσται. μηνύουσι δὲ οἱ χρησμοὶ
ὅτι λοχῶν ὁ τρόπος οὗτος, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ἐρρωμενέ-
στερον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως κατίδη περαιωθέν,
ὑπανιστάμενος τῆς ἐνέδρας τὸ κεκμηκὸς μέρος ὡς
"οὐραγίαν κόπτει.") κάματος δ' ο μὲν
ἐστιν εὐεγενδοτος ἀσθενεία λογισμοῦ μή δυναμένου
tοὺς ὑπὲρ ᾗ ἀρετῆς ἀχθοφορῆσαι πόνους, ἐν ἐσχαταίς
οὗτος εὐρυσκόμενος εὐαλωτότατος, ὃ δὲ ἐστὶν
ὑπομονὴ τῶν καλῶν, τὰ μὲν καλὰ ἀθρόω ἐρρωμέ-
nως ἀναδεχομένως, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν φαύλων, κἂν εἰ
κουφότατον εἴη, βαστάσαι δικαίων, ἄλλ' ὡς βαρύ-
τατον ἀχθων ἀπορριπτῶν.

διὸ καὶ τὴν
ἀρετὴν ὁ νόμος εὐθυβόλω προσεῖπεν ὁνόματι Δειάν,
ητὶς ερμηνευθείσα λέγεται κοπιώσα: τὸν γὰρ τῶν
φαύλων βίον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρὺν ὃντα φύσει κοπώδη
προσηκόντως αὕτη νενόμικε καὶ οὐδὲ προσιδεῖ
αξιότ, τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀποκλίνουσα.

σπουδαζέτω δ' ο νοῦς μή μόνον
ἀνενδότως καὶ εὐτόνως ἔπεσθαι θεῷ, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν
εὐθείαν ἀτραπόν ιέναι πρὸς μηδέτερα νεῦων, μήτε
tὰ δεξιὰ μήτε τὰ εὐώνυμα, οἷς ὁ γῆινος Ἐδώμ
ἐμπεφόλευκε, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπερβολαῖς καὶ περιουσίαις,
tοτὲ δὲ ἐλλείψει καὶ ἐνδείᾳς χρώμενος. ἀμεινον

1 Mss. ὑπ'.

a As Heinemann suggests, there may be a play on λεῖχων and λοχών.

b For Philo's treatment of this interpretation of Leah's name see note on De Cher. 41.
the man who gives in under the assaults of the foe, who hungers after pleasure and is lickerish for passion, whose name is "Amalek," which means "a people licking up"—this man shall find himself cut off. The oracles signify that the Amalek type of character lies in ambush, when it is aware that the more stalwart portion of the soul-army has gone by, rises up from its ambuscade and "smites or 'cuts' the hindmost" (Deut. xxv. 17 f.) or the labouring rear. "Labouring" may be used of a readiness to give in, a feebleness of reason's functioning, an inability to bear the burdens needed to win virtue. This is a condition which, when found lagging at the extreme rear, falls an easy prey. Or the word may connote brave endurance in a noble cause, a sturdy readiness to undertake all noble tasks together, a refusal to support the weight of any base thing, though it be the very lightest, nay a rejection of it as though it were the heaviest burden.

Hence it comes that the Law gave Virtue the appropriate name "Leah," which when translated is "growing weary"; for Virtue has, as she well may do, made up her mind that the way of life of the wicked, so essentially burdensome and heavy, is full of weariness, and she refuses so much as to look at it, turning her gaze away from it and fixing it on the morally beautiful alone.

But let the mind be bent not only on following God with alert and unfailing steps, but also on keeping the straight course. Let it not incline to either side, either to what is on the right hand or to what is on the left, where Edom, of the earth earthy, has his lurking holes, and thus be the victim now of excesses and extravagances, now of shortcomings and deficiencies. For better is it to
γάρ οὖν τῇ μέσῃ βαδίζειν ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν βασιλικῇ, ἣν ὁ μέγας καὶ μόνος βασιλεὺς θεὸς ταῖς φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς ηὐρύνει ἐνδιαίτημα κάλλιστον. 147 διὸ καὶ τίνες τῶν τὴν ἠμέραν καὶ κοινωνίκην μεταχείρων μεσότητας τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶπον εἶναι, ἐν μεθορίῳ στήσαντες αὐτὰς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε [459] ὑπέραυχον ἀλαζονείας γέμον πολλῆς | κακὸν καὶ τὸ¹ ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀφανὸς μεταποιεῖσθαι σχῆματος εὐεπίβατον, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν κεκραμένον ἐπεικῶς ὑφέλιμον.

148 XXVII. Τὸ δὲ " ὕχετο μετ' αὐτοῦ Λῶτ" τίνα ἔχει λόγον σκεπτέον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν Λῶτ ἔρμηνευθείς ἀπόκλισις· κλίνεται δὲ ὁ νοῦς τοτε μὲν τάγαθος, τοτε δ' αὖ τὸ κακὸν ἀποστρεφόμενος. ἀμφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὰς περὶ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται· εἰδί γὰρ τίνες ἐνδοιασταὶ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερισταὶ, πρὸς ἕκατον τοῖχον ὥσπερ σκάφος ὑπ' ἐναντίων πνευμάτων διαφερόμενον ἀποκλίνοντες ἢ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάσιγγος ἀντιρρέποντες, ἐφ' ἐνὸς στηριξθήναι βεβαιως ἀδυνατοῦντες, ὅν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀμείνω τροπὴν ἐπαινετέον· φορὰ γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ γνώμη γίνεται. τοῦτων καὶ ὁ Λῶτ ἐστι θιασῶτης, ὅν φησιν οἴχεσθαι μετα τοῦ σοφίας ἔραστοῖ. καλὸν δ' ἢν ἀρξάμενον ἀκείνῳ παρακολουθεῖν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν καὶ μηκέτί παλινдрομῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὴν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ἐνεκα τοῦ μιμησάμενον τὸν ἀμείνω βελτιωθῆναι συνέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάκεινω παρασχεῖν ἀντιστάσιματα

¹ MSS. τοῦ.  
² MSS. θεατής.

α For the thought of this section see Quod Deus Deus 162 ff., where the meaning of "excess" and "deficiency" is fully explained.

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walk on the central road, the road that is truly "the king's" (Num. xx. 17), seeing that God, the great and only King, laid it out a broad and goodly way for virtue-loving souls to keep to. Hence it is that some of those who followed the mild and social form of philosophy, have said that the virtues are means, fixing them in a borderland, feeling that the overweening boastfulness of a braggart is bad, and that to adopt a humble and obscure position is to expose yourself to attack and oppression, whereas a fair and reasonable mixture of the two is beneficial.

XXVII. We have to consider what is meant by "Lot went with him" (Gen. xii. 4). "Lot" by interpretation is "turning aside" or "inclining away." The mind "inclines," sometimes turning away from what is good, sometimes from what is bad. Oftentimes both tendencies are observable in one and the same person: for some men are irresolute, facers both ways, inclining to either side like a boat tossed by winds from opposite quarters, or swaying up and down as though on a pair of scales, incapable of becoming firmly settled on one: with such there is nothing praiseworthy even in their taking a turn to the better course; for it is the result not of judgement but of drift. Of this crew Lot is a member, who is said to have left his home with the lover of wisdom. When he had set out to follow his steps, it would have been well for him to unlearn lack of learning and to have retraced his steps to it no more. The fact is, however, that he comes with him, not that he may imitate the man who is better than he and so gain improvement, but actually to create obstacles which pull him back, and drag him elsewhere and

b Probably a definite reference to the Peripatetic school.
καὶ μεθολκᾶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐνθεν <καὶ ἐνθεν> 1
150 ὀλίσθουσ. τεκμηρίων δὲ· ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον οἰχήσεται ληθείς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τὰς ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιβουλας αὐτοῦ φυλαξάμενος πάση μηχανή διοικισθήσεται.

τὸν δὲ διοικισμὸν αὖθις μὲν, ὅπως δὲ ποιήσεται, νῦν μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεωρήματα αὐτῷ ὡς ἃν ἄρτι ἀρχομένως τῆς θείας θεωρίας πλαδὰ καὶ σαλεύει· ὅταν δὲ ἡδή παγέντα κραταίοτερον ἰδρυθῇ, δυνήσεται τὸ δελεάζον καὶ κολακεύον ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀκατάλλακτον καὶ δυσθήρατον φύσει.

151 διαζύγεσθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὁ δυσαπότριπτον2 οὖν παρέπεται ψυχῆ κωλύνον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑκυδρομεῖν· τοῦθ', ἡνίκα καὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίου ἀπελείπομεν, τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν ἀπασαν, ἀπομαθεῖν τὰ πάθη σπουδάσαντες κατὰ τὰς τοῦ προφήτου λόγου, Μωυσέως,3 ύφηγήσεις, ἠκολούθησεν ήμῖν, ἐλλαμβανόμενον τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐξοδον σπονδής καὶ τῶν τάχει τῆς ἀπολείψεως υπὸ βραδυτήτας

152 ἐμποιοῦν· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι "καὶ ἐπίμικτος πολὺς συνανέβη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρὸβατα καὶ βόες καὶ κτήνες πολλὰ σφόδρα," ὁ δὲ ἐπίμικτος οὗτος ἢ τὰ κτηνώδη καὶ ἄλογα τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰ δὲι τάληθες εἰπεῖν, δόγματα. XXVIII. παγκάλως δὲ καὶ εὐθυβόλως τὴν τοῦ φαύλου ψυχῆν ἐπίμικτον καλεῖ· συνηρμηνεύει γὰρ καὶ συμπεριφορμένη καὶ μιγάς ὅντως ἐκ

1 κατὰ τὴν ἐνθεν <καὶ ἐνθεν>, sc. ὀδὸν G.H.W.: Wend. conjectures κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἐμποιεῖν (or ἐνθεῖναι).
2 Mangey δυσαπότριπτον, which suits parépetai better.
3 MSS. κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ προφήτου λόγου (one MS. λόγον) Μω. so Mangey, who inserts (again with one ms.) καὶ after Μω.: Wend.'s correction is certainly right, cf. De Cong. 170 ὁ προφήτης λόγος ὅνομα Μωυσῆς.

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make him slip in this direction or that. Here is a proof of it. We shall find Lot having a relapse, suffering from the old complaint, carried off a prisoner of war by the enemies in the soul; and Abraham, resorting to every device to guard against his ambuscades and attacks, setting up separate quarters.\textsuperscript{a}

This separation he will effect later on, but not as yet. For at present he is but a novice in the contemplation and study of things Divine and his principles are unformed and wavering. By and by they will have gained consistency and rest on a firmer foundation, and he will be able to dissociate from himself the ensnaring and flattering element as an irreconcilable and elusive foe. For it is this from which the soul can so hardly disengage itself as it clings to it and hinders it from making swift progress in reaching virtue. This it was, when we were abandoning Egypt, all the bodily region, and were hastening to unlearn the passions in obedience to the instructions of the word of prophecy,\textsuperscript{b} even Moses,—it was this, I say, that followed us, checking our zeal to be gone, and moved by envy to retard the speed of our departure: for we read “and a mixed multitude went up with them, both sheep and oxen and beasts very many” (Ex. xii. 38), and this mixed multitude was, in fact, the soul’s herd of beast-like doctrines. XXVIII. And very well and appropriately does he call the soul of the bad man “mixed”: for it is brought together and collected and a medley in

\textsuperscript{a} See App. p. 564.
\textsuperscript{b} A reference to Ex. xii. 11, quoted with the same interpretation above, § 25.
\textsuperscript{c} “both” better than “and” as the next words show, though later the thought is changed, and the \textit{έπιμικτος} becomes human.
πλειόνων καὶ μαχομένων δοξῶν, μία μὲν οὖσα

153 ἀριθμῷ, μυριᾶς δὲ τῷ πολυτρόπῳ. διό καὶ τῷ ἐπίμικτος πρόσκειται πολύς· ὃ μὲν γάρ πρὸς ἐν μόνον ἀφορῶν ἀπλοὺς καὶ ἀμιγής καὶ λείος ὕπτως, ὃ δὲ πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτιθέμενος πολύς καὶ μυγᾶς καὶ δασὺς ἀληθεία. οὐ χάριν οἱ χρησμοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀσκητήν τῶν καλῶν Ἰακώβ λείον, τὸν δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων Ἡσαῦ δασύν εἰσάγουσι. διὰ τὸν ἐπίμικτον καὶ δασύν τοῦτον ὄχλον ἐκ μυγῶν καὶ συγκλύδων συμπεφυρμένον δοξῶν ὕκυδρομήσαι δυνάμενος νοῦς, ὅτε τὴν σωματικὴν χώραν ἀπεδίδρασεν Ἀζυγυππον, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις διαδέξασθαι τὸν ἀρετῆς κλῆρον φωτὶ τρισσῶ, μνήμη τῶν παρεληλυθότων καὶ ἐναργεῖα τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι, τεσσαράκοντα τῶν παρόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι, τεσσαράκοντα ἀριθμοῦ, μήκος τοσοῦτος κρόνου, τρίβεται τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγων καὶ ἀλώμενος ἔνεκα τοῦ πολυτρόπου, τὴν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ἀνυσιμωτάτην οὖσαν δέον.

155 οὕτος ἦστιν ὃ μὴ μόνον ὄλιγος εἶδεσιν ἐπιθυμίας χαίρων, ἄλλα μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολυτεῖν δικαιῶν, ἵνα ὄλον δι’ ὄλων τὸ γένος, ὃ πάντως ἐξιτεῖ τὸν ἐμφρέτας, μετέρχηται· λέγεται γάρ ὅτι "ὁ ἐπίμικτος ὃ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπεθύμησεν ἐπιθυμίαιν" αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους, ὃς ἔνωσ τινος τῶν εἰδῶν, "καὶ καθίσαντες ἐκλαίον." συνήσῃ γὰρ ὄλιγο-

1 mss. ἐνεργείᾳ.

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a Philo takes ἐπιθυμίαν, which in the LXX. is a cognate accusative representing the familiar Hebrew way of intensifying the verb (though that more often employs the dative; cf. Leg. All. i. 90), as if it was the direct object of ἐπεθύμησεν. The verb does occasionally take an accusative, though...
very deed, consisting of many discordant opinions, one in number but myriad in its manifoldness. For this reason it is called a "multitude" or "numerous" as well as "mixed"; for he that has an eye to a single aim only is single and unmixed and truly smooth and level, but he that sets before himself many aims for his life is manifold and mixed and truly rough. It is for this reason that the oracles represent Jacob, the trainer of himself for nobility, as smooth, but Esau, who exercised himself in basest things, as rough with hair (Gen. xxvii. 11).

What befell the Mind, when it escaped from Egypt the country of the body, was due to this mixed and rough multitude, a conglomeration of promiscuous and diverse opinions. It could have made rapid progress and in three days (Gen. xxii. 3) have entered upon the inheritance of virtue by a threefold light, memory of things gone by, clear sight of things present, and the expectation of things to come. Instead of this, for the space of forty years, for all that length of time, it wears itself out wandering and going round circle-wise, in obedience to the "manifold" element with its many twistings, when it behoved it to have taken the straight way which was the speediest. It is this mixed multitude which takes delight not in a few species of lusting only, but claims to leave out nothing at all, that it may follow after lust's entire genus, including all its species. For we read "the mixed people that was among them 'craved after lust,'" after the genus itself, not some single species, 'and sat down and wept'" (Num. xi. 4).
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δρανούσα ἢ διάνοια καὶ, ὅποτε μὴ δύναται τυχεῖν ἢν ὀρέγεται, δακρύει καὶ στενάζεις κατοι ὦφειλε χαίρειν παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων ἀτυχούσα καὶ μεγάλην εὐπραγίαν νομίζειν τὴν ἐνδειαν καὶ ἀπουσίαν 156 αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀρετῆς σφαδαξεῖν καὶ δακρύειν ἐθος, ἢ τὰς τῶν ἀφρόνων ὁδυρομένους συμφορᾶς διὰ τὸ φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡ διὰ περιχάρειαν. γίνεται δὲ αὕτη, ὅταν ἄθροα ἀγαθὰ μηδὲ προσδοκηθέντα ποτὲ αἰφνίδιον ὀμβρήσαντα πλημμυρῆ ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εἰρήσθαι μοι δοκεῖ "δακρυόεν γελάσασα" 157 σασα" προσσεσοῦσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνελπίστου ἢ εὐπαθείων ἀρίστη χαρὰ ψυχῆ μείζωνα αὕτην ἢ πρότερον ἢν ἐποίησεν, ὡς διὰ τὸν ὄγκον μηκέτι χωρεῖν τὸ σῶμα, θλιβόμενον δὲ καὶ πιεζόμενον ἀποστάξεως λυβάδας, ἄς καλεῖν ἐθος δάκρυα, περὶ ἦν ἐν ὕμνος εἴρηται "ψωμεῖς ἡμᾶς ἀρτοὶ δακρύων" καὶ "ἐγένετο τὰ δάκρυα μοι ἄρτος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς." τροφὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ διανοίας τὰ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαίου γέλωτος ἐμφανῆ δάκρυα, ἐπειδὰν ὁ θειὸς ἐνταξεὶς Ἰμερος τὸν τοῦ γεννητοῦ θρήνον ἀσμα εἰς τὸν ἀγένητον ὕμνον ποιήσῃ. 1

158 XXIX. Ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν τὸν μιγάδα καὶ δασύν τοῦτον ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ διατείχουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τῶν θεοφιλεῖ μόνω γένει χαίροντες ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐταιρίαν τίθενται, μεσιτεύειν τὸν

1 MSS. ποιήσειεν.

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a Hom. II. vi. 484.
b E.V. "Thou hast fed us." The future perhaps makes Philo’s perversion of the meaning a little less unreasonable.
ing is conscious of its feebleness, and when it cannot obtain what it is longing for, it weeps and groans; and yet it had cause to rejoice at missing passions and sicknesses, and to consider the dearth and absence of them great prosperity. And yet indeed it is not unusual for the devotees of virtue themselves to be much moved and to shed tears, either when bemoaning the misfortunes of the unwise owing to their innate fellow-feeling and humaneness, or by reason of being overjoyed. This last occurs when, as is sometimes the case, a sudden shower of unexpected good things falls, and they come all at once like a flood. I fancy that it is to this that we must refer the expression of the poet,

She laughed with glad tears in her eyes.\(^a\)

For joy, that best of the good emotions, when it has fallen upon the soul unexpectedly, makes it larger than it was before, so that owing to its size the body has no longer room for it, and as it is squeezed and compressed it distils moist drops, which we are in the habit of calling "tears." Of these it is said in the Psalms, "Thou shalt feed us\(^b\) with the bread of tears" (Ps. lxxix. [lxxx.] 6), and "My tears have been my bread by day and by night" (Ps. xli. [xlii.] 4). For tears, that rise to the surface from the inward heart-felt laughter, are food to the understanding, coming when the love of God has sunk deep in and turned the dirge of created being into a canticle of praise to the Uncreate.

XXIX. While some regard this rough and motley type as outcast, and keep it at a distance from themselves, having delight in the God-beloved kind only, others actually form ties of fellowship with it,
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εαυτῶν βίον ἀξιοῦντες καὶ μεθόριον ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων ἄρετῶν τιθέντες, ἵν’ ἐκατέρων ἐφάπ-
159 τωνται, καὶ τῶν ἀληθειάς καὶ τῶν δοκήσεων. τούτου τοῦ δόγματος ὁ πολιτευόμενος ἄντο τρόπος, ὃν Ἰωσήφ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος, δ’ συναπέρχονται μέλλοντι τὸν πατέρα κηδεύειν "πάντες οἱ παιδεὶς Φαραώ καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πανουκία αὐτοῦ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοί αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ 160 οἰκία ἡ πατρικὴ αὐτοῦ.” ὅρας ὃ τι μέσος τῆς Φαραώ καὶ τῆς πατρικῆς οἰκίας ὁ πολιτικὸς οὖσοι τάττεται, ἢν καὶ τῶν κατὰ σῶμα, τήν Αἰγυπτον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἀπερ ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ οἶκῳ θεσαυροφυλακεῖται, κατ’ ἵσον ἐφάπτεται; ὅταν 161 μὲν γὰρ λέγη "τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι” καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτως, τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος οἰκίας ἐμένει νομίμως· ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ "τὸ δευτερεῖον ἄρμα” τοῦ βασιλεύειν νοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀνέρχεται, Φαραώ, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν πάλιν ἱδρύεται τύφον. ἄθλιωτερὸς δ’ ὁ νομιζόμενος ἐνδοξότερος εἶναι βασιλεύς, ὃς τῷ προηγουμένῳ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐποχεῖται· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἐν καλοῖς διαπρέπειν ἐπιφανέστατον αἰσχὸς, ὃς τὸ φέρεσθαι τὰ ἐν τούτοις δευτερεῖα κουφότερον κακόν.

162 τὸ μέντοι γε ἐπαμφοτερίζον αὐτοῦ καταμάθῃ τῶν ὦρκων οὐς πεποίηται, τοτὲ μὲν ὅμως "νὴ τὴν ὑγείαν Φαραώ,” τοτέ δ’ ἐμπαλιν

1 mss. ἐφήται (ἐφείται).
holding that their own place in human life should be midway, set as a borderland between virtues human and Divine, and thus they aim at being in touch with both the real and the reputed virtues. To this school belongs the politician's frame of mind, to which it is customary to give the name "Joseph." When he is about to bury his father there go off with him "all the servants of Pharaoh and the elders of his house and all the elders of Egypt and all his whole household," Joseph and his brethren and all his father's house" (Gen. 1. 7 f.). Do you notice that this politician takes his position in the midst between the house of Pharaoh and his father's house? that his object is to be equally in touch with the concerns of the body, which is Egypt, and those of the soul which are kept as in a treasury in his father's house? For when he says "I belong to God" (Gen. 1. 19) and other things of this kind, he is abiding by the customs of his father's house. But when he mounts "the second chariot" of the mind that fancies itself a king, even Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 43), he again sets up the idol of Egyptian vanity. Though indeed more wretched than he is the king who is thought to be more glorious, who rides in the principal chariot: for to win distinction in things that are without moral beauty is a most patent disgrace, just as to carry off the second prize in such things is a less weighty evil. Of his proneness to face both ways you may get an idea from the oaths which he is represented as taking, at one moment swearing "yea by the health of Pharaoh" (Gen. xliii. 16) and then on the contrary, "no, by the

a The LXX has ἡ πανοικία Ιωσήφ (evidently genitive), but Philo's comments shew that he took it as in the translation.
b See App. p. 564. πάλιν perhaps "on the other hand."
"οὐ τὴν ὕγειαν Φαραώ." ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περιέχων τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅρκος τῆς πατρικῆς ἂν εἴη διάταγμα οἰκίας ἂεὶ φονώσῃς κατὰ τοῦ πάθους καὶ βουλομένης αὐτὸ τεθνάναι, ὁ δ' ἐτερος Αἰγύπτου, ή 163 φίλον ἐστὶ τούτῳ σύζεσθαι. διότερ καίτοι τοσούτης πληθύος συνανιούσης ἐπιμικτον ὅχλον οὐκ ἐπεί, ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν ἄκρως δρατικῷ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ πᾶν ὁ μὴ ἀρετὴ η ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀναμεμίχθαι καὶ συγκεκύσθαι δοκεῖ, τῷ δὲ ἔτι χαμαιζῆλῳ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ γῆς ἀθλα ἀξιέραστα καὶ ἄξιοτίμητα νενόμισται.

164 XXX. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ὃς κηφίνα τοὺς μελιττῶν ὅφελόμοις πόνους λυμαίνεσθαι διεγνωκότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπακολουθοῦντα διατείχει, καθάπερ έφην, ὁ φρονήσεως ἐραστής, τοὺς δὲ ἐνεκα μιμήσεως παρεπόμενους κατὰ τὸν τῶν καλῶν ζῆλον ἀποδέξεται μολρας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀρμοττούσας δασάμενος: "τῶν" γὰρ φησὶ "συμπορευθέντων ἀνδρῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ 'Εσχώλ, Αὐνάν, Μαμβρῆ οὕτω λήψονται μερίδα"· λέγει δὲ τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τρόπους καὶ φιλοθεάμων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ 'Εσχώλ εὐφυεὶς σύμβολον 1 μελιττῶν is my conjecture for the ms. μὲν αὐτῶν. See App. p. 564.

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a The LXX has νη (some texts μα) τὴν ὕγειαν Φαραώ, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθητε. Philo presumably found οὐ in his copy. It will make the point a little more sensible, if we understand him to take the words "I will not swear by the health of Pharaoh, (but) you shall not go forth."

b The meaning of the section seems to be as follows. To the Israel mind the mixed cavalcade of Ex. xii. is confusion; that of Gen. l. is not so to the Joseph mind. Moses regulates his language in speaking of each multitude by what the two minds would think of them.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 162–165

health of Pharaoh” a (Gen. xlii. 15). The oath containing the negative is one that his father’s house would prescribe, being always a mortal foe to passion and wishing it dead; the other oath is one that Egypt might prescribe, for passion’s welfare is dear to it. It is for all these reasons that, though so great a number went up with Joseph, Moses does not call them a mixed multitude; for whereas in the view of the man whose vision is quite perfect and who is a lover of virtue, all that is not virtue and virtue’s doing seems to be mixed up and to be in confusion, in the eyes of the man who still cherishes low aims earth’s prizes are deemed to be in themselves worthy of love and worthy of honour. b

XXX. The lover of sound sense will, therefore, as I said, set a barrier between him and the man who, like a drone, has set himself to make havoc of the useful labours of the bees, and who follows for the sake of doing this, while those who in their enthusiasm for all that is morally excellent accompany them on their journey from a wish to copy them, he will welcome and allot to them such portions as are suitable: for Abraham says “of the men that journeyed with me Eshcol and Aunan, c these shall receive Mamre as their portion” (Gen. xiv. 24); meaning characters well endowed by nature and lovers of the higher vision. For Eshcol is a symbol of good natural ability, his

though Wend.’s punctuation evidently takes Mamre (as no doubt it is) as nom., Philo’s language shews clearly that Mamre is, not has, the κλήρος. That he should so take it, is not surprising. Except here and perhaps in Gen. xiv. 13, he would find no suggestion that Mamre was a man. It is either a town or occurs in the phrase ἡ δρῦς Μαμβρῆ. Even in Gen. xiv. 13 the words might without violation of grammar be so taken as to avoid such a suggestion.

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πυρός ἔχων ὄνομα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ | εὐφυεῖς εὐτολμοῦν καὶ ἐνθερμοῦν καὶ ἐχόμενον ὃν ἂν προσάψῃται, ὁ δὲ Αὐνάν τοῦ φιλοθεάμους—ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται—τῷ καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς ὑπ᾽ εὐθυμίας ὀμματα διοίγνουσαι. τούτων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἔστιν ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος κλήρος, προσαγορευόμενος Μαμβρῆ, ὁ μεταληθήνων ἀπὸ ὅδρασεως καλεῖται τῷ δὲ θεωρητικῷ τὸ ὅραν συνωδόν τε καὶ οἰκειότατον.

166 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτοις ἀλείπτας χρησάμενος ὁ νοῦς μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἄσκησιν, συνομαρτεῖ καὶ συντρέχει τελεία φρονήσει, μήθ᾽ ὑπερέχων μήθ᾽ ὑπερχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἵσαίτατα καὶ ἰσοστασία βαίνων. δηλοῦ δὲ τὸ λόγιον ἐν ὧ σαφῶς εἴρηται, διότι "πορευθέντες ἀμφότεροι ἀμ᾽ ἠλθοῦ επὶ τὸν θεόν." ὑπερβάλλουσα γε ἰσότης ἀρετῶν, ἀμιλλησαμένων πόνου μὲν πρὸς εὐεξίαν, τέχνης δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοδίδακτον φύσιν, καὶ δυνηθέντων ἵσα τὰ ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἑνέγκασθαι. ὅσπερ ἄν εἰ ἥξον ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ὅν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. "ἐφεύρεται τῷ φυσικῷ ἰσοτοιχίᾳ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀμιλλησαμένων." 1

1 Wend. prints ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται τῷ κτλ. without dashes. But clearly the opening of the soul's eye is not the reason why the name Aunan means eyes.

2 For ὑπ᾽ εὐθυμίας (most mss. ὑπὲρ) see App. p. 565.

3 mss. and Wend. ἀνήλθον: the correction (Heinemann's) is certain. The reference is to Gen. xxii. 8, not, as W. supposed, Gen. xxii. 3. That they came together is the point of both this and the following section.

4 mss. ἀμίλλης ἀμείνων.

167 ἢ πορευθέντες ἀμφότεροι ἀμ᾽ ἠλθοῦ επὶ τὸν θεόν." ὑπερβάλλουσα γε ἰσότης ἀρετῶν, ἀμιλλησαμένων πόνου μὲν πρὸς εὐεξίαν, τέχνης δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοδίδακτον φύσιν, καὶ δυνηθέντων ἵσα τὰ ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἑνέγκασθαι. ὅσπερ ἄν εἰ ἥξον ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ὅν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. "ἐφεύρεται τῷ φυσικῷ ἰσοτοιχίᾳ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀμιλλησαμένων." 1 Wend. prints ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται τῷ κτλ. without dashes. But clearly the opening of the soul's eye is not the reason why the name Aunan means eyes.

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4 mss. ἀμίλλης ἀμείνων.

The gist of this and the preceding sections may be summed up thus. When the Abraham soul of Gen. xiv. has
name meaning "fire," for natural ability like fire is full of daring, and hot, and fastens on whatever it touches. Aunan represents the vision-lover, for it means "eyes," since the eyes of the soul also are opened by cheerfulness. And of both of these the contemplative life is the inheritance receiving the name of Mamre, which in our language is "from seeing"; and there is an intimate connexion between seeing and contemplation.

When the mind, having such trainers as these, omits nothing that will make for its training, it runs by the side of perfect sound sense, neither getting in front nor dropping behind, but taking strides of the same length and strength. This is manifest from the plain statement of the oracle that they "both journeyed and came together to the place of which God had told him" (Gen. xxii. 8). There is indeed an extraordinary equality in virtues, when labour has vied with natural fitness, and acquired skill with self-tutored nature, and the pair have proved capable of carrying off virtue's prizes in equal measure. It is just as though painting and sculpture were producing not only as they do now creations destitute of movement and life, but had the power to make the works of brush and chisel living and moving things; it would then be felt, that whereas they were formerly arts copying Nature's works, they had now become themselves embodiments of nature.°

been trained by journeyings with the εὐφυής and the φιλοθεάμων, it will rise to the stage of the Abraham of Gen. xxii., who went together with Isaac, that is διδακτική ἀρετή side by side with αὐτομαθὴς ἀρετή. When this higher stage is reached, the old antithesis between labour and natural gifts, between art the imitator and nature the creator, is wiped out. See further App. p. 565.
XXXI. δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνω μετέωρος ἐξαρθεὶς οὐδὲν ἐτί τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν κάτω τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἐάσει, πάντα δ᾽ ἄσπερ ἐκ σειρᾶς ἐκκρεμασθέντα συνεπιστάσεται. διὸ καὶ λόγιον ἐχρήσθη τῶ σοφῶ τοιόνδε: "ἀνάβηθι πρὸς κύριόν σου, ὦ καὶ Ἀαρών καὶ Ναδάβ καὶ Ἀβιοῦδ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τῆς γερουσίας Ἰσραήλ." τούτῳ δὲ ἐστὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνάβηθι, ὃ ψυχή, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θέαν εὐαρμόστως, λογικώς, ἐκουσίως, ἀφόβως, ἀγαπητικῶς, ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ τελείοις ἐβδομάδοις δεκαπλασιασθείσης. Ἀαρών μὲν γὰρ προφήτης λέγεται Ἔμοσέως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ὃ γεγωνὸς ὁ λόγος προφητεύων διανοίᾳ, Ναδάβ δὲ ἐκούσιος ἐμφνεύεται, ὃ μὴ ἀνάγκη τιμῶν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ Ἀβιοῦδ πατὴρ μου ὁ πότε ὁ μὴ δι᾽ ἀφροσύνην δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἡ πατρὸς διὰ φρόνησιν ἄρχοντος, θεοῦ δεόμενος. αὐτὸ εἰσὶν αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου αξίου νοῦ δορυφόροι δυνάμεις, ὡς συνέρχεσθαι τῷ βασιλείᾳ παραπεμπούσας αὐτοῦ θέμις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέος ἐστὶν ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ψυχῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἀναφορῇ τῆς ὀδόν, ὅπως ἀμαθίας ἡ καὶ τόλμης ἐπαρθείσῃ—μεγάλα δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης καὶ πολλοὶ θράσους παραπτώματα—.

διόπερ εὐχεται Ἔμοσέως αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ χρῆσθαι [463] ἡγεμόνι πρὸς τὴν | πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγγυσθεὶν ὃδον. λέγει γὰρ: "εἴ μὴ αὐτὸς σὺ συμπορεύῃ, μὴ με ἀναγάγῃς ἐντεῦθεν." διότι πᾶσα κίνησις ἡ ἀνευθεία ἐπιφροσύνης ἐπιζήμιον, καὶ ἁμενὸν ἐνταυθοὶ κατα-

1 MSS. γεγονὼς.

a Here Moses and Aaron represent λογικῶς (combining understanding and speech), Nadab ἐκουσίως, Abihu ἀφόβως καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς, while εὐαρμόστως embraces all four.

b See above, § 84.
that has been exalted so high above the earth will no longer suffer any parts of his soul to have their converse down below among things mortal, but will draw them all up with him, just like bodies hanging on a rope. So a divine intimation was given to the wise man to this effect: "Come up to thy Lord, thou and Aaron and Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the Senate of Israel" (Ex. xxiv. 1). This means: "Come up, O soul, to behold the Existent One, come with thy being in harmony, that is, with thy speech and reason active, come willingly, fearlessly, affectionately, a come in the holy and perfect measures of seven multiplied tenfold." For "Aaron" is called in the Laws Moses' prophet (Ex. vii. 1), b speech acting as prophet to understanding, and "Nadab," meaning voluntary, is he that under no constraint does honour to the Deity, while "Abihu" means "my father," and represents the man who stands in need of God to govern him, not as a master owing to his folly, but much rather as a father owing to his good sense. These are the powers that form the bodyguard of the mind that is worthy of sovereignty, and it is meet that they should accompany the King as His escort.

But the soul has reason to fear ascending in its own strength to the sight of Him that is, ignorant as it is of the way, lifted up as it is at once by ignorance and by daring, and grievous are the falls that have been occasioned by lack of knowledge and excess of boldness; and therefore Moses prays that he may have God Himself, to guide him to the way that leads to Him; for he says: "If Thou Thyself goest not with me on my journey, lead me not up hence" (Ex. xxxiii. 15): for loss is entailed by all movement that is not under Divine direction, and it
μένειν τόν θνητόν βίον ἀλητεύοντας, ὡς τό πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἢ πρὸς τόν οὐρανόν ἐξάραντας ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἀνατραπῆναι· καθάπερ μυρίων συνέβη τῶν σοφιστῶν, οὕτως ὑπῆρξαν σοφίαν πιθανὴν εἶναι λόγων εὔρεσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ πραγμάτων ἀληθεστάτην πίστιν.

172 ἵσως δὲ καὶ τοιούτων τι δηλοῦται· μή με ἀνώ μετέωρον ἐξάρησις, πλοῦτον ἢ δόξαν ἢ τιμάς ἢ αρχάς ἢ οὐκ ἄλλα τῶν ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις εὐτυχίαις διωρησάμενος, εἰ μή μέλλοις αὐτὸς συνερχεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ζημίας καὶ ὦφελείας μεγίστας πολλάκις περιποιεῖται τοῖς ἔχουσι, ὦφελείας μὲν, όταν ἀφῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ὁ θεός, βλάβας δὲ, όταν τούναντίοι μυρίως γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὀντα κακῶν ἀνηκέστων γέγονεν αὐτία. ὁ δὲ ἔπομενος θεῷ κατὰ τάναγκαιον συνοδοιπόροις χρῆται τοῖς ἀκολούθουσι αὐτοῦ λόγοις, οὗς ὄνομάζειν ἔθος ἀγγέλους· λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι "Ἀβραὰμ συνεπορεύεται συμπροπέμπων αὐτοὺς." ὁ παγκάλης ἔπανισώσεως, καθ’ ἑνὸς τοῦ παραπέμπων παρεπέμπτετο, διδοῦς ὁ ἐλάμβανεν, οὐκ ἀνθ’ ἑτέρου ἑτερον, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκείνῳ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ἔτοιμον. ἐκόμην γὰρ οὗ τετελείωται, ἡγεμόνει τῆς ὡδοῦ χρῆται λόγω θείως χρησμὸς γὰρ ἑστίν· "ιδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελὸν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὡδῷ, ὅτες εἰςαγάγῃ σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἦν ἡτοίμασά σοι. πρόσεχε αὐτῷ καὶ εἰσάκουεν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἀπείθῃ αὐτῷ· οὗ γὰρ μὴ ὑποστείληται

173 a See on De Conf. 28.
is better to stay where we are, roaming, with the bulk of mankind, through this mortal life, rather than to lift ourselves heavenward and incur shipwreck as imposters. This has been the fate of multitudes of sophists, through their imagining that wisdom consists in finding specious arguments, and not in appealing to the solid evidence of facts. But perhaps the force of the prayer may be such as this: “Raise me not up on high, endowing me with wealth or fame or honours or offices, or aught else that is called good fortune, unless Thou Thyself art about to come with me.” For these things often bring upon those who have them very great losses as well as very great advantages, advantages, when the judgment is under God’s guidance; hurts, when this is not so: for to thousands the things I have named, not being really good things, have become the cause of incurable evils.

Now he that follows God has of necessity as his fellow-travellers the words and thoughts that attend Him, angels as they are often called. What we read is that “Abraham travelled with them, joining with them in escorting them on their way” (Gen. xviii. 16). What a glorious privilege to be put on a level with them! The escort is escorted; he gives what he was receiving; not one thing in return for another, but just one thing only that lies ready to be passed backwards and forwards from one to the other. For as long as he falls short of perfection, he has the Divine Word as his leader: since there is an oracle which says, “Lo, I send My messenger before thy face, to guard thee in thy way, that he may bring thee in into the land which I have prepared for thee: give heed to him, and hearken to him, disobey him not; for he will by no means with-
PHILO

175 σε· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομά μοι ἐστιν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ πρὸς ἄκραν ἐπιστήμην ἀφίκηται, συντόνως ἐπιδραμῶν ἱσοταχήσει τῷ πρόσθεν ὄγουμένῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφότεροι γὰρ οὔτως ὑπάρχει γενήσονται τοῦ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ μηδὲνεστὶ τῶν ἐτεροδόξων παρακολουθοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λώτ, δὲ ἐκλίνε τὴν ψυχήν ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκαμπτὴν φύεσθαι δυναμένην, διοικισθέντος.

176 XXXII. "Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἦν" φησὶν "ἐτών ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ Χαρρὰν." περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τῶν πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἁριθμοῦ —λόγον γὰρ ἔχει συνωδόν τοῖς πρόσθεν εἰρημένοις —αὖθις ἀκριβῶσομεν. τίς δὲ ἐστὶ Χαρρὰν καὶ τίς ἥ ἐκ ταύτης ἀποικία τῆς χώρας, πρότερον ἐρευνήσωμεν. οὐδένα τῶν τὼν ἐντετυγχάνοντων τοῖς νόμοις ἄγνοεῖν εἰκός, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀναστάς γῆς Ἄβραὰμ ὁκησεν εἰς Χαρρὰν, τελευτάσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔκειθε κἀκεῖ ταύτης μετανισταταί, ὡς δυεῖν ἥδη
177 τόπων ἀπόλειψεν πεποιήσθαι. τί οὖν λεκτέον; Ἑλληνικοὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεπονηκέναι καὶ διαφερόντως δοκοῦσιν ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γενεθλιαλογικὴν, τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς μετεώροις καὶ τὰ οὐράνια τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἁρμοζόμενοι καὶ ὠσπερ διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῇ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνία καὶ συμπαθεία, τόποις μὲν διεξευγμένων, συγγενεῖα δὲ οὐ διωκισμένων. οὖτοι τῶν φαινό-

a See App. p. 565.

b That this is the meaning of διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων, rather than "by a music of λόγων," in which case λόγοι would be used in the Stoic sense of "nature-forces," is shewn by De Mut. 234
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 174–179

draw from thee; " for My name is on him " (Ex. xxiii. 20 f.). But when he has arrived at full knowledge, he 175 will run with more vigorous effort, and his pace will be as great as that of him who before led the way; for so they will both become attendants on the All-leading God, and no holder of strange doctrines will follow after them any more. Nay, even Lot has been severed from their company, for he bent aside his soul which had the capacity to grow up straight and unswerving.

XXXII. " And Abraham was," he says " seventy 176 and five years old when he went out from Haran " (Gen. xii. 4). On the number of the five and seventy years, whose import agrees with what has just been said, we will dwell in detail at a later time. Let us first examine the significance of Haran and of the removal from this country. No one versed in the 177 Laws is likely to be unaware that at an earlier date Abraham migrated from Chaldea and dwelt in Haran, and that after his father’s death there, he removes from that country also, so that he has at this point already quitted two places. What remark 178 does this call for? The Chaldeans have the reputation of having, in a degree quite beyond that of other peoples, elaborated astronomy and the casting of nativities. They have set up a harmony between things on earth and things on high, between heavenly things and earthly. Following as it were the laws of musical proportion, b they have exhibited the universe as a perfect concord or symphony produced by a sympathetic affinity between its parts, separated indeed in space, but housemates in kinship. These 179

184 θείου καὶ θνητοῦ συγκερασθέντων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας  
| μουσικῆς λόγους ἄρμοσθέντων. |

235
μενον τουτον κόσμον εν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπετόπησαν εἶναι
μόνον, ἡ θεὸν οντα αὐτῶν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸν περι-
έχοντα, τὴν τῶν ὀλων ψυχὴν εἰμαρμένην τε καὶ
ανάγκην θεοπλαστήσαντες ἁσεβείᾳ πολλῆς κατ-
έπλησαν τὸν ἁνθρώπινον βίον, ἀναδιάξαντες ὡς
dίχα τῶν φανομένων οὐδενὸς ἐστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν
tὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ήλιον καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν
ἀλλων ἁστέρων αἱ περίδοι τά τε ἁγαθὰ καὶ τὰ
ἐναντία ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἀπονέμουσι.

180 Μωυσῆς μέντοι τῇ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι κοινωνία
καὶ συμπαθείᾳ τοῦ παντὸς έουκε συνεπιγράφεσθαι,
ἐνα καὶ γενητὸν ἁποφηνάμενος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι—
γενομένου γὰρ καὶ ἐνὸς ὑπάρχοντος εὐλογον τὰς
γε στοιχείωδεις οὐσίας ὑποβεβλῆσθαι τοῖς ἁποτελο-
μένοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπασι κατὰ μέρη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ
σωμάτων συμβέβηκε τῶν ἡμωμένων ἀλληλουχεῖν—,

181 τῇ δὲ περὶ θεοῦ δόξῃ διαφέρεσθαι: μήτε γὰρ τὸν
cόσμον μήτε τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν τὸν πρῶτον
eῖναι θεὸν μηδὲ τοὺς ἁστέρας ἡ τὰς χορείας αὐτῶν
tὰ πρεσβύτατα τῶν συμβαίνοντων ἀνθρώπων αἴτια,
ἀλλὰ συνέχεσθαι μὲν τὸ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀοράτοις δυνά-
μεσιν, ἃς ἀπὸ γῆς ἔσχατων ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ περάτων
tὸ δημιουργὸς ἀπέτευκε, τοῦ μή ἀνεθήναι τὰ δεθέντα
καλῶς προμηθούμενος. δεσμοὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ

182 παντὸς ἁρρηκτοί.

διὸ, καὶ που τῆς
νομοθεσίας λέγηται, "δ' θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ
ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω," μηδὲς ὑποτοπησάτω τὸν κατὰ

—a Cf. Leg. All. i. 91 and note.
—b See App. p. 565.
—c Or perhaps "taking wise forethought that what was
bound," etc. But I think the passage is probably reminiscent
of Timaeus 41A τὸ καλῶς ἄρμοσθεν καὶ ἐχὸν ἐκ λύειν ἐθέλειν
κακοῦ. For the position of καλῶς cf. De Dec. 27 τὰ γεγονότα
καλῶς θεωρεῖν.

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men imagined that this visible universe was the only thing in existence, either being itself God or containing God in itself as the soul of the whole. And they made Fate and Necessity divine, thus filling human life with much impiety, by teaching that apart from phenomena there is no originating cause of anything whatever, but that the circuits of sun and moon and of the other heavenly bodies determine for every being in existence both good things and their opposites. Moses, however, while he seems to confirm the sympathetic affinity of its parts displayed throughout the universe, is at variance with their opinion concerning God. He endorses the former doctrine by declaring the universe to be one and to have been made; for if it came into being and is one, it stands to reason that all its completed several parts have the same elementary substances for their substratum, on the principle that interdependence of the parts is a characteristic of bodies which constitute a unity. He differs from their opinion about God, holding that neither the universe nor its soul is the primal God, and that the constellations or their revolutions are not the primary causes of the things that happen to men. Nay, he teaches that the complete whole around us is held together by invisible powers, which the Creator has made to reach from the ends of the earth to heaven's furthest bounds, taking forethought that what was well bound should not be loosened: for the powers of the Universe are chains that cannot be broken. Wherefore, even though it be said somewhere in the Law-book “God in heaven above and on the earth below” (Deut. iv. 39), let no one suppose that He that is is spoken of,
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to eînai lêgësthai—tò gar ón periêcheîn all' ou periêcheîthai thémis—, dúnamiv ò autw, kath' ën 183 èthike kal dietáxato kal diekôsmíse tâ òla. autê dê kuriwos èstîn ágathôthês, phônivon mn ev toû muv-âretov kal muvokalov apelêlakvia ãph' èauthês, xárïtas dê genvnôsa aîs tâ m'h ònta eîs géneîn ágouna ánêfhen. èpêi tó ge èn fantaasmàjómenov doçh ðantakhô pros álîtheian ouðamou fainetai, òs àpnevédêstaton èkeîniv eînai tîn xhrîsmôn, èn ò [465] lêlektai: | “òdê ègnw,” àdêwctos ws àn deiknû- menos, àôratos ws àn àôratos òwn, “pro toû ñ’.” pro gar pantos toû genîtov, èxw bainwv èkeîniv kai mîdenv ñîn mév’ auton èmferómênos.

184 XXXIII. Tôutôn legemênôn èpî tî tîs Xal- dâiêthês doçhês anatropol tîs éti tîn gnwvnh xaldaîzontas metaklînev kal metakalêiv òîtei deîn èpî tîn álîtheian, tîs didaskalîas árchomênos òdê: tî, feswv, ò dhamâsiov, tosoûtov àvînîdion árthvntes âpò gîs eîs úwos èpinnîcheîn kai tîn áéra èperekpavntes àdherobiñteîn, òs ëlîon kînîseis kai selînhês period̀v kai tôv álîvov ástèrov òas èmmelles kai àvôdimous ákribovn xoreias; tauta gar meîzona ñ kátà tôs ûmetéra estîn èpínivla òte èdaimonostèras kai ñeîstèras moîras lachônta.

a Cf. De Conf. 138 and De Sac. 67 (with note).

b The meaning is that while the Pentateuch contains the just-mentioned disproof of astrology, at the same time (note the present legeomênov) it gives practical advice to those inclined that way. This advice is given in the statement that “Abraham went from Chaldaea to Haran,” it being implied that these persons should do the same. What “going to Haran” means is expanded into the discourse of §§ 184 ff.
since the existent Being can contain, but cannot be contained. What is meant is that potency of His by which He established and ordered and marshalled the whole realm of being. This potency is nothing else than loving-kindness; it has driven away from itself envy with its hatred of virtue and of moral beauty; it is the mother of gracious deeds by which, bringing into created existence things that were not, it displayed them to view; for that which is, though in opinion it be imagined everywhere, in reality shews itself nowhere, so that that is a most true oracle in which the words "Here am I" which describe Him—Him that cannot be pointed out, as though He were being pointed out, Him that is invisible, as though He were visible—are followed by the words, "before that thou wert made" (Ex. xvii. 6): for He is before all creation; His goings are outside it; nor is He present in any of the things that come after Him.

XXXIII. All this is said to refute the Chaldean opinion, but side by side with this Moses deems it his duty to change the way of thinking of those whose judgement still inclines to Chaldeanism, and to recall them to the truth, and he begins his lesson in this way: "How strange it is, my friends, that you have been suddenly lifted to such a height above the earth and are floating there, and, leaving the lower air beneath you, are treading the ether above, thinking to master every detail respecting the movements of the sun, and of the circuits of the moon, and of the glorious rhythmical dances of the other constellations. These are too high to be reached by your powers of thought, for a lot is theirs happy and divine beyond

\[ c \] i.e., the sun, etc., as usual in Philo regarded as divine beings.
κατάβητε οὖν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καὶ καταβάντες μὴ πάλιν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ζώων ἰδέας ἐξετάζετε, μόνους δὲ ἑαυτούς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρευνᾶτε, μὴ ἐτέρωθι μᾶλλον οἰκήσαντες ἢ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς. διαθεώμενοι γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱδίον οἶκον, τὸ δεσπόζον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ ὑπήκοον, τὸ ἐμψυχον, τὸ ἀψυχον, τὸ λογικὸν, τὸ ἀλογικὸν, τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ θνητόν, τὸ άμεινον, τὸ χεῖρον, εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμην θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ σαφῆ λήψεσθε. λογιεΐσθε γὰρ ὅτι, ὡς ἐν υἱῶν, καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἐστὶ, καὶ ὡς ὁ οὐμέτερος ἄρχην καὶ δεσποτείαν τῶν περὶ υμᾶς ἀναβάμενος ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ὑπήκοον ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιβεβλημένος αὐτοκράτορι νόμῳ καὶ δίκη τὸν κόσμον ἠνοίγει προμηθούμενος οὐ τῶν ἁλλοικοτέρων αὐτὸ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι δοκοῦντων.

μεταναστάντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κατούραν περιεργίας ἑαυτοὺς, ὅπερ εἶπον, οἰκήσατε, τὴν μὲν Χαλδαίων γῆν, δόξαν, καταλιπόντες, μετοίκισαμενοι δὲ εἰς Χαρράν, τὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως χωρίον, τῇ σωματικῷ ἐστὶν οἰκός διανοίας. Χαρράν γὰρ ἐρμηνευεῖται τρώγλη, τρώγλαι δὲ σύμβολα αἰσθήσεως ὅπων εἰσίν· ὅπας γὰρ καὶ φωλεούς τρόπον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἰδέας, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὄτα, ρίνας δὲ ὀσμῶν καὶ γεύσεως φάρυγγα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σῶματος κατασκευὴν ἀφῆς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. τούτους οὖν ἔτι διατρύφαντες ἐνηρεμήσατε καὶ σχολάσατε καὶ τὴν ἐκάστοτος φύσιν ὡς ἐν μάλιστα ἀκριβώσατε,
the common. Come down therefore from heaven, and, when you have come down, do not begin in turn to pass in review earth and sea and rivers, and plants and animals in their various kinds; but explore yourselves only and your own nature, and make your abode with yourselves and not elsewhere: for by observing the conditions prevailing in your own individual household, the element that is master in it, and that which is in subjection, the living and the lifeless element, the rational and the irrational, the immortal and the mortal, the better and the worse, you will gain forthwith a sure knowledge of God and of His works. Your reason will shew you that, as there is mind in you, so is there in the universe, and that as your mind has taken upon itself sovereign control of all that is in you, and brought every part into subjection to itself, so too He, that is endued with lordship over all, guides and controls the universe by the law and right of an absolute sway, taking forethought not only for those which are of greater, but for those which are of less importance in our eyes.

XXXIV. Quit, then, your meddling with heavenly concerns, and take up your abode, as I have said, in yourselves; leave behind you opinion, the country of the Chaldeans, and migrate to Haran, the place of sense-perception, which is understanding's bodily tenement. For the translation of Haran is "hole," and holes are figures of openings used by sense-perception: for eyes are, in a way, openings and lairs used by sight, ears by hearing, nostrils to receive scents, the throat for tasting, and the whole structure of the body for touch. Gain, therefore, by a further sojourn, a peaceful and unhurried familiarity with these, and to the utmost of your power get an...
καὶ τὸ ἐν ἑκάστοις εὗ τε καὶ χείρον καταμαθόντες τὸ μὲν φύγετε, τὸ δ' ἐμπαλών ἐλέσθε. ἔπειδαν μέντοι σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὸν ὅδιον | διασκεύησθε οἶκον καὶ δὲν ἔχει λόγον ἑκαστον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν αὐγάσησθε, διακυνήσαντες αὐτούς τὴν ἐνθένδε μετανόστασιν ξητεῖτε, οὐ θάνατον ἀλλ' ἀθανασίαν καταγγέλλουσαν. ἦς δείγματα σαφῆ καὶ ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐγκατειλθέ- 

190 μένοι φωλεοίς κατόφεσθε, τοτε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαθέσιν ὑπνοὶ—ἀναχωρήσας γὰρ ὁ νοῦς καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεξελθὼν ἐαυτῷ προσομιλεῖν ἀρχεται ὡς πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀφορών ἀλθεῖαν, καὶ ἀπορρυφάμενος πάνθ' ὡσα ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φαντασιῶν ἀπεμαξάτο τὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀφενδέστάτας διὰ τῶν ὅνειρων μαντείας ἐνθουσία—, τοτε δὲ κἂν ταῖς ἐγρήγορσεσιν. οταν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν κατα- 

191 σχεθεῖς θεωρημάτων ἄχθῃ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, τῶ μὲν ἐπεται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὡσα κατὰ τὸν σωματικὸν ὅγκον ἀμνημονεὶ δήπου. κἀν ἐμποδίζωσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβὴ θέαν τοῦ νοητοῦ, μέλει τοῖς φιλοθεάμοις καθαρεύν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· τὰς τε γὰρ ὅψεις καταμύουσι καὶ τὰ ὅτα ἐπιφράττουσι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων ἐπέχουσιν ὄρμας καὶ ἐν ἐρημίαι καὶ σκότως διατρίβειν ἀξιόωσιν, ὡς μὴ πρὸς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὸ νοητήριον ὑπὸ νοητὰ βλέπειν ἐδωκεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐπισκιασθῆ. 

192 XXXV. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν τρόπον μαθόντες ἀπο- 

1 Mangey (and also Η) ταῖς . . ἀψευδεστάταις . . μαντείας which perhaps suits the construction better. No example is given in the Lexica of an accusative in this sense after ἐνθουσία. 242
exact knowledge of the nature of each, and, when you have thoroughly learned what is good and bad in each, shun the one, and choose the other. And when you have surveyed all your individual dwelling with absolute exactitude, and have acquired an insight into the true nature of each of its parts, bestir yourselves and seek for your departure hence, for it is a call not to death but to immortality. You will be able to descry sure indications of this, even while held fast in the dens and caves of the body and of the objects of sense. In deep sleep the mind quits its place, and, withdrawing from the perceptions and all other bodily faculties, begins to hold converse with itself, fixing its gaze on truth as on a mirror, and, having purged away as defilements all the impressions made upon it by the mental pictures presented by the senses, it is filled with Divine frenzy and discerns in dreams absolutely true prophecies concerning things to come. Thus is it at times. Or again it may be in waking hours. For when the mind, possessed by some philosophic principle, is drawn by it, it follows this, and needs must be oblivious of other things, of all the concerns of the cumbersome body. And if the senses are a hindrance to the exact sight of the spiritual object, those who find happiness in beholding are at pains to crush their attack; they shut their eyes, and stop up their ears, and check the impulses bred by their other senses, and deem it well to spend their days in solitude and darkness, that no object of sense-perception may bedim the eye of the soul, to which God has given the power to see things spiritual. XXXV. If in this way you learn to effect a divorce a from what

a For this legal phrase see note on De Cher. 115.
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λεψιν τοῦ θνητοῦ χρηματιζέων καὶ τὰς περὶ τοῦ ἀγενήτου παιδευθήσεσθε δόξας· εἰ μὴ νομίζετε τὸν μὲν ύμέτερον νοῦν ἀποδυνάμενον σῶμα, αἰσθήσιον, λόγον, δίχα τούτων γυμναὶ δύνασθαι τὰ ὄντα ὅραν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ὅλων νοῶν, τὸν θεόν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ὑλικῆς φύσεως πάσης ἐστάναι περιέχοντα, οὐ περιεχόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἐπινοίᾳ μόνον ἐπεξεληλυθέναι ὡσπερ ἀνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ οὐσιώδει, οἷα ἀρμόττει θεόν.

193 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερος νοῦς οὐ δεδημούργηκε τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἐργὸν ἐτέρου· διὸ καὶ περιέχεται ὡς ἐν ἀγγείῳ τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῶν ὅλων νοῶν τὸ πᾶν γεγέννηκε· τὸ πεποιηκὸς δὲ τοῦ γενομένου κρείττον· ὡστ’ οὐκ ἂν ἐμφέροιτο τῷ χείρον, δίχα τοῦ μηδὲ ἀρμόττειν πατέρα ἐν νῷ περιέχεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρός ἐπιμελείαις συναὐξάσθαι.

194 οὕτω κατὰ βραχύ μεταβαίνων ὁ νοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ δωσιτήτος ἀφίζεται πατέρα, γενεθλιαλογικῆς ἀποστάς τὸ πρῶτον, ἥτις παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν κόσμον θεοῦ τὸν πρῶτον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ πρῶτου θεοῦ δημούργημα, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστερῶν φορὰς τε καὶ κινήσεις αἰτίας ἀνθρώποις κακοπραγίας καὶ τούναντιν εὐδαιμονίας. ἔπειτ’ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ἐλθὼν τὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, φιλοσοφήσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱδίον οἶκον, τὰ περὶ σώματος, τὰ περὶ αἰσθήσεως, τὰ περὶ λόγου, καὶ γνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

[467] ὃτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ’ ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται,

1 mss. γυμνῶν. this correction of Wendland’s, though supported by the run of the sentence, and perhaps by § 90, seems to me doubtful.

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is mortal, you will go on to receive an education in your conceptions regarding the Uncreate. For you surely do not imagine that, while your mind, having divested itself of body, sense-perception, speech, can, apart from these, see in their nakedness the things that are, the Mind of the universe, God, has not His abiding-place outside all material nature, containing, not contained, or doubt that He has gone forth beyond its confines not in thought alone, as man does, but in essential being also, as befits God. For our mind has not created the body, but is the workmanship of Another; and it is therefore contained in the body as in a vessel. But the Mind of all things has brought the universe into existence; and that which has made is superior to the thing made, so that it could not be included in its inferior; nor indeed would it be fitting that a father should be contained in a son, but rather that a son should attain full growth under his father's care.

In this way the mind gradually changing its place will arrive at the Father of piety and holiness. Its first step is to relinquish astrology, which betrayed it into the belief that the universe is the primal God, instead of being the handywork of the primal God, and that the courses and movements of the constellations are the causes of bad and good fortune to mankind.

Next it enters upon the consideration of itself, makes a study of the features of its own abode, those that concern the body and sense-perception, and speech, and comes to know, as the phrase of the poet puts it,

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead. 

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*a Or "when thus naked"; see critical note.
*b Hom. Od. iv. 392.
Επειτ' ἀνατεμών ὅδ' ἄφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐλπίσας τὸν δυστόπαστον καὶ δυστέκμαρτον πατέρα τῶν ὄλων κατανοήσαι, μαθὼν ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰσεῖται τάχα ποι καὶ θεόν, οὐκέτι μένων ἐν Χαρράν, τοῖς αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνοις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτόν ἐπιστραφεῖς· ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἑτὶ κινούμενον αἰσθητῶς μᾶλλον ἡ νοητῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἐλθεῖν ἐπίσκεψιν. XXXVI. οὐ χάριν καὶ ὁ ταχθεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην τάξιν παρὰ θεῶ τρόπος, οὕνεκα Σαμουὴλ, οὐχ ὑφηγεῖται τὰ τῆς βασιλείας δίκαια τῷ Σαοῦλ [οὐδ'] ἐτι διατρίβοντι ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσιν, ἀλλ' ἑπειδὰν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἐξελκύσῃ. πυνθάνεται μὲν γὰρ, εἰ ἑτὶ ἔρχεται ἐνθάδε ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ τὸ λόγιον· "Ιδοὺ αὐτὸς κέκρυπται ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι." τι οὖν προσήκει τὸν ἀκούσαντα, φύσει παιδευτικὸν ὤντα, ποιήσαι, ὅτι μὴ μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελκύσαι; "ἐπιδραμὼν" γὰρ φησι· "λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν," διότι τοῖς άγγείοις τῆς ψυχῆς, σώματι καὶ αἰσθήσει, ἐν διατρίβων οὐκ ἦν ἀξιόχρεως ἀκούσαι τῶν τῆς βασιλείας δογμάτων καὶ νόμων· βασιλείαν δὲ σοφίαν ἐναι λέγομεν, ἐπεί καὶ τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα—, μεταναστάς δὲ, ἢνικὰ τῆς ἀχλύος σκεδασθείσης ἐξυδορκήσεως ἐμελλεν. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰσθήσεως χώραν, ὄνομα Χαρράν, ἀπολιπεῖν οὐεῖται δεῖν ὁ ἐπιστήμης ἐταίρος.

Ἀπολείπει δὲ ἑτῶν γεγονὼς πέντε καὶ ἐβδομῆ-κοντα· ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς οὗτος αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς,

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a Not so much to examine its own nature, which is not ruled out in Haran, cf. § 185, but to attain the detached and mystical condition described in § 190.
The third stage is when, having opened up the road that leads from self, in hope thereby to come to discern the Universal Father, so hard to trace and unriddle, it will crown maybe the accurate self-knowledge it has gained with the knowledge of God Himself. It will stay no longer in Haran, the organs of sense, but withdraw into itself. For it is impossible that the mind whose course still lies in the sensible rather than the mental should arrive at the contemplation of Him that is. XXXVI. This is why the character appointed to the highest post in God's service, who is called "Samuel," does not set forth the duties of kingship to Saul, while still lingering amid the baggage, but when he has drawn him out thence. For he inquires of the Lord whether the man is still on his way hither, and the divine reply is, "Lo, he hath hidden himself among the baggage." What, then, does it become the recipient of this answer to do, endowed as he is by nature with power to exercise discipline, save to draw him forth with all haste? So we read, "he ran thither and taketh him thence" (1 Sam. x. 22 f.), because, while lingering amid such vessels of the soul as body and sense-perception, he was not competent to listen to the principles and rules of kingship—and we pronounce wisdom to be kingship, for we pronounce the wise man to be a king. These principles could only be learnt through his changing his place, when the dark mist would disperse and he would have keen vision. No wonder, then, that the associate of knowledge deems it necessary to quit also the country of sense-perception, called Haran.

When he quits the country he is five and seventy years old; and this number represents the border-
πρεσβύτερας τε καὶ νεώτερας, ἐτὶ δὲ φθαρτὴς καὶ ἄφθαρτος, έτι δέ φθαρτης καὶ ἄφθαρτος λόγος ο τῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα, αἰσθητὸς δὲ καὶ νεώτερος ὁ ταῖς πέντε ἵσάρμημος ὑν αἰσθήσει. τούτω καὶ ὁ ἐτὶ γυμνα-ξόμενος ἀσκήτης ἑξετάζεται, μηδέπω δεδυνημένος ἐνέγκασθαι τὰ τέλεια νικητῆρια: λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι „ἥσαν αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ εἰς Ἰακὼβ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα“. τοῦ γὰρ ἀθλοῦντος καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ κτήσεως ἄρετῆς ἰερὸν ὄντως ἀγώνα μὴ διαφθείροιτος ψυχαὶ μὲν πρὸ σωμάτων γεννήματα, οὔπω δ’ ἐκτετμημέναι τὸ ἄλογον, ἀλλ’ ἐτὶ τὸν αἰσθήσεως ὅχλον ἐφελκόμεναι. παλαιόντος γὰρ καὶ κοινομένου καὶ πτερνίζοντος Ἰακὼβ ἐστὶν ὄνομα, οὐ νενικότος· ὅταν δὲ τὸν θεόν ὅραν ἴκανον εἶναι δόξας Ἰσραήλ μετονομασθῆ, μόνῳ χρῆσεται τῷ ἐβδομηκόστῳ λόγῳ, τὴν πεντάδα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐκτέμων λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι „ἐν ἐβδομῆκοντα ψυχαῖς κατέβησαν οἱ πατέρες σου εἰς Αἰγύπτον.‟

οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ ἀριθμὸς Μωυσέως τοῦ σοφοῦ γνώμων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀριστότερον ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιλεγμένους ἐβδομῆκοντα ἐπεφέρωσε ἐνυπονλεῖκη καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἀπαντάς, οὐχ ἡλικίας ἀλλὰ φρονήσει καὶ βουλαῖς, γνώμαις τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτρόποις ζηλωσιν. οὕτως ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑρευνοῦται τε καὶ ἀποδίδοται θεῷ, ὅταν οἱ τέλειοι τῆς ψυχῆς

1 mss. ἐπιγυμναζόμενος.
2 mss. τούτου.
3 mss. δὲ κεκτημέναι, which Mangey follows, reading τὸν λόγον with H² for τὸ ἄλογον.

α ὁ “fail in,” “spoil.” For this rather curious use of διαφθείρω cf. De Cong. 165 τῶν ἀγώνα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀήττητον φυλάξαντες.

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land between perceptible and intelligible being, between older and younger, between corruptible and incorruptible. For seventy represents the principle of intellectual apprehension, of seniority and of incorruption, while the principle that corresponds numerically to the five senses is that of juniority and sense-perception. Under the head of this principle is classed the Trainer of self still at his exercises, not yet qualified to carry off the prize of complete victory; for we read, "the full number of souls sprung from Jacob was five and seventy" (Ex. i. 5): for the offspring of the champion who does not make havoc of the truly holy contest for the winning of virtue, are not bodies but souls, souls from which the irrational element has not yet been eliminated, and which still have sense-perception's gang hanging on to them. For "Jacob" is a name belonging to one wrestling, and preparing for the arena, and tripping up his adversary, not of one who has won the victory. But when, now deemed capable of seeing God, he shall have received the new name of "Israel," he will have resort only to the principle of seventy, having cut out the five which pertains to the senses; for it is written "amounting to seventy souls thy fathers went down into Egypt" (Deut. x. 22).

This is the number intimately associated with the wise Moses; for the men picked out for their excellence from all the host were seventy, and all of them elders, not in age but in good sense and counsel and judgement and ways of thinking worthy of men of old. Sacrifices and dues paid to God are determined by this number, whenever
συναχθώσι καὶ συγκομισθώσι καρποί· τῇ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν ἑορτὴ χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων θυμάτων ἐβδομήκοντα μόσχους ἀνάγεν ὑποίαν ἀλκαυστόν διείρηται. κατὰ τὸν ἐβδομηκοστὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ τῶν ἁρχόντων φιάλαι κατασκευάζονται—ἐκάστη γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα σικλῶν ἐστὶν ἄλκης—, ἐπειδή τὰ ἐνσπονδὰ καὶ συμβατηρία καὶ φίλα τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἄληθῶς ὅλκον ἔχει δύναμιν, τὸν ἐβδομηκοστὸν καὶ ἄγιον λόγον, ὅταν Αἰγύπτως, ἡ μισσαρετὸς καὶ φιλοπαθῆς φύσις, πενθοῦσα εἰσάγεται ἐβδομήκοντα γὰρ ἥμεραι καταριθμεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πένθος.

203 XXXVII. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ὡς ἔφη, Μωυσέως γνώριμος, ὁ δὲ τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων τοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀσταξώμεσον, ἐν ἔθος καλεῖν Ἰωσήφ. τοσαύτην γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔπεμελειαν πεποίηται, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ὀμογάστριον ἀδελφόν, τὸν αἰσθήσεως ἐκγονον ὁμτα—Ἦκιστα γὰρ ὀμοπατρίους οὐδὲ—, πέντε ἔξαλλοις δωρεῖται: στολαῖς, διαπρεπεῖς ἡγούμενοι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίας. ὁλὴ δὲ Αἰγύπτου καὶ νόμων ἀναγράφει, ὅπως τιμῶσιν αὐτᾶς καὶ φόρους καὶ δασμοὺς ὡς βασιλεύσων ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζωσι· τὸν γὰρ σίτου ἀποπεμπτοῦν κελεύει, τὸ δὲ ἔστω ὃλα καὶ τροφᾶς ἀφθόνους θησαυροφυλάκειν ταῖς πέντε αἰσθήσεσιν, ὅπως ἐκάστη τῶν οἰκείων ἀνεπισχέτως ἐμπιπλαμένῃ τρυφᾶ καὶ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐπεισιφορουμένοις βαρύνουσα βαπτίζῃ· ταῖς γὰρ τῶν αἰσθήσεων

* The translation is an attempt to preserve something of the play on words, ὁλκῆ weight (lit. “drawing down of the scale”) suggesting ὁλκός “attracting.”

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the ripe fruits of the soul are gathered in and collected; for it is prescribed at the Feast of Tabernacles, over and above the other sacrifices, to offer seventy young bullocks as a burnt offering (Num. xxix. 13-36). The bowls of the princes are fashioned in keeping with the principle of seventy—for each of them is of the weight of seventy shekels (Num. vii. 13 ff.)—since everything in the soul that tends to peace and friendship and agreement has a truly weighty power of attraction, that sacred principle set forth by seventy, which Egypt, the virtue-hating and passion-loving nature, is represented as mourning over; for among them mourning is reckoned as lasting seventy days (Gen. l. 3).

XXXVII. This number, then, is, as I have said, intimately associated with Moses; but the number belonging to the five senses with him who hails as friends the body and the things outside the body, him who is usually called “Joseph.” So great is his devotion to these, that, while hardly owning the tie of a common fatherhood, he bestows upon his uterine brother, the offspring of sense-perception, five changes of raiment (Gen. xlv. 22), deeming the senses pre-eminent and deserving of adornment and honour. He sets up laws moreover for all Egypt, that honour may be paid to the senses and tribute and contributions rendered to them as sovereigns every year: for he commands the Egyptians to pay a fifth part of the corn, which means that they are to store in treasuries materials and food in abundance for the five senses, that so each of them incessantly glutting itself with its own objects may wanton and drown the mind under the weight of all that it devours. For understanding is starved when the senses feast,
εὐωχίαις λιμὸν ἄγει διάνοια, ὡς ἔμπαλιν ταῖς

υηστείαις εὐφροσύνας. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι
καὶ πέντε Σαλπαὰδ θυγατέρες, ἂς ἀλληγοροῦντες
αἰσθήσεις εἶναι φαμεν, ἐκ τοῦ δήμου Μανασσῆ
γεγόνασιν, ὡς νῦν Ἰωσήφ ἔστι, χρόνῳ μὲν πρεσβύ-
tερος ὄν, δυνάμει δὲ νεώτερος; εἰκότως· καλεῖται
γὰρ ἕκ λήθης, τὸ δὲ ἱσοδυναμοῦν ἔστι πράγμα
ἀναμνήσει.1 ἀνάμνησις δὲ τὰ δευτερεία φέρεται
μνήμης, ὡς 'Εφραίμ ἐπώνυμος γέγονεν, δὸς καρπο-

οτορία μεταληφθεῖσα προσαγορεύεται· καρπὸς δὲ κάλ-

λιστος καὶ τροφιμώτατος ψυχῆς τὸ ἀλητοῖν ἐν

μνήμαις. λέγουσι γοῦν τὰ ἑναρμόνια ἑαυταῖς αἱ
παρθένοι: "ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν"—ἀλλ' ὁ
θάνατος ἀναμνήσεως ἔστι λήθη—"καὶ ἀπέθανεν οὐ
dι' ἀμαρτίαν ἑαυτοῦ"—παγκάλως· οὐ γὰρ ἐκούσιον

[469] ἡ λήθη | πάθος, ἀλλ' ἐν τὶ τῶν οὐ παρ' ἡμῖν,

ἐπι-

γνώμην ἔστωθεν—, "νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο αὐτῶ," ἀλλὰ
θυγατέρες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν μνημονικὸν ἅτε φύσει

διανισεῖκον2 ἀρρενογονεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἐπιλανθανόμενον

ὑπὸν λογίσμον χρώμενον θηλυτοκεῖ· ἀλογον γὰρ,

ἀλόγου δὲ μέρους ψυχῆς αἰσθήσεις θυγατέρες.

Εἰ δὲ τῆς τῶν μὲν τάχει παρέδραμε, Μωυσῆ δὲ

ῄκουλοῦθησε, μήπω δυνηθεῖσα ἱσόδρομος αὐτῶ

gενέσθαι κεκραμένω καὶ μιγάδι ἁρμὴν χρῆσται,

τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῷ; οὐ δέ οὐκ ἔστι

σύμβολον τινος φύσεως, συγκεκριμένων3

ἄμφοτερος εἰς εἴδους ενός ἀνεπιλήπτου4 γένεσιν.

XXXVIII. ἄγαμαι σφόδρα καὶ τὴν

1 mss. αἰσθήσεις.
2 The present can hardly give the required meaning

"awake." I suggest διανεστάμενον. See App. p. 565.
3 mss. συναραμένων, συναρομένων.
4 Mangey <οὐκ> ἀνεπιλήπτου. See App. p. 565.
THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 204–207

as on the other hand it makes merry when they are fasting. Do you not notice, that the five daughters of Zelophehad, whom we take to be a figure of the senses, are of the tribe of Manasseh, who is Joseph's son, elder in age, younger in efficiency? Fitly is he younger, for his name means "from forgetfulness," and that is a thing equivalent to "re-calling to mind." But the first prize goes to Memory, the second to Recollection, and Ephraim is named after Memory, for his name when translated is "Fruit-bearing," and the fairest and most nourishing fruit of the soul is remembering with no forgetfulness. And so the maidens say what perfectly fits in with what they really are. "Our father died"—yes, the death of recollection is forgetfulness—"and he died by reason of no sin of his own"—quite rightly said, for forgetfulness is no voluntary experience, but one of those things that are not in our power, coming upon us from outside—"and he had no sons" (Num. xxvii. 3), but only daughters, for whereas the faculty of memory, being naturally wide awake, has male progeny, forgetfulness, wrapt in a slumber of reasoning power, has female offspring; for it is irrational, and the senses are daughters of the irrational portion of the soul.

But if anyone has outstripped Joseph in speed and followed Moses, while he still lacks power to keep pace with him, he will live under a mixed and hybrid number, namely seventy-five, which denotes the nature alike of mind and sense-perception, which are both mingled together to produce a single kind, that does not call for our censure. a

XXXVIII.

a See App. p. 565.

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νπομονήν Ῥεβέκκαν, ἐπειδὰν τῷ τελείῳ τὴν ψυχήν καὶ τὰς τῶν παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν τραχύτητας καθηρηκότι παρανύ ὅτε εἰς Χαρράν ἀποδραναί· λέγει γάρ· "νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἀκουσον τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀναστάσ ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Δάβαν τὸν ἄδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρράν καὶ οὐκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἄδελφου σου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπιλάθηται ἡ πεποίηκας αὐτῷ." παγκάλως δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τᾶς αἰσθήσεις ὅδὸν δραμόν εἴρηκεν· ὄντως γὰρ δραπέτης ὁ νοῦς τότε γίνεται, ὅταν καταλιπὼν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐαυτῷ νοητὰ τράπηται πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον τάγμα τῶν αἰσθητῶν. ἔστι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ δραπετεύειν χρήσιμον, ἐπειδὰν τις αὐτὸ ποιῇ μὴ ἕνεκα ἐξήθους τοῦ πρὸς τὸν κρείττωνα, ἅλλα τοῦ μὴ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι χάριν πρὸς τοῦ χείρονος. τίς οὖν ἡ παραίνεσις τῆς υπομονῆς; θαυμασιωτάτη καὶ περιμάχητος· εὰν ποτε, φησίν, ὅρας ἀνηρεθισμένον καὶ ἐξηρωμένον τὸ θυμὸν καὶ ὀργῆς πάθος ἐν σαυτῷ ἢ τινὶ ἐτέρῳ, ὁ ἡ ἁλογος καὶ ἀτίθασος ζωτροφεῖ1 φύσις, μὴ μᾶλλον αὐτὸ ἀκονήσας ἐκθηριώσης—δῆξεται γὰρ ἑως ἀνίατα—, καταψυχῶν δὲ τὸ ἱέων αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπυρωμένον ἄγαν ἡμέρωσον· τιθασὸν γὰρ καὶ χειρόθες εἰ γένοιτο, ἦκιστα ἄν βλάψαι. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῆς τιθασείας καὶ ἡμερώσεως αὐτοῦ; μεθαρμοσάμενος καὶ μετασκευασόμενος, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, ἀκολουθησον τὸ πρῶτον οἶς ἂν ἑθέλῃ καὶ πρὸς

1 Mangey ἰωτροφέ. See App. p. 566.
I profoundly admire also Patience or Rebecca, when she exhorts him who is full-grown in soul and has overthrown the harsh tyranny of vice and passion, even then to flee away to Haran. She says, “Now therefore, my child, hearken to my voice, and arise and flee away to Laban my brother in Haran, and abide with him some days, until the wrath and anger of thy brother turn away from thee, and he forget what thou hast done to him” (Gen. xxvii. 43-45). Excellently well does she call the journey to the senses a flight or running away; for the mind proves itself indeed a runaway, whenever it forsakes the objects of intellectual apprehension which are proper to it, and turns to the opposite array of the objects of sense-perception. Yet sometimes even running away is serviceable, when a man does it not out of hatred for the better, but that he may not be exposed to the designs of the worse. What, then, is the advice of Patience? A most marvellous and valuable one! If ever, she says, thou seest stirred up to savagery in thyself or some other person the passion of wrath and anger, one of the stock bred and reared by our irrational and untamed nature, beware of whetting its fierceness and yet more rousing the beast in it, when its bites may be incurable, but cool down its excessive heat and perfervid temper and quiet it, for should it become tame and manageable it will inflict but little hurt. What, then, is the method of bringing it to a quiet and subdued state? Adapt and transform yourself in outward appearance and follow for the moment whatever it pleases, and opposing

* i.e. even in the hour of victory over Esau. The “tides of the spirit,” he means, often demand a return to common things, after the spirituality has been at its highest.—Wend. who wished to read either τὴν or ποτε, did not grasp this.
μηδὲν ἐναντιωθεῖς ὑμολόγησον τὰ αὐτὰ φιλεῖν τε καὶ μισεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐξευμενισθήσεται. πρα-

ίνθέντος δὲ ἀποθήσῃ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ μηδὲν

ἐτι προσδοκῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου κακὸν πείσεσθαι μετὰ

ῥαστῶν ἐπανελεύση πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱδίων ἐπι-

μέλειαν. εἰσάγεται γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο χαρ-

πάν θρεμμάτων μέν ἀνάπλεως, οἰκήτορι δὲ κεχρη-

μένη κτηνοτρόφοις· τί γὰρ ἂν εἰη χωρίον ἀλόγῳ

φύσει καὶ τοῖς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν

αὐτῆς ἀνειληφὸν ἑπιτηθειότερον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν

212 αἰσθήσεων; πυθομένου γοῦν τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ "πόθεν

[470] ἔστε" ἀποκρίνονται τάληθες οἱ ποιμένες ὅτι "ἐκ

Χαρράν" ἔκ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως αἱ ἀλογοί ὡς ἐκ

dιανοίας αἱ λογικαὶ δυνάμεις εἰσὶ· προσπυθομένου

de, εἰ γινώσκουσι Λάβαν, φασὶν εἰκότως εἰδέναι·
gνωρίζει γὰρ τὸ χρώμα καὶ πάσαν ποιότητα αἰσθη-

σις, ὡς οἶεται, χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ ποιότητων ὁ

213 Λάβαν σύμβολον. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειδὰν

ἡδὴ τελεωθῆ, τὸν μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἶκον ἀπο-

λείψει, τὸν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ως ψυχῆς ἱδρύεται, ὅν ἐτι

ὼν ἐν τοίς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀσκήσεσιν ἀναζωγραφεῖ·

λέγει γὰρ: "πότε ποιήσω κἀγὼ ἔμαυτῷ οἶκον;")

πότε τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ αἰσθήσεων ὑπεριδῶν νοῦν

καὶ διάνοιαν οἰκήσω, λόγῳ θεωρητοῖς πράγμασι

1 MSS. αἰσθήσει.

I understand these two sections to contain, not so much advice to soothe an angry man by pretending to conform to his views and wishes, as a description of the right attitude of the mind to αἰσθήσεις and πάθος. It is well, when we feel or see the ebullience of passion in ourselves or others to come down from the contemplation of νοητά and accommodate ourselves to outward things. Afterwards the mind may return to the care of its proper charges (τῶν ἱδίων), the mind 256
no single suggestion of its, profess to share its likes and dislikes. In this way it will be made quite friendly. And when it has been softened, you will drop your feigning, and, free now from the expectation of suffering any evil at its hands, you will comfortably return to the care of your own charges.\(^a\)

For this is the reason\(^b\) why Haran is represented as full of beasts, and having cattle-rearers as its inhabitants; for what place could be more suitable for irrational nature and those who have taken upon them the charge and patronage of it, than our senses? For instance, when the trainer of self inquires "Whence are ye?" the shepherds answer truly "from Haran" (Gen. xxix. 4); for the irrational faculties come from sense-perception, as do the rational from understanding. When he further inquires whether they know Laban, they naturally say that they know him (Gen. xxix. 5): for sense-perception is familiar, so it imagines, with every colour and every quality, and Laban is the symbol of colours and varieties of quality. But as for Jacob himself, when at last he has been perfected, he quits, as we shall find, the dwelling-place of the senses, and founds that of the soul in the true sense\(^c\) of the word, the dwelling-place which he pictures to himself while still immersed in his toils and exercises; for he says, "When shall I also make for myself a dwelling-place?" (Gen. xxx. 30). When shall I, looking beyond things perceived and the senses which perceive them, inhabit mind and understanding, educated in and associating with matters being thought of as the shepherd of the herd of νοητά; cf. De Mut. 114. But see App. p. 566.

\(^a\) i.e. because Haran is the place of αἰσθήσεως.

\(^b\) i.e. because Haran is the place of αἰσθήσεως.

\(^c\) See on § 5 above.
συντρεφόμενος¹ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενος, καθάπερ αἱ ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ψυχαῖ—μαίας αὐτὰς ἔθος 215 ὄνομαξεν—; καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσι σκεπάσματα οἰκεῖα καὶ φυλακτήρια φιλαρέτοις ψυχαῖς: τὸ δὲ ευδερκέστατον οἰκοδόμημα ἢν ὁ θεὸς φόβος τοῖς φρουρὰν καὶ τεῖχος αὐτὸν ἀκαθαίρετον πεποιημένοις. "ἐπειδή" γὰρ φησιν "ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ μαίαι τὸν θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας." 216 XXXIX. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Χαρρᾶν τόπων ὁ νοῦς λέγεται "διοδεύσαι τὴν γῆν ἑως τοῦ τόπου Συχέῳ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν τὴν ψηλήν." τί δὲ ἐστι τὸ διοδεύσαι, σκεψώμεθα: τὸ φιλομαθές ζητητικὸν καὶ περίεργον ἐστὶ φύσει, πανταχῇ βαδίζων ἄκως καὶ πανταχόσε διακύπτον καὶ μηδὲν ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν ὄντων μήτε σωμάτων μήτε πραγμάτων ἀπολύσαν δικαιοῦν. λίχνον γὰρ ἐκτόπως θεαμάτων καὶ ακουσμάτων εἶναι πέφυκεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἑνωκῶν καὶ πορρωτῶν διωκισμένων ἐφίεσθαι. 217 λέγουσι γοῦν, ὡς ἔστιν ἄτοπον ἐμπόρους μὲν καὶ κατηλούσι γλύσχρων ἐνεκα κερδῶν διαβαίνει τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν κύκλῳ περιέναι ἀπασαν, μὴ θέρος, μὴ χειμῶν, μὴ πνεύματα βίαν, μὴ ἐναντία, μὴ νεότητα, μὴ γήρας, μὴ νόσον σώματος, μὴ φίλων συνήθειαν, μὴ τὰς ἐπὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκεῖοις ἀλέκτους ὕδων, μὴ πατρίδος καὶ πολιτικῶν φιλανθρωπίων ἀπόλαυσιν, μὴ χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων καὶ

¹ MSS. συστρεφόμενος.

—a Hebrew “He made them houses,” i.e. gave them families, to perpetuate their names.—Driver.

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THE MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM, 214–217

which form reason’s contemplation, even as souls do that are in quest of things out of sight? To such souls it is customary to give the name of “midwives,” for, like the midwives in Egypt, these make places of shelter and security fit for virtue-loving souls: and the fear of God is as of old the most sure dwelling-place for those who have made Him their guard and impregnablefastness. For it says, “Since the midwives feared God, they made for themselves houses” (Ex. i. 21).

XXXIX. To resume. The mind, when it has gone forth from the places about Haran, is said to have travelled through the country as far as the place of Shechem, to the lofty oak-tree (Gen. xii. 6). Let us consider what is meant by “travelled through.” Love of learning is by nature curious and inquisitive, not hesitating to bend its steps in all directions, prying into everything, reluctant to leave anything that exists unexplored, whether material or immaterial. It has an extraordinary appetite for all that there is to be seen and heard, and, not content with what it finds in its own country, it is bent on seeking what is in foreign parts and separated by great distances. We are reminded that merchants and traders for the sake of trifling profits cross the seas, and compass the wide world, letting stand in their way no summer heat nor winter cold, no tempestuous or contrary winds, neither youth nor age, no sickness of body, neither the daily intercourse with friends nor the pleasure too great for words which we take in wife and children and in all else that is our own, nor the enjoyment of our fatherland and of all the gracious amenities of civic life, nor the safe use of money and property and abundance of other
τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἀσφαλὴ χρήσιν, μή τῶν ἄλλων ὁποιῶν συνόλως μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἔμποδῶν τιθέμενους, τοῦ δὲ καλλιστοῦ καὶ περιμαχήτου καὶ μόνου τῷ γένει τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν οἰκειοστάτου χάριν, σοφίας, μή οὐχὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἀπασαν περαιούσθαι, πάντα δὲ γῆς μιχὸν ἑπέρχεσθαι, φιλοπευστοῦντας εἰ ποῦ τι καλὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τῆς πάσης ἱχνηλατεῖν, ἄρχει ἂν ἐγγένηται τῶν ξητουμένων καὶ ποθοῦν 219 μένων εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἐλθεῖν. διώδευσον μέντοι, ἂρχη καὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, εἰ θέλεις, ἔκαστον τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγαγοῦσα εἰς ἐπίκρισιν, ὅλον εὐθέως τι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τί ποιοῦν ἡ πάσχον διανοίᾳ συνεργεῖ, τί ἡ αἰσθήσεις καὶ τίνα τρόπον τὸν ἠγεμόνα νοῦν ὥφελεῖ, τί λόγος καὶ τίνων γνώμενος ἐρμηνεύς πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν συμβάλλει τί ἤδονη καὶ τί ἐπιθυμία, τί λύπη καὶ τίνων γινόμενος ἐρμηνεύς πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν συμβάλλει, τι ἤδονη καὶ τι ἐπιθυμία, τί λύπη καὶ τις ἡ αἰσθήσεις τις εὐμαρῶς διεκδύσεται ἡ οὐχ ἀλώσεται πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν, τί ἡ ἄφραίνειν, τί τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, τί τὸ ἁδικεῖν, τις ἡ τῶν ἄλλων πλήθυς νοσημάτων ὡσα ἡ φθοροποιῶς ἀποτίκτειν πέφυκε κακία, καὶ τις ἡ τούτων ἀποστροφή, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἑναντία τί τὸ δίκαιον ἢ τὸ φρόνιμον ἢ τὸ σῴφρον, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, τὸ εὐβουλον, ἀρετὴ συνόλως ἀπασα καὶ εὐπάθεια. καὶ δὴ τρόπον ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἰσθη περιγίνεσθαι δι- 220 όδευσον μέντοι καὶ τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τελεώτατον

* Philo here seems, as not unfrequently, to use εὐπάθεια in a more general sense, not as in §§ 119 and 157 in the strict Stoic sense of justifiable emotions.
good things, nor in a word anything else either great or small. If so, it is monstrous, such speakers urge, when we stand to gain a thing most fair, worth all men's striving for, the special prerogative of the human race, namely wisdom, to refrain from crossing every sea, from exploring earth's every recess, in the joy of finding out whether there is in any place aught that is fair to see or hear, and from following the quest of it with utmost zest and keenness, until we can come to the enjoyment of the things that we are seeking and longing for. Travel through man also, if thou wilt, O my soul, bringing to examination each component part of him. For instance, to take the first examples that occur, find out what the body is and what it must do or undergo to co-operate with the understanding; what sense-perception is and in what way it is of service to its ruler, mind; what speech is, and what thoughts it must express if it would contribute to nobility of character; what pleasure is, and what desire is; what pain and fear are, and what the healing art is that can counteract them, by means of which a man shall either, if he falls into their hand, without difficulty make his escape, or avoid capture altogether; what it is to play the fool, what to be licentious, what to be unjust, what the multitude of other sicknesses to which it is the nature of pestilential wickedness to give birth, and what the preventive of these; and on the other hand, what righteousness is, or good sense, or self-mastery, courage, discretion, in a word virtue generally and moral welfare, and in what way each of them is wont to be won. Travel again through the greatest and most perfect man, this universe, and
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άνθρωπον, τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διάσκεψαι τὰ μέρη, ὡς τόποις μὲν διέξεικται, δυνάμεσι δὲ ἦνωται, καὶ τίς ὁ ἀόρατος οὕτως τῆς ἀρμονίας καὶ ἐνώσεως πάσης δεσμός. εὰν μέντοι σκοπούμενοι μὴ ῥαδίως καταλαμβάνησιν καὶ εὐπρεπῶς καὶ διάκοσμως ἄναρμονός καὶ ἀνευρισκόμενα. 221 οὐ χάριν ὁ φιλομαθής τοῦ τόπου Συχέμ ένείληπται, μεταληφθηκὼς δὲ τοῦνομα Συχέμ ὁμίασις καλεῖται, πόνον ύπερβολον, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦτοι ἀχθοφορεῖν ἔθος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι μέμνηται λέγων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: "ὑπέθηκε τὸν ὄμον εἰς τὸ πονεῖν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνήρ γεωργός." 222 ὅστε μηδέποτε, ὦ διάνοια, μαλακισθείσα ὀκλάσης, ἀλλὰ, καὶ τὸ δοκῆ δυσθεώρητον εἶναι, τὸ ἐν σαυτῇ βλέπων διανοίξασα διάκυψαν εὐσῶ καὶ ἀκρίβεστερον τὰ ὄντα ἐναύγασαι καὶ μήτε ἐκούσα μήτε ἀκουσά ποτὲ μῦσης· τυφλὸν γὰρ ὑποσώ, ὡς ὄξυωπες ἐγρήγοροισ. ἀγαπητὸν δὲ τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς προσβολῆς εἰλικρινῆ τῶν ζητουμένων 223 λαβέων φαντασίαιν. οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι καὶ δρῦν ύψηλῆν ἐν Συχέμ πεφυτεύθαι φησιν αἰνιττόμενος τὸν ἀνένδοτον καὶ ἀκαμήπε καὶ ἀρράγεστατον παιδείας πόνον; ὥ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι

1 Wendland and Mangey τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ. The reading here printed is, according to Wend., that of all mss. except Ἡ. Wend. later (Rhein. Mus. liii. p. 34) repudiated ἐκεχ., and was inclined instead to adopt a suggestion of Cohn, ὁ προβολής, based on De Sacr. 37. But the phrase οὐ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ληπτόν (not to be caught with one hand) is a quotation from Plato, Ἀριστ. 226 α, where it is said to be a proverbial phrase (τὸ λεγόμενον) and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness here. See further App. p. 566.
2 mss. προβολῆς.
scan narrowly its parts, how far asunder they are in the positions which they occupy, how wholly made one by the powers which govern them, and what constitutes for them all this invisible bond of harmony and unity. If, however, in your investigation, you do not easily attain the objects of your quest, keep on without giving in, for these "need both hands to catch them," and only by manifold and painful toil can they be discovered. That is why the lover of learning took possession of the place called Shechem, a name which when translated is "shouldering," a figure of toil, since it is with these parts of the body that we are accustomed to carry loads, as Moses himself calls to mind elsewhere speaking in this wise of one who worked and strove, "he submitted his shoulder to labour, and became a tiller of the soil" (Gen. xlix. 15).

Never, then, O my understanding, do thou shew weakness and slacken, but even if aught seem to be hard to discern, open wide the organ in thyself that sees, and stoop to get a view of the inside, and behold with more accurate gaze the things that are, and never either willingly or unwillingly close thine eyes; for sleep is a blind thing, as wakefulness is a thing of keen sight. And it is a sufficient reward to obtain by unremitting inspection a clear impression of the things thou art in search of.

Do you not see that he says further that a tall oak had been planted in Shechem, thus shewing in a figure the toil of education as a hard and unbreakable substance that never yields or bends?

* Or "one with which we must be content." The word is generally used of something we accept in default of something better. What that is in this case has been shewn in § 46. There is a higher realization than seeing, viz. possessing, but that is not given to men.
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tέλειον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον κεχρήσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ψυχῆς δικαστήριον, ὄνομα Δείνα—κρίσις γὰρ ἐμπνευσταί—, συλληφθῆ πρὸς τοῦ τοῦ ἐναντίων μοχθοῦντος πόνων, τὸν φρονήσεως ἐπίβουλον.2 ο γὰρ ἐπώνυμος τοῦ τόπου τοῦτον Συχέμ, Ἐμωρ νῖός ᾧν, ἀλόγου φύσεως—καλεῖται γὰρ Ἐμωρ ὄνος—, ἀφροσύνην ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ συντραφεῖς ἀναισχύντια καὶ θράσει τὰ κριτήρια τῆς διανοίας μιαίνειν ὁ παμμάρτων καὶ φθείρειν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἰ μὴ θάπτων οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκούσται3 καὶ γνώριμοι, Συμεών τε καὶ Λευί, φραξάμενοι τὰ οίκεια ἀσφαλῶς ἐπεξήλθον, ἦτι οὖν τα ἐν τῷ φιληδόνῳ καὶ φιλοπαθεί καὶ ἀπεριμήτων πόνω καθελόντες· χρησμοῦ γὰρ ἄντος, ὡς ὥσ ᾧν γενόμενο ποτε πόρνη τῶν τοῦ βλέποντος, Ἰσραήλ, θυγατέρων, οὗτοι τὴν παρθένον ψυχήν ἐξαρπάσαντες λαθεῖν ἠλπίσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐρημία γε τῶν βοηθησόντων τοῖς παραπόνοις μένοις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ κἂν οἰωνταὶ τινες, οἰγήσονται μόνον, ἀπελεγχθῆσαντες δὲ τῷ ἐργῷ ψευδοδοξοῦν-

1 mss. μὴ δὲ.
2 So all mss. except H²; this has τοῦ . . . ἐπίβουλον, which Wend. adopts.
3 Wend. suggested and later (Rhein. Mus. lviii. 34) accepted ἐγασταῖ. But see De Ebr. 94, where Simeon is φιλήκοος, “for his name means ἀκοή.”

a Or “tribunals.”

b The phrase is apparently an interpretation of the next word, ἀσφαλῶς, which itself is taken from the LXX εἰς ἑλθὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς. This word, which in the E.V. is translated “unawares” (margin, “boldly”), was presumably understood by the LXX translators as “running no risks because the Shechemites were disabled.” Philo reads into it the thought that Virtue must fortify itself against Vice before it can take the offensive.
It is a vital matter that he who would be perfect should ply this toil, to the end that the soul's court of justice, called "Dinah," which means "judgement," may not be ravished by him who sinks under the opposite kind of toil, which is the insidious foe of sound sense.

For the man who bears the name of this place, Shechem, being son of Hamor, that is of an irrational being—for "Hamor" means "ass"—practising folly and nursed in shamelessness and effrontery, essayed—foul wretch that he was—to corrupt and defile the judgement faculties\(^a\) of the understanding. But the hearers and pupils of sound sense, Symeon and Levi, were too quick for him. They made secure their own quarters\(^b\) and went forth against them in safety, and overthrew them when still occupied in the pleasure-loving, passion-loving, toil\(^c\) of the uncircumcised: for albeit there was a Divine decree that "of the daughters of Israel, the seeing one, none might ever become a harlot" (Deut. xxiii. 17), these men hoped to carry off unobserved the virgin soul (Gen. xxxiv.).\(^d\)

Vain hope, for there is no lack of succourers to victims of a breach of faith; but even if some imagine that there is, they will only imagine, but will be convicted by events of

\(^a\) A reference to LXX Gen. xxiv. 25 ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ, where πόνος refers to their disablement from circumcision (E.V. "when they were sore"). This strangely-used word comes in happily for Philo's allegory of Shechem as the false πόνος.

\(^b\) Philo takes great liberties with the story, ignoring the actual seduction of Dinah (μαίνειν ἐπεχείρησεν) and the circumcision of Hamor and Shechem (ἀπεριτμήτω πόνῳ). He gives, however, a sort of apology for this in § 225 by suggesting that in the spiritual sphere the defilement of the truly virtuous soul, and the "circumcision" of the truly wicked, are only illusory.
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tes. ἕστι γάρ, ἕστιν ἡ μυσοπόνηρος καὶ ἀμείλικτος καὶ ἀδικουμένων ἀρωγός ἀπαραίτητος δίκη, σφάλ- λουσα τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰσχυνόντων ἀρετῆς, ὥς πεσόν-
tων εἰς παρθένον πάλιν ἡ δόξασα αἰσχυνθῆναι μεταβάλλει ψυχή: δόξασα δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφθειρετο· τῶν γὰρ ἀκουσίων οὐδὲν τοῦ πάσχοντος πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πάθος, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀδικοῦντος τὸ πραττόμενον ἔργον.
holding a false opinion. For Justice has indeed existence, Justice the abhorrer of wickedness, the relentless one, the inexorable, the befriender of those who are wronged, bringing failure upon the aims of those who shame virtue, upon whose fall the soul, that had seemed to have been shamed, becomes again a virgin. Seemed, I said, because it never was defiled. It is with sufferings which we have not willed, as it is with wrongdoings which we have not intended. As there is no real doing in the second case, so there is no real suffering in the first.
WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE THINGS
(QUIS RERUM DIVINARUM HERES)
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

This treatise, the longest of the whole series and containing many fine passages, is a straightforward commentary with comparatively few digressions on Gen. xv. 2-18.

2. And Abram says, Master, what wilt Thou give me? I depart childless. But the son of Masek, the woman born in my household, is this Damascus Eliezer.

3. And Abram said, Since Thou hast given me no seed, the son of my household shall be my heir.

4. And immediately the voice of the Lord came to him, saying, He shall not be thy heir, but he who shall come forth from thee, he shall be thy heir.

5. And He led him forth outside and said to him, Look up indeed into heaven, and count the stars if thou shalt be able to number them, and He said, So shall be thy seed.

6. And Abram believed on God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

7. And He said to him, I am the God who brought thee from the land of the Chaldeans to give thee this land to inherit.

8. And he said, Master, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it?

9. And He said to him, Take Me a heifer of three years old, and a goat of three years old, and a
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ram of three years old, and a turtledove and a pigeon.

10. And he took for Him all these, and divided them in the middle, and placed them facing each other; but the birds he did not divide.

11. And the birds came down to the bodies their half pieces, and Abram sat with them.

12. And about sunset a trance (ecstasy) fell upon Abram, and lo, a great dark terror falls upon him.

13. And it was said to Abram, Knowing thou shalt know that thy seed shall be a sojourner in a land not their own, and they shall enslave them and ill-treat them and humble them four hundred years.

14. And the nation which they shall be slaves to I will judge, and after this they shall come forth hither with much substance (stock).

15. But thou shalt depart to thy fathers in peace, nourished in a good old age (or, as Philo, “nourished with peace”).

16. And in the fourth generation they shall turn away hither, for the iniquities of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled until now.

17. And when the sun was at its setting, a flame arose, and lo, a furnace (oven) smoking, and torches of fire, which went in the midst of these half pieces.

18. In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram saying, To thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.

The first point to which Philo calls attention is Abraham’s boldness of speech, the proper attitude of the faithful servant (1-9). Silence indeed is more fitting in the ignorant, as is expressed in the text, “Be silent and listen” (10), and we should remember
that this includes the silence of the soul, which is the opposite of that wandering mind, which so often accompanies mere silence of speech (11-13). But that the wise have a right to boldness of speech is shewn emphatically in the story of Moses, and here Philo quotes several of his pathetic appeals to God and concludes that such appeals are the mark of the "friend of God" (14-21). Yet in Abraham's words there is a sense of pious awe or caution (εἰλαβεια) as well as boldness. Philo notes the term "Master" connoting a greater degree of fear than "Lord," and thence passes on into an impassioned meditation expressing the combination of awe and gratitude, which the words "Master what wilt thou give me?" (which he takes in the sense of "what more canst thou give, who hast given all?" ) call up in the mind of the devout worshipper (15-22). And in the same way he treats the verse, "Shall I depart childless?" Shall I, that is, be denied the spiritual offspring of higher thought? Shall I have no heir but the son of Masek (34-39).

Thus we are necessarily led to the interpretation of Masek the "homeborn" and her son. The name means "from a kiss" and kiss (φιλημα) differs from love (φιλειν) as marking a lower and less genuine kind of affection (40-41). Thus it may stand for the life of sense, which the wise will regard as a servant, but not love (42). Philo then gives two examples where "kiss" (καταφιλειν) signifies the kiss of insincerity, while φιλειν shews true affection, and then introduces somewhat inappropriately his favourite parable of the Hated and the Beloved Wife (Deut. xxi. 15-17), the latter of whom he identifies with Masek (45-49) and touches on the analogy
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between the two wives and Leah and Rachel (50). Masek’s son Damascus represents all of us who honour Sense. The name means “Blood of sackcloth” and thus symbolizes the animal or “blood”-life as opposed to the life of mind and reason (52-57). Damascus is also called Eliezer (God is my help) which signifies the inability of the blood-life to maintain itself without God’s help. And again his inferiority is marked by the absence of any named father (58-62).

Abraham’s question then means “can this blood-life be the heir of higher things?” and the profound inward conviction symbolized by the voice of God answers—No, not that, but he that shall come out of thee shall be thy heir (63-68). These words Philo audaciously understands to mean that the “heir” must come out of, or leave, that is surrender and dedicate to God, not only body, sense and speech, but his whole self (69-74). What the inheritance is is shewn by the next words, “He led him forth outside and said, ‘Look (or ‘See’) up into heaven,’” for heaven is another name for the treasure-house of divine blessings, as it is called in Deuteronomy (75-76), and to be able to “see” up to this is the privilege of the true Israel which does not like its unworthy representatives in the wilderness refuse to “look to the Manna,” preferring the onions and fishes of Egypt (76-80). As for the phrase “He led him up out outside,” there is no tautology, for since we may well be called both outside and inside, if our inward feelings are not in accord with our outward actions, so the phrase shews that the Abraham-mind

a Which, on Philo’s interpretation of Gen. xii. 1, were symbolized by the “land,” “kinsfolk” and “father’s house,” which Abraham was commanded to leave.
is altogether outside, outside that is of the trammels of sense, speech and body and above all of self (81-85).

The next words "count the stars" do not refer to mere number, as is shewn by "so (not "so many") shall be thy seed," but to the "star-like" nature of the soul-children, and the stars themselves are not those which we see, but the vastly greater glories of the Ideal Universe, of which these are but the copies (86-89).

The next verse raises the question why Abraham's believing God should be counted to him for righteousness. How can anyone disbelieve God? Philo replies that while in itself there is nothing marvellous in this belief, yet in view of the proneness of human nature to trust in lower things, it may well be described as a "just" or "righteous" action (90-95).

In verse 7, the words "I am the God who brought thee from the land of the Chaldeans to give thee this land to inherit," send our thoughts to a fulfilled boon, as well as that which is to come. God had brought the soul out of the land of star-lore, where heaven itself is God, and has led him to the land of "wisdom," that is of acknowledging the Creator instead of the creature (96-99).

Abraham's question in verse 8 "How shall I know?" does not imply doubt of the promise, but only the natural desire to know how it will come about, and the immediate answer of God shews that the question is accepted as right (100-102). In the answer (verse 9), we first note the words "take for me," which indicate first that all we have we do but receive (103), and secondly that we should receive or "take" them for God and not for ourselves. Philo develops this theme in his familiar manner in appli-
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cation to our senses, mind and all other gifts (104-111). An illustration of this from the phrase My first-fruits or "beginnings" leads to some thoughts on the divine origin of the fruits of the earth, as well as of human parentage (112-119). And again if the beginnings are God’s so also are the ends (120-121), and finally we have to remember that God deigns to "take" from us, as He shewed, when He took the Levites as a ransom for the others (123-124).

Proceeding with the same verse, the heifer signifies the soul, the ram speech, and the goat sense-perception. They are all "three years old," the perfect number signifying beginning, middle and end, while the solitary turtle-dove and the sociable pigeon are respectively divine and human wisdom. The first three are divided, soul into reasoning and unreasoning, speech into true and false, sense-perception into real and illusory, while the two "wisdoms" are incapable of division (125-132). This work of division is one of the functions of the creative Logos and is illustrated from various aspects of creation (133-140). But we must note also that the three creatures divided in the story are divided in the middle, that is equally, and this brings us to the disquisition "about the division into equals and opposites," which supplies the second half of the traditional title of the treatise and occupies the next sixty-five sections.

Equality which in actual practice cannot be obtained exactly and is therefore an attribute of the divine Division by the Logos (141-143) may be equality in number or magnitude or capacity, and again it may be numerical or proportional (144-145). Philo illustrates all these at somewhat wearisome
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length. He first gives a catalogue of natural phenomena where we find the numerical balance (146-151), and then examples of proportional equality, concluding with the thought of man as the Microcosm and the Cosmos (152-155), and this leads him on to shew how God deals with small and great on the same principle (156-160). Moses too shews his reverence for equality partly by his praises of justice, the very essence of which is equality, and also in the examples of it scattered throughout the Law. Such are the divisions of day and night, of man and woman, and others mentioned in the early chapters of Genesis (161-165), and in the body of the Law itself, the Divine Presence dividing the Cherubim, that is the two Potencies, on the ark, and the division of the Ten Commandments into two tables of five each (166-169), which gives occasion for stating shortly the meaning of each commandment (169-173). Other examples are the permanent sacrifices (174), the two sets of the shewbread (175), the two jewels on the High Priest’s robe (176), the two mountains of blessing and cursing, and the two goats of Lev. xvi. with a short digression on the meaning of the rite (177-181). Two other examples which follow give occasion for longer mystical meditation. The blood which was poured partly on the altar and partly into the mixing-bowls shews how divine wisdom, that is mind in its pure form, is an offering to God, and human wisdom, set by God in the mixing-bowls of the senses, may be purified by the cleansing blood (182-185). So too the offering of the half-shekel indicates the ransoming of the suppliant soul, while the un-offered half stands for the mind which is content with its slavery (186-190). Again we have
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examples of equal division in the Manna, where he that had much had not too much, and he that had little did not lack (191), and the Passover, where the lamb is to be distributed, so that each may have sufficient (192-193). And after two other briefly mentioned examples there follows a longer allegorical treatment of the ingredients of the incense-offering interpreted as the thanksgiving of the four elements and therefore of the World (194-200), and finally a fine passage in which citing the story of Aaron standing between the living and the dead, and the cloud which divided the host of Egypt from Israel, he describes the work of the Logos as mediating between the creature and the Creator, on the one hand proclaiming the divine mercy, on the other hand standing surety for the ultimate obedience of mankind—a passage which must surely have deeply impressed his Christian readers (201-206).

The words "facing each other" suggest that these divisions are into opposites, and so we find this phenomenon of oppositeness running throughout creation. In a long catalogue which begins with such physical examples as hot and cold and ends with human qualities, Philo brings this out and finally points out in triumph that it is in vain for the Greeks to boast of this philosophy of opposites as due to Heracleitus, since Moses knew and shewed it long before (207-214).

We might now pass on, but there is one example of division which Philo feels needs special attention. As in the story of Genesis three creatures were divided, there were six halves, and therefore the dividing Logos stands in the sacred position of seventh. We have a parallel to this in the great chandelier of the
Tabernacle and Philo deals with this in considerable detail, shewing that its general structure is sevenfold, i.e. three of each kind on each side of the main stalk (215-220). He goes on to suggest that it represents the seven planets with the sun in the centre, as well as the three pairs of soul division mentioned above with the Logos as the seventh (221-225). And this gives him opportunity for two other remarks on the chandelier. He notes that while the incense-altar (as mentioned before) represents thanksgiving of the elements, and the table with its loaves thanksgiving of the creatures formed of these elements, the chandelier signifies the thanksgiving of the heavens (226). And so while we are told the dimensions of the first two we hear nothing of the dimensions of the chandelier, in accordance with the truth that heaven has no bounds of which the human mind has ken (227-229).

"The birds he did not divide." We have already had a brief explanation of this, but it needs filling out. While the unreasoning part of the soul has its seven divisions, the mind (the pigeon of the story) like the sphere of the fixed stars, which is its heavenly analogy, has no divisions, and so too the turtle-dove, the Logos, is indivisible: and yet both though un-divided themselves are perpetually dividing and distinguishing everything that comes before them (230-236).

"The birds came down to the bodies, the half pieces." Here of course "birds" is used in a different sense, as is shewn by their "coming down," for it is the nature of birds to fly up (237-238). Rather these birds are like the reptiles banned in Leviticus, and have left their natural home of
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heaven for earth. They are the numberless thoughts which beset the mind and drag it "down" and feast upon the bodily element in us (239-243). And when we read that "Abraham sat down with them" it signifies the wise man's attitude to these thoughts. He is like the statesman who puts an end to foreign wars, that is to wicked thoughts which attack the soul, and to civil faction, that is to the contention of opposing doctrines (243-246). And here once again Philo catalogues the different theories of the schools on physical and theological problems, and pictures the Sage, who sits down with them, as half-midwife, half-judge, discarding the evil offspring of the soul and saving the good (246-248).

And about sunset an "ecstasy" fell upon Abraham. Philo enumerates four meanings of this word—madness, astonishment, mental tranquillity (or vacancy) and prophetic inspiration (249). He proceeds to give examples of each (250-252), but two examples of the second, viz. that Isaac was in an "ecstasy," i.e. astonished, when Jacob brought him the savoury meats, and Jacob was in an "ecstasy" i.e. astonished, that Joseph still lived and ruled over Egypt, cause him to break off strangely into the lessons which may be drawn from these two passages (252-256). When he resumes he gives an example of the third meaning, viz. the ecstasy (trance) "which fell upon Adam and he slept" (267), and proceeds to the fourth, which he holds to be the meaning of the word in our text. He shews that either in the sense of predictor or of spokesman Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and above all Moses are prophets (258-262). And the phrase "about sunset," he

a See notes on these sections.

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thinks, well suits this meaning. For when the "sun" of the mind is in action, we cannot be god-possessed. It is when something higher takes possession of him and plays upon him like the musician on the chords that the prophet becomes the voice of God (263-266).

We turn to the promises given to Abraham in verses 13-16. "Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a land not their own." The soul-children must dwell a while in that "earth" which stands for bodily things (262-268). They will serve for four hundred years, and with Philo's usual recklessness about numbers the four hundred years stand for the four passions (who are also the people whom they serve and whom God will judge), and what slavery to the passions means is described briefly (269-271). But when the redemption comes, we shall depart with much substance or stock, to be our supply for the journey. This supply is the fruits of education, beginning with the school learning, which creates the desire for the higher philosophy (272-274).

"But thou shalt depart to thy fathers, nourished with peace, in a good old age." First we note the contrast here implied between the peace of the Sage and the war and slavery described above (275). Secondly, that he "departs," not "dies" (276). But who are the "fathers"? Not those whom he left behind in Chaldea, from whom God had called him away (277-279). Some think the heavenly bodies are meant, some the "ideas," others again the four elements to which our bodies return. And Philo seems ready to accept this, if we add also the "fifth element," to which the soul returns—at any rate he gives no other (279-283). When the promise adds
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"nourished with peace," it contrasts the wise man's lot with the spiritual welfare of ordinary men. In that war our enemies may be the "external things" or the passions and vices within us. And then Philo repeats in a slightly different form the parable of the guards of the soul and body which he has already used in De Ebr. 201 and De Conf. 18 (284-286). That the peace cannot be literally meant is clear when we remember that Abraham's life was beset by war, exile and even want (286-288). Yet all these, allegorically considered, are blessings—war against wrongdoing, exile from the false star-lore, want of passion (289). And the "good old age" must mean the life of wisdom, for a day well-spent is more than years of folly (290-292).

"And in the fourth generation they shall return here." The "fourth generation" is interpreted to mean the fourth of the seven-year periods of life. In the first the child knows nothing of good or evil. The second is the time when vice shews itself, partly owing to the natural disposition, partly to mis-handled education. In the third comes the healing influence of philosophy, and thus in the fourth the man is in his strength ready to travel to the land of wisdom (293-299).

"For the sins of the Amorites are not yet filled up." Some read a fatalistic meaning into these words, but Moses is no fatalist (300-301). The name "Amorites" means "talkers" and here they are the deceivers who misuse the gift of speech. It is not till sophistry is convicted, and thus "filled," that we can fly from the land of lies and seek the wisdom indicated by "here" (302-306).

"When the sun was at its setting a flame arose
and behold a smoking furnace.” The flame of virtue often appears late and at the close of life (307), and while we are still in the land of the Amorites it is like the smoke of a furnace. Smoke brings tears to the eyes and so when we see virtue in this obscured form, we weep for its perfected form (308-310). In another way this furnace or oven may be the type of the earnest soul, which contains and “cooks” the nourishment supplied by the virtues (311). As for “the torches of fire which went in the midst of the half-pieces,” they are the judgements of God, passing through and dividing all things (312).

Finally we have the summing up. In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham saying, “to thy seed will I give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates.” Here then we have the wise man declared the heir. For we have already seen that the land is wisdom (313-315), and when he adds the words about the rivers we must note that Egypt is put first and Euphrates last. For the process of perfecting begins with Egypt, the body, and the bodily things which are necessary to our existence, and ends with the great river of God’s wisdom with all its joys and blessings (315-316).

In this treatise we once more have, as in the De Sacrificiis, the help of the Papyrus discovered in Upper Egypt in 1889 and stated to be as early as, and probably earlier than, the 6th century. A very cursory examination of Wendland’s Apparatus Criticus, will shew how valuable is this addition to our textual authorities. Particularly interesting is the frequent

* See Introduction to that treatise, vol. ii. p. 93.
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note "Pap. (Mangey)," shewing how often the acumen of Mangey anticipated the discovery. But like all documents it is not infallible, and while in most cases I thoroughly endorse Wendland's preference for the readings of the Papyrus against those of the mss., there are a few in which I think he has been too subservient to it; and there are also many places in which though it supports the mss. there is evidently or probably some corruption, on which conjecture may exercise its ingenuity.

a As the object of the critical notes is chiefly to indicate to the reader where the text adopted has no ms. authority (see Preface, pp.v-vi), I have not, except in a very few special instances, recorded the cases in which the Papyrus's readings are accepted by Wendland in preference to those of the Codices.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΙΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΟΜΗΣ

1 ι. 'Εν μὲν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης συντάξει τὰ περὶ μισθῶν ὡς ἐνὴν ἐπ’ ἀκριβείᾳ διεξήλθομεν· νυνὶ δὲ πρόκειται ζητεῖν, τίς οἱ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων κληρονόμος ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρησιμοδοῦντος ὁ σοφὸς ἠκούσε λογίου τοιούτου· "ὁ μισθός σου πολὺς ἔσται σφόδρα," πυνθανεῖται φάσκων· "δέσποτα, τί μοι δώσεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολύομαι ἄτεκνος. οἱ δὲ νεός Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενείας μου οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ἄλεζερ," καὶ πάλιν "ἐπείδη ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔδωκας σπέρμα, ὁ δὲ οἰκογενεῖς μου κληρονομήσει με."

2 καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἄν τὸ τοῦ χρησμοδοῦντος ἀξίωμα καὶ μέγεθος καταπλαγεῖς ἀφωνὸς καὶ ἀχανής ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ δέος, ἄλλα τοῦ τῶν περιχαρεῖ; ἐπιστομίζουσι γὰρ ὡς αἱ σφυδραὶ ἱππαί καὶ αἱ ὑπερβάλλουσαι χαράι.

3 διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰσχυροφωνὸς ὁμολογεῖ καὶ βραδύγλωσσος γενέσθαι, ἀφ’ οὗ ἦρξατο ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ ἀφευθήσεται τότε γὰρ εἰκὸς τὸ μὲν φωνητήριον

4 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΙΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΟΜΗΣ

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1 So Pap.: mss. μου ὁ έκ.

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*a Not the De Migratione, in which δωρέα not μισθός is
WHO IS THE HEIR OF DIVINE THINGS
AND ON THE DIVISION INTO EQUALS AND OPPOSITES

I. In the preceding treatise we have discussed as carefully as was possible the question of rewards. Now our task is to inquire who is the heir of divine things. When the Sage heard the oracular promise to this purport, "Thy reward shall be exceeding great," he answers with the question, "Master, what wilt thou give me? I go hence childless. The son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is this Damascus Eliezer." And again he says "Since thou hast given me no seed, he that was born in my house shall be my heir" (Gen. xv. 1-3). Yet we should have expected that he (for who would not?) would have been struck mute and speechless in amazement at the majesty and greatness of the Giver of the oracle, if not for fear, at any rate for exceeding joy. For men are tongue-tied by overwhelming joy, as well as by violent grief. This it is that led Moses to confess that he has become feeble of voice and slow of tongue, ever since God began to hold converse with him (Ex. iv. 10). And the testimony of the prophet is true indeed. For at such times it is natural that

always used, but a lost treatise on Gen. xv. 1, part of which verse is quoted in the second section.

b R.V. "He that shall be the possessor of my house is Dammesek Eliezer." (A.V. "The steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus.")
οργανον ἐπέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν λόγον ἀρθρούμενον ἀνυποτάκτω φορᾷ χρῆσθαι, νοημάτων οὐ ῥημάτων ἐπάλληλα κάλλη μετ’ εὐτρόχου καὶ ψηγόρου δυνάμεως φιλοσοφοῦντα. θαυμάσιοι δὲ ἁρεταὶ ἢ τε εὐτολμία καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρρησία πρὸς τοὺς ἁμείνους, ὡς καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἂψευδῶς μᾶλλον ἢ κωμικῶς εἰρήσθαι δοκεῖν κἂν πάνθ᾽ ὁ δοῦλος ἰσυχάζεως μανθάνῃ, πονηρὸς ἐσται· μεταδίδου παρρησίας.

II. πότε οὖν ἂγει παρρησίαν οἰκέτης πρὸς δεσπότην; ἀρ’ οὖχ ὅταν ἠδυκηκότι μὲν [474] ἐαυτῷ μηδὲν | συνειδή, πάντα δ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κεκτήματος καὶ λέγοντι καὶ πράττοντι; πότε οὖν ἄξιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλον ἐλευθεροστομεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην ἢ ὅταν ἀμαρτημάτων καθαρεύῃ καὶ τὸ φιλοδέσποτον ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος κρίνῃ, πλείον χαρᾶς ὁρμεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ θεράπων θεοῦ γενέσθαι, ἢ ἐι τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐβασίλευσε τὸ γῆς ὤμοι καὶ θαλάττης ἀναφάνειν ἄκοντι κράτος; τὰς δὲ φιλοδεσπότους θεραπείας καὶ λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ διασυνιστήσων ἀκροτελεύτων λογίου τοῦ χρησθέντος αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱῷ "δῶσοι σοι καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ταύτην, καὶ ἐνευλογηθῆσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἐθνὴ τῆς γῆς, ἀνθ’ ὃν ὑπῆκουσεν Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατήρ σου τῆς ἑμῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὰ προστάγματά μου καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς μου καὶ τὰ δικαίωματά μου καὶ τὰ νόμιμα μου." μέγιστον δ’ ἐγκώμιον οἰκέτου μηθένος ὃν ἂν 286
the organ of speech should be held in check, while the language of the understanding becomes articulate and flows in resistless stream, as its wisdom pours forth beauty after beauty, not of words but of thoughts, with a power as easy as it is sublime. Yet courage and well-timed frankness before our superiors are admirable virtues also, so that there seems to be more truth than comedy in the words of the comic poet, a

The servant, trained to keep a quiet tongue.
Whate'er befalls, is sure to prove a knave.
Grant to thy man some measure of free speech.

II. When, then, is it that the servant speaks frankly to his master? Surely it is when his heart tells him that he has not wronged his owner, but that his words and deeds are all for that owner's benefit. And so when else should the slave of God open his mouth freely to Him Who is the ruler and master both of himself and of the All, save when he is pure from sin and the judgements of his conscience are loyal to his master, when he feels more joy at being the servant of God than if he had been king of all the human race and assumed an uncontested sovereignty over land and sea alike? The loyalty of Abraham's service and ministry is shewn by the concluding words of the oracle addressed to Abraham's son, "I will give to thee and thy seed all this land, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed, because Abraham thy father hearkened to My voice and kept My injunctions, My commands, My ordinances and My statutes" (Gen. xxvi. 3-5). It is the highest praise which can be given to a servant that he neglects none of his master's commands, that never hesitating in his labour of love he employs all

a Menander.
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προστάξεις ὁ δεσπότης ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀόκνως δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πάντα σπουδάζειν αἰσιώ

10 γνώμη κατορθοῦν. 

III. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν, οἷς ἀκούειν ἄλλος οὖ λέγειν ἐμπρεπές, ἐφ’ ὃν λέγεται “σιώπα καὶ ἀκούε,” πάγκαλον παρά-

ἀγγελμα. θρασύτατον γὰρ καὶ λαλίστατον ἀμαθία, ἢς πρῶτον μὲν ἔστιν ἄκος ἡσυχία, δεύτερον δὲ προσοχὴ τῶν ἀξίων τι προφερομένων ἁκοῦῃς.

11 μηδεὶς μὲντοι νομισάτω τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐμ-

φαίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ “σιώπα καὶ ἀκούε,” ἄλλα καὶ προτερόθρησθαι δυνατώτερον ἔτερον· οὐ γὰρ παρανεῖ

μόνον γλώττῃ σιωπᾶν καὶ ἃς ἄκοινευ, ἄλλα

12 καὶ ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα παθεῖν ἀμφότερα. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀκροάσιν ἥκοντές τινος οὐκ ἐληλύθασι ταῖς διανοίασι, ἄλλῃ ἔξω πλανώστησιεν καὶ μυρία περὶ μυρίων ἐγκαῦσις διεξέρχονται, τὰ συγγενικά, τὰ ὀθνεῖα, τὰ ἱδιὰ, τὰ κοινά, ἢν εἰκὸς ἢν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡ συναρχεῖν, πάνθ’ ὡς ἐτοι εἰπεῖν ἐξῆς συναρξιμομένοι, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐν ἐαυτοῖς πολὺν θροῦν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροάσθαι· λέγει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἄλλῃ ἐν ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ, οἷς ὤτα μὲν ἔστιν, ἀκοαὶ

13 δ’ οὐκ ἔνεισιν. ἦν οὖν μηδεὶς τῷν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπιφοιτήσων ή ἔνδον ταμειομένων πραγ-

μάτων ο νοῦς ἄξιώσῃ προσομελεῖν, ἄλλῃ ἠμείναι 

ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἡσυχάσας πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα ἐαυτὸν ἀποτείνῃ, σιωπῆς κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως παρ-

ἀγγέλμα δυνήσεται μετὰ τῆς πάσης προσοχῆς ἀκροάσθαι, ἐτέρως δ’ οὐκ ἀν ἴσχυσαι.

1 Wend. δημόσια: Cohn Κοινά: the Papyrus according to Wend. has sex litteras evanidas: the mss. omit altogether. I prefer κοινά as the regular antithesis to ἰδιὰ in Philo.

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and more than all his powers as he strives by sound judgement to bring all his business to a successful issue. III. There are indeed some whom it besfits to hear but not to speak, those to whom the words apply, "Be silent and hear" (Deut. xxvii. 9). An excellent injunction! For ignorance is exceeding bold and glib of tongue; and the first remedy for it is to hold its peace, the second to give ear to those who advance something worth hearing. Yet let no one suppose that this exhausts the significance of the words "be silent and hear." No, they enjoin something else of greater weight. They bid us not only be silent with the tongue and hear with the ears, but be silent and hear with the soul also. For many who come to hear a discourse have not come with their minds, but wander abroad rehearsing inwardly numberless thoughts on numberless subjects, thoughts on their families, on outsiders, on things private and things public, which properly should be forgotten for the moment. All these, we may say, form a series of successions in the mind, and the inward uproar makes it impossible for them to listen to the speaker, who discourses as in an audience not of human beings, but of lifeless statues who have ears, but no hearing is in those ears. If then the mind determines to have no dealing with any of the matters which visit it from abroad or are stored within it, but maintaining peace and tranquillity addresses itself to hear the speaker, it will be "silent," as Moses commands, and thus be able to listen with complete attention. Otherwise it will have no such power. IV. For the ignorant then it is well to

\[a\] Or "All or practically all," ὡς ἐποιεῖται serving, as usual, to qualify a round statement.
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IV. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἁμαθέσι συμφέρον ἡσυχία, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιστήμης ἐφιεμένοις καὶ ἀμα ϕιλοδεσπότοις ἀναγκαίοτατον ἡ παρρησία κτήμα. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν 'Εξαγωγῇ: "κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς σιγήσετε," καὶ χρησμός εὐθὺς ὑπόκειται 

toioude. "καὶ εἶπε | κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν· τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;" ὃς δὲν καὶ σιωπάν τοὺς μηδὲν ἀξίου ἀκοῆς ἐροῦντας καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἐρωτειν σοφίας θείω πεποιητέον καὶ μή μόνον λέγειν σὺν ἥρμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς μείζονος ἑκβοὰν, οὐ στόματι καὶ γλῶττῃ, δι χρονία λόγος ἔχει σφαιρούμενον ἀσκηθέον ἀκοῆ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ παμοῦσῳ καὶ μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ φυχής ὁργάζω, οὐθενὸς μὲν ἀκροατῆς οὔδε εἰς, ὁ δὲ ἀγένητος καὶ ἀφθαρτος μόνος. τὸ γὰρ νοητῆς ἀρμονίας εὐάρμοστον καὶ σύμφωνον μέλος ὁ νοητὸς μουσικὸς μόνος καταλαβεῖν ἤκανος, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀνοιώθηκε φυρομένων οὖθεν ἐις. ὅλον δὴ τοῦ διανοίας ὀργάνου κατὰ τήν διὰ πασῶν ἦ δὲ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνών ἔχεισκονταν ὁ ἀκροατῆς ὤσει πυμέναν πρὸς οὕτως αἰσθήματι οὐ πυμενόμενοι—πάντα γὰρ γνώριμα θεῶθοι—"τί βοᾷς πρὸς μέ;" καὶ ἑκείσιαν κακῶν ἀποτροπῆς ἢ κατ' εὐχαριστίαν 

15 μετουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἦ κατὰ ἀμφότερα; V. λάλος δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἱσχυνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος καὶ ἀλογος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀνευρίσκεται, ὥστε τῇ μὲν οὖ μόνον λέγων ἄλλα καὶ βοῶν εἰσάγεται, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἀπαύστῳ καὶ ἀδιαστάτῳ χρώμενος λόγων ρύμη. "Μωυσῆς" γὰρ φησιν "ἐλάλησε, καὶ ὁ

* Or "Why dost thou shout?" But the other is more probably Philo's interpretation, since he implies that God does not disapprove of Moses' speaking.

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keep silence, but for those who desire knowledge and also love their master, frank speech is a most essential possession. Thus we read in Exodus, "The Lord will war for you and ye shall be silent," and at once there follows a divine oracle in these words, "What is it that thou shoutest to me?" (Ex. xiv. 14, 15). The meaning is that those should keep silent who have nothing worth hearing to say, and those should speak who have put their faith in the God-sent love of wisdom, and not only speak with ordinary gentleness but shout with a louder cry. That cry is not made with mouth and tongue, through which, as we are told, the air assumes a spherical shape and thus is rendered perceptible by the sense of hearing, but by the organ of the soul, uniting all music in its mighty tones, heard by no mortal whatsoever, but only by Him Who is uncreated and imperishable. For the sweet and harmonious melody of the mind’s music can only be apprehended by the mind’s musician, not by any of those who are entangled in sense. But when the full organ of the understanding sounds forth its symphony of the single or double octave, the Hearer asks—asks we may call it, though He does not really ask, since all things are known to God—"What is it that thou criest so loud to me?" Is it in supplication for ills to be averted, or in thanksgiving for blessings imparted, or in both? V. And he that seemed to be feeble of speech and slow of tongue and wordless is found to be so loquacious, that in one place he is represented as not only speaking, but shouting, and in another as pouring forth a stream of words without cessation or pause. For "Moses," we read, "was talking to God, and God was answering him

b See App. p. 567.

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θεὸς ἀπεκρίνετο αὐτῷ φωνῇ,“ οὐ κατὰ συντελειαν ἐλάλησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μηκυνομένην παράτασιν ἐλάλει, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐ κατὰ συντελειαν ἐδιδάξεν, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἀπεκρίνετο. ὅπου δὲ ἀπόκρισις, ἐκεῖ πάντως ἐρώτησις. ἔρωτα δὲ ἔκαστος οὐ μὴ ἐπίσταται, μαθεῖν ἀξιῶν γνών τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην ὑφελμωτατον ἔργον ἐίναι ζητεῖν, ἐρωτάν, πυνθάνεσθαι, μηδὲν δοκεῖν εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς δὲ άπόκρισις, εκεῖ πάντως ερώτησις. ερωτά δὲ καὶ συνεχῶς άπεκρίνετο. Ὁπου δέ άπόκρις, εκεῖ πάντως ἐρώτησις. ερωτά δὲ καὶ λέγουσιν· “λάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλεῖτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, μὴ ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν.” τοσαύτη δ’ ἁρα χρῆται παρρησία ο ἀστεῖος, ὥστε οὐ μόνον λέγειν καὶ βοᾶν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη καὶ καταβοᾶν ἐξ ἀληθοὺς πίστεως καὶ ἀπὸ γνησίου τοῦ πάθους θαρρεῖ. τὸ γάρ “εἰ μὲν ἀφεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἀφεῖ τί δὲ μὴ, ἔξαλεν πεῖ με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου ἡγεῖταις,” καὶ τὸ “μὴ ἐγώ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔλαβον πάντα τὸν λαὸν τούτον, ἢ ἐγὼ ἔτεκον αὐτὸν, ὅτι λέγεις μοι· λάβε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κόλπον σου, ὥσει ἄρα τιθηνός τὸν θηλάζοντα;” καὶ τὸ “πόθεν μοι κρέα δοῦναι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τοῦτῳ, ὃτι κλαίουσιν ἐπ’ ἐμοί; μὴ πρόβατα καὶ βόες σφαγῆσον ἤ πάν τὸ ὁφος τῆς θαλάσσης συναχθήσεται καὶ ἄρκεσει;” καὶ [476] τὸ “κύριε, διὰ τί | ἐκάκωςας τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον; καὶ ἵνα τὶ ἀπέσταλκάς με; καὶ ἀφ’ οὐ πεπόρευμαι πρὸς Φαραώ λαλῆσαι ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ὅνόματι, ἐκάκωσε

α παρατατικός is the technical term in the Greek grammarians for the imperfect tense. On κατὰ συντελειαν or συντελικός see App. p. 567.

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with a voice” (Ex. xix. 19). We do not have the tense of completed action “he talked,” but the tense of prolonged and continuous action “he was talking”; and similarly God did not teach him (as a complete action) but was answering him always and uninterruptedly. Now an answer always presupposes a question; and everyone asks what he does not know, because he thinks it good to learn and is aware that of all the steps which he can take to get knowledge, the most profitable is to seek, to ask questions, to think that he has no knowledge, and not to imagine that he has a firm apprehension of anything. Now wise men take God for their guide and teacher, but the less perfect take the wise man; and therefore the Children of Israel say “Talk thou to us, and let not God talk to us lest we die” (Ex. xx. 19).

But the man of worth has such courage of speech, that he is bold not only to speak and cry aloud, but actually to make an outcry of reproach, wrung from him by real conviction, and expressing true emotion. Take the words “ if Thou wilt forgive them their sin, forgive them; but if not, blot me out of the book which Thou hast written” (Ex. xxxii. 32); and “Did I conceive all this people in the womb, or did I bring them forth, because Thou sayest unto me, ‘ take them to thy bosom, as a nurse lifts the suckling ’?” (Num. xi. 12); or again “ Whence shall I get flesh to give to this people, because they weep against me? Shall sheep and oxen be slaughtered, or all the meat that is in the sea be collected and suffice?” (Num. xi. 13, 22). Or “ Lord, why hast Thou afflicted this people and why hast Thou sent me? And ever since I went to Pharoah to speak in Thy name, he has afflicted the people, and Thou hast not saved
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tὸν λαόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔρρύσω τὸν λαόν σου,” ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔδεισεν ἃν τις καὶ πρὸς ἑν τῶν ἐν μέρει βασιλέων εἰπεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀποφαίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς θεόν ἐθάρρησεν. τούτῳ δ' ἀρα πέρας ἢν οὐ τόλμησι ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' εὐτολμίας αὐτῷ, διότι οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες φίλοι θεοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὸν ἑρώτατον νομοθέτην. παρρησία δὲ φιλίας συγγενέσι· ἐπεὶ πρὸς τίνα ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον παρρησιάσαυτο; παγκάλως οὖν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς φίλος ἄδεται Μωυσῆς, ἵν' ὁσα ἐπὶ θάρσει παρακεκινδυνεύμενα διεξέρχεται φιλία μᾶλλον ἢ αὐθαδείᾳ προφέρεσθαι δοκῇ. θρασύτης μὲν γὰρ αὐθαδόσ, φίλον δὲ θαρραλεότης οἰκεῖον.

VI. Ἀλλὰ σκόπει πάλιν, ὅτι εὐλαβεία τὸ θαρρεῖν ἀνακέκραται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ "τί μοι δώσεις;" θάρσος ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ "δέσποτα" εὐλαβεῖαν. εἰσελθὼς δὲ χρῆσθαι μάλιστα διτταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτίου προσφήσει, τῇ θείᾳ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ, οὐδετέρας ἤν παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεσπότον, λίαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ σφόδρα κυρίως· καίτοι συνώνυμα ταῦτ' εἶναι λέγεται, κυρίως καὶ δεσπότης. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐν καὶ ταὐτόν ἐστιν, ἐπινοοῖς αἱ κλήσεις διαφέρουσι· κυρίως μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ κύρος, δ' ἡ βέβαιον ἐστιν, ἐφ' ηταί, κατ' ἐναντίο- τητα ἀβεβαιοῦ καὶ ἀκύρου, δεσπότης δὲ παρὰ τὸν δεσμόν, ὥστε τὸ κύρος καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀνημμένον ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέος καὶ φόβον ἰκανὸν ἐμποιήσαι—,
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Thy people” (Ex. v. 22, 23). Anyone would have feared to say these or like words, even to one of the kings of particular kingdoms; yet he had the courage to utter these thoughts to God. He reached this limit, I will not say of daring in general but of good daring, because all the wise are friends of God, and particularly so in the judgement of the most holy lawgiver. Frankness of speech is akin to friendship. For to whom should a man speak with frankness but to his friend? And so most excellent is it, that in the oracles Moses is proclaimed the friend of God (Ex. xxxiii. 11), to shew that all the audacities of his bold discourse were uttered in friendship, rather than in presumption. For the audacity of rashness belongs to the presumptuous, the audacity of courage to a friend.

VI. But observe on the other hand that confidence is blended with caution. For while the words “What wilt thou give me” (Gen. xv. 2) shew confidence, “Master,” shews caution. While Moses usually employs two titles in speaking of the Cause, namely God and Lord, here he uses neither, but substitutes “Master.” In this he shews great caution and exactness in the use of terms. It is true that “Lord” and “Master” are said to be synonyms. But though one and the same thing is denoted by both, the connotations of the two titles are different. Κύριος (Lord) is derived from κύρος (power) which is a thing secure and is the opposite of insecure and invalid (ἀκυρός), while δέσποτης (master) is from δεσμός (bond) from which I believe comes δέος (fear). Thus δέσποτης is a lord and something more, a terrible lord so to speak, one who is not only invested with the lordship and sovereignty of all things, but is also capable of inspiring fear and
τάχα μέντοι καὶ ἔπειδὴ τῶν ὅλων δεσμός ἡστὶ συνέχων αὐτὰ ἀλυτα καὶ σφίγγων διαλυτὰ ὄντα·

24 εὖ ἐστιν.

ὁ δὲ φάσκων " δέσποτα, τί μοι δώσεις " δυνάμει ταῦτα διεξέρχεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ σου τὸ ὑπερβάλλον κράτος, ἐπίσταμαι τὸ φοβερὸν τῆς δυναστείας, δεδωκαὶ τρέμων 25 ἐντυγχάνω καὶ πάλιν θαρρῶ· σὺ γὰρ ἐθέσπισας μοι μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, σὺ μοι γλώσσαν παιδείας ἔδωκε ἐκ τοῦ γνώναι ἡνίκα δεῖ φθέγξασθαι, σὺ τὸ στόμα ἀπερραμένον ἐξέλυσας, σὺ διοίξας ἐπὶ πλέον ἠρθρώσας, σὺ τὰ λεκτέα συνεβίβασας εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν βεβαιούμενον ἐκεῖνον. " ἐγὼ ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ συμβιβάσω σε ἀ μέλλεις

26 λόγον μεταδῶσι, ἵνα μισθὸν ὀμολογῆσι, χάριτος καὶ δωρεὰς ἀγαθὸν τελεώτερον; οὔ τὸσ πατρίδος εἰμὶ μετανάστης; οὔ τῆς συγγενείας ἀπελήλαμαι; οὔ τῆς πατρώας οἰκίας ἡλιοτρίωμαι; οὔκ ἀποκήρυκτον καὶ φυγάδα πάντες ἔρημον καὶ ἄτιμον 27 ὀνομάζοντι; ἄλλα σὺ μοι, δέσποτα, ἡ πατρίς, σὺ ἡ συγγενεία, σὺ ἡ πατρώα ἔστια, σὺ ἡ ἐπιτιμία, ἡ παρρησία, ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀοίδιμος καὶ ἀναφ. 28 αἰρετος πλούτος. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ θαρρῆσον λέγειν φρονῶ; διὰ τὶ δ' οὖ πεύσοιμι μαθεῖν τι πλέον ἀ' ἀξιῶν; ἄλλ' ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ θαρρεῖν πάλιν ὀμολογῶ δεδείναι καὶ καταπεπλήχθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἀμικτὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ μάχην φόβος τε καὶ θάρσος, ὥς ὦσις ὑπολήμπτεται τις, ἄλλα τὴν ἀνακεκρα- 29 μένην συμφωνίαν. ἀπλήστως οὖν εὐνοχόμαι τοῦ

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1 mss. δεσπότης: Pap. δεσμών.
2 mss. (and Pap.) διαλύοντα.

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a See App. p. 567.
terror; perhaps too, since he is the bond of all things, one who holds them together indissolubly and binds them fast, when in themselves they are dissoluble.

He who says, “Master, what wilt thou 24 give me?” virtually says no less than this, “I am not ignorant of Thy transcendent sovereignty; I know the terrors of Thy power; I come before Thee in fear and trembling, and yet again I am confident. For Thou hast vouchsafed to bid me fear not; Thou 25 hast given me a tongue of instruction that I should know when I should speak (Isaiah 1. 4), my mouth that was knitted up Thou hast unsewn, and when Thou hadst opened it, Thou didst strengthen its nerves for speech; Thou hast taught me to say what should be said, confirming the oracle ‘I will open thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt speak’ (Ex. iv. 12). For who was I, that Thou shouldst impart speech to 26 me, that Thou shouldst promise me something which stood higher in the scale of goods than ‘gift’ or grace, even a ‘reward’. Am I not a wanderer from my country, an outcast from my kinsfolk, an alien from my father’s house? Do not all men call me excommunicate, exile, desolate, disfranchised? But 27 Thou, Master, art my country, my kinsfolk, my paternal hearth, my franchise, my free speech, my great and glorious and inalienable wealth. Why 28 then shall I not take courage to say what I feel? Why shall I not inquire of Thee and claim to learn something more? Yet I, who proclaim my confidence, confess in turn my fear and consternation, and still the fear and the confidence are not at war within me in separate camps, as one might suppose, but are blended in a harmony. I find then a feast 29 which does not cloy in this blending, which has
κράματος, ὁ μὲ ἀναπέπευκε μὴ τε ἀνευ εὐλαβείας
παρρησιαζόμεθα μὴ τε ἀπαρρησιάστως εὐλαβεῖσθαι.
τὴν γὰρ οὐδένειαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μετρεῖν ἐμαθον
καὶ τὰς ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητας τῶν σῶν εὐεργε-
σιῶν περιβλέπεσθαι καὶ ἐπειδὰν "γῆν καὶ τέ-
φραν" καὶ εἰ τι ἐκβλητότερον ἐμαυτὸν αἰσθώμαι,
τηνικαῦτα ἐντυγχάνειν σοι θαρρῶ, ταπεινῶς γεγονός,
kαταβεβλημένος εἰς χοῦν, ὅσα εἰς γε τὸ μηδ' ὕψος ἐμαυτένιοι καὶ ἀνεστοιχεωμένοι.

30 VII. καὶ τοῦτο μου τὸ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστηλο-
grάφησεν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ μνημεῖω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
Μωυσῆς. "ἐγγίσας" γὰρ φησιν "Ἀβραὰμ ἐστὶν ἡ ἠρξάμην λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο γῆν καὶ σπόδως," ἐπειδὴ τότε καίρος ἐντυγχά-
νειν γένεσιν τῷ πεποιηκότοι, ὅτε τὴν ἑαυτῆς

31 οὐδένειαν ἐγνωκεν. τὸ ὅτι "τί μοι δῶσεις;"
οὐκ ἀποροῦντός ἔστι φωνὴ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ
πλῆθεί καὶ μεγέθει ὃν ἀνθρωπικήν ἀγαθῶν εὐ-
χαριστοῦντος. "τί μοι δῶσεις;" ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀπο-
λεῖπτει τὶ πλέον προσδοκῆσαι; ἄφθονοι μὲν, ὃ
φιλόδωρε, αἴ σαι χάριτες καὶ ἀπερίγραφοι καὶ
ὁ ὅτι τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχουσα, τηγών τρόπον πλείω

32 τῶν ἀπαντλουμένων ἀνομβοῦσαί. σκοπεῖν ὅτι
ἀξιόν ὃς μονὸν τὸν ἀεὶ πλημμυροῦντα χειμάρρων
tῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀρδομένας ἡμῶν ἄρούρας: εἰ γὰρ περιττῶν ἀναχυθεί τὸ
ῥέμα, λυμώδες καὶ τελματῶδες ἀντὶ καρπο-
φόρου γῆς ἐσται τὸ πεδίον. πρὸς εὐφορίαν οὖν
μεμετρημένης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμέτρου δεῖ τῆς ἐπιρ-

1 mss. τελεῶν (Pap. Φ).
2 mss. γὰρ (some with Pap. ο uart).
schooled my speech to be neither bold without caution, nor cautious without boldness. For I have learnt to measure my own nothingness, and to gaze with wonder on the transcendent heights of Thy loving-kindnesses. And when I perceive that I am earth and cinders or whatever is still more worthless, it is just then that I have confidence to come before Thee, when I am humbled, cast down to the clay, reduced to such an elemental state, as seems not even to exist.

VII. And the watchful pen of Moses has recorded this my soul's condition in his memorial of me. For Abraham, he says, drew near and said, 'Now I have begun to speak to the Lord, and I am earth and ashes' (Gen. xviii. 27), since it is just when he knows his own nothingness that the creature should come into the presence of his Maker. The words 'What wilt Thou give me?' are the cry not so much of uncertainty as of thankfulness for the multitude and greatness of the blessings which one has enjoyed. 'What wilt Thou give me?' he says. Is there aught still left for me to expect? Lavish indeed, Thou bounteous God, are Thy gifts of grace, illimitable without boundary or end, welling up like fountains to replace and more than replace what we draw. But we should look not only to the ever-flowing torrent of Thy loving-kindnesses but also to the fields—they are ourselves—which are watered by them. For if the stream pour forth in over-abundance, the plain will be marshy and fenny, instead of fruitful soil. I need then that the inflow on me should be in due measure for fertility, not un-

* See App. p. 567.
33 ροῆς ἐμοὶ. διὸ πεύσομαι "τί μοι δώσεις" ἀμύθητα δοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντα ὅσα θυγηθῇς φύσιν [478] χωρῆσαι | δυνατῶν ἢν; δ' γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐπιζητῶ μαθεῖν τε καὶ κτήσασθαι,1 τοῦτ' ἐστίν, τίς ἂν γένοιτο αξίως τών σῶν ἑυρεγεσίων [καὶ] κληρονόμοσ. ἢ "ἐγώ ἀπολυθῆσομαι ἀτεκνὸς," ὁλυγοχρόνιον καὶ ἐφήμερον καὶ ῥάκυμορον λαβὼν ἀγαθὸν, εὐχόμενος τοῦνατίον, πολυμέρον καὶ μακροχρόνιον καὶ ἀκτήρατον καὶ ἀθάνατον, ὡς δυνηθῆναι καὶ σπέρματα βαλέσθαι καὶ βίζας ἐχυρότητος ἐνεκα ἀποτειναὶ καὶ ἀν ἀντὶς ὀὐρανὸν τὸ στελέχος ἀνεγείρων μετεωρίσαμαι; τὴν γὰρ ἀνθρωπῖνην ἀρετὴν βαίνειν μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, φθάνειν δὲ πρὸς ὀυρανὸν ἀναγκαῖον, ἦν ἔκει τῆς ἀφθαρσίας 35 ἐστιαθεῖσα τὸν ἄει χρόνον ἀπήμων διαμένην. ἀτεκνὸν γὰρ καὶ στείραν οἴδ' ὅτι ψυχὴν ὅ τὰ μὴ ὄντα φέρων καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν μεμίσθηκα, ἕπει καὶ χάριν ἔδωκας εὔαρετὸν τῷ διορατικῷ γένει τὸ μηδέποτε στερωθήναι καὶ ἀτομήσαι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς προσνεμηθεῖς ἐφίεμαι κληρονόμου δικαῖος. ἀ-σβεστὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ καταθέωμεν αὐσχυνον εἶναι νομίζω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐφεσιν3 τῷ καλῷ περιδεῖν 36 καταλυθεῖσαν. ἰκέτης οὖν γίνομαι καὶ ποτίσωμαι, ἢν σπέρμάτων καὶ ἐμπυρευμάτων ὑποτυφομένων τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀνακαίνηται καὶ ἀναφλέγηται σωτηρίων φέγγος, ὁ λαμπαδευόμενον ἐπιλλήλοις διαδοχαῖς 37 καταλυθεῖσαν. ἰκέτης οὖν γίνομαι καὶ ποτίσωμαι, ἢν σπέρμάτων καὶ ἐμπυρευμάτων ὑποτυφομένων τὸ ἀρετῆς ἀνακαίνηται καὶ ἀναφλέγηται σωτηρίων φέγγος, ὁ λαμπαδευόμενον ἐπιλλήλοις διαδοχαῖς 38 ἦλθον καὶ τῶν ἀσκητικῶς ἐδωκας τέκνων τῶν ψυχῆς ὀπορᾶς

1 mss. ἐπιζητῶ τέκνων κτήσασθαι (Pap. μανειν τε καὶ?).
2 My correction for mss. and Pap. φύσιν; see App. p. 567. But another, and possibly preferable, solution would be τοῦ <φιλο>κάλου agreeing with ἐμαυτοῦ.
measured. Therefore I will ask 'What wilt Thou give me?' Thou whose gifts have been countless, almost to the very sum of what human nature can contain. For all that I still seek to learn and to gain is but this 'Who should be a worthy heir of thy benefits?' Or shall I go hence childless (Gen. xv. 2), the recipient of a boon shortlived, dying with the day, passing swiftly to its doom; I, who pray for the opposite, a boon of many days and years, proof against decay or death, so that it can lay the seed and extend the roots, which shall make the growth secure, and raise and uplift the stalk heavenwards. For man's excellence must not tread the earth, but press upwards to heaven, that it may banquet there on incorruption and remain unscathed for ever. For I know that Thou, who givest a being to what is not and generatest all things, hast hated the childless and barren soul, since Thou hast given as a special grace to the race of them that see that they should never be without children or sterile. And I myself having been made a member of that race justly desire an heir. For when I contemplate the race's security from extinction, I hold it a deep disgrace to leave my own desire of excellence to come to naught. Therefore I beseech and supplicate that out of the smouldering tinder and embers the saving light of virtue may burn up with full flame and carried on as in the torch-race by unfailing succession may be coeval with the world. Also in the votaries of practice Thou hast implanted a zeal to sow and beget the children of the soul, and when they

\[\text{\textit{a} A curious use of \textit{φέρω}, but paralleled by \textit{De Mut. 192 τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὐξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρποῦς θεῷ; cf. ibid. 256.}\]
καὶ γενέσεως, καὶ μοιραθέντες υφ’ ἡδονῆς εξελάλησαν εἴπόντες· "τὰ παιδία οίς ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν παῖκα σου," ἦν ἀκακία καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τιθήνη, ὥν ἀβατοὶ καὶ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ εὐφυεῖς ψυχαί, τῶν ἄρετῆς παγκάλων καὶ θεοειδετάτων εὐπαράδεκτοι χαρακτήρων. δίδαξον δὲ με κάκεῖνο, εἰ "ὁ υἱὸς Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενείας μου" τῶν σῶν χαρίτων ἰκανὸς γενέσθαι κληρονόμος ἔστιν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀχρὶ νῦν τὸν μὲν ἐλπιζόμενον οὐκ ἔλαβον, δὲν δ’ ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐλπίζω.

VIII. Τίς δὲ ἡ Μασέκ καὶ τίς αὐτῆς ὁ υἱὸς, οὐ παρέργως ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐρμηνεύεται τοῖς Μασέκ ἐκ φιλήματος. φίλημα δὲ διαφέρει τοῦ φιλεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἐνωσιν ἁμοζομένων εὔνοια, τὸ δὲ ἐπιτόλαιν καὶ ψυλὴν δεξίωσιν χρείας τινῶς εἰς ταῦτο συναγαγούσης ἐοικεν ἐμφαίνειν. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀνακύπτειν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ κύπτειν οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἢν πάντως τὸ πίνειν οὐδὲν ἐν μαρσίππῳ ὁ ἐππος, οὔτως οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ καταφιλεῖν τὸ φιλεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μυρίους ἐκοινώσεις τινὲς ταῖς ταῖς τοῦ βίου χαλεπαῖς ἀνάγκαις δεξιοῦνται. τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκ φιλήματος ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀφευδοῦς φιλίας ἦμῖν συσταθείσα, φράσω μηδέν ὑποστειλάμενος· ἡ [479] ζωή ἡ σὺν αἰσθήσει, ἡ πᾶσιν ὑχυρωμένη, ἠ ἐξ ἀνέραστος οὐδεὶς, ἣν δέσποινον μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ, θεράπαυν ὑπὲ οἱ ἀστεῖοι νομίζοντες, οὐκ ἀλλό- φυλον ἡ ἀργυρώνητον, ἀλλ’ οἰκογενὴ καὶ τρόπον

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a A reminiscence of Plato, Phaedrus 245 a. See note on 249.

b Philo curiously ignores the quite common use of φιλεῖν = to kiss. Possibly it may have carried with it the idea of a kiss given in true affection, which was absent in the compound.
are thus endowed they have cried out in their pleasure, ‘The children, wherewith Thou hast shewn mercy to Thy servant’ (Gen. xxxiii. 5). Of such children innocence is the nurse and fostermother; their souls are virgin and tender and rich in nature’s gifts, ready to receive the glorious and divine impressions of virtue’s graving. Tell me this too, whether the son of Masek, she who was born in my house, is fit to become the heir of thy gifts of grace. For till now I have not received him whom I hope for, and he, whom I have received, is not the heir of my hopes.”

VIII. Who Masek and her son are is a matter for careful consideration. Well, the name Masek is interpreted “From a kiss.” Now “kiss” is not the same as “loving.” The latter appears to signify the uniting of souls which goodwill joins together, the former merely the bare superficial salutation, which passes when some occasion has caused a meeting. For just as in ἀνακύπτειν (rising up) there is no idea of κύπτειν (stooping) nor in καταπίνειν (swallowing) the whole idea of πίνειν (drinking), nor in μάρσιππος (pouch) that of ἵππος (horse), so neither in καταφιλεῖν (kissing) do we have φιλεῖν (loving). For people bowing to the hard necessities of life in hundreds of cases greet their enemies thus. Who then she is, with whom we are brought into contact “from” or “in consequence of a kiss,” and not from true friendship, I will shew without disguise. It is the life of the senses, the assured possession of us all, for which all have a feeling of affection. The multitude regard her as a mistress, the good as their servant, not a servant of alien race or purchased with money, but homeborn and in a

1 So Mangey and Wend.: mss. and Pap. 'Ααρών. It may be questioned whether this is not what Philo wrote, by confusing Ex. xviii. 7 with iv. 27, where Moses meets Aaron (συνήντησεν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ καταφίλησαν ἀλλήλους).

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sense a kinswoman. The wise have been trained to greet her with a kiss, but not to love her, the others to love her deeply and regard her worthy of a triple measure of their affection. Now Laban the virtue-hater will not be able even to kiss the qualities which are allotted to the Man of Practice. Still since he has made hypocrisy and false inventions the cardinal principle of his life, he says, as though in dudgeon, though he has no real grief, “I was not held worthy to kiss my children and my daughters” (Gen. xxxi. 28). The refusal of the kiss is natural and proper. For we the children have been trained to hate dissimulation, with a hatred that refuses all dealing. Hold then the virtues dear, embrace them with thy soul and love them truly, and thou wilt never desire to be the maker of that travesty of friendship, the kiss. “Have they, we shall say, any part or inheritance in your home? Were they not counted as aliens in your sight, or have you not sold them and devoured the money?” (Gen. xxxi. 14, 15). You devoured the price of their redemption, lest you should ever again be able to buy them back. And now you pretend to wish to kiss them, you in the judgement of all their deadly foe. Moses on the other hand will not kiss his father-in-law, but loves him with genuine heart-felt affection. For “he loved him” we read “and they greeted each other” (Ex. xviii. 7).

IX. Now there are three kinds of life, one looking Godwards, another looking to created things, another on the border-line, a mixture of the other two. The God-regarding life has never come down to us, nor submitted to the constraints of the body. The life that looks to creation has never risen
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γένεσιν οὐδ’ ὅλως ἀνέβη οὐδ’ ἐξήτησεν ἀναβήναι, φωλεῦον δὲ ἐν μυχοῖς Ἄιδου τῷ ἁβιώτῳ βίῳ χαίρει. τὸ δὲ μικτὸν ἔστιν, ὁ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμείνονος ἁγόμενον τάξεως θειάζει καὶ θεοφορεῖται, πολλάκις δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἁντισπώμενον ἐπιστρέφει. τοῦθ’, ὅταν ὁστερ ἐπὶ πλάστηγγος ἡ τῆς κρείττονος ζωῆς μοῖρα τοῖς ὅλοις βρίστη, συνεπιστασθεὶ τὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ζωῆς¹ βάρος 47 κουφότατου ἄχθος ἀπέφηνε. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸ τῆς πρὸς θεόν ζωῆς γένος ἀκονῖτῳ στεφανώσας εἰς ἐπίκρισιν τὰ λοιπὰ ἄγει δυσὶν ἀπεικάζεις γυναιξίν, ὅταν μὲν ἁγαπώμενην, τῆν ἀντίποθεν καλεῖ 48 προσφυέστατα θείς υἱόματα. τίς γὰρ ὅτι τὰς δι’ ὀφθαλμῶν, τίς δ’ οὔ τὰς δι’ ἀντίποθεν, τίς δ’ οὔ τὰς διὰ γεύσεως ὀσφρήσεως τε καὶ ἀφῆς ἑδονᾶς καὶ τέρψεις ἀποδέχεται; τίς δ’ οὔ τὰ ἐναντία μεμίσηκεν, ἀλατοὺς, ἐγκράτειαν, αὐστηρὸν καὶ ἐπιστημονικὸν βίον, γέλωτος καὶ παιδιάς ἁμέτοχον, συννοίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ πόνων μεστὸν, φίλον τοῦ θεωρεῖν, ἁμάθιας έχθρόν, χρημάτων μὲν καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν κρείττω, ἕττῳ δὲ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ βλέποντος οὐ τυφλοῦ πλοῦτου; πρεσβύτερα μὲν οὖν ἂεὶ τὰ γεννήματα 49 τῆς μισουμένης ἀρετῆς. Χ. δ’ ἐδεί Μωυσῆς, ἐὰν καὶ νεώτερα χρόνω, [καὶ] ταύτα φύσει πρεσβείων ἁξιοὶ

¹ Pap. between ζωῆς and βάρος inserts ἀντην. May this perhaps stand for Ἀνταῖειον? The myth of Antaeus, who became helpless when lifted by Heracles from the ground, would suit the parable well. Cf. Σισύφεως De Cher. 78, Ταντάλειος below, §269. It is true of course that these stories were far better known than that of Antaeus.

* This description of the "mixed life" closely resembles
at all nor sought to rise, but makes its lair in the recesses of Hades and rejoices in a form of living, which is not worth the pains. It is the mixed life, a which often drawn on by those of the higher line is possessed and inspired by God, though often pulled back by the worse it reverses its course. And when the better life placed as a weight on the scales completely preponderates, the mixed life carried with it makes the opposite life seem light as air in the balance. Now Moses while he gives the crown of undisputed victory to the Godward kind of life, brings the other two into comparison by likening them to two women, one of whom he calls the beloved and the other the hated. These names are very suitable, for who does not look with favour on the pleasures and delights that come through the eyes, or the ears, or through taste and smell and touch? Who has not hated the opposites of these?—frugality, temperance, the life of austerity and knowledge, which has no part in laughter and sport, which is full of anxiety and cares and toils, the friend of contemplation, the enemy of ignorance, which puts under its feet money and mere reputation and pleasure, but is mastered by self-restraint and true glory and the wealth which is not blind but sees.

Now the children of virtue, the hated one, are always the senior. X. And Moses holds them to be by their nature worthy of the rights of the senior, even though they be younger in point of 

that of the ἄσκητης in De Som. i. 151, who is midway between the wise who live in the Olympian region and the bad who live in the recesses of Hades. In fact the “mixed” seems to represent the ordinary virtuous man (ὁ προκόπτων), and in the sequel is equated to the Hated Wife and to Leah, both of whom regularly represent Virtue. For the last part of the sentence see App. p. 568.
τὰ διπλὰ διδοὺς, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν τὴν ἡμύσειαν. ἐὰν γὰρ γένωνται, φησίν, ἀνθρώπῳ δύο γυναικὲς, ἡγαπημένη καὶ μισουμένη, καὶ τέκωσιν ἄμφοτέραι, μέλλων τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διανέμειν οὐ δυνήσεται πρεσβείων ἀξίωσαι τὸν νιῶν τῆς ἡγαπημένης, ἰδονής,—νέος γὰρ οὗτος, εἰ καὶ χρόνῳ πολιὸς¹ γένοιτο,— ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς μισουμένης, φρονήσεως, πρεσβύτερον ἐκ παιδῶν εὐθὺς ὄντα, ὡς δυμορίαν ἀπονεῖμαι. 50 τὴν δὲ τροπικωτέραν τούτων ἀπόδοσιν ἐν ἑτέρως εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῶν ἐν χερσί τρεψώμεθα ἐκεῖνο προϋποδείξαντες, ὅτι τῆς μισουμένης ὁ θεὸς λέγεται τὴν μήτραν διοίξας γένεσιν ἀστείως ἐπιτηδεύματων καὶ καλῶν ἑργῶν ἀνατείλαι, τῆς φιλετῆς σθαί νομιζομένης αὐτίκα στειρουμένης. "ιδὼν" γὰρ φησὶν "κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἦνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς. 'Ραχήλ δὲ ἦν στείρα." ἀρ' οὐχ ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ κυοφορῆ καὶ τίκτειν ἀρχηται τὰ ψυχήν πρέποντα, τηνικαῦτα ὅσα αἰσθητὰ στειρούμενα ἀτοκεῖ, οἷς προσεοιτὶ ἐκ φιλίματος ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ διὰ γυνησίου φιλίας ἀποδοχῇ; XI. 52 ταύτῃς οὖν τῆς κατ' ἀισθησιν ζωῆς, ἦν καλεὶ Μασέκ, υἱὸς ἐκαστὸς ἠμῶν ἐστὶ τιμῶν καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τιθῆνην τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους, αἰσθησιν, ἦν καὶ ὁ γῆνος νοῦς, ὅνομα Ἀδάμ, ἱδὼν διαπλασθεῖσαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον

¹ mss. παλαίδος (Pap. παλίδος).

* Or, if the καὶ, is retained, "And if any be younger in point of years, even them too in virtue of their nature does Moses hold worthy," etc. In this case ταύτα, and consequently the text quoted from Deuteronomy, is restricted to the νεώτερα χρόνῳ. Philo implies, what he actually argues
WHO IS THE HEIR, 49–52

years, for he gives them the double portion, and takes from the others their half-share. "For if a man," he says, "has two wives, one beloved and one hated, and both bear him children, when he purposes to divide his possessions, he shall not be able to adjudge the elder's rights to the son of the beloved (that is, of Pleasure) for he is but 'young,' even if years have made him grey-headed, but to the son of Prudence, the hated wife, the son who from earliest childhood is an ' elder,' he must give these rights and thus assign to him a double portion" (Deut. xxi. 15-17). Now we have given the allegorical interpretation of this more closely elsewhere and therefore let us turn to the next part of our theme. One thing however we must first point out, namely that we are told that God by opening the womb of the hated wife brought to its rising the birth of worthy practices and excellent deeds, while she, who was thought to be beloved, immediately became barren. For "the Lord" it runs "seeing that Leah is hated opened her womb, but Rachel was barren" (Gen. xxix. 31). Is it not just then, when the soul is pregnant and begins to bear what befits a soul, that all objects of sense become barren and incapable of child-bearing, those objects which find acceptance with us "from the kiss" and not through genuine friendship. XI. This life of the senses, then, which he calls Masek, has for her son each one among us who honours and admires the nurse and foster-mother of our mortal race, that is Sense, on whose just-fashioned form the earthly mind, called Adam, looked and gave in De Sobr. 22, that the words of Deut. make the son of the Beloved to be, in the literal sense, the elder.

b In Leg. All. ii. 48, De Sac. 19 ff., De Sobr. 21 ff.
53 ζωήν ἐκεῖνης ὄνομασεν. "ἐκάλεσε" γάρ φησιν Ἄδαμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ ζωή, ὅτι αὐτὴ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων, τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὸν ψυχῆς τεθνηκότων ὄνομα. οὗ δὲ ζώντες ὄντως μητέρα μὲν ἔχουσι σοφίαν, αἰσθήσιν δὲ δούλην πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπιστήμης ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθεῖσαν.

54 Ὅνομα δὲ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ ζωῆς, ἂν ἐκ φιλήματος ἐγνώρισμεν, δίασφιστὶ Δαμασκόν—τὸ δὲ μεταληθηθὲν ἄστιν αἴμα σάκκου,—σφόδρα δυνατῶς καὶ εὐθυβολῶς σάκκον μὲν τὸ σῶμα αἰνιξάμενος, αἴμα δὲ ζωῆς τὴν ἐναίμον. ἔπειδή γάρ ψυχὴ διχῶς λέγεται, ἢ τε οἶλη καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὁ κυρίως ἐπεὶ εἰπέων ψυχὴ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμός ὁ τε κύκλος σύμπος καὶ τὸ κυριωτάτον μέρος τὸ ὑ βλέπομεν, ἔδοξε τῷ νομοθέτῃ διττῇ καὶ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι ψυχῆς, αἴμα μὲν τῆς ὅλης, τοῦ δ' ἡγεμονικωτάτου πνεύμα θείον, φησὶ γοῦν ἀντικρύς "ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἴμα ἐστὶν." εὐγε τὸ προσνεῖμα τῷ σαρκῶν ὅχλῳ τὴν αἴματος ἐπιρροῆν, οἰκεῖοι οἰκεῖῳ τοῦ δὲ νοῦ τὴν ὦσιαν εἰς οὐδενὸς ἔρημος γενητοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ καταπνευσθεῖσαν εἰςήγαγεν "ἐνεφύσησε" γάρ φησιν "ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοῆν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀνθρωπος εἰς ψυχῆν ζώσαν," ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ποιητοῦ λόγος ἔχει τυπωθῆναι. XII. ὥστε διπλῶν εἶδος ἀνθρώπων,

1 ἐκείνην with Pap. and some mss. See App. p. 568.
2 So mss.: Wend. from Pap. Δαμασκός. But would not Philo have written τὸ Δαμασκός if he used the nominative?

See note on the phrase "soul as soul," De Mig. 5.
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the name of what was his own death to her life. " For Adam," it says, "called the name of his wife 53 ' Life,' because she is the mother of all things living ” (Gen. iii. 20), that is doubtless of those who are in truth dead to the life of the soul. But those who are really living have Wisdom for their mother, but Sense they take for a bond-woman, the handiwork of nature made to minister to knowledge.

The name of the child born of the life which we 54 have explained as the "life from a kiss" he puts before us as Damascus, which is interpreted as "the blood of a sackcloth robe." By sackcloth robe he intimates the body, and by blood the "blood-life," and the symbolism is very powerful and apt. We use "soul" in two senses, both for the whole 55 soul and also for its dominant part, which properly speaking is the soul's soul, just as the eye can mean either the whole orb, or the most important part, by which we see. And therefore the lawgiver held that the substance of the soul is twofold, blood being that of the soul as a whole, and the divine breath or spirit that of its most dominant part. Thus he says plainly "the soul of every flesh is the blood" (Lev. xvii. 11). He does well in assigning the blood with its 56 flowing stream to the riot of the manifold flesh, for each is akin to the other. On the other hand he did not make the substance of the mind depend on anything created, but represented it as breathed upon by God. For the Maker of all, he says, "blew into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul " (Gen. ii. 7); just as we are also told that he was fashioned after the image of his Maker (Gen. i. 27). XII. So we have two kinds of men, one 57

b Or "horde." See note on Quod Deus 2.
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tὸ μὲν θείω πνεύματι λογισμῷ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἣδονῇ ζώντων. τούτο τὸ εἶδός ἐστι πλάσμα γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνος ἐμφερέσθαι ἐκμαγεῖον. χρείος δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ μετρίως ὁ πεπλασμένος ἦμῶν χοῦν καὶ ἀναδεδευμένος αἵματι βοηθείας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ. διὸ λέγεται "οὕτως Δαμασκὸς Ἐλιέζερ"—ἐρμηνευθείς δὲ ἐστὶν Ἐλιέζερ θεός μου βοηθός,—ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐναιμὸς ὅγκος ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ διαλυτὸς ὦν καὶ νεκρὸς συνέστηκε καὶ ἥμους ζωπυρεῖται προνοίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦ τῆς χειρᾶ ὑπερέχουσος καὶ ὑπερασπίζοντος, μηδεμίαν ἦμέραν ἰδρυθῆναι παγίως δυνηθέντος εξ ἐαυτοῦ τοῦ γένους ἦμῶν. 59 οὐχ ὤρας ὅτι καὶ Μωυσέως ὁ δεύτερος τῶν υἱῶν ὄμωνυμει τοῦτω; "τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα" φησὶ "τοῦ δευτέρου Ἐλιέζερ," καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν ἐπιφέρει. "ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός μου βοηθός μου, καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραώ." τὸς δὲ ἐτὶ τῆς ἐναιμοῦ καὶ αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς ἑταίρων ἐπιτίθεται ὁ σκεδάσαι τὰς θεοσεβείας δεινὸς τρόπος, ὄνομα Φαραῶ, οὐ τὴν παρανομίαν καὶ ὠμότητος μεστὴν δυναστείαν ἀμήχανον ἐκφυγεῖν ἀνευ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Ἐλιέζερ ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ ἐπελπίσαι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου σωτῆρος θεοῦ βοήθειαν. 61 παγκάλως δὲ τὸν Δαμασκὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ πατρός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς Μασέκ διασυνέστησεν, ἢν διδάξῃ ὅτι ἡ ἐναιμὸς ψυχῆς, καθ' ἢν ζῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα, τοῦ πρὸς γυναικῶν μητρῶν γένους οἰκεῖον ἐστὶν, ἄρρενος γενεάς ἀμέτοχον, ἀλλ' οὖν ή ἄρτη Σάρρα. μόνου γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρῶν μεταποιεῖται,
that of those who live by reason, the divine inbreathing, the other of those who live by blood and the pleasure of the flesh. This last is a moulded clod of earth, the other is the faithful impress of the divine image.

Yet this our piece of moulded clay, tempered with blood for water, has imperative need of God's help, and thus we read "this Damascus Eliezer." Now Eliezer interpreted is "God is my helper," for this mass of clay and blood, which in itself is dissoluble and dead, holds together and is quickened as into flame by the providence of God, who is its protecting arm and shield, since our race cannot of itself stand firmly established for a single day. Observe, too, that the second son of Moses bears the same name. "The name of the second," he says, "was Eliezer," and then he adds the reason: "for the God of my father is my helper and delivered me from the hand of Pharoah" (Ex. xviii. 4). But those who still consort with the life of sense and blood suffer the attacks of the spirit so expert in scattering pious thoughts and deeds, the spirit called Pharoah, whose tyranny rife with lawlessness and cruelty it is impossible to escape, unless Eliezer be born in the soul and looks with hope to the help which God the only Saviour can give.

Right well, too, does Moses describe Damascus as the son not of his father but of his mother, Masek, to shew us that the blood-soul, by which irrational animals also live, has kinship with the maternal and female line, but has no part in male descent. Not so was it with Virtue or Sarah, for male descent is the sole claim of her, who is the motherless ruling

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*a Cf. the regular epithet of Pharoah, ὁ σκέδαστης τῶν καλῶν, e.g. De Sac. 48.
63 XIII. "A μὲν οὖν ἢν ἀναγκαῖον προακούσαι, διεπτύξαμεν· καὶ γὰρ εἴχεν ἀσάφειαν ἡ πρότασις αἰνιγματώδη. τί δὲ ὁ φιλομαθὴς ξητεῖ, διερμηνευτέον ἀκριβεστέρον· μήποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, εἰ δύναται | τὸς ἐφιέμενος τῆς ἑναίμου ζωῆς καὶ μεταποιοῦμενος ἐτὶ τῶν κατ' αἰσθῆσιν γενέσθαι τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων κληρονόμοις.  
64 τούτων μόνος ἁξιόνταί ὁ καταπνευσθεὶς ἀνωθέν, οὐρανίου τε καὶ θείας μοίρας ἐπιλαχών, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ἀλογῶν οὐ μόνον σῶματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ψυχῆς τμῆματος, ὁπερ ἄλογον ὑπάρχον αἵματι πεφυρται, θυμοῦν ζέοντας καὶ πεπυρωμένους ἐπιθυμίας ἀναφλεγον. πυνθάνεται γοῦν τὸν τρόπον τούτων ἐπειδὴ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔδωκας σπέρμα τὸ νοητόν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ αὐτόδιδακτον, τὸ θεοειδές, ἀρὰ γε "ὁ οἰκογενής μου κληρονομήσει με," ὁ τῆς ἑναίμου ζωῆς εγγονός; τότε καὶ ἐπισπεύσας ὁ θεὸς ἐφθάσε τὸν λαλοῦντα, τῆς ῥήσεως προαποστείλας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διδασκαλίαν. "ἐυθὺς" γὰρ φησὶν "φωνὴ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶ λέγειν· οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος," τῶν εἰς τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσεως δεῖξιν ἐρχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς· ἀσωμάτου γὰρ φύσεις νοητῶν πραγμάτων εἰς κληρονόμοι. παρατετήρηται δὲ ἄκρως τὸ μὴ
principle of things, begotten of her father alone, even God the Father of all. For “indeed,” it runs, “she is my sister from the father, not from the mother” (Gen. xx. 12).

XIII. So much for the elucidation needed as a preliminary; for the problem was seen to involve obscurities and difficulties. We must now explain more exactly what it is that the lover of learning seeks to know. Surely it is something of this kind: “Can he who desires the life of the blood and still claims for his own the things of the senses become the heir of divine and incorporeal things?” No; one alone is held worthy of these, the recipient of inspiration from above, of a portion heavenly and divine, the wholly purified mind which disregards not only the body, but that other section of the soul which is devoid of reason and steeped in blood, aflame with seething passions and burning lusts. His question, we see, takes this form: “Since thou hast not given me that other seed, the mentally perceived, the self-taught, the divine of form, shall the child of my household be my heir, he who is the offspring of the blood-life?” At that point God in His turn hastens to forestall the questioner, with a message of instruction, which we may almost say anticipates his speaking. For “straightway,” we are told, “a voice of God came to him with the words ‘He shall not be thy heir’” (Gen. xv. 4). No, none of those who fall under the evidence which the senses give. For it is incorporeal natures that inherit intellectual things. The wording is chosen very carefully. Moses does not say “God said” which Philo regularly connects with the name of Sarah, e.g. De Cher. 7.
"εἶπεν" ἢ "ἐλάλησεν" φάναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ "φωνὴ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν" ὡσπερ εὐτόνως ἐμβοήσαντο καὶ ἀρρήκτως ἐνηχθῆσαν. ὡς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν διαδοθείσα ἡ φωνὴ μηδέν ἔρημον ἑάσῃ καὶ κενῶν ὕφηγήσεως ὀρθῆς μέρος, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὑγιαινούσης μαθήσεως ἀναπλησθῆ.

XIV. τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος; οὐχ ὅ μένων εἰς τῇ τοῦ σώματος εἰρκτῆ λογισμὸς καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὁ λυθεὶς τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς καὶ ἔξω τείχων προεληλυθὼς καὶ καταλελυτώς, εἰ οἶνον τε τοῦτο εἶπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν. "ὅς γὰρ ἐξελέφθη εἴκ σοῦ" φησὶν, ὁὗτος κληρονομήσει σε.

πόθος οὖν εἰ τις εἰσέρχεται σε, ψυχῇ, τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν κληρονομῆσαι, µὴ µόνον "γῆν," τὸ σῶμα, καὶ "συγγένειαν," <τὴν> αἴσθησιν, καὶ "οἶκον πατρός," τὸν λόγον, καταλύσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτὴν ἀπόδραθι καὶ ἐκστηθήσεις, ὡσπερ οἱ κατ- εχόμενοι καὶ κορυφαντώντες βακχευθέσα καὶ θεοφόρησα σατύρως κατά τινα προφητικὸν ἐπιθείσαις.

ἐνθουσίωσθα γὰρ καὶ οὐκέτ' ὦσθις ἐν εαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι οὐρανίω σεσοβημένης κακμημνηνίας καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ ὀντὸς ὄντος ἡγμένης καὶ ἀνω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰλκυσμένης, προϊούσης ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ποσίν ἀναστελλούσης, ἵνα κατά λεωφόρον βαίνοι τῆς ὠδοῦ, κλήρος οὗτος.

71 βαίνοι τῆς ὠδοῦ, κλήρος οὗτος. πῶς οὖν μετανίστασο τῶν προτέρων ἐκεῖνων, λέγε βαρρύνα ἡµῖν, ὡ διάνοια, ή τοῖς ἀκούειν τὰ νοητὰ δεδιδαγμένας ἐνηχεῖς, ἀεὶ φάσκουσα ὅτι μετωκισάμην τοῦ σώματος, ἢνικα τῆς σαρκὸς ἠλόγουν ἢδη, καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ὅποτε τὰ αἰσθητὰ

1 Ορ αὐτὸν as some mss.
or "God spake," but "a voice of God came to him." It suggests a loud, sonorous, continuous appeal, pitched so as to spread abroad throughout the soul, whereby no part shall be left to which its right instruction has not penetrated, but all are filled from end to end with sound learning.

XIV. Who then shall be the heir? Not that way of thinking which abides in the prison of the body of its own free will, but that which released from its fetters into liberty has come forth outside the prison walls, and if we may so say, left behind its own self. For "he who shall come out of thee," it says, "shall be thy heir" (Gen. xv. 4). Therefore, my soul, if thou feellest any yearning to inherit the good things of God, leave not only thy land, that is the body, thy kinsfolk, that is the senses, thy father's house (Gen. xii. 1), that is speech, but be a fugitive from thyself also and issue forth from thyself. Like persons possessed and corybants, be filled with inspired frenzy, even as the prophets are inspired. For it is the mind which is under the divine afflatus, and no longer in its own keeping, but is stirred to its depths and maddened by heavenward yearning, drawn by the truly existent and pulled upward thereto, with truth to lead the way and remove all obstacles before its feet, that its path may be smooth to tread—such is the mind, which has this inheritance.

To that mind I say, "Fear not to tell us the story of thy departure from the first three. For to those who have been taught to give ear to the things of the mind, thou ever repeatest the tale." "I migrated from the body," she answers, "when I had ceased to regard the flesh; from sense, when I came to view all the objects of sense as having
πάντα ως μὴ πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν ὑπὸ ἐφαντασμῶθην
καταγνοοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς τῶν κριτηρίων ὡς νεοθευμένων καὶ δεδεκασμένων καὶ ἰδιοτέρως ὑποπεπλησμένων δόξης, καταγνοοῦσα δὲ καὶ τῶν κρυομένων, ὡς δελεάσαι καὶ ἀπατήσαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς μικρολογίας ἀρπάσαι τὴν ἀλῆθειαν εὐτρεπτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἄπατον ἀλόγιαν αὐτοῦ κατέγραψε τοῦτοι μετανεστην καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἦνικα πολλὴ ἀληθίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγραψε τοῦτοι μετανεστην καὶ τὸν λόγον, ἦνικα πολλὴ ἀληθίαν.

72 τοις ἑαυτοῖς ἐτόλμημα γὰρ τὸλμημα οὐ μικρόν, διὰ σκιών μοι σώματα, διὰ ρημάτων πράγματα, ἀπερίκειμεν ἤν, δεικνύοντο καὶ σφαλλόμενος περιέλαξε καὶ περιέρρει κοινότητι τῶν ὁνομάτων τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν ὕποκείμενῶν ἐμφάσει

73 τρανή παραστῆσαι. παθοῦσα δ' ὡς ἄφρων καὶ νήπιος παῖς ἐμαθον, ὡς ἀμέινον ἢν ἀρα πάντων μὲν τούτων ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἡκάστου δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναθεῖναι θεώ τῷ καὶ τῷ σώμα σωματοῦντι καὶ πηγνύντι καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσῃς αἰσθάνεσθαι παρασκευάζοντι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ λέγειν ὀρέγοντι.

74 τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὴ τρόπον ὀνπερ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπεξελθεῖν, ὑπεξελθεῖ καὶ μετανάστηθι σεαυτῆς τί δὲ τοῦτο ἔστιν; μὴ ταμειεύῃ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ διανοείσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνεισθε σαιμάνη. φέρουσα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάθεσι τῷ τοῦ νοεῖν ἀκριβῶς καὶ καταλαμβάνεις ἀνεξαπατήτως αὐτῶς.

75 XV. Την δὲ ἀνάθεσιν δεξεται τῶν πανηρων τεμενῶν τὸ ἀγιώτερον δύο γὰρ εἶοκε συστῆται, τὸ μὲν νοητὸν, τὸ δ' εἰσθητὸν. εἰσθητῶν μὲν οὖν φύσεων οὔς κόσμοι οὕτως, ἀκριβῶς δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅ νοητὸς τὸ πάνθεον ἔστιν.

76 ὅτι δ' ὁ

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* The translation takes κοινότητι as dative of cause after 318
no true existence, when I denounced its standards of judgement as spurious and corrupt and steeped in false opinion, and its judgements as equipped to ensnare and deceive and ravish truth away from its place in the heart of nature; from speech, when I sentenced it to long speechlessness, in spite of all its self-exaltation and self-pride. Great indeed was its audacity, that it should attempt the impossible task to use shadows to point me to substances, words to point me to facts. And, amid all its blunders, it chattered and gushed about, unable to present with clear expression those distinctions in things which baffled its vague and general vocabulary.a Thus through experience, as a foolish child learns, I learnt that the better course was to quit all these three, yet dedicate and attribute the faculties of each to God, who compacts the body in its bodily form, who equips the senses to perceive, and extends to speech the power of speaking." Such is the mind's confession, and to it I reply, "even as thou hast quitted the others, quit thyself, depart from thyself." And what does this "departing" mean? It means "do not lay up as treasure for thyself, thy gifts of thinking, purposing, apprehending, but bring them and dedicate them to Him Who is the source of accurate thinking and unerring apprehension."

XV. This dedication will be enshrined in the holier of the great sanctuaries. For two such sanctuaries, we feel, exist, one sensible, one mental. This world is the cathedralb of the sense-perceived order, the world which the mind discovers of the truly invisible order. Now that he who has gone forth aδυνατών. It may be, however, dative of means after παραστήσαι. b See App. p. 568.
υπεξελθὼν εξ ἡμῶν1 καὶ γλυχόμενος ὁπαδὸς εἶναι θεοῦ τοῦ φύσεως ἀοιδίμου πλούτου κληρονόμος ἐστὶν, μαρτυρεῖ λέγων: “ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξω καὶ εἶπεν: ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” ἔπειδήπερ οὗτος ὁ τῶν θείων θησαυρὸς ἁγαθῶν—“ἀνοίξαι γάρ σοι” φησίν: “κύριος τὸν θησαυρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἁγαθὸν, τὸν οὐρανόν,” εξ οὗ δὴ τὰς τελεωτάτας εὐφροσύνας ὁ χρυσοῦς ἀδιαστάτως υἱεὶ—“ἀνάβλεψον” δὲ εἰς ἐλεγχὸν τοῦ τυφλοῦ τῶν ἁγελαίων ἀνθρώπων γένους, ο βλέπειν δοκοῦν πεπήρωται.

77 πῶς γὰρ οὐ πεπήρωται, ὅτε κακὰ μὲν ἀντ’ ἁγαθῶν, αἰσχρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν, ἀδικὰ ἀντὶ δικαίων καὶ πάθη μὲν ἀντ’ εὔπαθειῶν, θυγτὰ δὲ ἀντ’ ἀδικῶν ἦρηται, καὶ νοοθετήτας μὲν καὶ σωφρονιστάς, ἐτὶ δὲ ἐλεγχὸν καὶ παιδείαν ἀποδίδοσκε, κόλακας δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἦδον λόγους ἁργίας καὶ ἀμαθίας

78 καὶ θρύψεως δημιουργοῦς ἀποδέχεται; μόνος οὖν βλέπει ὁ ἀστείος, οὐ χάριν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀνόμασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀρῶνται. ο δὲ ἐξω προεληφθὼς οὐ μόνον ὄρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ὄρων προσερήθη, Ἰσραήλ [ὁς ἐστὶ θεῶν ὄρων].

[484] οἱ δὲ, κἂν ποτὲ | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διοίξωσι, πρὸς γῆν ἀπονεύκασι τὰ γῆνα μετιόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐν

79 Αἰδη συντρεφόμενοι. ο μὲν γὰρ ἀνατείνει τὰς ὀψεῖς πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ τὰς οὐρανοὺς περιόδους, πεπαιδευται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ μάννα ἄφορὰν, τὸν θείον λόγον, τὴν οὐρανοῦ ψυχῆς ϕιλοθεάμους ἀφθαρτὸν τροφήν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κρόμμα καὶ τὰ σκόρδα, τὰ περιοδυνώντα τὰς κόρας καὶ κακοῦντα2

1 Wend. from Pap. εξ ἡμῶν νοητῶν καὶ κτλ. See App. p. 568. 2 MSS. κυκώντα.
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from us and desires to be God’s attendant is the heir of the glorious wealth that nature has to give is testified by Moses in the words “He led him out outside and said ‘Look up into heaven’” (Gen. xv. 5). For heaven is the treasury of divine blessings. “May the Lord,” he says, “open to thee His good treasure, the heaven” (Deut. xxviii. 12)—that heaven from which the bountiful Giver rains down continually His most perfect joys. Yes, look up, and thus convict of their errors the multitude of common men, the blind race, which has lost the sight which it thinks it possesses. How could it be other than blind, when it prefers bad to good, base to honourable, unjust to just, and again lower passions to higher emotions, the mortal to the immortal; when once more it shuns the voice of the warner and the censor, and with them conviction and instruction, while it welcomes flatterers and the words that lead to pleasure, the makers of idleness and ignorance and luxury? And so it is only the man of worth who sees, and therefore they of old called prophets “seers” (1 Sam. ix. 9). He who advances “outside” is called not only the seer, but the seer of God, that is Israel. But the others even if they do ever open their eyes have bent them earthwards; they pursue the things of earth and their conversation is with the dwellers in Hades. The one extends his vision to the ether and the revolutions of the heaven; he has been trained also to look steadfastly for the manna, which is the word of God, the heavenly incorruptible food of the soul which delights in the vision. But the others see but the onions and the garlic, which give great pain and trouble to their eyes and make them close, or the
καὶ καταμένειν ποιοῦντα, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράσων καὶ νεκρῶν ἰχθυῶν δυσσωμίας, οἰκείας Αἰγύπτου τροφὰς. "ἐμνήσθημεν" γάρ φασὶ "τοὺς ἰχθύας, οὓς ἦσθιομεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δωρεὰν, καὶ σικνάς, πέπονας, πράσα, κρόμμυνα, σκόρδα· νυνὶ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν καταξηρος, οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰς τὸ μάννα οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν."

81 XVI. Συντείνει δὲ πρὸς ἠθοποιῶν καὶ τὸ "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐξω," ὡ τινες εἰώθασιν ὡς ἄμουσις ἠθοὺς γελᾶν φάσκοντες· εἰσω γάρ τις ἐξάγηται, ἡ ἐμπαλίνει εἰσέρχεται ἐξω; ναὶ, φαίην ἄν, ὁ καταγέλαστος καὶ λιῶν εὐχερεῖς· ψυχῆς γάρ τρόπους ἤχηλατεῖν οὐκ ἔμαθετε ἄλλα σωμάτων, <καὶ> τάς ἐν τούτοις μεταβατικὰς κινήσεις μόνας ἐρεννάτε. διὸ καὶ παράδοξον ὡμῶν φαίνεται εἰ τις ἐξάγηται εἰσω ἡ εἰσέρχεται ἐξω· ταῖς δὲ Μωσείως γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπωδὸν ἐστων. ἤ οὐκ ἄν εἴποντε, τὸν μὴ τέλειον ἀρχιερέα, ὅποτε ἐν τοῖς ἁδύτοις τὰς πατρώους ἁγιοτειάς ἐπιτελεί, ἐνδον εἶναι τε καὶ ἐξω, ἐνδον μὲν τῷ φανερῷ σῶματι, ἐξω δὲ ψυχῇ τῇ περιφοίτω καὶ πεπλανημένῃ, καὶ ἐμπαλίν τινα μηδὲ γένους ὡντα τοῦ ἱερωμένου θεοφιλῆ καὶ φιλόθεον. ἐξω τῶν περιρραντήριων ἐστῶτα ἐσωτάτω διατρίβειν, ἀποδημίαν ἡγούμενον ὅλον τὸν μετὰ σώματος βίον, ὁπότε δὲ δύνατο τῇ ψυχῇ μόνῃ ζῆν, εἰν πατρίδι καὶ καταμένειν ὑπολαμβάνοντα; καὶ γὰρ φλιᾶς μὲν ἐστων ἐξω πᾶς ἄφρων, κἂν συνημερεύων μῆδ' ἀκαρές ἀπολείπηται, εἰσω δὲ πᾶς σοφός, κἂν μὴ

2 mss. and Pap. ὑπολαμβάνει(v).
other ill-smelling things, the leeks and dead fishes, which are food proper to Egypt; "we remember," they say, "the fishes which we used to eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and the gourds, the leeks, the onions, the garlic. But now our soul is dried up, our eyes have nothing to look to, save the manna" (Num. xi. 5, 6).

XVI. There is a moral bearing too in the phrase "He led him out outside," which some, because of the grossness of their moral sense, are in the habit of holding up to ridicule. "Can any be led out inside," they ask, "or conversely go in outside?" "Indeed they can," I would reply. In your ludicrous, thoughtless folly you have never learnt to trace the ways of the soul, but only of bodies, and all you look for is their movements from place to place. Therefore it seems to you a contradiction in terms that one should go out inside or go in outside. But we the disciples of Moses find nothing conflicting in such phrases. Would you not agree that the high priest whose heart is not perfect is both inside and outside, when he is performing the ancestral rites in the inmost shrine; inside in his visible body, outside in his wandering vagrant, soul; and on the contrary that one who loves and is loved by God, even if he is not of the consecrated line, though he stands outside the sacred limits a abides right inside them? For he holds all his life in the body to be a sojourn in a foreign land, but when he can live in the soul alone, he feels that he is a dweller in his fatherland. Every fool is outside the threshold, even if he spend the livelong day within, nor leave it for a moment; and every wise man is inside it

a Cf. Quod Deus 2.
μόνον χώραις ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλως κλίμασι γῆς διωκισμένοι τυγχάνῃ· κατὰ δὲ Μωυσῆν οὗτος ὁ φίλος ἔγγυς ἔστω, ὥστε ἀδιαφορεῖ ψυχῆς· λέγει γὰρ· "ὁ φίλος, ὁ ἰσος τῇ ψυχῇ σου."

καὶ ὁ ἰερεὺς μέντοι "ἀνθρωπός οὐκ ἔσται" κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων, "ἐως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ," οὐ σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν κινήσεσιν. ὁ γάρ νοῦς, ὦτε μὲν καθαρῶς λειτουργεῖ θεῶ, οὐκ ἔστωι ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ θείος· ὦτε δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως τινί, τέτραπται καταβάς ἀπ᾽ οὐρα-, [485] νοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γῆν ἐξέρχεται, | κἂν ἔτι μένῃ τὸ σῶμα ἐνδοῦν αὐτῷ. ὄρθοτατα ὅσν εἰρηταί· "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω," τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δεσμωτηρίων, τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φωλεῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀπατεώνα λόγον σοφιστεῖων, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτοξουσίω καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμη νοεῖν τε καὶ καταλαμβάνειν.

καὶ ὁ ἰερεὺς μέντοι "ἀνθρωπός οὐκ ἔσται" κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ὅταν εἰσίν εἰς τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων, "ἐως ἂν ἐξελθῇ," οὐ σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς κατὰ ψυχῆν κινήσεσιν. ὁ γάρ νοῦς, ὦτε μὲν καθαρῶς λειτουργεῖ θεῶ, οὐκ ἔστωι ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ θείος· ὦτε δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως τινί, τέτραπται καταβάς ἀπ᾽ οὐρα-, [485] νοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γῆν ἐξέρχεται, | κἂν ἔτι μένῃ τὸ σῶμα ἐνδοῦν αὐτῷ. ὄρθοτατα ὅσν εἰρηταί· "ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω," τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα δεσμωτηρίων, τῶν κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις φωλεῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀπατεώνα λόγον σοφιστεῖων, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτοξουσίω καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμη νοεῖν τε καὶ καταλαμβάνειν.

ΧVII. Προαγαγῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω φησὶν. "ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἐὰν δυνηθῇ ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτοὺς. οὗτος ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου." παγκάλως εἶπεν "οὗτος ἔσται," ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοσοῦτον, τοῖς ἀστροις ἰσάριθμον. οὐ γὰρ τὸ πλήθος αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρία ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελῆ δήλωσαι παρεμφήναι. οὗτος οὖν ἔσται, φησὶν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ὀργάνον αἰθέριον, οὕτως οὐράνον, οὕτως αὐγῆς γέμον ἀσκίου καὶ καθαρᾶς—οὐρανοῦ γὰρ ἀπελήλαται νῦς καὶ αἰθέρος τὸ σκότος,—ἀστερο-
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though he be separated from it not merely by countries but even by vast latitudes. And in Moses’ view a friend is so near that he differs not a whit from one’s own soul, for he says, “the friend, who is equal to thy soul” (Deut. xiii. 6). Again, according to Moses, the priest when he goes into the holy of holies “will not be a man until he comes out” (Lev. xvi. 17); no man, that is, in the movements of his soul though in the bodily sense he is still a man. For when the mind is ministering to God in purity, it is not human, but divine. But when it ministers to aught that is human, it turns its course and descending from heaven, or rather falling to earth, comes forth, even though his body still remains within. Most rightly, then, is it said, “He led him out outside,” outside of the prison-houses of the body, of the lairs where the senses lurk, of the sophistries of deceitful word and thought; above all He led him out of himself, out of the belief that he thought and apprehended through an intelligence which acknowledged no other authority and owed no allegiance to any other than itself.

XVII. When the Lord led him outside He said “Look up into heaven and count the stars, if thou canst count their sum. So shall be thy seed” (Gen. xv. 5). Well does the text say “so” not “so many,” that is, “of equal number to the stars.” For He wishes to suggest not number merely, but a multitude of other things, such as tend to happiness perfect and complete. The seed shall be, He says, as the ethereal sight spread out before him, celestial as that is, full of light unshadowed and pure as that is, for night is banished from heaven and darkness from ether. It shall be the very likeness of the stars,
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eidéstaton, eò διακεκοσμημένον, τάξει χρώμενον ἀκλίνει τῇ κατὰ ταύτα καὶ ὁμοιότας ἐχούσῃ. 88 βούλεται γὰρ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ, εἰ δὲ χρή καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντα εἰπέων, οὐρανὸν ἐπίγειον ἀπο-
φήναι τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ ψυχῆν ἐχουσαν <ἐν ἐαυτῇ καθάπερ> ἐν αἰθέρι καθαρὰς φύσεις, τεταγμένας κινήσεις, χορείας ἐμμελείς, θείας περιόδους, ἀρετῶν ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς. εἰ
d' ἀμήχανον αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων ἁριθμὸν εὑρεῖν,
pώς οὖχὶ μάλλον νοητῶν; ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ οἴμαι τὸ
κρίνον τοῦ κρίνοντος2 ἁμείνον ἡ καθαρὰς φύσεις, διανοίας δὲ ἀμβλύτερον αἰσθητῆς, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρινόμενα δι-
ενήνοχεν ὡστε μυρίω πλήθει τὰ νοητὰ τῶν αἰσθη-
tῶν ὑπερβάλλειν. τὸ γὰρ ψυχῆς ὅμοιον βραχυ-
tάτη μοῖρα τῇ καθαρῇ σώμα ὑφαλαμοι. τὸ μὲν
gὰρ ἠκούσαν ἥλιῳ, λυχνοῦχοι δὲ οὗτοι μελετῶσιν3 εξάπτεσθαι τε καὶ οβένυσθαι.

90 XVIII. Ἀναγκαῖως οὖν ἐπιλέγεται "ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ" πρὸς ἐπαινοῦν τοῦ 
πεπιστευ-
kότος. καίτοι, τάχα ἂν τις εἴποι, τοῦτ' ἁμείνον ἐπαίνου κρίνετε; τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν τι λέγοντι καὶ
ὑπαγόνυμῳ θεῷ προσέχοι τὸν νοὸν, καὶ εἰ 
πάντων ἀδικώτατος καὶ ἀσεβέστατος ὅων τυχ-

1 The insertion by Wend. corresponds in length nearly 
with some illegible words in Pap. It is omitted altogether 
in mss.
2 mss. and Pap. κρινομένον.
3 Perhaps, as Wend. conjectures, μέλλουσι.
WHO IS THE HEIR, 87–91

marshalled in goodly array, following an unswerving order which never varies or changes. For He wished to picture the soul of the Sage as the counterpart of heaven, or rather, if we may so say, transcending it, a heaven on earth having within it, as the ether has, pure forms of being, movements ordered, rhythmic, harmonious, revolving as God directs, rays of virtues, supremely starlike and dazzling. And if it be beyond our powers to count the stars which are visible to the senses, how much more truly can that be said of those which are visible to the mind. For I hold that even as of the two faculties of judgement one is better and one worse, since mind is better than sense and sense duller than understanding, even so do the objects which these two faculties judge differ; and thus things intelligible vastly exceed in number the things perceptible by sense. The eyes of the body are but the tiniest part of the eye of the soul. That is like the sun; the others are like candles, whose business is to be lighted and extinguished.

XVIII. The words “Abraham believed God” (Gen. xv. 6) are a necessary addition to speak the praise due to him who has believed. Yet, perhaps it may be asked, do you consider this worthy of praise? When it is God who speaks and promises, who would not pay heed, even though he were the most unjust and impious of mankind? To such a questioner we will answer, “Good sir, do not without due scrutiny rob the Sage of his fitting tribute, or aver that the unworthy possess the most perfect of virtues, faith,

a For the general sense of this section cf. Timaeus 47 B-E, though there is not much likeness of phraseology, except in περιόδους, on which see note on § 185

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τυρήσης ἡ τὴν ἡμετέραν περὶ τούτων γνώσων
92 αἰτιάσῃ. βαθυτέραν γὰρ εἰ βουληθεῖσθαί ἐρευναν καὶ
μὴ σφόδρ’ ἐπιπόλαιον ποιῆσασθαι, σαφῶς γνώση, ὃτι μόνω θεῷ χωρὶς ἔτερον προσπαραλήψεως
οὐ βάδιων πιστεύσαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ὃ
συνεξεύγμεθα συγγένειαν. ὃπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ χρῆμασι
καὶ δόξη καὶ ἁρχῇ καὶ φίλοις ἅγεια τε καὶ ῥώμη
σώματος καὶ άλλους πολλοῖς ἀναπείθει πεπι-
στευκέναι. τὸ δὲ ἐκνύπασθαι τούτων ἑκαστὸν
καὶ ἀπιστῆσαι γενέσθαι τῇ πάντῃ ἐξ ἔαυτῆς ἀπήστω,
μόνω δὲ πιστεύσαι θεῷ τῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν μόνω
πιστῷ μεγάλης καὶ ολυμπίου ἔργῳ διανοίας ἐστί,
οὐκέτι πρὸς οὐδὲνς δελεαζομένης τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν.

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94 XIX. εὖ δὲ τὸ φάναι “ λογισθῆναι τὴν
πίστην εἰς δικαιοσύνην αὐτῷ”’· δίκαιον γὰρ οὐδὲν
οὖτως, ὥς ἀκράτω καὶ ἄμιγεῖ τῇ πρὸς θεόν μόνον
95 πίστει κεχρήσατι. ὁ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ἀκόλουθον
τούτῳ τῇ φύσῃ παράδοξον ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὴν τῶν
πολλῶν ἀπιστικὴν ἡμῶν, οὐς ἔλεγχων οἱ ἔρος λόγος
φησίν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντι βεβαιώσα καὶ ἀκλίνῳ
ὁρμεῖν θαυμαστὸν μὲν παρ’ ἀνθρώπους, ὥς ἄγαθῶν
ἀδόλων κτῆσις οὐκ ἐστίν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ παρ’
ἀληθεία βραβευούσῃ, δικαιοσύνης δ’ αὐτῷ μόνον
ἔργον.

96 XX. “ Ἑπὶ δὲ” φησὶ “ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγω ὁ
θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων, ὡςτε
δοῦναι σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομῆσαι.” τούτ’
οὐχ ὑπόσχεσιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιὰς ὑποσχέσεως
97 βεβαιῶσων ἐμφαίνει. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάλαι διωρηθὲν
ἀγαθὸν ἔξοδος ἡν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς μετεωρο-
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or censure our claim to knowledge of this matter. For if you should be willing to search more deeply and not confine yourself to the mere surface, you will clearly understand that to trust in God alone and join no other with Him is no easy matter, by reason of our kinship with our yokefellow, mortality, which works upon us to keep our trust placed in riches and repute and office and friends and health and strength and many other things. To purge away each of these, to distrust created being, which in itself is wholly unworthy of trust, to trust in God, and in Him alone, even as He alone is truly worthy of trust—this is a task for a great and celestial understanding which has ceased to be ensnared by aught of the things that surround us.”

XIX. And it is well said “his faith was counted to him for justice” (Gen. xv. 6), for nothing is so just or righteous as to put in God alone a trust which is pure and unalloyed. Yet this act of justice and conformity with nature has been held to be a marvel because of the untrustfulness of most of us. And it is in reproof of us that the holy text tells us, that to rest on the Existent only, firmly and without wavering, though it is a marvel in the sight of men who have no hold of good things unsullied, is deemed no marvel at the judgement-bar of truth, but just an act of justice and nothing more.

XX. The text continues “He said to him, I am the God who brought thee out of the land of the Chaldaeans, to give thee this land to inherit” (Gen. xv. 7). These words indicate not only a promise, but also the confirmation of an old promise. The good bestowed in the past was his departure from Chaldaean sky-lore, which taught the creed
λογίας, ἦτις ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ θεοῦ ἑργον, ἀλλὰ θεόν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τὸ τε εἰ καὶ τὸ χείρον ἀπασι τοὺς οὐσι φοραῖς καὶ τεταγμέναις περιόδοις ἀστέρων ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνθένδε τὴν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ γένεσιν ἠρτήσαι—ταῦτα δὲ ἡ τῶν καὶ οὐρανὸν ὄμαλή καὶ τεταγμένη κίνησις τοὺς εὐχεροτέρους ἄνέπεισαι τερατεύεσθαι καὶ γὰρ τὸ Χαλδαιῶν ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν ὄμαλότητι 98 παρωνυμεῖ,—τὸ δὲ νέον ἀγαθὸν κληρονομῆσαι σοφίαν τὴν ἄδεκτον μὲν αἰσθῆσει, νῦν δὲ εἰλικρινεστάτῳ καταλαμβανομένην, διὸ ἂς ἀποικιῶν ἢ ἀρίστη θεοῦ ἐπανύσχοντα μετανιστημένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ἀστρονομίας ἐπὶ φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβεβαιοῦ εἰκασίας ἐπὶ πάγιον κατάληφιν καὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, ἀπὸ τοῦ 99 κόσμου πρὸς τὸν ποιητήν καὶ πατέρα αὐτοῦ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰς γνώμας χαλδαῖς ὁμολογεῖται ὀμολογοῦν πεπιστεύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐνθένδε μετανιστάντα τῷ ἐπόχῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἡνιόχῳ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, θεῷ, φασὶν οἱ χρησμοὶ. καλὸς γε ὁ κλῆρος, μεῖζων ἠπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, ἐπάξιος δὲ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ διδόντος.

ΧΧΙ. Ἄλλα οὖν ἐξαρκεῖ χρηστὰ ἐλπίσαι καὶ θαυμάσια ἡλίκα προσδοκῆσαι τῷ σοφίᾳ ἑραστὴ διὰ τῶν θεσπισθέντων. ἅλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ τρόπων γνώσεται καθ' ὅν ἐφίξεται τῆς τοῦ κλῆρον διαδοχῆς, [487] παγχάλεπον ἤγειται, ἀτε διωμὸν ἐπιστημῆς καὶ ἀπλήστως ἔχων αὐτὴς. διὸ πυθάνεται φάσκων· “δέσποτα, κατὰ τὶ γνώσομαι, ὅτι κληρονομῆσων 101 αὐτήν;” ἵσως ἀν τοὺς ἔποι μάχεσθαι τοῦτο τῷ
that the world was not God's work, but itself God, and that to all existing things the vicissitudes of better and worse are reckoned by the courses and ordered revolutions of the stars, and that on these depends the birth of good and ill. The even tenour, the uniformly ordered motion of the heavenly bodies have induced weak-minded people to adopt this fantastic creed. Indeed, the name Chaldaean when interpreted corresponds to even tenour or levelness. The new good gift is inheritance of the wisdom which cannot be received by sense, but is apprehended by a wholly pure and clear mind. Through this wisdom the best of all migrations becomes an established fact, the migration of the soul which passes from astrology to real nature study, from insecure conjecture to firm apprehension, and to give it its truest expression, from the created to the uncreated, from the world to its Maker and Father. Thus the oracles tell us that those whose views are of the Chaldaean type have put their trust in heaven, while he who has migrated from this home has given his trust to Him who rides on the heaven and guides the chariot of the whole world, even God. Excellent indeed is this heritage, too great it may be for the powers of the recipient, but worthy of the greatness of the Giver.

XXI. But it is not enough for the lover of wisdom to have high hopes and vast expectations through the oracular promises. If he does not know in what way he will attain the succession of the heritage, it irks him greatly; so thirsty is he for knowledge and insatiate of it. And therefore he asks, "Master, by what shall I know that I shall inherit it?" (Gen. xv. 8). Now perhaps it may be said that this ques-
πεπιστευκέναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορεῖν ἐνδοιάζοντος, τὸ δὲ μηκέτι ζητεῖν ἐργον εἶναι πεπιστευκότος. λεκτέον οὐν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπορεῖ καὶ πεπιστευκεν, οὐ μὴν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δει· πεπιστευκε μὲν γὰρ ὅτι κληρονόμος ἔσται σοφίας, τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτὸ μόνον ζητεῖ καθ’ ὅν ἀν γένοιτο· τὸ δ’ ὅτι γενήσεται, πάντως κατὰ τὰς θείας

102 ὑποσχέσεις βεβαίως κατείληφεν. τὸν πόθον οὖν, ὃ κέχρηται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν, ἐπαινέσας ὁ διδάσκαλος ἁρχεῖ σὺς υφηγήσεως ἀπὸ στοιχειώδους εἰσαγωγῆς, εἴ ἐν πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαίοτατον γέγραπται "λάβε μοι"· βραχεία μὲν ἢ λέξις, πολλῇ δὲ ἡ δύναμις· ἐμφαίνει γὰρ οὐκ ὅλιγα.

103 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵδιον, φησὶν, οὐδὲν ἐχεις ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλ’ ὃ τί ἂν νομίσῃς ἐχειν, ἔτερος παρέσχεται. ἐξ οὗ συνάγεται ὅτι θεοῦ τοῦ διδοῦντος κτήματα πάντα, ἀλλ’ οὔ τῆς μεταίτου τοῦ μεταίτου καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν

104 προτεινούσης γενέσεως. δεύτερον δὲ, κἂν λάβῃς, λάβε μὴ σεαυτῷ, δάνειον δὲ ἡ παρακαταθήκην νομίσας τὸ δοθὲν τῷ παρακαταθεμένῳ καὶ συμβαλόντι ἀπόδοσι, πρεσβυτέραν χάριν χάριτι νεωτέρα, προκατάρχουσαν ἀντεκτινοῦσί· δικαιᾶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἁμειφάμενος.

105 καὶ προσηκόντως ἀμειψάμενος. XXII. μυρίοι γὰρ ἕξαρνοι παρακαταθηκῶν ἐγένοντο ἱερῶν, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ὡς ἰδίοις ὑπ’ ἀμέτρου τῆς πλεονεξίας καταχρησάμενοι. σο δὲ, ὃ γενναῖε, παντὶ σθένει πειρῶ μὴ μόνον ἅσινή καὶ ἀκιβδήλευτα φυλάττειν ἢ ἐλαβεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ξεισὶν, ἢν ὁ παρακαταθέμενος μηδὲν ἔχῃ τῆς παρὰ σοῦ

1 So Pap., evidently rightly: the mss. have μετ’ αὐτοῦ or μετ’ αὐτοῦ.
tion is inconsistent with the belief ascribed to him. It is the doubter, we may be told, who feels difficulties; what the believer does is to cease from further questioning. We must say, then, that the difficulties and the fact of belief are both there, but do not apply to the same subject. Far from it! He has believed that he will be the inheritor of wisdom; he merely asks how this shall come to pass. That it will come to pass is a fact that he has completely and firmly grasped in virtue of the divine promises. And so his Teacher praising the desire for learning which he shews, begins His instruction with a rudimentary lesson, in which the first and most vital words are “take for me” (Gen. xv. 9). A short phrase, but with a wide meaning, for it suggests not a few thoughts. First it says to us “you have no good thing of your own, but whatever you think you have, Another has provided.” Hence we infer that all things are the possession of Him who gives, not of creation the beggar, who ever holds out her hands to take.

The second is “even if you take, take not for yourself, but count that which is given a loan or trust and render it back to Him who entrusted and leased it to you, thus as is fit and just requiting goodwill with goodwill.” His was the earlier, yours is the later; His made the advance, yours shall repay. XXII. For vast is the number of those who repudiate the sacred trusts and in their unmeasured greed use up what belongs to Another as though it was their own. But thou, my friend, try with all thy might, not merely to keep unharmed and unalloyed what thou hast taken, but also deem it worthy of all carefulness, that He who entrusted it to thee may find nothing to blame.
106 φυλακῆς αὐτιάσασθαί. παρακατέθετο δὲ σοι αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, λόγον, αἰσθήσων ὁ ζωοπλάστης, ἀ συμβολικῶς δάμαλις, κριός, αἰ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ὡνομάζθησαν. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ μὲν εὖθὺς ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἐνοσφίσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐταμεύσαντο πρὸς καριωτάτην ἀπόδοσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν νοσφιομένων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εὑρεῖν τίς γὰρ ἢμῶν ψυχὴν καὶ αἰσθήσων καὶ λόγον, πάνθ᾽ ὁμοῦ ταῦτα οὐ φησιν ἐαυτοῦ κτήματ εἶναι, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, τὸ λέγειν, τὸ καταλαμβάνειν οἰόμενος ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτῷ μόνῳ κυίσθαι; τῶν δὲ τὴν πίστιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἄνωτος διαφυλαττόντων ὁλόγος ἔστιν ἀριθμός. οὕτως ταῦτα τα τρία ἀνατείκασι θεῷ, ψυχήν, αἰσθήσαν, λόγον ἐλαβον γὰρ οὐχ ἐαυτοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνῳ πάντα ταῦτα, ὡστε εἰκότως ὀμολόγησαν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὰς ἐκάστων ἐνεργείας, τοῦ νοὸ τὰς διανοήσεις, τοῦ λόγου τὰς ἐρμηνείας, τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὰς φαντασίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐαυτοῖς ταῦτα ἐπιγράφοντες ἀξια τῆς ἐαυτῶν [488] βαροῦνοιονίας ἐκληρώσαντο, ψυχὴν μὲν ἐπίβουλον, ἁλόγοις πάθεσι πεφυρμενήν καὶ πλήθει κακίων κατειλημένην, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ λαμαργίας καὶ λαγνείας ὡστε ἐν χαμαιντυπεῖς περιβριξομένην, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἀδικημάτων ὡστέ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεργμένην μετὰ κακούργων, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀ πάσι τοῖς κριταῖς [ἡ τιμωρηταῖς] ἀγώνυμα γέγονε, λόγον δὲ στόμαρχον, ἠκοινομένον κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, βλαβερὸν μὲν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, αἰσχύνην δὲ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπιφέροντα, αἰσθησι αὶ ἀκόρεστον, ἐμφορουμένην μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκράτωρος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μηδέποτε ἐμπλησθήναι 334
in thy guardianship of it. Now the Maker of all that lives has given into thy trust soul, speech, and sense, which the sacred scripture calls in its parable heifer, ram, and goat (Gen. xv. 9). Some in their selfishness at once annex these, others store them up, to repay when the moment for repayment has come. Those who appropriate the trust are countless in number. For which of us does not assert that soul and sense and speech, each and all are his own possession, thinking that to perceive, to speak, to apprehend, rest with himself alone. But small is the number of those who guard the trust as something holy and inviolable. These have dedicated these three, soul, sense, and speech, to God, for they “took” them all for God, not for themselves; so that they naturally acknowledge that through Him come the activities of each, the reflections of the mind, the language in which speech expresses itself, the pictures presented to sense.

Those, then, who assert their ownership of the three, receive the heritage which their miserable state deserves; a soul malevolent, a chaos of unreasoning passions, held down by a multitude of vices; sometimes mauled by greed and lust, like a strumpet in the stews, sometimes fast bound as in a prison by a multitude of ill deeds, herded with malefactors, not of human kind, but habits which an unanimous judgement has declared worthy of arrest; speech brow-beating, keen-edged against truth, working harm to its victims, and shame to its employers; sense insatiable, ever imbibing the objects of sense, yet through its un-

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δυναμένην, ἀλογοῦσαν τῶν σωφρονιστῶν, ὡς
παρουσαν καὶ παρακούειν καὶ ὁσα ἂν ἐν ἑπὶ ὠφελεία
110 διεξέρχονται παραπτᾶνειν. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες
μὴ ἐαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ θεῷ τούτων ἐκαστον αὐτῷ
ἀνέθεσαν, ἱεροπρεπὲς καὶ άγιον ὄντως φυλάξαντες
τῷ κτησμένῳ, τήν μὲν διάνοιαν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλῳ
ἡ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁρετῶν αὐτοῦ διανοῇται, τὸν
dὲ λόγον, ἵνα ἀχαλίνῳ στόματι ἐγκυμίοις καὶ
ύμνοις καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοῖς γεραιρὴ τῶν τῶν ὀλων
πατέρα, τὰς πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν ἀπάσας ἁρετὰς εἰς
ev τοῦτο μόνον ἐργον συγκροτῶν καὶ ἐπιδει-
κύμενος, τὴν δὲ αἰσθήσιν, ἵνα φαντασιομενή τὸν
αισθητὸν ἀπαντά κόσμον οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰς
μεταξὺ φύσεις, ζώα τε καὶ φυτά, ἐνεργείας τε καὶ
dυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ὁσα κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις,
111 ἀδόλως καὶ καθαρῶς ψυχῇ διαγγέλλῃ. νῦν γὰρ
ὁ θεὸς καταλαμβάνειν τὸν μὲν νοητὸν κόσμον δι᾽
ἐαυτοῦ, τὸν δὲ ὄρατον δι᾽ αἰσθήσεως ἐφήκεν. εἰ
dὴ δύνατὸ τις πάσι τοῖς μέρεσι ζῆσαι θεῷ μᾶλλον
ἡ ἐαυτῷ, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εἰς τὰ αἰσθητὰ
dιακύψας ἐνεκα τοῦ τάληθες εὑρέτων, διὰ δὲ τῆς
ψυχῆς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ὄντα ὄντως φιλοσοφήσας, διὰ
dὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν φωνήν ὄργανον καὶ τὸν κόσμον
καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ὑμνήσας, εὐδαιμόνι καὶ μακαρίων
βίῳ χρήσεται.
112 XXIII. Ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ "λάβε μοι" παρεμφαί-
νοσθαί νομίζω, βουληθεῖς μέντοι καὶ τῆς θείας
αρετῆς ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ γῆν κατα-
pέμψαι δι᾽ ἐλεον τοῦ γένους ἥμων, ἵνα μὴ ἀτυχήσῃ
τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἱερὰν
σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκεύαζει, σοφίας
886
controlled avidity incapable of reaching satisfaction, regardless of its monitors, blind, deaf and derisive to all that they preach for its benefit.

But those who have "taken," not for themselves but for God, have dedicated each of the three to Him, guarding them for the Owner, as in truth sanctified and holy: the thinking faculty, that it should think of nothing else but God and His excellences; speech, that with unbridled mouth it should honour the Father of all with laud and hymn and benediction, that it should concentrate all the graces of expression to be exhibited in this task only; sense, that it should report faithfully and honestly to the soul the pictures presented to it by the whole world within its ken, heaven and earth and the intermediate forms of nature, both living creatures and plants, their activities, their faculties, their conditions whether in motion or rest. For God has permitted the mind to comprehend of itself the world of the mind, but the visible world only through sense.

Oh! if one can live with all the parts of his being to God rather than to himself, using the eye of sense to penetrate into the objects of sense and thus discover the truth, using the soul to study the higher verities of mental things and real existences, using the organ of his voice to laud both the world and its Maker, he will live a happy and blessed life.

XXIII. This is what I hold the words "take for me" to suggest. Here is another illustration. When God willed to send down the image of divine excellence from heaven to earth in pity for our race, that it should not lose its share in the better lot, he constructs as a symbol of the truth the holy tabernacle and its contents to be a representation
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113 ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. τῆς γὰρ ἀκαθαρσίας ἦμῶν ἐν μέσῳ φησὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἱδρύσθαι τὸ λόγιον, ἵν' ἔχωμεν ὁ καθαρθησόμεθα ἐκνιψάμενοι καὶ ἀπολουσάμενοι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἦμῶν τὸν [489] ἀθλιῶν καὶ δυσκλείας γέμοντα βίον. τὰ συντείνοντα οὖν πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἵδωμεν ἵν τρόπον εἰσφέρειν προσέταξεν. " ἐλάλησε " φησὶ " κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· εἰπὸν τοῖς νεότις Ἰσραήλ, καὶ λάβετέ μοι ἄπαρχάς, παρὰ πάντων οἷς ἂν δοξὴ τῇ καρδίᾳ, λήψεσθε τὰς ἄπαρχάς μου." οὐκοῦν κάνταυθα παραίνεσις μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ θεῷ λαβείν, τὸς τε ὁ διδοὺς ἐστιν εἰς τὴν ἀνεκτάζοντας καὶ τὰ δοθέντα μὴ συνομένους, ἀσινῇ δὲ καὶ ἁμωμησιά τελειά τε αὖ καὶ ὀλόκληρα διαφυλάττοντας. τὰς δ' ἄρχας δοματικῶτας ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῷ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ σωμάτων καὶ πραγμάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ θεόν ἐξετάζονται μόνον. ἐρεύνησον δὲ, εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι, ἐκαστα, φυτά, ζώα, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας. ἃρ' οὖν αἱ πρώται τῶν φυτῶν ἄρχαι σπέρματα καὶ κατα-βολαὶ1 γεωργίας ἢ τῆς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως εἰς ἄρατα ἔργα; τί δ' αἱ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων γενέσεις; οὔχ ὡςαν εἰ μὲν συναιτίους ἔχουσι τοὺς τοκεᾶς, τὴν δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ προσβυτάτην καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αἰτίαν τῆς φύσιν; τέχνας δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμας οὐ πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα καὶ θεμέλιος2 καὶ εἰ

1 So some mss.: Mangey and Wend. adopt the reading of others (and Pap.), τῶν φυτῶν σπερματικά καταβολαί. See App. p. 569.
2 So mss.; Wend. (from Pap.) θεμέλιοι; but the evidence of the index shows that Philo regularly uses the singular 338
and copy of wisdom. For the oracle tells us that the tabernacle "was set up in the midst of our uncleanness" (Lev. xvi. 16) that we may have wherewith to scour and wash away all that defiles our life, miserable and laden with ill fame as it is. Let us consider, then, how he bade them contribute the ways and means needed for the building of the tabernacle. "The Lord spake unto Moses," it says, saying: "Speak to the sons of Israel and take ye for me first beginnings; from all who are so minded in their heart, ye shall take my first beginnings" (Ex. xxv. 1, 2). Here then also we have an exhortation not to take for ourselves but for God, closely considering who the Giver is and doing no damage to the gifts, but preserving them undamaged and faultless, aye perfect and complete. In this dedication of the beginnings to God Moses teaches us a high truth. For indeed the beginnings of things both material and immaterial are found to be by God only. Look well, if you would have knowledge, at each several kind, plants, living creatures, arts, sciences. What of the first beginnings of plants? Do they consist in the dropping of the seed by the farmer, or are they the invisible works of invisible nature? What of the generation of men and the other animals? Are not the parents as it were the accessories, while nature is the original, the earliest and the real cause? So again with the arts and sciences. Is not nature the underlying fact, the fountain or root or foundation, or whatever name you give to the beginning

a For the identification of Nature with the Divine Agency in things cf. De Sac. 98 and note.

when speaking of a single thing, e.g. Leg. All. iii. 138 ὥσπερ τις ἀρχή καὶ θεμέλιος.
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τι ἄλλο πρεσβυτέρας ὄνομα ἀρχής ὑπόκειται ἡ φύσις, ἢ πάντ' ἐποικοδομεῖται τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην θεωρήματα; φύσεως δὲ μὴ προϋποκειμένης ἀτελή τὰ πάντα. ἐνθένδε μοι δοκεῖ τις ὀρμηθεῖσε εὐστόχως εἰπεῖν

ἀρχὴ δὲ τοῦ ἴμισον παντὸς,

ἀρχὴν αἰνεξάμενος τὴν φύσιν, ἢτις ὲσωαὶ βία καταβεβληται πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου συναύξησιν, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἴμισον τοῦ παντὸς ἀπένεμε. XXIV.
117 εἰκότως οὖν τὸ λόγιον ἀνέθηκε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ ἡγεμόνι θεῷ. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρους "εἴπεν" φησὶν "κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· ἀγίασόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον, πρωτογενές, διανοοῦν πᾶσαν μήτραν ἐν ύιοὶς Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐως κτήνους· ἐμοὶ ἔστω"· ὡστε ἀνωμολογήσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων, ὅτι τὰ πρώτα καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ δυνάμει κτήματα θεοῦ, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρωτογενή. ἐπειδὴ γάρ πᾶν γένος ἀφθαρτον, δικαίως τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ προσνεμηθήσεται, καὶ εἰ τι καὶ συνόλωσ μήτραν διογνύει απὸ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ λόγου,

118 ἐως κτήνους, αἰσθήσεως τε καὶ σώματος. ὁ γὰρ διογνύσ τὴν μήτραν ἐκάστων, τοῦ μὲν νοῦ πρὸς τὰς νοητὰς καταληψις, τοῦ δὲ λόγου πρὸς τὰς διὰ φωνῆς ἐνεργείας, τῶν δὲ αἰσθήσεων πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐγχειρημένας φαντασίας, τοῦ δὲ σώματος πρὸς τὰς οἰκεῖους αὐτῶν σχέσεις τε καὶ κινήσεις ἀόρατος καὶ σπερματικός καὶ τεχνικός

1 Wend. prints el tis (Pap.) διογνύει (Pap. and some mss.). He suggests ὅσ οἷο τε καὶ for el tis kai to preserve the infinitive.

α Apparent they a proverbial saying already quoted in Quod 340
which precedes all else, and is not the lore of each science a superstructure built on nature, whereas if we do not start with this as a groundwork, all that lore is imperfect? It was this, I take it, which led someone to say so aptly

The beginning is half the whole.

In these words the hidden meaning of "beginning" is nature, the underlying root as it were, the setting needed for growth in each case, to whose credit the writer assigned half the whole. XXIV. Not without reason then did the oracle dedicate "beginnings" to the great Leader, God. And elsewhere he says "The Lord spake unto Moses saying ' sanctify to me every first born, first in generation, which openeth every womb among the sons of Israel from man to beast. It is to Me'" (Ex. xiii. 1, 2). Thus it is admitted here also that the first in time and value are God's possessions and especially the first in generation. For since genus in every case is indestructible, to the indestructible God will it be justly assigned. And that is true too of one who opens the womb of all from man, that is reason and speech, to beast, that is sense and body. For he that opens the womb of each of these, of mind, to mental apprehensions, of speech, to the activities of the voice, of the senses, to receive the pictures presented to it by objects, of the body, to the movements and postures proper to it, is the invisible, seminal artificer, the divine Word,


b The -γενή in πρωτογενή is equated by Philo with γένος in its philosophical sense. The play cannot be well brought out in translation.
θείός ἐστι λόγος, δι' προσηκόντως ἀνακείστεται τῷ

120 πατρί. καὶ μὴν ὀσπερ αἱ ἄρχαι θεοῦ, 

οὕτως καὶ τὰ τέλη θεοῦ. μάρτυς δὲ Μωυσῆς 

προσόττων ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τὸ τέλος τῷ 

121 κυρίῳ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ. πῶς; 

φυτοῦ 

μὲν ἄρχῃ σπέρμα, τέλος δὲ ὁ καρπὸς, ἐκάτερον οὔ 

γεωργίας, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἤργον. πάλιν ἐπιστήμης

[490] ἄρχῃ μὲν ἡ φύσις, | ὡς ἐδείχθη, πέρας δ' οὔδ' 

ἡλθεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. τέλειος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν οὐδεὶ 

τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀφευδώ οἱ τελειότητες 

καὶ ἀκρότητες ἐνός εἰς μόνον. φορούμεθ' οὖν 

λοιπὸν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ τέλος καὶ ἄρχῃς μεθορίῳ, 

μανθάνοντες, διδάσκοντες, γεωργοῦντες, ἐργαζό-

μενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν ἔδρωντες,1 ἣν τι 

122 καὶ γένεσις πράττειν δοκῇ. γνωριμότερον μὲν τοῖς 

τὰς ἄρχας καὶ τὰ τέλη κατὰ θεὸν ὁμολογησάντες ἐπὶ 

τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως εἰπών. "ἐν ἄρχῃ 

ἐποίησε" καὶ πάλιν "συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν 

123 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν." ... νυνὶ μὲν οὖν 

"λάβετε μοι" φησὶ διδοὺς τὰ πρέπονθ' ἑαυτῷ 

καὶ προτρέπων τὰ δοθέντα μὴ κιβδηλεύειν, ἀλλ' 

αξίως τοῦ δόντος φυλάττειν, αὕτης δ' ἐν ἔτεροις ὁ 

μηδενὸς χρείας ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λαμβάνων μηδὲν 

ὁμολογήσει λαμβάνειν, ἐνεκα τοῦ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν 

ἀλείψαι καὶ προθυμίαν ὑπενθύμισαι καὶ 

πρὸς θεραπείαν ἀκονθία τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἀπο-

δεχομένου καὶ δεχομένου τὰς ψυχῆς ἐκουσίους 

124 ἄρεσκείας καὶ γνησίους θεραπείας. "ίδου" γάρ

1 mss. ὦσανεὶ ὀρώντες (but Pap. ὦσαν ὑδρώντες).
which will be fitly dedicated to its Father.
And as the beginnings are God's, so also are the ends. Moses testifies to this when he bids set apart and accord the end to the Lord (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.). And what happens in the world testifies to it also. How so? you ask. In the plant the seed is the beginning and the fruit the end, and both are the work of nature, not of husbandry. Again in science, the beginning, as has been shewn, is nature, but its limit is actually outside the range of human possibilities. For no one reaches perfection in any of his pursuits, but undoubtedly all perfection and finality belong to One alone. And so we are fain to range in the borderland between beginning and end, learning, teaching, tilling, and whatever work we carry on, labouring with the sweat of our brow, as it were, that the mere creature may seem to accomplish something. Still more clearly indeed does Moses acknowledge that beginnings and ends are willed by God, when he says in the creation-story, "In the beginning He made" (Gen. i. 1), and afterwards, "God finished the heavens and the earth" (Gen. ii. 1, 2).
And so in the text we are treating, He says "take ye for Me," thus giving to Himself what is His due and bidding us not to adulterate the gifts, but guard them in a way worthy of the Giver. And again elsewhere, He that has no need of aught and therefore takes nothing will acknowledge that He "takes," in order to train us to piety, and to implant a zeal for holiness, and to spur us to His service, as one who welcomes and accepts the free-will homage and genuine service of the soul. For He says "be- 

\[\text{This is an idiomatic use of } \lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\upsilon, \text{"it is left to us," } \text{"we have to." Thus it almost } = \text{"therefore."} \]
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φησιν "εἵληφα τοὺς Λευίτας ἀντὶ παντὸς πρωτοτόκου διανοούντος μὴτραν παρὰ τῶν νεών Ἰσραὴλ· λύτρα αὐτῶν ἔσονται." οὐκοίν λαμβάνομεν καὶ δίδομεν, ἀλλὰ κυρίως μὲν λαμβάνομεν, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ διδόναι λεγόμεθα δ' ἂς αἴτια εἶπον. εὐθυβόλως δὲ λύτρα ὠνόμασε τοὺς Λευίτας· εἰς ἐλευθερίαν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐξαιρεῖται τὴν διάνοιαν ὡς τὸ πρόσφυγα καὶ ἰκέτην γενέσθαι θεοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλή Λευιτῶν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

125 XXV. Δελαληκότες οὖν τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων ἀναδράμωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξοχα· ὑπερεθέμεθα γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ὅσοι έκριναν ἀκριβωθῆναι. "λάβε μοι" φησίν "δόμαλιν" ἄξυγα καὶ ἀκάκωτον, ἀπαλήν ἐτὶ καὶ νέαν καὶ σφριγώσαν, ἡνόχησαν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ ἐπιστασίαν εὐμαρὸς δέξασθαι δυναμένης ψυχῆς. "λάβε μοι κριόν," λόγον ἀγωνιστήν καὶ τέλειον, ἵκανον μὲν τὰ σοφίσματα τῶν ἀντιδοξοῦντων ἀνατείμην τε καὶ λῦσαι, ἵκανον δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὅμοιο καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τῷ χρωμένῳ περιποιήσαι. "λάβε μοι" καὶ τὴν ἀττουσαν' αἰσθήσουν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀισθητὸν κόσμον· "αἶγα," πάντα "τριετίζοντα," κατ' ἀρμόδιον τέλειον παγέντα, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τελευτήν ἔχουσα· πρὸς

1 mss. διάγωνσαν (but Pap. διττουσαν). Why not διέτουσαν, as Mangey before the discovery of Pap. suggested? This would still preserve the derivation of αἰξ from ἀττ- which Philo obviously intends.

a "Ransom" (cf. De Sac. 118) does not appear in the Hebrew (E.V. "The Levites shall be mine").

b Clearly, to suit the heifer, ψυχή must here be used in the limited sense of the mind or reasonable soul; yet in § 122 it is divided into reasonable and unreasonable. So, too, with 344
hold, I have taken the Levites in place of everyone who opens the womb from among the sons of Israel; they shall be their ransom" (Num. iii. 12). So then we take and give, but in the full sense of the word we take only; it is by a license of language that we are said to give, for the reasons which I have mentioned. Note that He gives the Levites a correct name in calling them "ransom." For nothing so well redeems the mind to freedom, as to take refuge with God and become His suppliant. And such is the profession of the consecrated tribe of Levi.

XXV. We have said what was fitting on these points. Let us now return to the original subject, for we postponed much of what requires precise discussion. Take for me, it says, a "heifer" unyoked, undamaged, tender, young and fresh in spirit, a soul, that is, which can easily receive guidance and instruction and ruling; "take for me a ram," that is speech active in argument and fully developed, competent to analyse and refute the sophisms of controversialists and to provide its possessor with a safe and well-ordered life; take for me also the sense that dashes and darts on to the sensible world, the she-goat that is; and take them all three years old, that is, formed according to the perfect number with beginning, middle and end. And further take for the ram and the goat. By definition they correspond to the good side of λόγος and αἰσθησις, but in § 132 are divided into good and bad. See also on § 225.

Rhetoric is here conceived of as a means of defending the innocent, and therefore a safeguard against injustice. But there is also an allusion to the thought developed in De Mut. 246, that the sheep is the best of animals because its wool provides man with protection from the weather and decent covering (ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον).
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δὲ τοῦτοι "τρυγόνα καὶ περιστεράν," τὴν τε θείαν καὶ τὴν ἄνθρωπίνην σοφίαν, πτηνὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἄνω πηδάν μεμελετηκυιάς, διαφερούσας δ’ ἀλλήλων, ἥ διαφέρει γένος εἶδος ἢ 127 μίμημα ἄρχητόπου. φιλέρημος μὲν γὰρ ἦ θεία [491] σοφία, διὰ τὸν μόνον θεόν, ὁ γὰρ κτήμα ἐστὶ, τὴν μόνωσιν ἀγαπῶσα—συμβολικῶς αὕτη τρυγῶν καλεῖται—, ἥμερος δὲ καὶ τιθασός καὶ ἀγελαίος ἢ ἐτέρα, τὰ ἄνθρωπῶν ἀστὴ περιπολοῦσα καὶ διαίτη τῇ μετὰ θνητῶν ἀσμενίζουσα· περιστερά ταύτην 128 ἀπεικάζουσιν. XXVI. ταύτας μοι δοκεῖ τὰς ἀρετὰς Μωυσῆς . εἰνεὶ μαίας Εβραίων ὄνομασί Σεπφώραν τε καὶ Φουάν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὀρνίθιον, Φουά δὲ ἐρυθρόν ἐρμηνεύεται. τῆς μὲν ὀνθείας ἐπιστήμης ὀρνιθός τρόπον τὸ αἰεὶ μετεωροπολείν ἵδιον, τῆς δὲ ἄνθρωπίνης αἰδώ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖν, ὶν τὸ ἐρυθρὶδν ἐφ’ οἷς άξιον 129 δεύμα ἐναγείισταιν. "ἐλαβεν δὲ" φησίν "αὐτῷ πάντα ταύτα." τοῦτ’ ἐπαινοὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου, τὴν ἱερὰν ὅν ἐλαβε παρακαταθήκην, φυχής, αἰσθήσεως, λόγου, θείας σοφίας, ἄνθρωπίνης ἐπιστήμης, καθαρὸς καὶ ἀδὸλος μὴ ἑαυτῷ, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πεπιστευκότι φυλάξαντος.

130 εἶτ’ ἐπιλέγει: "διεἰλθεν αὕτα μέσα," τὸ τὶς μὴ προστιθεῖς, ἢν τὸν ἄδεικτὸν ἐννοής θεῶν τέμνοντα τὰς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔξης ἀπάσας ήρμοσθαι καὶ ἤγνωσθαι δο κούσας φύσεις τῷ τομεί τῶν συμπάντων έαυτοῦ λόγω, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἰξυτάτην ἀκονηθεῖς ἀκμὴν διαφρῶν

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me a turtle-dove and a pigeon, that is divine and human reason, both of them winged creatures, skilled by practice to speed upwards, yet differing from each other, as the genus differs from the species, or the copy from the archetype. For Divine wisdom is a lover of solitudes, since loneliness is dear to her because of the solitary God who is her owner, and thus in parable she is called the turtle-dove. The other is gentle and tame and sociable, frequenting the cities of men and pleased to dwell with mortals. Men liken her to a pigeon. XXVI. These virtues Moses, I think, spoke of in allegory when he named the midwives of the Hebrews, Zipporah and Phuah (Ex. i. 15), for Zipporah is by interpretation "bird" and Phuah "ruddy." It is a special property of divine wisdom that it ever soars aloft like a bird, of human wisdom that it implants modesty and discretion; and a blush, where the matter calls for blushing, is the clearest proof of the presence of these qualities. "Abraham took all these for Him" (Gen. xv. 10) says the text. These words speak the praise of the man of worth who faithfully and honestly guards the sacred trust, which he has received of soul, sense, and speech, of divine wisdom and human knowledge, but guards it not for himself, but solely for Him who gave the trust. Then he continues, "he divided them in the middle," but he does not add who this "he" is. He wishes you to think of God who cannot be shewn, as severing through the Severer of all things, that is his Word, the whole succession of things material and immaterial whose natures appear to us to be knitted together and united. That severing Word whetted to an edge of utmost
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131 οὐδέποτε λήγει. τὰ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ πάντα ἐπειδὰν μέχρι τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ λεγομένων ἀμερῶν διεξέλθη, πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ λόγῳ θεωρητὰ εἰς ἀμυθίτους καὶ ἀπεριγράφους μοίρας ἀρχεῖα διαιρέων οὔτος ὁ τομεύς, καὶ "τὰ πέταλα τοῦ χρυσίου τέμνει τρίχας," ὡς φησὶ Μωυσῆς, εἰς μῆκος ἀπλατές ἀσωμάτους γραμμαῖς ἐμφερές.

132 έκαστὸν οὖν τῶν τριῶν διείλε μέσον, τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εἰς λογικὸν καὶ ἀλογον, τὸν δὲ λόγον εἰς ἀληθές τε καὶ ψεῦδος, τὴν δὲ αἴσθησιν εἰς καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτην: ἀπερ εὐθὺς τμῆμα τοῦπροσωπα τίθησιν ἅλλοις, λογικὸν ἀλογον, ἀληθὲς ψεῦδος, καταληπτὸν καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπα τίθησιν, μετασχηματίζει ἀναμενόμενα εἰς μαχομένας ἐναντιότητας ἀδύνατον τέμνεσθαι.

133 ΧΧΧΠΙ. Πολὺν δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὄντα λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὰ τομής καὶ περὶ ἐναντιότητων οὔτε παρήσομεν οὔτε μηκυνοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐστίν ἐπιτέμνοντες ἀρκεσθῆσομεν τοῖς καιρίοις.

[492] καθὰπερ | γὰρ ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ μέλη μέσα διείλεν ὁ τεχνίτης, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς

134 οὐσίαν, ἡμῖν πῶς τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιοῦργε. λαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡξῖστο διαιρέων ὡδε, δύο τὸ πρῶτον ἐποίει τμῆμα, τὸ τε βαρὺ καὶ κούφον, τὸ παχυμερές ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτομεροὺς διακρίνων: εἰθ' ἐκάτερον πάλιν διαιρέω, τὸ μὲν λεπτομερές εἰς ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ παχυμερές εἰς ὅδωρ καὶ γῆν, ἀ καὶ στοιχεῖα αἰσθητὰ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου, ὃς αὐτὸι θεμελίους, προκατεβάλετο. πάλιν δὲ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ

* καταληπτικὸς and καταληπτός seem to be convertible
sharpness never ceases to divide. For when it has dealt with all sensible objects down to the atoms and what we call "indivisibles," it passes on from them to the realm of reason's observation and proceeds to divide it into a vast and infinite number of parts. It divides the "plates of gold," as Moses tells us, "into hairs" (Ex. xxxvii. 10), that is into length without breadth, like immaterial lines. So it divided each of the three in the middle, the soul into rational and irrational, speech into true and false, sense into presentations, where the object is real and apprehended, and presentations where it is not. These sections He at once placed "opposite to each other," rational to irrational, true to false, apprehending to non-apprehending. The birds He left undivided, for incorporeal and divine forms of knowledge cannot be divided into conflicting opposites.

XXVII. The subject of division into equal parts and of opposites is a wide one, and discussion of it essential. We will neither omit nor protract it, but abridge it as far as possible and content ourselves with the vital points only. Just as the great Artificer divided our soul and limbs in the middle, so too, when He wrought the world, did He deal with the being of all that is. This He took and began to divide as follows. First He made two sections, heavy and light, thus distinguishing the element of dense from that of rare particles. Then again He divided each of these two, the rare into air and fire, the dense into water and land, and these four He laid down as first foundations, to be the sensible elements of the sensible world. Again He made terms, since the mind may be conceived of as grasping the \( \phi a ν r ν s i a \) or \( v i c e \ versa \). See further App. p. 569.
κούφον καθ' ἕτερας ἔτεμνεν ἰδέας, τὸ μὲν κούφον εἰς ψυχρὸν τε καὶ θερμὸν—ἐπεφήμισε δὲ τὸ μὲν ψυχρὸν ἁέρα, τὸ δὲ θερμὸν φύσει πῦρ—, τὸ δὲ βαρὺ εἰς ύγρόν τε αὖ καὶ ξηρόν· ἐκάλεσε δὲ τὸ μὲν ξηρὸν γῆν, τὸ δὲ ύγρὸν ὕδωρ. ἔκαστον δὲ τούτων ἄλλας τομὰς ἐδέχετο· γῆ μὲν γάρ εἰς ἱππείρους καὶ νῆσους διηρεῖτο, ύδωρ δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ ὅσον πότιμον <καὶ οὐ πότιμον>¹, ἀὴρ δὲ εἰς τὰς θέρους καὶ χεμῶν τροπάς, πῦρ δὲ εἰς τὸ χρειῶδες—ἀπληστον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ φθαρτικὸν τούτο—καὶ κατὰ τούναντίου εἰς τὸ σωτήριον, ὅπερ εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ

136 σύστασιν ἀπεκληροῦτο. ὡσπερ δὲ τὰ ὀλοσχερὴ, οὕτω καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἔτεμνεν, ὅτ' τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δ' ἐμψυχα ἤν· καὶ τῶν ἄψυχων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῦτῳ μένοντα, ὅτ' δὲς ἰσομός ἔστι, τὰ δ' οὐ μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλ' αὐξητικῶς κινούμενα, αἱ φύσις ἡ ἀφάντιστος ἐξώου· καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης οἰστικά ἀγρίων καρπῶν, οἱ τροφὴ θηρίων εἰσών, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἥμερας, ὅτ' γεωργία τὴν προστασίαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔλαχε· τίκτει δὲ καρποὺς τῷ πάντων ἡμερωτάτῳ ζῴῳ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν,

137 ἀνθρώπω· καὶ μὴν δὲν τρόπον τὰ ἄψυχα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς μεμοιραμένα διήρει—τούτων γάρ ἐν μὲν ἀλόγων, ἐν δὲ λογικῶν ἀπέκρυνε εἰδος—καὶ λαβὼν ἐκάτερον πάλιν ἔτεμνεν τὸ μὲν ἀλόγον εἰς ἀτίθασόν

¹ <καὶ οὐ πότιμον> is my insertion. Cf. De Som. i. 18 in a similar discussion, καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον, τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον. A triple division into sea, rivers, and drinkable is not very reasonable.

² See App. p. 569.
WHO IS THE HEIR, 135–138

a second division of heavy and light on different principles. He divided the light into cold and hot, giving to the cold the name of air and to the naturally hot the name of fire. The heavy He divided into wet and dry, and He called the dry "land" and the wet "water." Each of these was subjected to further dissections. Land was divided into continents and islands, water into sea and rivers and into drinkable and undrinkable, air into the changes which mark summer and winter, and fire into the merely useful variety, which is also voracious and destructive, and on the other hand the preservative variety which was set apart to form the heaven. Just as He divided the main constituents of the universe, so did He also with their subdivisions. These are partly living and partly lifeless. Among the lifeless some remain in the same place, held together by the tie of "cohesion"; others move by expansion, without changing their position, vitalized by a natural and unconscious growth, and among them, those which are of wild stuff produce wild fruits, which serve for food to the beasts of the field. Others are of a stuff which admits of cultivation, the management of which is a charge allotted to husbandry, and these produce fruits for the enjoyment of the animal most removed from the wild, that is man. Further, as He had divided the lifeless, so did He with those which participate in life, distinguishing one species as rational, the other as irrational. Then again He split up each of these. The irrational He divided into the domesticated...

b See note on Leg. All. ii. 22, and the fuller explanation both of ἐξις and φύσις in this sense in Quod Deus 35 ff.

τε καὶ χειρόθες εἴδος, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν εἰς ἀφθαρτὸν
139 τε καὶ θυητὸν. καὶ τοῦ θυητοῦ δύο μοίρας εἰργάζετο, ὃν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὴν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπεφήμισε. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλον μὲν[τοι]1 τρόπον τὸ ζώον εἰς ἄρρεν ἔτεμνε καὶ θήλυ, ἐδέχετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ἀναγκαίας τομάς, αἱ διεστελλοῦν πτηνὰ μὲν χερσαίων, χερσαία δὲ ἐνύδρων, ἐνύδρα δὲ ἀμφοῖν τῶν ἄκρων. οὕτως ο θεὸς ἀκονησάμενος τῶν τομέων τῶν συμπάντων αὐτοῦ λόγων διήρει τὴν τε ἁμορφον καὶ ἀποικία ὁλῶν οὐσίαν καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποκριθέντα τετταρά τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεία καὶ τὰ διὰ τούτων παγέντα ζώα τε καὶ φυτά.

140 Τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον τοὺς τρόπους τῶν κατὰ τό σώματα καὶ τὰς ἐν χερσάν καὶ συμπάντα τοῖς ἑρμοτομόντες ἀποκριθέντας οὐσίας ἐπεφήμισαι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν περὶ τῶν ἑσον τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν τοῖς ἑσον τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν τοῖς ἑσον τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι.

141 XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον φησι “dioileν,” ἄλλα καὶ “μέσα διείλεν,” ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἕλγων περὶ τῶν ἱσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν περὶ τῶν ἱσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν περὶ τῶν ἱσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι. τὸ μὲν γάρ αἱρεθέντα τε ἐν περὶ τῶν ἱσων τμημάτων ὑπομνήμασι.

142 τμῆματα. ἀνθρωπος μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀκριβῶς ἃν ποτέ εἰς ἱσα διείλειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη τῶν τμημάτων τὸ ἔτερον ἐνδείκνυτομεν ἐν τοῖς πάντως, ἢ τάξα τὴν αὐτοθείνυ ποτέ εἰς ἱσα διείλειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη τῶν τμημάτων τὸ ἔτερον ἐνδείκνυτομεν ἐν τοῖς πάντως, ἢ τάξα τὴν αὐτοθείνυ ποτέ εἰς ἱσα διείλειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη τῶν τμημάτων τὸ ἔτερον ἐνδείκνυτομεν ἐν τοῖς πάντως, ἢ τάξα τὴν αὐτοθείνυ ποτέ εἰς ἱσα διείλειν οὐδέν.

143 ἵσοτητος δὲ οὐδὲν γενοῦνεν αὐτιον ἀδικότως λόγω τῆς ἀλθείας εὑρίσκεται. ἕοικεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς μόνον ἀκριβοδίκαιος εἶναι καὶ μέσα μόνος δύνασθαι διαφεύγειν τὰ τε σώματα καὶ πράγματα, ὡς μὴ δὲν

1 Wend.’s text retains μέντοι and places a colon after θῆλυ, thus making an antithesis between the sex-division of mankind and that of animals as a whole, which seems not very reasonable. Possibly also ἐτέμνες τοιοῦ.
2 mss. ἔσον (Pap. ηττον).
and undomesticated, and the rational into immortal and mortal. Of the mortal He made two portions, one of which He named men, the other women. And while following one principle He split up the animal kingdom as a whole into male and female, it was also subjected to other necessary partitions, which distinguished the winged from land animals, these from the aquatic, the last named being intermediate to the other two. Thus God sharpened the edge of his all-cutting Word, and divided universal being, which before was without form or quality, and the four elements of the world which were formed by segregation from it, and the animals and plants which were framed with them as materials.

XXVIII. But the text not only says “He divided” but also “He divided them in the middle”; and it is therefore necessary to make a few remarks on the subject of equal sections, for when anything is divided exactly in the middle it produces equal sections. Now no man can divide anything into equal sections with exactitude, but one of the sections is sure to be either less or greater than the other. Even if there is no great difference, there must always be a small one which easily eludes our perception, which by nature and habit establishes contact with masses of greater volume, but is unable to grasp those which do not admit of partition or division. No created thing is found to produce equality if tested by the unprejudiced standard of truth. It seems, then, that God alone is exact in judgement and alone is able to “divide in the middle” things material and immaterial, in such a way that no

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tων τμημάτων μηδ' άκαρεί καί άμερεί τινι πλέον ἡ ἐλαττών γενέσθαι, τῆς δ' ἀνωτάτω καί ἄκρας
144 ἱσότητος μεταλαχεῖν ισχύσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱσον μίαν εἶχεν ἰδέαν, ἰκανῶς ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἴρητο, πλείονοι δ' οὐσῶν οὐκ ἀποκνητέον τὰ ἀρμόττοντα προσθεῖναι.

λέγεται γὰρ ἱσον καθ' ἕνα μὲν τρόπον ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ὡς δύο δυοί καὶ τρία τροσὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταῦτη, καθ' ἐτερον δὲ ἐν μεγέθεσιν, ὥν μῆκη, πλάτη, βάθη, διαστάσεις εἰσίν, παλαιστῆς γὰρ παλαιστῇ καὶ πήχει πήχυς ἱσα μεγέθεις δυνάμει δὲ ἐστίν ἄλλα, ὡς τὰ ἐν σταθμοῖς καὶ 145 μέτροις.

ἀναγκαία δὲ ἐστίν ἱσότητος ἱδέα καὶ ἢ διὰ ἀναλογίας, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὰ ὅλγα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ βραχέα τοῖς μείζον ἵσα νενόμισται· ἢ καὶ πόλεις ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰσίναι κρῆσθαι κελεύουσι τὸ ἱσον ἐκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσφέρειν, οὐ δῆπον ἐν ἀριθμῷ, ἄλλ' ἀναλογία τοῦ περὶ τὸν κλήρον τὸν μείζονος, ὡστ' ὁ δραχμᾶς ἐκατόν εἰσενεγκών τῷ τὸ τάλαντον εἰσενεγκόντι δόξαι ἐν ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὸ ἱσον.

146 XXIX. τούτων προοπτοτυπωθέντων ἰδε πῶς μέσα διελών ἵσα διείλε κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἱσότητος ἱδέας ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσει. ἀριθμῷ μὲν οὖν ἱσα τὰ βαρέα τοῖς κούφοις ἐτεμνε, δύο δυοί, γῆν καὶ υδῷρ, τὰ βάρος ἱσοντα, τοῖς φύσει κούφοις, ἀέρι καὶ πυρί, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἐνί, τὸ μὲν ἐξηρώτατον τῷ υγρώτατῳ, γῆν ἰδατι, τὸ δὲ

1 mss. and Pap. καιρῶν.

a See App. p. 569.  b See App. p. 570.

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section is greater or less than another by even an infinitesimal difference, and each can partake of the equality which is absolute and plenary. Now if equality had only one form, what has been said would be enough; but as it has several forms we must not shrink from adding what is fitting.

The term "equal" is applied in one way to numbers, as when we say that two is equal to two, and three to three, and the same with other numbers. It is applied in another way to magnitudes, the dimensions of which are lengths, breadths and depths. For one handbreadth is equal to another handbreadth and one cubit to another cubit in magnitude. Other things again are equal in capacity or force, as is the case with weights and measures of content.\footnote{355}

One essential form of equality is the proportional, in which the few are regarded as equal to the many, and the small to the greater.\footnote{This is often employed by states on special occasions when they order each citizen to make an equal contribution from his property, not of course numerically equal, but equal in the sense that it is proportionate to the valuation of his estate, so that one who had paid 100 drachmas might be considered to have given a sum equal to one who paid a talent.}

\footnote{In the light of this preliminary sketch, observe how God in "dividing in the middle," actually did divide equally according to all the forms of equality, when he created the universe. First, as to equality of number he made the light parts equal in number to the heavy parts, earth and water which are heavy being two, and fire and air which are naturally light being two also. Again by this division we have one and one in the driest and the wettest, that is earth...}
ψυχρότατον τῷ θερμοτάτῳ, πυρὶ άέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν
dὲ τρόπον καὶ σκότος φωτὶ καὶ ἕμεραν νυκτὶ καὶ
χειμώνι θέρος καὶ ἕαρι μετόπωρον καὶ ὁσά τούτων
dὲ τρόπον καὶ σκότος φωτὶ καὶ ήμέραν νυκτὶ καὶ 

147 συγγενῆ· μεγέθευς δ’ ἵσα ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τοὺς 
παραλλήλους κύκλους, τοὺς τε ἴσημερινοὺς, ἔαρινὸν 
καὶ μετόπωρινόν, καὶ τοὺς τροπικοὺς, θερινὸν τε 
καὶ χειμερινὸν, ἐπὶ γῆς δὲ ξώνας, δύο μὲν ἵσας 
ἀλλήλαις, αἱ πρὸς τοὺς πόλους εἰσὶ κατεψυχοῦν 
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀοίκητοι, δύο δὲ τὰς μεθορίους 
τούτων τε καὶ τῆς διακεκαμπμένης, ὥς δὲ εὐγρασίαν 
φασίν οἰκεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τοῖς νυκτίως, τὴν 
148 δὲ πρὸς τοῖς βορεῖοις κειμένην. μήκει 
δ’ ἵσα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ χρόνου διαστήματα, ἡ μεγύστη 

[494] ἕμερα τῇ μεγύστῃ νυκτὶ καὶ πάλιν ἡ | βραχυτάτῃ 
τῇ βραχυτάτῃ καὶ ἡ μέση τῇ μέσῃ. τὰ δὲ τῶν 
ἄλλων ἕμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν ἵσα μεγέθη μάλιστα 
149 μηνύειν αἱ ἴσημερίαι δοκοῦσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς 
ἔαρινῆς ἄχρι θερινῶν τροπῶν ἡ μὲν ἕμερα πρόσθεσιν, 
ὡς δὲ νὺξ ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἐως ἃν ἡ τῇ μεγύστῃ 
ἡμέρᾳ καὶ βραχυτάτῃ νὺξ ἀποτελεσθῶσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ 
θερινῶν τροπῶν ἄνακάμπτων ὁ ἦλιος τὴν αὐτὴν 
ὁδὸν οὕτως ἀγάμτως οὕτως ἀνακάμπτων ὁ ἦλιος τὴν 
150 χειμερινής τροπῆς· καὶ ὅταν ἀποτελέσῃ νύκτα μὲν 
μεγύστην, ἕμεραν δὲ βραχυτάτην, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ 
πάλιν διαστήματα ἄνακάμπτων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔαρινῆν 
ἰσημερίαν ἀφικνεῖται. οὕτως τὰ χρόνων διαστή-
and water, and in the coldest and the hottest, that is air and fire. In the same way we have one and one in darkness and light, in day and night, in winter and summer, in spring and autumn, and in the other examples of the same nature. For equality of magnitude, He gave us the parallel circles in heaven, those of the equinox in spring and autumn, and those of the solstice in summer and winter, while on earth there are the zones, two of which are equal to each other, namely those which adjoining the poles, frigid and therefore uninhabited, and two which are bordered by the last named and the torrid zone, these two habitable, as we are told, because of their temperate climate, one of them on the south side and the other on the north.

The time intervals, too, are equal in length, the longest day to the longest day and the shortest to the shortest and the two which come half-way to each other. And equality in magnitude in the other days and nights is shown particularly well in the equinoxes. For from the spring equinox to the summer solstice something is continually taken from the night and added to the day, until the longest day and shortest night are finally reached. And after the summer solstice the sun turns back along the same course, moving neither quicker nor slower, but with the same unchanging intervals, and thus maintaining equal speed it reaches the autumn equinox, and after completing the equality of day and night begins to increase the night and diminish the day until the winter solstice. And when it has brought the night to its longest and the day to its shortest, it turns back again observing the same intervals and arrives at the spring equinox. In this way the time intervals, though they seem to
ματα ἄνωσα εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἴσότητος τῆς κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐν σοῦ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀλλ᾽ ἐν διαφερούσαις τοῖς ἑτοὺς ὑφαῖς μεταποιεῖται. 

151 τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῶν ζώων καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι θεωρεῖται. ποὺς γὰρ ποδὶ καὶ χεῖρ χεῖρι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἄπαντα ἦσα μεγέθει, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐυώνυμα. 

τὰ δ᾽ ἦσα δυνάμει πάμπολλά ἐστιν ἐν τε ἔρημοι καὶ υγροῖς, ὡς ἡ ἐπίκρισις ἐν μέτροις καὶ πλάστιγξι καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις θεωρεῖται.

152 Ἀναλογία δὲ σχεδὸν τὰ πάντα ἐστιν ἦσα, μικρά τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλα ὄσα ἐν τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ. λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀκριβέστατα περὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐξήτα-κότες, ὅτι ἀναλογία μὲν ἦσα τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα ἐστιν, ἀναλογία δὲ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄπας κραθεῖες τὸ ἰσον ἐκάστω τῶν μερῶν ἀπονεμούση συνέστη τε καὶ συνταξιείς εἰς ἄπαν διαμένει· καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς μέντοι τέτταρα, ἔρημον, υγρόν, ψυχρόν τε καὶ θερμόν, τὴν δὲ ἀναλογίας ἴσοτητα κερασαμένην ἀρμόσασθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἡμᾶς ἢ κράσιν εἶναι τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας ἴσοτητι κρα-

153 θειῶν. XXXI. ἐπιών δὲ τις ἐκαστα μῆκος ἢν ἄπειρον τῷ λόγῳ δύνατ' ἂν περιθείναι. τὰ γὰρ βραχύτατα ζώα τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀναλογία σκοπῶν ἦσα ἐν εὐροί, ὡς χελιδόνα ἀετῷ καὶ τρίγλαιν κήπες καὶ μύρμηκα ἐλέφαντι. καὶ γὰρ σώμα καὶ ψυχῆ καὶ πάθη, ἀληθῶν τε καὶ ἠδοναὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἰκείωσεῖς καὶ ἀληθριώσεις καὶ ὁσα ζώων


1 ήμᾶς is absent from the mss., but Pap. has ητειαν.
be unequal, may lay claim to equality of magnitude, not indeed at the same, but at different seasons of the year. XXX. Much the same may be observed in the parts of living animals, particularly of men. For one foot or one hand is equal in magnitude to the other and in almost all cases the same holds that the right side is equal to the left.

As for equality in force or capacity there is a host of examples in both wet and dry substances, of which we form our estimate by means of measures of content, balances and the like.

As for proportional equality, we find it practically in everything great or small, throughout the whole world. Those who have most carefully examined the facts of nature say that the four elements are proportionally equal, and that the whole world received and retains for ever its frame, through being compounded according to this same proportion, which assigned an equal measure to each of the parts. They tell us, too, that our four constituents, dry, wet, cold and hot, have been mixed and harmonized by proportional equality and that we are nothing more than a compound of the four factors mixed on this principle. XXXI. If we went into each case, we could prolong the consideration of the subject to infinity. For we should find on observation that the smallest animals are proportionally equal to the largest, as the swallow to the eagle, the mullet to the whale, and the ant to the elephant. For their body, soul and feelings, whether of pain or pleasure, and also their affinities and their aversions and every other sensation of which animal nature is capable,

\[ a \text{ i.e. their } \varphiαντασίαι \text{ and } \deltaρμαί; \text{ see } \textit{Leg. All. ii. 23. Perhaps "consciousness" or "animal nature."} \]
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φύσις χωρεῖ, πάντα σχεδόν ἐστὶν ὑμοιότροπα τῷ
τῆς ἀναλογίας ὠσύμενα κανόνι. οὔτως ἔθάρρησαν
ἐνιοί καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τὸ βραχύτατον ζῷον,
ἀνθρωπον, ἵσον ἀποφηναὶ κατιδόντες ὅτι ἐκάτερον
ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς καθέστηκε λογικῆς, ὥστε
καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες βραχύν μὲν κόσμον τὸν ἀν-
θρωπον, μέγαν δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἐφασαν τὸν κόσμον
156 εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δι-καθ' ἤν | ἐδημιουργεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ἐπίτασον
οὔτε ἀνέσιν δεχομένη, μένουσα δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ
τὴν ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητα τελεῖως ἐκαστὸν τῶν
ὀντων δεδημιουργηκε, πᾶσιν ἀριθμοὶς καὶ πάσαις
155 ταῖς πρὸς τελειότητα ἱδέαις καταχρησαμένου τοῦ
πεποιηκότος. XXXII. "κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μικρὸν
cαθ' ἤν | ἐδημιουργεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, οὔτε ἐπίτασον
οὔτε ἀνέσιν δεχομένη, μένουσα δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ κατὰ
τὴν ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἀκρότητα τελεῖως ἐκαστὸν τῶν
ὀντων δεδημιουργηκε, πᾶσιν ἀριθμοὶς καὶ πάσαις
157 πεποιηκότος. XXXII. "κατὰ γὰρ τὸν μικρὸν
καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν," ὡς φησι Μωυσῆς, ἐκρυνε
γεννών καὶ σχηματιῶν ἐκαστα, μήτε δὲ ἀφανειαν
158 προσθήκη τοῦ κατὰ τὴν υλὴν ἐνδεοισῶσαι.
τίμιον δ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν υλαις παρὰ θεῷ·
diὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μετέδωκε πάσι τεχνῆς ἐξ ἵσον. παρὸ
καὶ ἐν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς λέγεται: "εἴδεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ
πάντα ὡς ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἱδον καλὰ λίαν," τὰ δὲ τοῦ

a See App. p. 570.
are with hardly an exception alike when equalized by the rule of proportion. On this principle some have ventured to affirm that the tiny animal man is equal to the whole world, because each consists of body and reasonable soul, and thus they declare that man is a small world and alternatively the world a great man. This pronouncement of theirs is not wide of the mark. They judge that the master art of God by which He wrought all things is one that admits of no heightening or lowering of intensity but always remains the same and that through its transcendent excellence it has wrought in perfection each thing that is, every number and every form that tends to perfectness being used to the full by the Maker. XXXII. For He judged equally about the little and the great, to use Moses’ words (Deut. i. 17), when He generated and shaped each thing, nor was He led by the insignificance of the material to diminish, or by its splendour to increase, the art which He applied. For all craftsmen of repute, whatever materials they use, whether they be costly or of the cheapest, wish so to use them, that their work shall be worthy of praise. In fact people have been known to produce a higher class of work with the cheaper than with the more costly substances; their feeling for beauty was enhanced and by additional science they wished to compensate for inferiority of material. But with God no kind of material is held in honour, and therefore He bestowed upon them all the same art, and in equal measure. And so in the holy Scriptures we read, “God saw all things which He had made and behold, they were very good” (Gen. i.

b Probably a reminiscence of the φιλοκαλοῦμεν μετ’ εὐτέλειας of Thuc. ii. 40.
αυτοῦ τυγχάνοντα ἐπαίνου παρὰ τῷ ἐπαινοῦντι

160 πάντως ἐστὶν ἰσότιμα. ἐπήνεσε δὲ θεὸς ό τῇν
dημιουργηθέος ὡρὴν, τῇν ἄσωχον καὶ πλημμελῆ
cαὶ διαλυτήν, ἐτὶ δὲ φθαρτήν ἐξ ἐαυτῆς ἀνώμαλόν
tε καὶ ἄνισον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τεχνικὰ ἔργα κατὰ
μίαν ἴσην καὶ ὁμολή δύναμιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην
ὁμοίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποτελεσθέντα. παρὸ καὶ
τοὺς τῆς ἀναλογίας κανόνων ἵσα καὶ ὁμοίαν πάντα
πᾶσιν ἐνομίσθη κατὰ τὸν τῆς τέχνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης
λόγον.

161 XXXIII. Ἰσότητος δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος ἐπαινεῖ
γέγονε Μωυσῆς, πρῶτον μέν ὡμνῶν ἂεὶ καὶ παντα-
χοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἢς ὢδιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ που
δηλοὶ τούνομα, τὸ δίχα τέμνειν εἰς μοίρας τὰ τε
σῶματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἴσας, εἶτα ψέγων
ἀδικίαν, τὴν ἀνισότητος τῆς ἐχθίστης δημιουργῶν.

162 ἀνισότης δὲ τοὺς διδύμους πολέμους ἔτεκε, τὸν
τε ἕξενικὸν καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον, ὡς ἐμπαλιν εἰρήνην
ἰσότης. τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοὺς
ψόγους ἀδικίας ἐναργέστατα διασυνίστησιν, ὅταν
λέγῃ ὅσοι που ὕψηστε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει, ἐν μέτροις,
ἐν σταθμοῖς, ἐν ζυγοῖς. ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ στάθμα
δίκαια καὶ μέτρα δίκαια καὶ χοῦς δίκαιος ἔσται
ὑμῖν,” καὶ ἐν Ἕπινομίδι ὅπως ὑποτασσόμενος
σου στάθμου καὶ σταθμίου, μέγα ή μικρὸν. οὐκ
ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρον καὶ μέτρων, μέγα
ή μικρὸν. στάθμου ἀληθῶν καὶ δίκαιων ἔσται σοι,
ίνα πολυπήμερος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἢς κύριος οὐκ
θεὸς σου δίδωσι σοι ἐν κλήρῳ, ὅτι βδέλυγμα κυρίω

*δίκη being supposed to be derived from δίχα.*
31), and things which receive the same praise must be of equal honour in the eyes of the praiser. Now 160 God praised not the material which He had used for His work, material soul-less, discordant and dissoluble, and indeed in itself perishable, irregular, unequal, but He praised the works of His own art, which were consummated through a single exercise of power equal and uniform, and through knowledge ever one and the same. And thus by the rules of proportion everything was accounted similar and equal to everything else, according to the principle which His art and His knowledge followed.

XXXIII. Moses too above all others shews himself a eulogist of equality; first by always and everywhere lauding justice too whose special property it is, as the name itself seems to shew, 4 to divide into two equal parts things material and immaterial; secondly by censuring injustice, the creator of inequality in its most hateful form. Inequality is the mother of the twins, foreign war and civil war, just as its opposite, equality, is the mother of peace. Moses presents most clearly his glorification of justice and his censure of injustice, when he says “ye shall do nothing unjust in judgement, in measures, in weights, in balances; your balances shall be just, your weights just and your measures just and your quart just” (Lev. xix. 35, 36) and in Deuteronomy, “There shall not be in thy bag divers weights, great and small: there shall not be in thy house divers measures, great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God gives thee in inheritance, because every one who doeth these things is an abomination to the Lord, every one who doeth injustice
163 πᾶς ποιῶν ταῦτα, πᾶς ποιῶν ἄδικα.” οὐκοίν ὁ
φιλοδίκαιος θεὸς ἄδικίαν βδελύττεται καὶ μεμίσηκε,
στάσεως καὶ κακῶν ἀρχῆν. ποῦ δ’ ἰσότητα τὴν δικαίοςύνης τροφὸν ὁ νομοθέτης οὐκ
[496] ἀποδέχεται ἀρξάμενος | ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ γενέσεως; "διεχώρισε" γάρ φησιν "ὁ
θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ
σκότους. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἤμέραν καὶ
tὸ σκότος νῦκτα.” ἤμέραν γάρ καὶ νῦκτα καὶ
164 φῶς καὶ σκότος ἰσότητας ἐταξέν1 τοῖς οὖσι. διείλεν
ἰσότης καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον εἰς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναίκα, δύο
τμῆματα, ἀνίσα μὲν ταῖς ρώμαις, πρὸς ὃ δὲ ἐσπευσεν ἢ
φύσις, τρίτον τινὸς ὁμοίων γένεσις, ἴσαίτατα. “ἐποίησε” γάρ φησιν "ὁ θεὸς τὸν
ἀνθρωπὸν, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν, ἄρσεν
cαὶ θήλη ἐποίησεν” οὐκέτα αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ "αὐτοῦς”
ἐπιφέρει πληθυντικῶς, ἐφαρμόττων τὰ εἴδη τῷ
γένει διαιρεθέντα, ὡς εἶπον, ἰσότητι. XXXIV.
165 ψύχος γε μὴν καὶ καΐμα καὶ θέρος καὶ ἕαρ ἀνέγραψε,
tὰς ἐτησίους οὐρας πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ τομεῖ διαιρο-
mένας. αἱ γε μὴν πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἤμερας ταῖς
μεθ’ ἡλίου ισάρθμοι γεγόνασι, ἐξάδος τιμηθείς
ἰσότητι πρὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνον δῆλωσιν: αἰῶνι
μὲν γὰρ τὰς πρὸ ἡλίου τρεῖς ἀνατέθεικε, χρόνῳ
dὲ τὰς μεθ’ ἡλίου, οὐ ἐστὶ μίμημα αἰῶνος.

1 Perhaps, as Wend. suggests, ἐταξεν (so Pap.) <ἐν> τοῖς οὖσι.

a The point of the sentence is not clear. Perhaps he
means that, as we have already shewn (§ 99) that day and
night are essentially equal, Moses, by putting them at the
outset of the creation story, praises equality. Or the stress
may lie on ἀνὰ μέσον as in itself indicating equality (so
in § 166). But in this case γὰρ is unintelligible. Perhaps
correct to ἄρα.
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WHO IS THE HEIR, 163–166

(Deut. xxv. 13-16). So then the God who loves justice hates and abominates injustice, the source of faction and evil. As for equality, the nurse of justice, where does the Lawgiver fail to shew his approval? We find it first in the story of the creation of the whole heaven. "God separated," he says, "between the light and between the darkness, and God called the light day and the darkness night" (Gen. i. 4, 5). For equality gave day and night, light and darkness, their place among the things which are.\(^a\) Equality too divided the human being into man and woman, two sections unequal indeed in strength, but quite equal as regards what was nature's urgent purpose, the reproduction of themselves in a third person. "God made man," he says, "made him after the image of God. Male and female He made"—not now "him" but "them" (Gen. i. 27). He concludes with the plural, thus connecting with the genus mankind the species which had been divided, as I said, by equality.

XXXIV. Then he mentions cold and heat, summer and spring, the seasons of the year, as being separated by the same divider, equality (Gen. viii. 22). Again the three days before the sun's creation are equal in number to the three which followed it (Gen. i. 5 ff.), the whole six being divided by equality to express time and eternity.\(^b\) For God dedicated the three before the sun to eternity, and the three after it to time, which is a copy of eternity.\(^c\)

\(^b\) See App. p. 570.

\(^c\) A reminiscence of Timaeus 37 D. See Quod Deus 32 and note. The analogy to the Timaeus shews that \(\chiρ\nu\nu\varepsilon\) and not \(\eta\lambda\iota\nu\varepsilon\) is the antecedent of \(\delta\varepsilon\), as otherwise it might have been thought to be by comparison with De Mig. 40.
166 τὰς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος πρῶτας δυνάμεις, τὴν τε χαρι­
stikήν, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐκοσμοπλάστη, ἡ προσαγορεύεται θεός, καὶ τὴν κολαστικήν, καθ᾽ ἣν ἀρχει καὶ ἑπιστατεῖ τοῦ γενομένου, ἡ προσονομαζεῖται κύριος, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἔστωτος ἐπάνω μέσου δια-
stέλλεσθαι. “λαλήσω γάρ σοι” φησίν “ἀνωθεν τοῦ Ἰλαστηρίου ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δυνατών Χερουβίμ,” ἣν ἐπιδείξῃ ὅτι αἱ προσβύταται τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις ἰσάζουσιν, ἢ τε δωρική καὶ κολαστήριος, αὐτῷ τομεὶ χρώμεναι.

167 τί δ᾽; αἱ στήλαι τῶν γενικῶν δέκα νόμων, ἃς ὄνομάζει πλάκας, οὐ δύο εἰσὶν ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι, λογικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, ἀ παιδευθήναι τε καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι χρή, τεμνόμεναι πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσμοθέτου1 μόνου; “αἱ γὰρ πλάκες ἔργον θεοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ γραφὴ γραφὴ θεοῦ κεκολαμμένη ἐν ταῖς πλαξί.” καὶ μὴν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς δέκα λόγων, οἱ κυρίως εἰσὶ θεσμοί, διαίρεσις ἵση γέγονεν εἰς πεντάδας, ὅτε ἡ μὲν προτέρα τὰ πρὸς θεόν δίκαια, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους περιέχει. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεόν δικαίων πρῶτος ἐστὶ θεσμὸς ὁ ἐναντιούμενος τῇ πολυθέω δόξῃ, διδάσκων ὅτι μοναρχεῖται ὁ κόσμος. δεύτερος δὲ ὁ περὶ τοῦ μὴ θεοπλαστῶν τὰ μὴ αἰτία γραφέων καὶ πλαστῶν ἐπιβούλως τέχναις, ὡς2 Μωυσῆς ἔξηλασε τῆς καθ᾽
primary Potencies of the Existent, namely that through which He wrought the world, the beneficent, which is called God, and that by which He rules and commands what He made, that is the punitive, which bears the name of Lord, are as Moses tells us, separated by God Himself standing above and in the midst of them. “I will speak to thee,” it says, “above the mercy-seat in the midst of the two Cherubim” (Ex. xxv. 21). He means to shew that the primal and highest Potencies of the Existent, the beneficent and the punitive, are equal, having Him to divide them.

XXXV. Again, are not the slabs of the ten general laws, which he calls tables, two, thus equal in number to the parts of the soul, the rational and irrational, which must be trained and chastened? These tables too were cut by the Divine Legislator and by Him only. For “the tables were the work of God and the writing on them was the writing of God, graven on the tables” (Ex. xxxii. 16). Further, the ten words on them, divine ordinances in the proper sense of the word, are divided equally into two sets of five, the former comprising duties to God, and the other duties to men. The first commandment among the duties to God, is that which opposes the creed of polytheism, and its lesson is that the world has one sole ruler. The second forbids us to make gods of things which are not the causes of existence, employing for that purpose the mischievous arts of the painter and sculptor which Moses expelled from his common-

\(^a\) The same interpretation of the Cherubim is given in De Fuga 100, and (of the Cherubim in Gen. iii.) De Cher. 27 ff.

\(^b\) “Cut” covers both the cutting out and the graving of the tables, but also suggests the thought of God as the τομεύς.
αὐτὸν πολιτείας ἀίδιον φυγὴν ἐπ’ αὐταῖς ψηφι-[497] σάμενος, ἐν’ ὁ μόνος καὶ | πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν τιμᾶται
170 θεός· τρίτος δὲ ὁ περὶ ὄνοματος κυρίου,1 <οὐ τοῦ> ὁ οὐδ’ ἠλθεν εἰς γένεσιν—ἀρρητον γὰρ τὸ ὅν—, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπιφημισθέντος, διείρηται γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ ματαῖω· τέταρτος δὲ ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθενού καὶ ἀμήτορος ἐβδομάδος, ἣν τῇν ἀπραξίαν αὐτῆς μελετῶσα γένεσις εἰς μνήμην τοῦ ἀθόρους πάντα δρόμος ἐρχηται.
171 πέμπτος δὲ ὁ περὶ γονέων τιμῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἱερὸς ἐχων τῇν ἁναφοράν ὡκ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν σπορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως τοῖς ὅλοις αὐτινοῦ, παρ’ ὥν μήτηρ τε καὶ πατήρ γεννᾶν ἔδοξαν, οὗ 172 γεννώντες, ἀλλ’ ὄργανα γενέσεως ὄντες. μεθόριος δ’ ὁ θεσμὸς οὕτως ἐγράφη2 τῆς τε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τεινούσης πεντάδος καὶ τῆς ἀποτροπάς τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὅμοιοις ἀδικημάτων περιεχούσης, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θυητοὶ γονεῖς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀθανάτων δυνάμεων, αἱ πάντα γεννώσαι κατὰ φύσιν ἔπτετρεψαν ὡστάτῳ καὶ τῷ θυητῷ γένει μημησαμένῳ τῇν περὶ τὸ γεννᾶν τέχνην ἐπείρειν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως ὁ θεός, τὸ δ’ ἐσχατον καὶ ἀτιμότατον, τὸ θυητὸν 173 εἴδος, τέλος. ἢ δ’ ἕτερα πεντάς ἐστὶν ἀπαγό-
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—a See App. p. 570.
b Or “seventh day.” See App. p. 570.

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1 I suggest κυρίου <τοῦ θεοῦ> in accordance with the i.xx.; κύριος alone is not the name given to both Potencies, as the sequel implies. See App. p. 570.
2 So Wend. from Pap.: MSS. ἐτάγη.
wealth and sentenced to perpetual banishment. The purpose of this law is that the sole and true god may be duly honoured. The third is concerned with the name of the Lord, not that name the knowledge of which has never even reached the world of mere becoming—He that is cannot be named in words—but the name which is given to His Potencies. We are commanded not to take this name in vain. The fourth is concerned with the number Seven, the ever-virgin, the motherless. Its purpose is that creation, observing the inaction which it brings, should call to mind Him who does all things invisibly. The fifth is about honouring parents. This is of the sacred kind, since its reference is not to men, but to Him who causes all things to be sown and come into being, through whom it is that the father and mother appear to generate, though they do not really do so, but are the instruments of generation. This commandment was graven on the borderline between the set of five which makes for piety to God and the set which comprises the prohibitions against acts of injustice to our fellows. The mortal parentage is but the final form which immortal powers take. They in virtue of their nature generate all things, but have permitted mortality also at the final stage to copy their creative art and to beget. For God is the primary cause of generation, but the nethermost and least honoured kind, the mortal-kind, is the ultimate. The other set of five forbids adultery, murder, theft, false witness, covetousness. These are general rules forbidding practically all sins.

See note on De Mig. 91. The sense needed here is rather "who ever works." Perhaps ãei has fallen out before áopáτos.
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ἀναφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐν εἴδει συμβέβηκεν.

174 XXXVI. ἄλλα καὶ τὰς ἐνδελεχεῖς θυσίας ὀρᾶς εἰς ἵσα διηρημένας, ἢν τε ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν οἱ ιερεῖς προσφέρουσι τῆς σεμιδάλεως καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθνούς τῶν δυεῶν ἄμων, οὕς ἀναφέρειν διείρθηται. προὶ γὰρ τὰ ἡμίσι τῶν λειχθέντων καὶ τὰ ἐτέρα δειλινής ἐκέλευσεν ἱερουργεῖν ὁ νόμος, ῥα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νύκτωρ ἄρδομένων ἀπασιν ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστῆται.

175 ὁρᾶς καὶ τοὺς προτιθεμένους ἄρτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, ὡς ἵσα μέρη διανεμηθέντες οἱ δώδεκα ἁρμιμᾶ καθ’ ἔξάδα τίθενται μνημεῖα τῶν ἴσαρίθμων φυλῶν, ὡς τὴν ἡμίσιαν ἢ ἁρετῇ Λεία κεκλήρωται ἐξ τεκοῦσα φυλάρχας, τὴν δ’ ἐτέραν ἡμίσιαν οἱ τε ’Ραχήλ καὶ οἱ τῶν παλλακῶν νόθοι. ὁρᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποδήρου δύο λίθους τῆς σμαράγδου πρὸς τε τοῖς δεξιοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εὐωνύμοις ἱεροί διηρημένοι, οῖς καθ’ ἔξάδα ἐγγέγλυπται τὰ τῶν δώδεκα φυλαρχῶν ὄνόματα, θεῖα γράμματα ἐστηλευμένα, θειων φύσεων ὑπομνήματα.

176 τί δ’; οὐχὶ δύο ὁρῆ συμβολικῶς δύο γένη λαβῶν καὶ πάλιν ἱσότητι διακρίνας ἀνάλογο ἀναλογοῦσι τὸ μὲν ἀπένειμε τοῖς εὐλογοῦσι, τὸ δ’ αὐτοῖς κατ᾿ [498] αρωμένοις ἐξ ἐφ’ ἐκατέρου ἱσότησι φυλάρχας, ἥν τοῖς χρείοις νουθεσίας οὕτων ἐπιδείξῃ, ὧτι καὶ ἴσαρίθμοι ταῖς εὐλογίαις αἱ ἀραι καὶ σχεδόν, εἰ

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[498] a i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac. See Quaest. in Ex. ii. 109, where this is definitely stated, the two emeralds being supposed to represent the two hemispheres, to each of which six of the twelve signs at different parts of the year belong.

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and to them the specific sins may in each case be referred. XXXVI. To pass to a different matter, you find the same division into equal parts in the permanent sacrifices, both in the oblation of fine flour, which the priests offer for themselves, and in that offered on behalf of the nation, consisting of the two lambs which they are ordered to bring. In both these the law prescribes that half of the offerings named shall be sacrificed in the morning and half in the evening (Lev. vi. 20; Ex. xxix. 38, 39), that God may be thanked both for the day-time and the night-time blessings which He showers upon all.

Observe also the loaves set forth upon the holy table, how the twelve are divided into equal parts and placed in sets of six each, as memorials of the twelve tribes, half of them belonging to Leah or Virtue the mother of six patriarchs, and half to the children of Rachel and the base-born sons of the concubines. You see, too, how the two emeralds on the long robe, one on the right and one on the left, are divided equally, on which are cut the names of the twelve patriarchs, six on each, inscribed by divine graving, to remind us of divine beings (Ex. xxviii. 9-12). Once more, does not Moses take two mountains, that is symbolically two kinds, and again distinguishes between them according to proportional equality, assign one to those who bless, the other to those who curse? Then he places upon them the twelve patriarchs (Deut. xxvii. 11-13) to shew to those who need warning, that curses are equal in number to blessings and (if we may say so

So also De Spec. Leg. i. 87, though there it is said of the twelve stones on the breastplate in Ex. xxviii. 21. For divine natures = heavenly bodies cf. De Conf. 133.
178 θέμις εἶπεν, ἰσότιμοι; ὅμως γὰρ οἱ τε ἐπαινοὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἱ ψόγοι τῶν μοχθηρῶν ὠφελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ φυγεῖν τὸ κακὸν τῷ τάγαθόν ἐλέσθαι παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ὅμοιοι καὶ ταύτον ἐνομίσθη.

XXXVII. καταπλήττει με καὶ ή τῶν προσαγομένων τῷ ἑλασμῷ δυ NSMutableDictionary τράγων ἐπίκρισις ὅμοι καὶ διανομὴ τεμνομένων ἁδήλω καὶ ἀτεκμάρτῳ τομεῖ, κλήρῳ· λόγῳ γὰρ δυὲὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς πραγματευόμενος ἀνιεροῦται καὶ ἀνατίθεται θεῷ, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κακοδαιμονίας ἐξηλικώς γενέσει τῇ φυγάδῳ· καὶ γὰρ δὲν ἔλαχεν αὐτῇ κλήρον, ἀποστομπαίον καλοῦσιν οἱ χρησμοί, ἔπειδή μετανισταται καὶ διφίκισται καὶ μακρὰν ἀπελλαται σοφίας· ἐπισήμων γε μὴ καὶ ἀσήμων ἀσπέρ νομισμάτων, οὕτως καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐν τῇ φύσι πολλῶν ὁ ἀόρατος τομεὶς οὐ δοκεῖ σοι διελεί πάντ' εἰς μοῖρας ἵσας καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπίσημα καὶ δόκιμα τῷ παιδείας ἑραστῆ, τῷ δὲ ἀμαθαῖνοντι τὰ ἀτύπωτα καὶ ἀσημακρατήρια προσνεΐμαι· "ἐγένετο" γὰρ φησὶ "τὰ μὲν ἀσημα τοῦ Λάβαν, τὰ δὲ ἐπίσημα τοῦ Ἰακώβ." καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχή, τὸ κήρυνον, ὡς εἰπὲ τὶς τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐκμαγεῖον, σκληρὰ μὲν ὦσα καὶ ἀντίτυπος ἀπωθεί καὶ ἀποσεῖεται τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους χαρακτήρας καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαμένει, πειθήνιος δ' ὑπάρχουσα καὶ μετρίως ὑπείκουσα βαθεῖς τοὺς τύπους δέχεται καὶ ἀναμαξαμένη τὰς σφηγίδας ἀκρῶς διαφυλάττει τὰ ἐνομίσθεντα ἀνεξάλειπτα εἴδη.

XXXVIII. θαυμαστὴ μέντοι καὶ

182 εἶδη.

*Cf. De Plant. 61 and note.*
without offence) of equal value. For praises given to the good and censure given to the bad are equally beneficial, since, in the judgement of men of sense, avoiding evil and choosing good are one and the same.

XXXVII. I am deeply impressed, too, by the contrast made between the two he-goats offered for atonement, and the difference of fate assigned to them even when the division is effected by that uncertain and fortuitous divider, the lot. We see two ways of thinking; one whose concern is with things of divine virtue is consecrated and dedicated to God; the other whose aspirations turn to poor miserable humanity is assigned to creation the exile. For the lot which fell to creation is called by the oracles the lot of dismissal (Lev. xvi. 8), because creation is a homeless wanderer, banished far away from wisdom. Further, nature abounds in things which bear some shape or stamp and others which do not, even as it is with coins, and you may note how the invisible Severer divides them all into equal parts and awards those that are approved by their stamp to the lover of instruction, but those that have no stamp or mark to the man of ignorance. For we are told “the unmarked fell to Laban, but the marked to Jacob” (Gen. xxx. 42). For the soul is a block of wax, as one of the ancients said, and if it is hard and resistant it rejects and shakes off the attempted impressions and inevitably remains an unformed mass, whereas if it is docile and reasonably submissive it allows the imprints to sink deep into it, and thus reproducing the shape of the seal preserves the forms stamped upon it, beyond any possibility of effacement.

XXXVIII. Marvellous too

\[\text{Theaetetus 191 c; cf. Quod Deus 43.}\]
Η τοῦ τῶν θυσιῶν αἵματος ἴση διανομή, ἢν ὁ ἄρχιερευς Μωυσῆς φύσει διδασκάλω χρησάμενος διένεμε. "λαβὼν" γὰρ φησίν τὸ ἡμῖν τοῦ αἵματος ἐνέχεεν εἰς κρατήρας· τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν προσέχεε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον," ὡς ἀναδιδάξῃ, ὅτι τὸ σοφίας ἱερὸν γένος διττόν ἐστι, τὸ μὲν θεῖον, τὸ δὲ ἁνθρώπινον· καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἁμιγὲς καὶ ἀκράτων, οὐ ἕνεκα τῶ ἁμιγεὶ καὶ ἁκράτῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν μονάδι ὁντι σπένδεται θεῷ, τὸ δὲ ἁνθρώπινον μικτὸν καὶ κεκραμένου, ὁ τοῦ μικτοῦ καὶ συνθέτου καὶ κεκραμένου γένους κατασκεδάνυται ἡμῶν, ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κοινωνίαν καὶ τὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ ἡ κράσιν μερῶν τε καὶ ἡθῶν ἐργασόμενον.

183 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μὲν ἁμιγὲς καὶ ἁκράτων μέρος ὁ ἁκράφυνεστάτος νοῦς ἐστιν, ὡς ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ καταπνευσθέος ἀνωθέν ὅταν ἁπάντω καὶ ἁπάντων διαφυλαχθῇ, τῷ καταπνεύσασι καὶ ἀπαθὴ παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλαξαντι προσηκόντως ὅλος ἐστι ἱερὰν [499] σπονδήν ἀναστοιχειόως ἀνταπδιδόταν· | τὸ δ’ αὖ μικτὸν γένος τὸ αἰσθήσεων ἐστιν, ὃ κρατήρας ἀνδεικνύει τῆς φύσεως ἔδημιούργησε. κρατήρας δὲ ὅρασεμοι μὲν ὁφθαλμοί, ἁκοής δὲ ἡτα καὶ μυκτήρας ὁσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν άλλων αἰ ἁρμόττοσαι δεξαμενάι. τούτοις ἐπιχεὶ τοῖς κρατήρων ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῦ αἵματος ἀξίων τὸ ἁλογον ἡμῶν μέρος ψυχωθῆναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λογικὸν γενέσθαι, ταῖς μὲν νοῦ θείαις περιόδοις1 ἀκολουθῆσαν, ἀγνεύσαν δὲ τῶν ὀλίκων ἀπατεώνα προτεινόντων δύναμιν αἰσθητῶν.

1 mss. and Pap. νουθεσίας (-as). The text here printed is according to Wend.’s conjecture, though he does not actually adopt it. See App. p. 571.

α See App. p. 571.

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is the equal distribution of the sacrificial blood which the high priest Moses,\(^a\) following Nature's guidance, made. He took, we read, the half of the blood and poured it into mixing-bowls and the half he poured upon the altar (Ex. xxiv. 6), to shew us that sacred wisdom is of a twofold kind, divine and human. The divine kind is without mixture or infusion and therefore is poured as an offering to God, who knows no mixture or infusion and is in His isolation a unity. But the human is mixed with infusion and thus is scattered abroad upon us, who are a mixed compounded product of infusion, to create in us oneness of mind and fellowship, and in fact a "mixing" of our various parts and ways of conduct. But the part of the soul which is free from mixture and infusion is the mind in its perfect purity. This mind filled with the breath of inspiration from heaven above is guarded from malady and injury, and then reduced to a single element is fitly rendered in its entirety as a holy libation to Him who inspired it and guarded it from all evil that could harm it. The mixed kind is the senses, and for this nature has created the proper mixing-bowls. The eyes are the "bowls" of sight, the ears of hearing, the nostrils of the sense of smell, and each of the others has its fitting vessel. On these bowls the holy Word\(^b\) pours of the blood, desiring that our irrational part should be quickened and become in some sense rational, following the divine courses of the mind, and purified from the objects of sense, which lure it with all their deceitful and seductive force.

\(^a\) The High Priest as often is identified with the Logos. 
\(^b\) Cf. De Mig. 102.
PHILO

186 ἀρά γε οὐχὶ τούτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ δίδραχμον διενεμήθη τὸ ἄγιον, ῥα τὸ μὲν ἦμισυ αὐτοῦ, τὴν δραχμήν, καθιερώμεν λύτρα τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς κατατιθέντες, ἢν ὁ μόνος ἀβευδῶς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς θεὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πικρᾶς παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων δεσποτείας ἰκετευθείς, εἲστι δ' ὅτε καὶ χωρίς ἰκεσίας, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐκλύει, τὸ δ' ἐτερὸν μέρος τῷ ἀνελευθέρῳ καὶ δουλοπρεπεὶ γένει καταλίπωμεν, οὐ κεκοινώκειν ὁ λέγων· "ἡγάπηκα τὸν κύριόν μου," τὸν ἤγεμόνα ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦν, "καὶ τὴν γυναίκά μου," τὴν φίλην καὶ οἰκουρόν παθῶν αἴσθησιν, "καὶ τὰ παιδία," τὰ κακὰ τούτων ἕγγονα, "οὐκ ἀπειμὴ ἐλεύθερος." ἀνάγκη γάρ καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ γένει κλήρου ἀκλήρου καὶ ἀποπομπαίον ἐκ τοῦ διδράχμου δοθῆναι, ἐναντίον τῇ ἀνατεθειμένῃ δραχμῇ τε καὶ μονάδί' μονάς δὲ οὔτε προσθήκην οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν, εἰκὼν οὕτω συμβαίνοντος πλῆρους θεοῦ. χαύνα γὰρ τὰ γε ἄλλα ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, εἴ δὲ ποιό καὶ πυκνωθεῖσα, λόγῳ σφίγγεται θείω. κόλλα γὰρ καὶ ἰδικὸς οὕτως πάντα τῆς οὐσίας ἐκπεπληρωμένως· ὁ δ' εἰρας καὶ συνυφήνας ἐκαστα πλήρης αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κυρίως ἔστιν, οὐ δεηθεὶς ἑτέρον τὸ παράπαν. XXXIX. εἰκότως οὖν ἔρει Μωυσῆς· "ὁ πλούτων οὐ προσβήσει, καὶ ὁ πενόμενος οὐκ ἐλαττώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ διδράχμου," ὁπερ ἔστιν, ὡς ἐφην, δραχμῆ τε καὶ

1 My correction for τε in Wend.'s and Mangey's texts.

a Or, if we follow the parallel passage in De Cher. 73 where the children of mind are the various mental activities,
WHO IS THE HEIR, 186-189

not the consecrated didrachmon portioned out on the same principle? We are meant to consecrate one half of it, the drachma, and pay it as ransom for our own soul (Ex. xxx. 12, 13), which God who alone is truly free and a giver of freedom releases with a mighty hand from the cruel and bitter tyranny of passions and wrongdoings, if we supplicate him, sometimes too without our supplication. The other half we are to leave to the unfree and slavish kind of which he is a member who says "I have come to love my master," that is "the mind which rules within me," and my wife, that is "sense" the friend and keeper of the passion's household, "and the children," that is the evil offspring of the passions.¹ "I will not go out free" (Ex. xxi. 5). For to such a kind, as its share in the didrachmon, must needs be given the lot which is no lot, the lot of dismissal which is the opposite of the dedicated drachma. The drachma is a unit, and a unit admits neither of addition nor subtraction, being the image of God who is alone in His unity and yet has fullness. Other things are in themselves without coherence, and if they be condensed, it is because they are held tight by the divine Word, which is a glue and bond, filling up all things with His being.² He who fastens and weaves together each separate thing is in literal truth full of His own self, and needs nothing else at all. XXXIX. With reason then will Moses say, "He that is rich shall not add, and he that is poor shall not diminish, from the half of the didrachmon" (Ex. xxx. 15). That half, as I said, is both a drachma and those of sense, the various sense processes, τούτων will refer to νοῦς and ἀισθήσεως. But κακά points rather to πάθη as the parents.

¹ See App. p. 571.
μονάς· ἢ πᾶς ὁ ν ἀριθμὸς εἶποι τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐκεῖνο

ἐν σοὶ μὲν λῆξω, σέο δ’ ἀρξομαι.

190 λήγει τε γὰρ ἀναλυόμενος ὁ κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἀπειράκις ἀπειρος ἀριθμός εἰς μονάδα, ἀρχεταὶ τε αὐτὸ πάλιν ἀπὸ μονάδος εἰς ἀπερίγραφον συντιθέμενον πλῆθος. διὸπερ οὖν ἄριθμον, ἀλλὰ στοιχεῖον καὶ ἄρχην ἀριθμοῦ ταύτην ἔφασαν, οἷς ἤθεῖν ἐπι-191 μελέσαι.

ἐτὶ τοῖς τὴν ὑποδοχήν·

σοφία δὲ ἐστὶν—τῆς ψυχῆς, ἣν καλεῖ μάννα,

diανέμει πάσι τοῖς χρησμομένοις θείος λόγος εἰς [500] ἵσου, πεφροντικῶς | διαφερόντως ἰσότητος. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Μωυσῆς λέγων ὡς ἐπελεύσασθω ὁ τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ἔλαττον ἐλαττόνησεν, ἡνίκα τῷ τῆς ἀναλογίας ἐχρήσαντο θαυμαστῶ καὶ περιμαχὴτι μέτρω: δι’ αὐτός συνέβη μαθεῖν, ὅτι ἐκαστὸς ἑαυτῷ εὐθύνῃ " καθήκοντας" παρ’ ἑαυτῷ συνελέξεν οὐκ ἀνθρώπους μᾶλλον ἡ λογισμοῦ καὶ τρόπους· ὁ γὰρ ἐπέβαλεν ἐκάστῳ τοὺ ἀπεκληρώθη προνοητικῶς, ὡς μὴν υστερήσαι μὴν αὐτ’ αὐτ’ περιττεύσαι.

192 XL. τὸ δὲ παραπλήσιον τῆς κατ’ ἀναλογίαν ἰσότητος ἐστὶν εὐθύνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λέγομένου Πάσχα. Πάσχα δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅταν ἡ ψυχή τὸ μὲν ἄλογον πάθος ἀπομαθεῖν μελετᾷ, τὴν δ’ 193 εὐλογον εὐπάθειαν ἐκουσίως πάσχῃ· διείρηται γὰρ, "ἐὰν δλίγοι ὡςιν οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ὡςτε μὴ ἰκανοῦς εἶναι εἰς τὸ πρόβατον, τὸν πλησίον γείτων προσ-

a Hom. Iliad ix. 97.
b i.e. all numbers are after all only so many units.
c See App. p. 571.
d Or, as Philo seems to understand the phrase, "those
and a unit, to which every number might well address the words of the poet,

With thee I'll cease, with thee I will begin.\footnote{a}

For the whole series of numbers to infinity multiplied by infinity ends when resolved in the unit\footnote{b} and begins with the unit when arranged in an unlimited series. And therefore those who study such questions declare that the unit is not a number at all, but the element and source from which number springs.\footnote{c} Further, the heavenly food of the soul, wisdom, which Moses calls "manna," is distributed to all who will use it in equal portions by the divine Word, careful above all things to maintain equality. Moses testifies to this in the words, "He that had much, had not too much, and he that had less did not lack" (Ex. xvi. 18), when they measured by the admirable and precious standard of proportion. And through this we come to understand how when each collected in his own store for his "belongings,"\footnote{d} these belongings are not human beings so much as thoughts and dispositions. For what fell to each was of set purpose so allotted, that there was neither short-coming nor superabundance.

XL. We may find a similar example of this proportioned equality in what is called the Passover, which is held when the soul studies to unlearn irrational passion and of its own free will experiences the higher form of passion which reason sanctions. For it is laid down that "if there be few in the house,\footnote{193} so that they are not enough for the sheep, they shall which were meet and right for him," connecting it no doubt with the Stoics' τὰ καθήκοντα. The E.V. is different — "They gathered every man according to his eating."
λαβεῖν, κατ' άριθμόν ψυχῶν, ἵνα ἐκαστὸς τὸ ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συναριθμήται,· μοίραν, ἢ ἔστιν ἐπάξιος τε καὶ χρείος, εὑρισκόμενος.

194 ἔπειδὰν δὲ καὶ τρόπον χῶρας τὴν ἀρετήν εἰς τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς ἔθελήσῃ διανέμειν, τοῖς πλείοσι πλεονάζειν καὶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐλάττουν τὴν κατά- σχεσιν προστάτει, δικαιών μήτε τοὺς μείζους ἐλάττώνων ἀξιοῦν—κενοί γάρ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμης ἐσονταὶ—μήτε τοὺς ἐλάττους μειζόνων· χωρίσαι γὰρ τὸ 195 μέγεθος αὐτῶν οὐ δυνήσονται.

XLI. τῆς δὲ κατ' άριθμὸν ἱσότητος ἐναργείστατον δείγμα ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἁρχόντων ιερὰ δῶρα καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων διανεμόμενα τοῖς ιερεῦσιν: "ἐκάστῳ" γάρ φησι· "τῶν νεῶν Ἀαρών ἐσται τὸ 196 ἱσον."· παγκάλη δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ἐκθυμιωμένων ἐστὶν ἱσότης· λέγεται γάρ· "λάβε σεαυτῷ ἡδύσματα, στακτήν, ονυχα καὶ χαλβάνην ἱδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ, ἱσον ἵσω, καὶ πούησουσιν αὐτὸ θυμίαμα, μύρον μυρεψοῦ ἔργον συνθέσεως καθαρᾶς, ἔργον ἁγίον." ἐκάστον γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ἐκάστω φησὶ δεῖν ἱσον συνερχεσθαι 197 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου κράσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ οἷµαι τὰ τέτταρα ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν τὸ θυμίαμα συντίθεται, σύμβολα τῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ἀπετελέσθη σύμπας ὁ κόσμος. στακτήν μὲν γὰρ ὑδατι, γῆ ἐδο δῶνυχα, χαλβάνην δὲ ἀέρι, τὸν δὲ διαφανῆ λιβανωτὸν πυρὶ ἀπεικάζει· στακτή μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰς σταγόνας ὑδατῶδες, ἔνηρον δὲ ὁνυχ καὶ γεώτης, τῇ δὲ χαλβάνη τὸ ἱδυσμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀέρος ἐμφασιν

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take in the next neighbour, according to the number of souls, that each may reckon what is sufficient for him” (Ex. xii. 4), thus gaining the portion which he deserves and needs. On the other hand, when Moses would portion out virtue, like a country, to virtue’s inhabitants he bids the more have more and the less to lessen their possession (Num. xxxv. 8), for he holds it right not to adjudge smaller shares to the greater, since then they will be devoid of knowledge, nor greater to the less, since they will not be able to contain the greatness of their shares.

XLI. Of numerical equality we have the clearest example in the sacred gifts of the twelve rulers (Num. vii. 10 ff.) and further in the distributions made to the priests from the gifts. Each of the sons of Aaron, it says, shall have what is equal (Lev. vi. 40). We have also a splendid example of equality in the composition of the frankincense offering. For we read “take to thyself sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves and galbanum of sweetening and clear gum of frankincense, each in equal parts and they shall make of it incense, a perfume work of the perfumer of pure composition, a holy work” (Ex. xxx. 34, 35). Each of the parts, we see from his words, must be brought in equal measure, to make the combination of the whole. Now these four, of which the incense is composed, are, I hold, a symbol of the elements, out of which the whole world was brought to its completion. Moses is likening the oil drop to water, the cloves to earth, the galbanum to air, and the clear gum to fire. For oil drop is watery because of its dripping, cloves are dry and earthy, and the words “of sweetening” are added to galbanum, to bring out the idea of air.
προστεθή—τὸ γὰρ εὐώδες ἐν ἀέρι,—τῷ δὲ λιβανῳ τὸ διαφανὲς πρὸς φωτὸς ἐνδείξαν. διὸ καὶ τὰ βάρος ἐχόντα τῶν κουφῶν διεχώρισε, τὰ μὲν τῶν συμπλεκτικῶν συνδέσμων ἐνώσας, τὰ δὲ διαλελυμένως ἐξενεγκών· ἔφη γὰρ· "λάβε σεαυτῷ ἡδύματα, σταχτήν, ώνυχα," ταῦτα ἀσύνδετα, τῶν βάρος ἐχόντων, ὑδατὸς τε καὶ γῆς, σύμβολα, ἐστά ἀφ’ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς μετὰ συμπλοκῆς "καὶ χαλβάνην ἡδυσμοῦ καὶ λίβανον διαφανῆ," ταῦτα πάλιν καθ’ ἑαυτά, τῶν κουφῶν, ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, [τὰ] σημεῖα.

τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐμμελῆ σύνθεσιν τε καὶ κράσιν τὸ πρεσβύτατον καὶ τελείότατον ἐργὸν ἄγιον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν κόσμον, ὅν διὰ συμβόλου τοῦ θυμιάματος οἴεται δεῖν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ πεποιηκότι, ἵνα λόγῳ μὲν ἡ μυρεφικὴ τέχνη κατασκευασθεῖσα σύνθεσις ἐκθυμιάται, ἐργῷ δὲ ὁ θεία σοφία δημιουργηθεῖσι κόσμος ἀπας ἀναφέρηται πρωί καὶ δειλινῆς ὅλοκαυτούμενοι. βίος γὰρ ἐμπρεπῆς κόσμῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως εὐχαριστεῖν, μονονούκ ἐκθυμιῶντα καὶ ἀναστοιχείοντα ἐαυτὸν πρὸς ἑνδείξιν τοῦ μηδὲν θησαυρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅλον ἐαυτὸν ἀνάθημα ἀνατιμεῖσαι τῷ γεγεννηκότι θεῷ.

θαυμάζω καὶ τὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπνευστὶ δραμόντα συντόνως ἱερὸν λόγον, "ἵνα στῇ μέσος τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ζώντων· εὐθὺς" γὰρ φησὶ Μωυσῆς "ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραύσις." ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμμελεὶ κοπάσαι καὶ ἐπικουφίσαι τὰ περιθύμπτοντα καὶ καταγνύντα καὶ καταγνύντα καὶ συντρί-382
since air has fragrance, and the word "clear" to
gum to indicate light. For the same reason he set 198
the heavy substances apart from the light, connect­
ing the latter in a single phrase by means of the
conjunction "and," but stating the heavy in the
unconnected form. First he said "take to thyself
sweet spices, oil drop of cinnamon, cloves, both these
with the asyndeton, symbols of the heavy substances
earth and water." Then he makes a fresh beginning
using the conjunction, "and galbanum of sweetness
and clear gum of frankincense," and these two, which
indicate the light elements, air and fire, are also joined
by an "and." And the mixture thus harmoniously 199
compounded proves to be that most venerable and
perfect work, a work in very truth holy, even the
world, which he holds should under the symbol of
the incense offering give thanks to its Maker, so that
while in outward speech it is the compound formed
by the perfumer's art which is burnt as incense,
in real fact it is the whole world, wrought by divine
wisdom, which is offered and consumed morning
and evening in the sacrificial fire. Surely it is a 200
fitting life-work for the world, that it should give
thanks to its Maker continuously and without ceas­
ing, wellnigh evaporating itself into a single ele­
mental form, to shew that it hoards nothing as
treasure, but dedicates its whole being at the shrine
of God its Begetter.

XLII. I marvel 201
too when I read of that sacred Word, which ran in
impetuous breathless haste "to stand between the
living and the dead." For at once, says Moses,
"the breaking was abated" (Num. xvi. 47, 48).
And indeed how could all that shatters and crushes
and ruptures our soul fail to be abated and lightened,
PHILO

βοντα την ήμετέραν ψυχήν, διακρίναντος καὶ δια-
τειχίσαντος τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς τοὺς ὀσίους, οἱ ζῶσιν
ἀφευδώς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσίων, οἱ τεθνήκασι πρὸς
202 ἀλήθειαν, λογισμὸν; τῷ γάρ ἐγγὺς εἶναι πολλάκις
νοσοῦντων καὶ οἱ σφόδρα υγιάνοντες ἐνδεξάμενοι
τὴν ἐκείνων νόσον ἐμέλλησαν τελευτῆσαι. τούτῳ
d' ἀμήχανον ἔτι παθεῖν ἢν διαζευγθέντας ὀρῷ
μέσῳ παγέντι δυνατωτάτῳ, ὅ τας ἐφόδους καὶ
ἐπιθυμήσει τοῦ χείρονος μέρους ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίωνος
203 ἀπάσει. τεθαύμασα δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον, ἔπειδὰν κατ-
ακοῦν τῶν λογίων ἀναδιάσκωμαι, ὡς τρόπουν
εἰσῆλθεν ἡ νεφέλη μέσῃ τῆς τε Ἀἰγυπτιακῆς καὶ
tῆς Ἰσραηλιτικῆς στρατιᾶς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ φιλο-
pαθοῦς καὶ ἀθέου τὸ ἐγκράτες καὶ θεοφιλὲς γένος
204 oύκετ' εἰσαε διώκεσθαι τὸ σκεπαστήριον καὶ
σωτήριον τῶν φίλων, ἀμυντήριον δὲ καὶ κολαστή-
ριον τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅπλον, ἡ νεφέλη. διανοίας μὲν
γὰρ ἀρετῶσις ἣρέμα σοφίαν ἐπιψεκάζει, τὴν ἀπαθῆ
φύσι παντὸς κακοῦ, λυπρὰς δὲ καὶ ἀγόνοις ἐπι-
στήμης ἀθρόας κατανίφει τιμωρίας, κατακλυσμὸν
205 φθοράν οἰκτίστην ἐπιφέρουσα. τῷ δὲ
ἀρχαγγέλῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ λόγῳ δωρεάν ἐδωκεν
ἐξαίρετον ὁ τὰ ὅλα γεννήσας πατήρ, ὅν μεθόριον
206 ὀτιδ' αυτὸς ἐκείπης μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ θυτοῦ κηραίνοντος
σεμνύνομεν αὐτῆς ἐκδιηγεῖται φάσκων: "κἀγὼ
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when the God-beloved separates and walls off the consecrated thoughts, which veritably live, from the unholy which are truly dead? For often proximity to the sick brings to the very healthiest the infection of their sickness and sure death in its train. But this fate was no longer possible to the consecrated, hedged in by the mightiest of pales, fixed in the midst to repel from the better sort the onslaught and inroads of the worse. Still more am I lost in admiration, when I listen to the oracles and learn how the cloud entered in the midst between the hosts of Egypt and Israel (Ex. xiv. 20). For the further pursuit of the sober and God-beloved race by the passion-loving and godless was forbidden by that cloud, which was a weapon of shelter and salvation to its friends, and of offence and chastisement to its enemies. For on minds of rich soil that cloud sends in gentle showers the drops of wisdom, whose very nature exempts it from all harm, but on the sour of soil, that are barren of knowledge, it pours the blizzards of vengeance, flooding them with a deluge of destruction most miserable. To His Word, His chief messenger, highest in age and honour, the Father of all has given the special prerogative, to stand on the border and separate the creature from the Creator. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly describes it in these words ' and I stood between the Lord and you ' (Deut. v. 5), that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides; to the parent, pledging the creature that it should never altogether
σύμπαν ἀφηνιάσαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀποστήναι τὸ γεγονὸς ἀκοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον, παρὰ δὲ τῷ φύντι πρὸς εὐδοκιστικὰ τοῦ μήποτε τὸν ἤλεος θεὸν περίδειν τὸ ὅδιον ἔργον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύομαι τὰ εἰρηναῖα γενέσει παρὰ τοῦ καθαιρεῖν πολέμους ἐγνωκότος εἰρήνοφίλακος αἰεὶ θεοῦ.

207 XLIII. Διδάξας οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰσα ἱερὸς λόγος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιστήμην ἂν τεκνίαν ἄνυπηκότως ἐπιτίμητον ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον, ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ σχέδον ἐναντία εἶναι πέφυκεν, ἄρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων. θερμῷ ἐναντίῳ ἐναντίων ψυχρῷ καὶ ἔχρῳ υγρῷ καὶ θυμῷ βαρεῖ καὶ σκότως φωτός καὶ νυκτί ἡμέρα, καὶ ἐν ὑδάτω μὲν ἢ ἀπλανής τῇ πεπλανημένῃ φορᾷ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἄρα αἰθρία νεφώσει, νυχμαίον πνεύμασι, θέρει χειμών, ἐαρί κατάληπτα—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθεΐ, τῷ δὲ φθίνει τὰ [δ'] ἔγγεια,—πάλιν ὑδατὸς τὸ γλυκὸ τῷ πικρῷ καὶ 209 γῆς ἡ στείρα τῇ γονίμῳ. καὶ τάλλα δὲ ἐναντία προοπτα, σώματα ἄσωματα, ἐμψυχα ἄψυχα, λογικὰ ἀλογικὰ, θυητᾶ ἄθανάτα, αἰσθητὰ νοητὰ, καταληπτὰ ἀκαταληπτὰ, στοιχεῖα ἀποτελέσματα, ἀρχῇ τελευτῇ, γένεσις φθορᾶ, ζωής ἀπνοῆς, νόσος ὑγεία, λευκὸν μέλαν, δεξιὰ εὐώνυμα, δικαιοσύνη αδικία, φρόνησις ἀφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία δειλία, σωφροσύνη ἀκατάληπτα, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐτέρας πάντα εἴδη τοῖς τῆς ἐτέρας εἰδείς πᾶσι πάλιν γραμματικὴ ἀγραμματικὰ, μουσικὴ ἀμουσία, παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία, συνόλους τεχνὴ ἀτεχνία: καὶ τὰ ἐν τὰῖς τέχναις, φωνὴν τοῖς στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀφωνα, δόξας καὶ πάσας τοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς ἐκείνους.
rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. For I am the harbinger of peace to creation from that God whose will is to bring wars to an end, who is ever the guardian of peace."

XLIII. Having taught us the lesson of equal division the Scripture leads us on to the knowledge of opposites, by telling us that “He placed the sections facing opposite each other” (Gen. xv. 10). For in truth we may take it that everything in the world is by nature opposite to something else. Let us begin with what comes first. Hot is opposite to cold, dry to wet, light to heavy, darkness to light, night to day. In heaven we have the course of the fixed stars opposite to the course of the planets, in the air cloudless to cloudy, calm to wind, summer to winter, spring when earth's growths bloom to autumn when they decay, again in water, sweet to bitter, and in land, barren to fruitful. And the other opposites are obvious: corporeal, incorporeal; living, lifeless; mortal, immortal; sensible, intelligible; comprehensible, incomprehensible; elementary, completed; beginning, end; becoming, extinction; life, death; disease, health; white, black; right, left; justice, injustice; prudence, folly; courage, cowardice; continence, incontinence; virtue, vice; and all the species of virtue are opposite to all the species of vice. Again we have the opposite conditions of the literary and the illiterate, the cultured and the uncultured, the educated and the uneducated, and in general the scientific and the unscientific, and in the subject matter of the arts or sciences there are vocal sounds or vowels and non-
βαρείς φθόγγοι, ευθείαι καὶ περιφερεῖς γραμμαί·
καὶ ἐν ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς ἁγώνα γόνιμα, πολυτόκα
οὐλογοτόκα, ψωτόκα ζωοτόκα, μαλάκια¹ ὀστρακό-
δέρμα, ἄγρια ἥμερα, μονωτικὰ ἀγελαῖα· καὶ πάλιν
πενία πλοῦτος, δόξα ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια εὐγένεια,
ἐνδεια περιουσία, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, νόμος ἀνομία, εὐ-
φυτα ἄφυτα, ἀποικία πόνος, νεότης γήρας, ἀδυναμία
dυνάμει, ἀσθένεια ῥώμη. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ καθ’ ἐκα-
στον ἀναλέγεσθαι ἀπερίγραφα καὶ ἀπέρατοντα ² ὄντα
τῷ πλῆθει; παγκάλως οὖν ὃ τῶν τῆς
φύσεως ἔρμηνευ̃ς πραγμάτων, τῆς ἀργίας καὶ
ἀμελητηρίας ἤμων λαμβάνων οἰκτον ἐκάστοτε
ἀφθόνως³ ἀναδιάδικε, καθὰ καὶ νῦν, “τὴν ἀντι-
πρόσωπον” ἐκάστων θέσιν οὐχ ὅλοκλήρων, ἀλλὰ
τοὺς ἔναντῖς τὸν πλῆθος οὐκ οὔτε ἀμφοῖς τῶν
ἐναντίων, οὔτε τοῦτο ἔστι, ὃ φασίν “Ἑλληνες τον
μέγα καὶ ἄοιδιμον παρὰ αὐτοῖς Ἰἱράκλειτον
προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας αὐχεῖν ὡς ἐφ’
εὐρέσει καὶ καθάπερ ἐναργώς ἐδείχθη.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις ἀκριβώ-
σομεν. άξιονάν ὃ καὶ ἐκείνο μὴ παρησύχασθήναι·
tὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα διχοτομήματα τριῶν ζώων δίχα
diairethentan ἐξ εὐγένετο, ὡς ἐβδομον τὸν τομέα

¹ Or μαλακά as mss. Wend prints μαλάκεια (presumably from Pap.), but μαλάκια is the ordinary form.
² mss. ἀπέραν(σ)τα: Pap. ἀπερατ. See App. p. 572.
³ mss. ἐκάστων ἄφανως (Pap. αφανως).
⁴ mss. diairethentan: Pap. δίχα airethentan.

α Probably Moses rather than God.
vocal sounds or consonants, high notes and low notes, straight lines and curved lines. In animals and plants there are barren and productive, prolific and unproductive, viviparous and oviparous, soft-skinned and shell-skinned, wild and tame, solitary and gregarious. In another class there are poverty and riches; eminence and obscurity; high birth and low birth; want and abundance; war, peace; law, lawlessness; gifted nature, ungifted nature; labour, inaction; youth, age; impotence, power; weakness, strength. Why attempt to enumerate all and each of them, when their number is infinite and illimitable?

How excellent then is this lesson, which the interpreter of Nature’s facts in his pity for our sluggishness and carelessness lavishes on us always and everywhere, as he does in this passage, that in every case it is not where things exist as wholes, but where they exist as divisions or sections, that they must be “set facing opposite each other.” For the two opposites together form a single whole, by the division of which the opposites are known. Is not this the truth which according to the Greeks Heracleitus, whose greatness they celebrate so loudly, put in the forefront of his philosophy and vaunted it as a new discovery? Actually, as has been clearly shewn, it was Moses who long ago discovered the truth that opposites are formed from the same whole, to which they stand in the relation of sections or divisions.

XLIV. This point will be discussed in detail elsewhere. But there is another matter which should not be passed over in silence. What are called the half-pieces of the three animals when they are divided into two made six altogether and thus the
εἶναι λόγον, διαστέλλοντα τός τριάδας, μέσον 216 αὐτοῦ ἰδρυμένου. τό παραπλησίον μοι δοκεῖ σαφέ- στατα μεμηνύσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λυχνίας· δε- δημιουργηταί γὰρ ἐξ καλαμίσκους ἔχουσα, τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐβδόμη δὲ αὐτὴ μέση, διαιροῦσα καὶ διακρίνουσα τός τριάδας. "τορευτή" γὰρ ἐστι, τεχνικὸν καὶ δόκιμον θείον ἐργον, "ἐξ ἐνὸς χρυσίου καθαροῦ"· τὸ γὰρ ἐν καὶ μόνον καὶ καθαρὸν οὖν ἐβδομάδα τῆν ἀμήτορα γεγέννηκεν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ μόνου, μὴ προσχρησάμενον ὑλὴ τὸ 217 παράπαν. χρυσὸν δ’ οἱ ἐγκωμιάζοντες πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀλλὰ λέγουσι τῶν ἐς ἐπανον, δύο δὲ τὰ ἀνωτάτω, ἐν μὲν, ὅτι Ἰὸν οὐ παραδέχεται, ἑτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἐς ὑμένας λεπτοτάτους ἀρραγῆς διαμένων ἐλαιύνεται τε καὶ χεῖται. σύμβολον οὖν εἰκότως μείζων φύσεως γέγονε, ἤ ταθεΐσα καὶ κεχυμένη καὶ φθάσασα πάντῃ πλήρῃ ὁλῇ ἄι ὅλων ἐστίν, εὐαρμόστως καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ συνυφήνασα. 218 περὶ τῆς προειρημένης λυχνίας ὁ τεχνίτης διαλεγόμενος πάλιν φησίν, ὅτι "ἐκ τῶν καλαμίσκων εἰς οἱ βλαστοί ἐξέχοντες, τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐξισούμενοι ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν, καρυωτὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰ ἀνθέμια ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἢν ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν οἱ λύχνοι καὶ τὸ ἀνθέμιον τὸ ἐβδομον ἐπ’ ἀκρο τοῦ λαμπάδιον ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν, στερεὸν ὅλον χρυσοῦν· καὶ ἐπτὰ λύχνους ἐπ’ 219 αὐτῆς χρυσοῦς"· ὃστε διὰ πολλῶν ἢδη κατα- σκευάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐξὰς ἐς δύο τριάδας ὑπὸ μέσου τοῦ ἐβδομον λόγου διήρηται, καθάπερ ἐχει νυνί·

1 miss. and Pap. αὐτοῖς: Wend. supports his correction by § 221 (LXX. αὐτῆς, ἤθ. λυχνίας).
WHO IS THE HEIR, 215–219

Severer, the Word, who separates the two sets of three and stationed himself in their midst, was the seventh. The same is clearly shewn, I think, in 216 the holy candlestick also, which is wrought with six branches, three on each side, and itself in the middle makes the seventh, dividing and separating the threes. It is "chased," a work of art, approved and divine, made "of one piece of pure gold" (Ex. xxv. 36). For the One, alone and absolutely pure, has begotten the Seven, whom no mother bore, begotten her by himself alone, and employing no other medium whatsoever.

Now those who sound the praises 217 of gold, among its many laudable qualities, place these two highest, first that it is proof against rust, secondly that when it is beaten and fused into the thinnest possible sheets, it remains unbroken. Thus it naturally becomes the symbol of a higher nature, which when stretched and fused and reaching out on every side, is still complete in its fullness throughout and weaves everything else into a harmonious whole.

Again, of the aforesaid 218 candlestick the Master-craftsman says in his discourse that "there are branchlets jutting out from the branches, three on each side, equal to each other, and their lamps at the end of them come out from them in nut shape, and the flower-patterns in them, that the candle-bearers may be on them, and the seventh flower-pattern at the end of the lamp, on the top above, all of solid gold, and seven golden candle-bearers on it" (Ex. xxxviii. 15-17). Thus 219 by many proofs it is now established that the Six is divided into two Threes by the Word, the Seventh in their midst, just as we find in the present passage.

*See App. p. 572.*

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πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ λυχνία σὺν τοῖς ὀδοσχερεστάτοις μέρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἃ ἐξ ἑστων, <ἐξ ἑπτὰ> ἐπάγη, λαμπαδίων ἑπτά, ἀνθεμίων ἑπτά, λύχνων ἑπτά. 220 διαμορφοῦται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξ λύχνων τῷ ἑβδόμῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀνθέμια ὁμοίως τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὰ λαμπάδια τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑβδόμου καὶ μέσου, οἱ δὲ ἐξ καλαμίσκου καὶ οἱ ἐκπεφυκότες ἵσοι βλαστοὶ υπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ | στελέχους τῆς <λυχνίας ούσης> 221 ἑβδόμης. ΧΛV. πολὺν δ’ οὖν τὸν περὶ ἐκάστου λόγου ὑπερθετέον εἰσαύθις. τοσοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι τῆς κατ’ οὐρανὸν τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων χορείας μίμημα ἐστιν ἡ ἱερὰ 222 λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ λύχνοι, πῶς; ἐρήσσεται τις ἵσως· ὅτι, φήσομεν, ὃντες τρόπον οἱ λύχνοι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστος φωσφορεῖ· λαμπρότατοι γὰρ ὄντες αὐγοειδεστάτας ἀχρι γῆς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀκτίνας, διαφέροντος δ’ οὗ 223 μέσος τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἡλίου. μέσον δ’ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ἐπεὶ μέσην ἐπέχει χώραν, ὡς ἵζεισάν τινες, καλῶ, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς υπασπιζόντων ἰσαρχόντων ἀξιώματος ἐνέκα καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὦφελείν, ἀς τοῖς ἑπιγείοις ἀπασι 224 παρέχει, δίκαιος ἀλλως ἐστὶ. τὴν δὲ τῶν πλανήτων τάξιν ἀνθρωποὶ παγίως μὴ κατειληφότες—τὸ δ’ ἄλλο τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἰσχυσαν κατανοῆσαι βεβαίως;—εἰκοτολογοῦσιν, ἄριστα δ’ ἐμοὶ στοχάζεσθαι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὴν μέσην ἀπονεμηκότες ἴλιω

1 <ἐξ ἑπτὰ> is my insertion: Wend. notes the corruption in the mss., since the genitives λαμπαδίων etc. have no construction.

2 My insertion; τῆς ἑβδόμης clearly needs a noun. Mangey
For the whole candlestick with its principal parts, six in number, consists of sevens, seven lamps, seven flower-patterns, seven candle-bearers. The six candle-bearers are divided by the seventh, and so also the flower-patterns by the middle one, and the lamps in the same way by their seventh in the middle, and the six branches and the six branchlets which grow out of them by the main-stalk of the candlestick, which is seventh to them.

XLV. On each of these there is much to say, but it must be postponed to another occasion. Only thus much should be noted. The holy candlestick and the seven candle-bearers on it are a copy of the march of the choir of the seven planets.\(^a\) How so? perhaps we shall be asked. Because, we shall reply, each of the planets is a light-bringer, as the candle-bearers are. For they are supremely bright and transmit the great lustre of their rays to the earth, especially the central among the seven, the sun. I call it central, not merely because it holds the central position, which some give as the reason, but because apart from this it has the right to be served and attended by its squires on either side, in virtue of its dignity and magnitude and the benefits which it provides for all that are on the earth. Now the order of the planets is a matter of which men have no sure apprehension—indeed is there any other celestial phenomenon which can be known with real certainty?—and therefore they fall back on probabilities. But the best conjecture, in my opinion, is that of those who

\(^a\) This explanation of the candlestick is also given by Josephus, Ant. iii. 6, 7.

\[\text{This explanation of the candlestick is also given by Josephus, Ant. iii. 6, 7.}\]

\[\text{I suggest that the similarity of } \text{o}v\text{\c{u}v\text{\c{u}}}s \text{ to } \text{ous } \text{\c{u}h}s \text{ caused the omission.}\]
τάξιν, τρεῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἱσσοὺς εἶναι λέγοντες, ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν μὲν φαίνοντα, φαέθοντα, πυρόεντα, εἴθ’ ἥλιον, μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ στίλβοντα, φωσφόρον, τὴν ἀέρος γείτονα σελήνην. 

225 ἐπίγειον οὖν βουληθεὶς ἀρχετύπου τῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ σφαῖρας ἐπταφεγγοῦς μίμημα παρ’ ἦμιν ὁ τεχνίτης γενέσθαι πάγκαλον ἔργον προσέταξε, τὴν λυχνίαν, δημουργηθήναι. δέδεικται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς ψυχὴν ἐμφέρεια αὐτῆς· ψυχὴ γὰρ τριμερῆς μὲν ἐστὶ, δίχα δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ὡς ἐδείχθη, τέμνεται, μοιρῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐξ ἐβδομος εἰκότως τομεύς ἡν ἀπάντων ὁ ἱερὸς καὶ θεῖος λόγος. 

226 XLVI. ἂξιον δὲ μηδ’ ἐκείνο παρηγορησάθηναι· τριῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἅγιοι σκεύων, λυχνίας, τραπέζης, θυμιατηρίου, τὸ μὲν θυμιατήριον εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν στοιχείων εὐχαριστίαν ἀνάγεται, ὡς ἐδείχθη πρότερον, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸ μοῖρας ἔχει τῶν τεττάρων, γῆς μὲν τὰ ξύλα, ὦδατος δὲ τὰ ἐπιθυμιώμενα—πρότερον γὰρ τηκόμενα εἰς λιβάδας αὐθις ἀναλύεται,—τὸν δὲ ἄτμον ἄερος, πυρός δὲ τὸ ἐξαπτόμενον καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις δὲ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ χαλβανής ὀψινός τε καὶ στακτῆς τῶν στοιχείων σύμβολον, ἢ δὲ τράπεζα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων εὐχαριστίαν—ἐρτοι γὰρ καὶ στονδεία ἐπιτίθενται αὐτῇ, οἷς ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι τὰ τῆς τροφῆς δεόμενα, ἢ δὲ λυχνία εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν

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* Elsewhere (e.g. *De Conf.* 21) this tripartite division is into νοῦς, θύμος and ἐπιθυμία. But we nowhere have any suggestion of these being subdivided, and the ὡς ἐδείχθη leaves no doubt that the reference is to the classification given in § 132, where the three parts were ψυχῆ, λόγος (as speech) and αἰσθησις. The best we can make of it is that
assign the middle place to the sun and hold that there are three above him and the same number below him. The three above are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and the three below are Mercury, Venus and the Moon, which borders on the lower region of air. So the Master-craftsman, wishing that we should possess a copy of the archetypal celestial sphere with its seven lights, commanded this splendid work, the candlestick, to be wrought. We have shewn, too, its resemblance to the soul. For the soul is tripartite, and each of its parts, as has been shewn, is divided into two, making six parts in all, to which the holy and divine Word, the All-severer, makes a fitting seventh.

Another point too should not be passed over in silence. The furniture of the sanctuary is threefold, candlestick, table and altar of incense. In the altar, as was shewn above, we have the thought of thanksgiving for the elements, for the altar itself contains parts of the four elements. Its wood is of earth, the incense offered on it of water, since it is first melted and then resolved into drops, while the perfume is of air and the part which is ignited of fire; moreover the compound made of frankincense, galbanum, cloves and oil of cinnamon (Ex. xxx. 34) is a symbol of the elements. In the table we have thanksgiving for the mortal creatures framed from these elements, since loaves and libations, which creatures needing food must use, are placed on it. In the candlestick we have thanksgiving for all the celestial world, here ψυχή is the whole ψυχή in its wider sense, there in the sense of the mind or ψυχή ψυχή (cf. § 55). But even so we shall not get consistency. See note on § 125.

b i.e. in § 199, though there it is the θυμίαμα only and not the θύμιατήριον which gives thanks.
κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀπάντων, ἵνα μηδὲν μέρος τοῦ κόσμου | δίκην ἀχαριστίας ὄφλη, ἀλλ' εἰδώμεν ὃτι πάντα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐχαριστεῖ, τὰ στοιχεία, τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, οὐ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς μόνον, 227 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ.

XLVII. ἄξιον δὲ σκέψασθαι, διὰ τὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τὰ μέτρα δηλώσας τῆς λυχνίας οὐδὲν ἀνέγραψε· μὴποτε δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν στοιχεία καὶ τὰ θητα ἀποτελέσματα, ὅπω τὴ τράπεξα καὶ τὸ θυμιατήριον σύμβολα, μεμέτρηται περατωθέντα ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ· ἀεὶ γὰρ τὸ περέχον τοῦ περιεχομένου μέτρου,—δ' ὅ οὐρανός, οὐ σύμβολον ἐστιν ἢ λυχνία, ἀπειρομεγέθης ἐστὶ. περιέχεται γὰρ ὑπ' οὐδένος σώματος, οὐτε ἰσομεγέθους αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀπείρος οὖδ' ὑπὸ κενοῦ κατὰ Μωυσῆν¹ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει ἡ μυθευομένη τερατολογίαν· ἐστι δὲ ὁ ρός αὐτοῦ ο ἰθεός, ἡμίοχος καὶ κυβερνήτης αὐτοῦ. ὡσπερ οὖν ἀπερίληπτον τὸ ὢν, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ὁριζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μέτρου τοῖς εἰς τὴν ἠμετέραν ἐπίνοιαν ἴκουσιν οὐ μεμέτρηται, καὶ τάχα ἐπεὶ κυκλοτερῆς ὑπ' ἀκρης εἰς σφαῖραν ἀποτετορευμένος μήκους καὶ πλάτους οὐ μετέχει.

229 XLVIII. Εἰπών οὖν τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τούτων ἐπιλέγει· " τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ διείλεν," ὄρνεα καλῶν τοὺς πτηνοὺς καὶ πεφυκότας μετεωροπολεῖν δύο

¹ ἄλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν comes in Pap. after σώματος in the previous line, and in the mss. which do not omit it after περιέχεται γάρ. But see App. p. 572.

² Some mss. and Pap. πυρώσει, others πυργώσει, which Mangey adopted, rejecting ἄλλ' . . . Μωυσῆν and supposing a reference to the tower of Babel.

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³ The connexion of the Stoic theory of the general con-
that so no part of the universe may be guilty of unthankfulness and we may know that all its parts give thanks, the elements and the creatures framed from them, not only those on earth, but those in heaven.

XLVII. A question worth consideration is why the writer states the measurements of the table and the altar but says nothing about the measurements of the candlestick. Probably the reason is that the four elements and the mortal creatures framed from them, which are symbolized by the table and the altar, are measured and defined within limits by heaven, since that which contains is the measurement of that which is contained. On the other hand heaven, which is symbolized by the candlestick, is of infinite magnitude, not comprehended by any material substance either equal in size to it or infinite, nor again, as Moses shews, by a void, the existence of which is implied in the marvelmongers' fable of the general conflagration. God is its boundary, God who guides and steers it. And so just as the Existent is incomprehensible, so also that which is bounded by Him is not measured by any standards which come within our powers of conception. Perhaps too it is immeasurable in the sense that being circular and rounded off into a perfect sphere it possesses neither length nor breadth.

XLVIII. Having said what was fitting on these matters, Moses continues, "the birds He did not divide" (Gen. xv. 10). He gives the name of birds to the two words or forms of reason, both of which are flagration, ἐκπύρωσις, with that of the void is explained in De Aet. 102. Fire implies expansion, and so when the world is thus immensely expanded it must expand into a void. In the same sense S. V. F. li. 537. There still remain, however, difficulties in the passage. See App. p. 572.
PHILO

λόγους, ένα μὲν ἀρχέτυπον <τὸν> ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς,
231 ἔτερον δὲ μίμημα τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντα. καλεί
dὲ Μωυσῆς τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰκόνα θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ
cαθ’ ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκμαγεῖον, "ἐποίησε"
γάρ φησιν "ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον" οὐχὶ εἰκόνα
θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ "κατ’ εἰκόνα"· ὥστε τὸν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
ἡμῶν νοῦν, ὅς δὴ κυρίως καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν
ἀνθρωπός ἦστι, τρίτον εἶναι τύπον ἀπὸ τοῦ πε-
ποιηκότος, τὸν δὲ μέσον παράδειγμα μὲν τούτου,
232 ἀπεικόνισμα δὲ ἐκείνου. 
φύσει δὲ ἀτμη-
tos ὁ ἡμέτερος γέγονε νοῦς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον
ψυχής μέρος ἐξαχῆ διελὼν ὁ δημιουργός ἐπτὰ
μοίρασ εἰργάζετο, ὅρασι, ἀκοῆ, γεύσιν, ὀσφρησιν,
ἀφήν, φωνήν, γόνιμον, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν, ὁ δὴ νοῦς
ἀνομάσθη, ἀσχιστὸν ἐξασθενατὰ συμβεβή-
233 ὀμοιότητα οὐρανοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτω λόγος ἔχει
τὴν μὲν ἐξωτάτω¹ καὶ ἀπλανὴ σφαίραν ἀτμητὴν
φυλαχθήναι, τὴν δ’ ἐντὸς ἐξαχῆ τμήθεισαν ἐπτὰ
κύκλους τῶν λεγομένων πλανήτων ἀποτελέσαι·
ὁ γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἐν ἀνθρώπω ψυχῆ, τοῦτο οὐρανὸς ἐν
κόσμῳ. τὰς οὖν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δύο φύσεις,
tὴν τε ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντὶ, συμβέβη-
κεν ὀλοκλήρους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους εἶναι. διὸ λέγεται:
[506] "τά δὲ ὅρνεα οὐ | διείλε." 

234 περιστέρᾳ

µὲν <οὖν> ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἐπειδὴ τιθασόν καὶ
σύντροφον ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ ἥμων, εἰκάζεται, τῷ δὲ
tούτου παραδείγματι ή τρυγών· ὁ γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος
φιλέρημος καὶ μονωτικός, ἐν οὐχὶ τῷ τῶν γεγο-
νότων καὶ φθαρησμένων οὐχὶ φυρόμενον, ἀλλ’

¹ mss. ἐξωτάτην: Pap. ανωτάτω (ἐξωτάτω in De Cher. 22).

See De Op. 117 and note.
winged and of a soaring nature. One is the archetypal reason above us, the other the copy of it which we possess. Moses calls the first the "image of God," the second the cast of that image. For God, he says, made man not "the image of God" but "after the image" (Gen. i. 27). And thus the mind in each of us, which in the true and full sense is the "man," is an expression at third hand from the Maker, while between them is the Reason which serves as model for our reason, but itself is the effigies or presentment of God.

Our mind is indivisible in its nature. For the irrational part of the soul received a sixfold division from its Maker who thus formed seven parts, sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch, voice and reproductive faculty. But the rational part, which was named mind, He left undivided. In this he followed the analogy of the heaven taken as a whole. For we are told that there the outermost sphere of the fixed stars is kept unsevered, while the inner sphere by a sixfold division produces the seven circles of what we call the wandering stars. In fact I regard the soul as being in man what the heaven is in the universe. So then the two reasoning and intellectual natures, one in man and the other in the all, prove to be integral and undivided and that is why we read "He did not divide the birds." Our mind is likened to a pigeon, since the pigeon is a tame and domesticated creature, while the turtle-dove stands as the figure of the mind which is the pattern of ours. For the Word, or Reason of God, is a lover of the wild and solitary, never mixing with the medley of things that have come into being only to perish,

b Cf. Timaeus 36 d and De Cher. 22 f.
PHILO

ἀνω φοιτᾶν εἰθισμένος ἄεὶ καὶ ἐνὶ ὁπαύδος εἴναι μόνῳ μεμελετηκώς. ἀτμητοι μὲν οὖν αἴ δύο φύσεις, ἢ τε ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἀτμητοὶ δὲ οὔσαι μυρία 235 ἄλλα τέμνουσιν. ὃ τε γὰρ θεῖος λόγος τὰ ἐν τῇ φύσει διείλε καὶ διένειμε πάντα, ὃ τε ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἀττ’ ἂν παραλάβῃ νοητῶς πράγματα τε καὶ σώματα, εἰς ἀπειράκις άπειρα διαρεῖ μέρη καὶ 236 τέμνων οὐδέποτε λήγειν. τούτῳ δὲ συμβαίνει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐμφέρειαν. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἄμμηθές, ἀκρατοῦ, ἀμερε- στατον ὑπάρχου ἀπαντεί τῷ κόσμῳ γέγονεν αὐτῶν μίξεως, κράσεως, διαιρέσεως, πολυμερείας. ὡστε εἰκότως καὶ τὰ ὅμοιωθέντα, νοῦς τε ὃ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ὅ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἀμερείς καὶ ἀτμητοὶ ὑπάρχοντες διαρεῖν καὶ διακρίνειν ἐκαστὰ τῶν ὄντων ἐρρω- μένως δυνάσθονται.

237 XLIX. Ἀλλήσας οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀτμητῶν καὶ ἀδιαιρέτων ὄρνεων φησιν ἔξης· "κατέβη δὲ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, τὰ διχοτομῆματα," ὄμωνυμία μὲν χρησάμενος, τὴν δὲ πραγματικὴν διαμάχην ἐναργέστατα τοῖς ὀρῶν δυναμεῖοι διασυνυστάτας· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ καταβαίνειν ὄρνεα, 238 τοῦ μετεωροπολεῖν ἐνεκα πτερωθέντα. καθάπερ γὰρ τοὺς χερσαίοις οἰκείοτατον χωρίον γῆ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς, ὁ μηδ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἣπερ ἴνα ἄνω θρίαμβος ἀνέχεται, φωλεοῦς δὲ καὶ καταδύσεις ξητεί τὸν ἀνω χώρον ἀποδιδράσκοντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ κάτω συγγένειαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ

* The Hebrew has a different word for these birds, which
but its wonted resort is ever above and its study is to wait on One and One only. So then the two natures, the reasoning power within us and the divine Word or Reason above us, are indivisible, yet indivisible as they are they divide other things without number. The divine Word separated and apportioned all that is in nature. Our mind deals with all the things material and immaterial which the mental process brings within its grasp, divides them into an infinity of infinities and never ceases to cleave them. This is the result of its likeness to the Father and Maker of all. For the Godhead is without mixture or infusion or parts and yet has become to the whole world the cause of mixture, infusion, division and multiplicity of parts. And thus it will be natural that these two which are in the likeness of God, the mind within us and the mind above us, should subsist without parts or severance and yet be strong and potent to divide and distinguish everything that is.

XLIX. After speaking of the birds which were left unsevered and undivided, he continues “and the birds came down to the carcasses, the half-pieces” (Gen. xv. 11). He employs the same word “birds,” but shews very clearly to those who have eyes to see the contrast in fact between the two kinds of birds. For it is against nature that birds whose wings were given them to soar on high should come down. Just as earth is the most suitable place for creatures of the land, particularly reptiles, which in their wriggling course cannot even bear to be above ground, but make for holes and crannies and, since their natural place is below, avoid what is above, the A.V. translates by “fowls,” the R.V. by “birds of prey.”
τοῖς πτηνοῖς ὃ ἀὴρ ἐνδιαίτημα οἴκειον, κούφοις
dia τὴν πτέρνωσιν ὃ φύσει κούφος. ὅταν οὖν τὰ
ἀεροπόρα αἰθεροβατεῖν ὁφείλοντα καταβαίνῃ, πρὸς
χέρσον ἀφικνοῦμεν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἄδυνατεῖ
239 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἀνω
dύναται πηδᾶν οὐ
μετρίως ἀποδέχεται· φησὶ γοῦν· "ταῦτα φάγεσθε
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν πετεινῶν, δ' πορεύεται ἐπὶ
tεσσάρων, δ' ἔχει σκέλη ἀνωτέρω τῶν ποδῶν,
.dynamichalten έν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς." ταῦτα
239 δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολα ψυχῶν, ὅσα τρόπον ἐρπετῶν
προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γηίνῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι
προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γηίνῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι
240 μεναι γῆς καὶ φθορᾶς ἀθανασίαν. πάσης οὖν
βαρυδαιμονίας ἀναπεπλήσθαι νομιστέον ἐκείνας,
αἰτίων ἐν ἀεὶ καὶ αἰθέρι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τρα-
προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γηίνῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι
240 μεναι γῆς καὶ φθορᾶς ἀθανασίαν. πάσης οὖν
βαρυδαιμονίας ἀναπεπλήσθαι νομιστέον ἐκείνας,
aitiaσ ἐν αἰ̊ρεὶ καὶ αἰθέρι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ τρα-
φείσαι μετανέστησαν τὸν θείων ἀγαθῶν κόρον οὐν
[507] δυνηθεῖσαι φέρειν ἐπὶ τὸ θνητῶν καὶ κακῶν χωρίον
γῆν. ἐπιφοιτώσι δ' ἐννοιαί μυρίαι περὶ μυρίων
πραγμάτων ὀσῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐκούσιοι, αἱ δὲ κατ'
ἀγνοιαν, οὔ̃δε̃ διαφέρουσαι πτηνῶν, αἱ τὰ κατιόντα
241 ἐξωμοίωσεν ὅρνεα.
τῶν δὲ ἐννοιῶν ἢ
μὲν ἄνω φορὰ τὴν ἀμείνω τάξιν ἔλαχε συνοδοι-
προσερριζωμέναι τῷ γηίνῳ σώματι καθαρθεῖσαι
241 ἐξωμοίωσεν ὅρνεα.
τῶν δὲ ἐννοιῶν ἢ
μὲν ἄνω φορὰ τὴν ἀμείνω τάξιν ἔλαχε συνοδοι-
porousis ἄρτησ ὑς πρὸς τὸν οὐράνιον καὶ θείον
χώρου ἀγούσης, τὴν χεῖρω δὲ ἡ κάτω κακίας
ἀφηγούμενης καὶ ἀντιστάμενης βίας. δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ
1 mss. οὐρανὸν: Pap. θείων ουρανων.
2 So mss.: Wend. from Pap. χορόν. While χορὸς θείος is
common in Philo (cf. Phaedrus 247 Α), we have in a passage
similar to this, De Som. 1. 151, σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλύμπιον καὶ
402
so too the air is the suitable habitat for the birds, its natural lightness matching with the lightness which the wings give them. So when the denizens of the air, who should rather be explorers of the realm of ether, “descend,” it is to the land that they come and there they cannot live their natural life.

Conversely Moses gives high approval to those reptiles which can leap upwards. Thus he says, “These shall ye eat of the flying reptiles which go on four legs, which have legs above their feet, so as to leap with them from the earth” (Lev. xi. 21). These are symbols of the souls which though rooted like reptiles to the earthly body have been purified and have strength to soar on high, exchanging earth for heaven, and corruption for immortality. Surely then we must suppose that misery wholesale and all-pervading must be the lot of those souls which reared in air and ether at its purest have left that home for earth the region of things mortal and evil, because the good things of God bred in them an intolerable satiety. And here they become the resort of thoughts and notions, numberless as the subjects with which they are concerned, some willingly admitted, some in mere ignorance. These thoughts are just like winged creatures and it is to them that he likens “the birds which come down.”

Some of our thoughts fly up, others down. To the upward flight falls the better lot, for it has for its fellow-traveller virtue leading it to the divine and heavenly region; to the downward flight the worse lot falls, since vice goes in front and pulls it with might and main if it resists. How

οὐράνιον χῶρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, where χορὸν is impossible, and χῶρον suits τόπων better.
τὰ ὄνομα τὰ ἦκιστα τῆν τῶν τόπων ἑναντίον: ἄρετὴ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τὴν αἴρεσιν ἀνομάσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄροιν—ἀἱρεται γὰρ καὶ μεταωρίζεται διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων ἔραν,—κακία δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω κεχωρηκέναι καὶ κατα-

242 πίπτει τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ βιάζεσθαι. τὰ γοῦν πολέμια τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνοματα ἑπιποτώμενα καὶ ἑπιφοιτώντα κάτεισι μὲν αὐτά, καταβάλλει σύ μὲν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αἰσχρῶς ἑπιφερόμενα σώμασιν οὐ πράγμασιν, ἀισθητοῖς οὐ νοητοῖς, ατελέσιν οὐχ ὀλοκλήροις, ἐφθαρμένους οὐχί τοῖς ξῶσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωμάτων δίχα διαιρέθεντων τρήμασιν ἑπιφοιτᾶ: τὰ δ'/ οὔτως διαιρεθέντα ἀμήχανον ἀρμονίαν δεξασθαι καὶ ἔνωσιν, τῶν πνευματικῶν τοίνυν, οἱ συμφυεστατος δεσμὸς 243 ἦσαν, διακοπέντων. Λ. εἰσηγεῖται δὲ γνώμην ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκων, ὅτι δικαιοσύνη μὲν καὶ πᾶσα ἄρετὴ ψυχῆς, ἀδικία δὲ καὶ πᾶσα κακία σώματος ἔρως, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῷ ἑτέρῳ φίλα τῷ ἑτέρῳ πάντως ἐχθρά ἐστι, καθὰ καὶ νῦν· αἰνιττόμενοι γὰρ τοὺς ψυχῆς πολεμίους ὄρνεα εἰσήγαγε γλιχόμενα εμπλέκεσθαι καὶ ἐμφύεσθαι σώμασι καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορεῖσθαι, δὲν τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπισχεῖν βουληθεῖς ὁ ἀστείως λέγειν αὐτοῖς συγκαθίσαι, οἵα πρόεδρος τις ἡ πρόβουλος

1 So mss. and Pap.: Wend. σώμασι καὶ πράγμασι. See App. p. 573.
2 So LXX.: mss. and Pap. ἐγκαθίσαι.

a i.e. κακία is derived from the two words κάτω κεχωρηκέναι, the consonants in the second word being supposed to supply the second κ in κακία.

b For this use of πνεῦμα cf. πνεύματος ἑνωτικὸν δυνάμει De Op. 131, and the definition of έξις in Quod Deus 35 as
opposite are the climes to which these two belong is shewn most clearly by their names. Virtue is so named not only because we choose it (α蕊ε{σ}ις) but also from its uplifting (ἀρσις), for it is lifted up and soars on high, because it ever yearns for the celestial. Vice is so called because it has "gone down" and compels those who have to do with it to fall down likewise. Thus thoughts hostile to the soul, when they hover over it or perch upon it, not only come down themselves, but also bring downfall to the understanding, when in hideous fashion they pounce upon things material, not immaterial; which are of the senses, not of the intelligence; of imperfection, not of soundness; of corruption not of life. For they perch not only on bodies, but on sections of bodies divided in two. And it is impossible that bodies so divided should admit of joining or unifying, since the currents of spirit force, which were their congenital ligament, have been broken into.

L. Moses also brings before us a thought of profound truth in teaching us that justice and every virtue love the soul, while injustice and every vice love the body; that what is friendly to the one is utterly hostile to the other—a lesson given in this passage as elsewhere. For in a figure he pictures the enemies of the soul as birds, eager to intertwine and ingraft themselves in bodies and to glut themselves with flesh, and it is to restrain the onsets and inroads of such that the man of worth is said to sit down in their company (Gen. xv. 11), like a chairman or president of a council.

πνεύμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ’ ἑαυτό. In fact the three terms πνεύμα, ἔξις, τόνος for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible. See the sections headed πνεύμα, ἔξις, τόνος in S. V. F. ii. 439-462.
ἐπειδὴ γάρ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑπὸ ἐμφύλιου στάσεως διειστήκει καὶ τὰ ἐχθρὰ στάσεως διειστήκει, βουλήν ἀπάντων συναγαγὼν ἑσκόπει περὶ τῶν διαφόρων, ἵνα, εἰ δύνατο, πειθοὶ χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐνεκὸν πόλεμον καταλύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον ταραχὴν ἀνέλοι. τόσος μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ νέφος ἐπιρράξαντας ἀκατάλλακτως ἔχοντας λυσιτελεῖς ἢν ἀποσκεδάσαι, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν συγγένειαν οἰκεῖωσαν δυσμενεῖς μὲν οὐν ἀσπονδοὶ καὶ ἀκατάλλακτοι γράφονται ψυχῆς ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀκολοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸν ξένικον πόλεμον καταλύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον ταραχὴν ἀνέλοι. τοῖς δὲ τῆς παλαιὰς συγγένειας οἰκεῖσθαι. δυσμενεῖς μὲν οὖν ἀσπονδοὶ καὶ ἀκατάλλακτοι γράφονται ψυχῆς ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀκολοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸν ξένικον πόλεμον καταλύσαι καὶ τὴν ἐμφύλιον ταραχὴν ἀνέλοι.

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This seems to be the force of the imperfects. Philo is falling back upon his reading and no doubt the conditions described in the following sections belong rather to a past time than to his own.

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History tells us how when discord reigned at home through civil faction, or hostile bands were at variance, such a one would summon a council of all concerned and investigate the points of difference, that if possible he might by his powers of persuasion make an end of the external war or put down the civil commotion. In the one case he would scatter abroad the foes who rushed in irreconcilable hatred like a storm cloud, in the other he would restore the old feeling of intimate kinship—each a useful work.

Now the list of deadly and irreconcilable enemies of the soul comprises its follies, its acts of cowardice and injustice and all the other irrational lusts so constantly born of over-abundant appetite, which prance and struggle against the yoke and hinder the straight onward course of the understanding, and often rend and overthrow its whole frame. But with those who might be allies the causes of offence are such as we find in the wranglings of the sophists on questions of dogma. In so far as their minds are fixed on one end to discover the facts of nature, they may be said to be friends, but in that they do not agree in their solutions of particular problems they may be said to be engaged in civil strife. Thus those who declare the universe to be uncreated are at strife with those who maintain its creation; those who say that it will be destroyed with those who declare that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker; those who maintain that nothing is, but all things become, with those who hold the opposite opinion; those who argue at

\(^b\) Cf. De Conf. 90 and note.
γίνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι τάναντία, καὶ οἱ πάντων χρημάτων ἀνθρωποι μέτρον εἶναι διεξιόντες τοῖς τὰ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τὰ διανοίας κριτήρια συγχέουσι, καὶ συνόλως οἱ πάντα ἀκατάληπτα εἰσηγούμενοι τοῖς γινωρίζονται πάμπολλα φάσκοι.-

247 σύν, καὶ ἤλιος μέντοι καὶ σελήνη καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός, γῆ τε καὶ ἄηρ καὶ ὕδωρ, τά τε ἐξ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν πάντα τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ἔριδος καὶ φιλονεικίας παρεσχήκασιν, οὕσια καὶ ποιότητας, μεταβολάς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ προπάς καὶ γενέσεως, ἐτι δὲ φθοράς αὐτῶν ἀναζητούσιν· μεγέθους τε πέρι καὶ κινήσεως τῶν κατ' οὐρανόν οὐ πάρεργον ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἔφευγαν ἐπεροδοξοῦσιν οὐ συμμετέχομενοι, μέχρις ἃν ὁ μανικικὸς ὅμοι καὶ δικαστικὸς ἀνήρ συγκαθίσας θεάσηται τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου γεννήματα ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἀξία τροφῆς ἀπορρίψῃ, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεως διασώσῃ καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἀρμοτούσις ἀξιώσῃ. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεστὰ διαφωνίας γέγονε τῶν πιθανῶν καὶ στοχαστικῶν νοὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδίδομεν. τὸ γάρ δυσεὐρέτουν καὶ δυσθήρατον αὐτῆς τὰς λογικάς, ὡς οὕτω, στάσεις ἐγένετο.

248 τούσις ἀξιώσῃ. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεστὰ διαφωνίας γέγονε τῶν πιθανῶν καὶ στοχαστικῶν νοῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδιδοσκότητας· τὸ γὰρ δυσεὐρέτουν καὶ δυσθήρατον αὐτῆς τὰς λογικάς, ὡς οὕτω, στάσεις ἐγένετο.

249 "Περὶ δὲ ἢλίου" φησι "δυσμᾶς ἐκστασις ἐπέσεσιν τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἰδοὺ φόβος σκοτεινὸς μέγας ἐπιπίπτει αὐτῷ." ἐκστασις ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ λύττα μανικόδης παράνοια τοῖς ἀποδότησι γίνεται κατὰ γῆρας ἡ μελαγχολίαν ἡ τῶν ὁμοιότοπον ἀλλήν αἰτίαν, ἡ δὲ σφοδρὰ κατάπληξις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξαιπνιῶς καὶ

1 So lxx: mss. ἐπέσε· Pap. ἐπεστῆσε.

a For the philosophical opinions mentioned in this section see App. p. 574.

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length that man is the measure of all things with those who make havoc of the judgement-faculty of both sense and mind; and, to put it generally, those who maintain that everything is beyond our apprehension with those who assert that a great number of things are cognizable. And indeed sun and moon and the whole heaven, also earth and air and water and practically all that they produce, have been the cause of strife and contention to the inquirers when they probe into their essential natures and qualities, their changes and phases, the processes by which they come into being and finally cease to be. For as to the magnitude and movement of the heavenly bodies with all their absorbing research they come to different and conflicting opinions, until the man-midwife who is also the judge takes his seat in their midst and observes the brood of each disputant's soul, throws away all that is not worth rearing, but saves what is worth saving and approves it for such careful treatment as is required. The history of philosophy is full of discordance, because truth flees from the credulous mind which deals in conjecture. It is her nature to elude discovery and pursuit, and it is this which in my opinion produces these scientific quarrellings.

LI. "About sunset" it continues, "an ' ecstasy ' fell upon Abraham and lo a great dark terror falls upon him" (Gen. xv. 12). Now "ecstasy" or "standing out" takes different forms. Sometimes it is a mad fury producing mental delusion due to old age or melancholy or other similar cause. Sometimes it is extreme amazement at the events which

\[b\] Cf. Socrates' use of the figure in Theaetetus 151 c and elsewhere.
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[509] ἀπροσδόκητως | συμβαίνειν εἰωθόσιν, ἢ δὲ ἡρεμία
diανοίας, εἰ δὴ πέφυκε ποτε ἣσυχάζειν, ἢ δὲ
πασῶν ἀρίστη ἐνθεος κατοκωξή τε καὶ μανία, ἢ
tο προφητικὸν γένος χρήται. τῆς μὲν
οὖν πρώτης ἐν ταῖς <εν> Ἐπινομίδι γραφείσαις
ἀραίς διαμέμνηται—παραπληξίαν γάρ φησί καὶ
ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ ἔκοστοι διανοίας καταλήψεσθαι τούς
ἀσεβοῦντας, ὥς μηδὲν διοίσειν τυφλῶν ἐν μεσημ-
βρία καθάπερ ἐν βαθεὶ σκότῳ ψηλαφώντων,—
tῆς δὲ δευτέρας πολλαχοῦ—"ἐξέστη"
γάρ φησιν " Ἰσαὰκ ἐκοστασιν μεγάλην, καὶ εἰπε-
tίς οὖν ὁ θηρεύσας μοι θήραν καὶ ἐνεγκών
μοι, καὶ ἔφαγον ἀπὸ πάντων πρὸ τοῦ σὲ ἐλθεῖν,
cαι εὐλόγησα αὐτὸν; καὶ εὐλογημένος ἐστῶ;"
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἀπιστοῦντος τοῖς λέγοντων, ὅτι
"ζῆ Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἀρχεῖ πάσης γῆς Ἀιγύπτου".
"ἐξέστη" γάρ φησιν "τῇ διανοίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευ-
σεν αὐτοῖς," καὶ ἐν Ἐξαγωγή κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλη-
sίαν "τὸ γὰρ ὄρος" φησίν "τὸ Σινὰ ἐκκατνιζετο
ὀλὸν διὰ τὸ καταβεβηκέναι τῶν θεῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐν
πυρί, καὶ ἀνεβαίνεν ὁ καπνὸς ὡσεὶ ἀτμός καμίνου·
cαι ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σφόδρα," καὶ ἐν τῷ Δευ-
tικῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἑρώων τελείωσιν ἡμέρα τῇ
ὀγδόη, ὡσοτε "ἐζήλθε πῦρ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατ-
έφαγε τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, τὰ τε ὁλοκαυτώ-
ματα καὶ τὰ στέατα": λέγεται γὰρ εὐθύς: " καὶ
eἰδὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐξέστη, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσ-
ωπον" ή γὰρ τουαῦτῃ ἐκκοστασις πτόησιν καὶ
dευνη κατάπληξιν ἐμποιεῖ—
252 'Αλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰ,
so often happen suddenly and unexpectedly. Sometimes it is passivity of mind, if indeed the mind can ever be at rest; and the best form of all is the divine possession or frenzy\(^a\) to which the prophets as a class are subject. The first form is mentioned in the curses described in Deuteronomy, where he says that madness and loss of sight and "ecstasy" of mind will overtake the impious, so that they shall differ in nought from blind men groping at noonday as in deep darkness (Deut. xxviii. 28, 29). The second we have in several places. Isaac was astonished with a great ecstasy and said, "who is it then who has made a hunting and brought to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest and I blessed him, and let him be blessed" (Gen. xxvii. 33). And again when Jacob disbelieved those who told him that "Joseph lives and is ruler over all Egypt," he was in an "ecstasy," we are told, "in his mind, for he did not believe them" (Gen. xlv. 26). Also in Exodus, in the account of the congregation, it says, "for Mount Sinai was all covered with smoke, because God came down to it in fire and the smoke rose up like vapour of a furnace, and all the people were in a great 'ecstasy'" (Ex. xix. 18). Also in Leviticus at the completion of the sacrifices on the eighth day, when "fire came out from heaven and devoured what was on the altar, both the whole burnt offerings and the fats"; for the next words are, "and all the people saw it and were in an 'ecstasy,' and fell upon their faces" (Lev. ix. 24): a natural consequence, for an "ecstasy" in this sense produces great agitation and terrible consternation.

Incidentally in the story of Jacob and Esau there

\(^a\) See App. p. 574.
PHILO

οτι ειδώς κυνηγεϊν αει θηρεϋεται καὶ πτερνίζεται τήν τέχνην επί βλάβη κτησάμενος, ουκ ωφελεία, θηρεύειν δε ουδέποτε ἐστούδασε, καὶ επὶ τοῦ Ιακώβ, οτι θηρεύει μη μάθων, ἀλλα φύσει κινούμενος, το πάθος, καὶ φέρει τῳ δοκιμαστῇ, ὡς εἰ δοκιμόν ἐστι διαγνώσεται, διὸ ἀπὸ πάντων φάγεται; 1 πάντα γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἐδώδιμα καθέστηκεν, ἡ ζήτησις, ἡ σκέψις, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις, ἡ ἀκρόασις, ἡ προσοχή, ἡ ἕγκρατεια, ἡ ἐξαδιαφόρησις τῶν ἀδιαφόρων. ἀπὸ πάντων δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς δῆπουθεν ἐφαγεν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα ἐδεί γὰρ ὑπολείπεσθαι καὶ τῷ ἄσκητί τροφὰς οἰκείας ὡς ἄθλα. 254 "πρὸ τοῦ σὲ ἐλθεῖν" φυσικῶς. εἰ ν γὰρ ἐλθῇ τὸ πάθος εἰς τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἀπολαύσομεν ἐγκρατείας. ἑλέγχει δὲ καὶ τὸν φαύλον ὡς βραδὺν καὶ ὀκνηρὸν καὶ μελητὴν πρὸς τὰ παιδείας ἔργα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀκολογίας. 255 ἐργοδιώκτας οὖν Ἀὐγυπτός ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἐπιστεύοντας ἀπόλαυσιν, Μωϋσῆς δ' 1 Wend. does not put a mark of interrogation. If this is not a mere misprint, he must have understood οὐκ ἄξιον θανμάσαι as "there is no need to wonder."

1 a The irrelevance of these five sections to the disquisition on "ecstasy" led Mangey to consider them an interpolation from another treatise. But the irrelevance does not differ in kind from Philo's other ramblings, and we have a sort of apology for it in § 256. The remarks are based on the texts quoted to illustrate the second sense of "ecstasy" in § 251. He feels that though they were quoted for that purpose, they each have their moral which he does not wish to omit. b See App. p. 574. c The allegory of §§ 252-254 is very confused. Jacob 412
WHO IS THE HEIR, 252–255

are thoughts well worthy of our admiration. Esau, though he has the knowledge needed for the chase, is ever hunted and supplanted, because he has acquired his skill not to do good but harm, and moreover is never quick or zealous in his hunting. Jacob hunts passion not through teaching, but moved to it by nature, and brings the game to the tester who will decide whether it will stand the test. For this purpose the tester will eat of all that he brings. For all the elements of practice are food fit for eating, inquiry, examination, reading, listening to instruction, concentration, perseverance, self-mastery, and power to treat things indifferent as indeed indifferent. Of all these the tester naturally eats samples only, not the whole. For the Practiser must have his proper food left to him, like prizes for his efforts.

Another lesson. The words “before thou camest” are true to nature. For if passion has entered the soul we shall not get enjoyment from self-mastery. Secondly, they convict the bad of sloth and slackness and backwardness to the tasks of instruction, though not to those of incontinence. And so it is Egypt which has its “task-drivers” (Ex. v. 6) who urge others to the enjoyment of the “hunts,” i.e. supplants, πάθος symbolized by Esau (though elsewhere Esau is rather folly). But the game he brings so quickly (a sign as in De Sac. 64 and elsewhere of gifts sent direct from nature and God) turns out to be the qualities of the “Practiser.” These qualities are submitted to the testing soul before πάθος can enter it, otherwise their flavour would be lost. Here Esau is still πάθος, but the next moment he is rather the worthless man hunting in a sense for the good, but failing through procrastination and slackness, and thus a contrast to the zeal of the man of worth. This zeal for the good implies an equal zeal to flee from evil, and the texts in § 255 illustrate this.

256 εἰκότως καὶ Ἰακώβ τεθαύμακεν, εἰ ἐτι ὁ ἐν σώματι νοῦς, Ἰωσήφ, ζῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀρχεῖ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρχεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν.

Καὶ τάλλα ἐπιών ἄν τις ὑποδείγματα τάληθες ἱχνεύειν δυνηθείη. πρόκειται δ' οὐ περὶ τούτων νῦν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, διὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξής τρεπτέον, 257 τῆς δὲ τρίτης ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς γένεσιν/φιλοσοφεῖ—"ἐπέβαλε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς" φησὶν "ἐκοστασίν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνώσεν," ἐκ- στασίν τῇ Ἰουχίαν καὶ ἠρεμίαν τοῦ νοοῦ παραλαβάνων. ὑπνος γὰρ νοοῦ ἐγρήγορσίς ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως, καὶ γὰρ ἐγρήγορσις διανοίας αἰσθήσεως ἀπραξία,—

258 Λ. τῆς δὲ τετάρτης ὁ νῦν σκοποῦσαι: "περὶ δὲ ἡλίου δυσμάς ἐκοστασίσι ἐπι- ἐπεσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ." ἐνθονσιώντος καὶ θεοφορήτου τὸ πάθος. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον διασυνίστησιν1 αὐτὸν προφήτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμα ῥητὸν ἐστηλιτεμένον <ἐν> ἵεραις βίβλοις, ἥνικα τις ἐπεχειρησε τῇ ἐκ φύσεως άρχουσαν ἀρετῆν, Σάρραν, αὐτὸν διοικιζειν, ὅσ οὐκ ἰδιὸν σοφὸν καὶ μόνου κτήμα, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ φρόνησιν ἐπιμορφαζόντος.

1 mss. ἀλλὰ συνίστησι: Pap. (?) συνιστησι.

α For the interpretation of the tasks as lower pleasures cf. De Conf. 93.

β Of course the first is what the Judah of the story did
WHO IS THE HEIR, 255–258

passions; it is Moses who bids eat the Passover and celebrate the crossing from passion "with haste" (Ex. xii. 11). So too Judah, "for if we had not delayed, we should already have returned twice over" (Gen. xliii. 10). He does not mean "we should have gone down twice to Egypt," but "we should have come up thence in safety." Natural too is the wonder of Jacob that the mind within the body still lives to virtue and rules that body (Gen. xlv. 26), instead of being ruled by it.

In the same way if we went through the other examples we should be able to trace the truth they teach, but the task before us now is not to work these out in detail, and therefore we must turn to the next point. We have the third sort of ecstasy when Moses finds a lesson of wisdom in the story of the creation of woman. God "cast," he says, "an ecstasy on Adam and he slept" (Gen. ii. 21). Here by ecstasy he means passivity and tranquillity of mind. For sleep of mind is waking of sense, since waking of the understanding is inaction of sense.

LII. The fourth kind of ecstasy we find in the passage we are now examining. "About sunset there fell upon Abraham an ecstasy," that is, what the inspired and God-possessed experience. Yet it is not merely this experience which proves him a prophet, but we have also the actual word written and recorded in the holy Scriptures, when another tried to take Sarah from his home, Sarah the virtue whose nature is to rule, as though that virtue was not the peculiar possession of the wise and of him alone, but belonged to any who counterfeits good mean, but the delay which the Judah-mind, as Philo sees it, regrets can only be delay in escaping from Egypt.
"ἀπόδος" γάρ φησι ἡν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι προφήτης ἐστι καὶ προσεύξεται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ
259 ζῆσεις." παντὶ δὲ ἀστείω προφητεῖαν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος μαρτυρεῖ· προφήτης γὰρ ἢδιον μὲν ὀφθεὶν ἀποφθείγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου· φαύλῳ δ' οὖ θέμις ἐρμηνεύει γενέσθαι θεοῦ, ὥστε κυρίως μοχθηρὸς ὀφθεὶς ἐνθουσιά, μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταῦτ' ἐφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἥχειον, κρουόμενον καὶ πληστόμενον ἀπότως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πάντας γοῦν ὑπὸ σου ἀνέγραψε δικαίους κατεχόμενους καὶ προφητεύοντας εἰςήγαγεν. ὁ Νῶε δίκαιος· ἀρ' οὐ καὶ εὐθὺς προφήτης; ἡ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ κατάρας ἂς ἐπὶ ταῖς αὕθις γενεᾶς ἐποίησατο ἔργων ἀληθεία βεβαιωθείσας οὐ κατεχόμενος εἴθεσπισε; τί δὲ Ἰσαάκ; τί δὲ Ἰακώβ; καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τε ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους προσφήσεων ὀμολογοῦνται προφητεύσαι. τὸ γὰρ "συνάχθητε, ἵνα ἀπαγγέλθω τί ἀπαντήσεται ὑμῖν ἐπ' εὐχαίρω τῶν ἡμερῶν" ἐνθουσιωθέντος ἢν· ἢ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων κατάληψις ἄνοικειος ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ Ἔνθυστ ὢν, οὐ προφήτης ἄδεται πανταχοῦ; λέγει γὰρ: "ἐὰν γένηται ὑμῶν προφήτης κυρίου, ἐν ὀράματι αὐτῷ γνωσθῆσομαι, Μωυσῆ δὲ ἐν εἴδει, καὶ οὐ δὲ αἰνιγμάτων," καὶ πάλιν "οὐκ ἀνέστη ἔτι προφήτης ὡς Μωυσῆς, ὃν ἔγνω κύριος αὐτὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον." παγκάλως
sense. For the text runs, "restore the woman to the man, because he is a prophet and shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live" (Gen. xx. 7).

Now with every good man it is the holy Word which assures him his gift of prophecy. For a prophet (being a spokesman) has no utterance of his own, but all his utterance came from elsewhere, the echoes of another's voice. The wicked may never be the interpreter of God, so that no worthless person is "God-inspired" in the proper sense. The name only befits the wise, since he alone is the vocal instrument of God, smitten and played by His invisible hand. Thus, all whom Moses describes as just are pictured as possessed and prophesying.

Noah was just. Is he not in the same breath shewn as a prophet? Were not the curses which he called down on subsequent generations, the prayers which he made on their behalf, all of which the actual event confirmed, uttered by him under divine possession?

What of Isaac? What of Jacob? They too are confessed as prophets by many other evidences, but particularly by their speeches addressed to their children. For "Gather ye together that I may proclaim what shall happen to you at the end of the days" (Gen. xlix. 1) were the words of one inspired. For apprehension of the future does not belong to man.

What of Moses? Is he not everywhere celebrated as a prophet? For it says, "if a prophet of the Lord arise among you, I will be known to him in vision, but to Moses in actual appearance and not through riddles" (Num. xii. 6, 8), and again "there no more rose up a prophet like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face" (Deut. xxxiv. 10).

Admirably then...
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οὖν τὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα μηνύει φάσκων "περὶ ἡλίου
dυσμάς ἐκστασις ἐπέπεσεν." LIII. ἡλίον διὰ
συμβόλου τὸν Ἰμέτερον καλῶν νοῦν· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν
ἡμῖν λογισμός, τούτῳ ἐν κόσμῳ ἡλιος, ἔπειδὴ
φωσφορεῖ ἐκάτερος, ὦ μὲν τῷ παντὶ φέγγος
αἰσθητὸν ἐκπέμπων, ὦ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς νοητὰς
diὰ τῶν καταλήψεων αὐγάς. ἐώς μὲν οὖν ἐτὶ
περιλάμπει καὶ περιπολεὶ ἡμῶν ὦ νοῦς μεσημ-
βρινὸν οἰα φέγγος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναχέων,
ἐν έαυτοῖς οντες ού κατεχόμεθα· ἔπειδαν δὲ πρὸς
dυσμάς γένηται, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκστασις καὶ ἡ
ἐνθεος ἐπιπίπτει κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία. ὦταν
μὲν γὰρ φὼς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιλάμψη, δύεται τὸ ἀν-
θρώπινον, ὅταν δ’ ἐκεῖνο δύηται, τούτ’ ἀνίσχει
καὶ ἀνατέλλει. τῷ δὲ προφητικῷ γένει φιλεὶ τοῦτο
συμβαίνειν· ἔξοικίζεται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὦ νοῦς
κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἁφίξων, κατὰ δὲ
tὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰσοικίζεται· θέμις
γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ θνητὸν ἀθανάτω συνοικήσαι. διὰ
tοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ
σκότος ἐκστασις καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησε.

τὸ δὲ ἀκόλουθον προσυφάινει τῇ γραφῇ
φάσκων "ἐρρέθη πρὸς 'Αβραάμ·· ὄντως γὰρ
ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὅποτε λέγειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀλή-
θειαν ήσυχάζει, καταχρῆται δὲ ἐτερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς
φωνητηρίοις ὀργάνοις, στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ, πρὸς
μήνυσιν ὄν ἄν θέλη· τέχνη δὲ ἀθρότω καὶ παμ-
μούσῳ ταῦτα κρούων εὐήχα καὶ ποναρμόνια καὶ
gέμοντα συμφωνίας τῆς πάσης ἀποτελεῖ·

LIV. Τίνα δ’ ἔστιν ἀ ἐρρέθη προθεσπισθέντα,

a Philo apparently finds in the impersonal ἐρρέθη a sug.
WHO IS THE HEIR, 263–267

does he describe the inspired when he says “about sunset there fell on him an ecstasy.” LIII. “Sun” is his name under a figure for our mind. For what the reasoning faculty is in us, the sun is in the world, since both of them are light-bringers, one sending forth to the whole world the light which our senses perceive, the other shedding mental rays upon ourselves through the medium of apprehension. So while the radiance of the mind is still all around us, when it pours as it were a noonday beam into the whole soul, we are self-contained, not possessed. But when it comes to its setting, naturally ecstasy and divine possession and madness fall upon us. For when the light of God shines, the human light sets; when the divine light sets, the human dawns and rises. This is what regularly befalls the fellowship of the prophets. The mind is evicted at the arrival of the divine Spirit, but when that departs the mind returns to its tenancy. Mortal and immortal may not share the same home. And therefore the setting of reason and the darkness which surrounds it produce ecstasy and inspired frenzy.

To connect what is coming with what is here written he says “it was said to Abraham” a (Gen. xv. 3). For indeed the prophet, even when he seems to be speaking, really holds his peace, and his organs of speech, mouth and tongue, are wholly in the employ of Another, to shew forth what He wills. Unseen by us that Other beats on the chords with the skill of a master-hand and makes them instruments of sweet music, laden with every harmony.

LIV. It is well to hear what these predictions gestion that the prophetic inspiration comes to the prophet in a mysterious way, which he does not understand.
καλὸν ἀκούσαι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὧτι τῷ φιλαρέτῳ κατοικεῖν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ τῷ σῶματι, ἀλλὰ παροικεῖν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ μόνῳ ἑπιτρέπει χώρα. “γινώσκων” γὰρ φησὶ “γνώσῃς; ὦτι πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ.”

268 ἐν μὲν δὴ παίδευμα τοῦτο· ἐτερον δὲ, ὧτι τὰ δουλεῖα καὶ κάκωσι καὶ δεινὴν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφη, ταπείνωσιν ἑπάγοντα τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἔστιν “οὐκ ἰδια”· νόθα γὰρ καὶ ξένα διανοιας τὰ σῶματος ὡς ἀληθῶς πάθη, σαρκὸς ἑκπεφυκότα, ἢ προσ-

269 ἐρρίζωται· τετρακόσια δὲ ἐτῇ γίνεται ἡ δουλεία κατὰ τὸς τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν δυνάμεις. ἀρχηγὸς μὲν γὰρ ἥδονης μετεωρίζεται καὶ φυσάται [512] τὸ φρόνημα, χαῦνω | κουφότητι ἐξαιρόμενον· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμία κρατήσῃ, ἔρως ἐγνίγεται τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡσπερ ἀπ’ ἀγχόνης ἐλπίδος ἀτελοῦς ἐκρέμασε· δυσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ, πιείν δὲ ἀδυνατεῖ·

270 ταντάλειον τιμωρίαν ὑπομένουσα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς λύπης δυναστείαν συνάγεται καὶ συστέλλεται φυλοροούντων καὶ ἀφαινομένων τρόπον δένδρων· τὸ γὰρ εὐθαλές αὐτῆς καὶ πῶς ἱσχύεται. φοβου γε μὴν τυπαννήσαντος οὐδεὶς ἐτι μὲνεν ἄξων, δραμῷ δὲ καὶ φυγῇ χρήσται, μόνως ἂν οὕτως σωθῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὅλον ἔχουσα

1 οὐκ ἰδια] so two mss.; Pap. apparently doubtful, for Wend. gives “Pap. (οἰκίδια.)” The other mss. have οἰκίδια, which Mangey, Wend., and apparently all editors and translators read. But apart from οἰκίδιον not occurring elsewhere in Philo, οὐκ ἰδια is wanted as a lesson on the last two words of the text, the former lesson being on πάροικον, and this second lesson is further emphasized by νόθα καὶ ξένα.
were, which were thus said to him. First that God does not grant as a gift to the lover of virtue that he should dwell in the body as in homeland, but only permits him to sojourn there, as in a foreign country. For “knowing thou shalt know,” he says, “that thy seed shall be sojourners in a land\(^a\) which is not their own” (Gen. xv. 3). But every fool takes the body for the place of his nativity and studies to dwell there, not to sojourn. This is one lesson. 268

Another is that the things of earth which bring slavery and ill-treatment and dire humiliation,\(^b\) to use his own words, are “not our own.” For the passions of the body are truly bastards, outlanders to the understanding, growths of the flesh in which they have their roots. “And the slavery is for 269 four hundred years”; thus he shews the powers exercised by the four passions. When pleasure rules, the temper is high flown and inflated, uplifted with empty levity. When desire is master, a yearning for what is not arises and suspends the soul on unfulfilled hope as on a noose. For the soul is ever athirst yet never able to drink, suffering the torments of a Tantalus. Under the sovereignty of grief it is 270 pinched and shrinks, like trees which shed their leaves and wither; for its bloom and richness turn into leanness. Finally when fear has made itself lord no one thinks it good to stand his ground, but abandons himself to flight, expecting that in this alone will safety be found. For while desire has a power of attraction and forces us to the pursuit of the

\(^{a}\) Or “earth,” as Philo interprets it below.

\(^{b}\) An allusion to the unquoted part of the text καὶ δούλωσον αὐτοῖς καὶ κακώσον αὐτοῖς καὶ ταπεινώσον αὐτοῖς.
PHILO

dύναμιν, καὶ φεύγῃ τὸ ποθοῦμενον, διώκειν ἀναγκάζει, φόβος δ' ἐμπαλῶν ἀλλοτριότητα ἐμποίην διοικίζει καὶ μακρὰν τοῦ φαινομένου διόστησιν.

271  ΛV. αἱ δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἡγεμονὶα παθῶν βαρεῖαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπάγουσι δουλείαν, ἄχρι τὸ βραβευτὴς καὶ δικαστὴς θεὸς διακρίνῃ τὸ κακοῦμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦντος καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξέληται παντελῆ, τῷ δὲ τᾶπίχειρα ὅνν 272 ἐξήμαρτεν ἀποδῷ. λέγεται γὰρ· "τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ὃ ἄν δουλεύσωσι κρινῶν ἑγὼ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ- ἐλεύσονται ὅδε μετὰ ἀποσκευὴς πολλῆς." ἀνάγκη γὰρ θητῶν ὅντα τῷ τῶν παθῶν ἔθνει πιεσθῆναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείους τῷ γενομένῳ κῆρας ἀναδέξασθαι, βούλημα δὲ θεοῦ τὰ σύμφυτα κακὰ τοῦ γένους 273 ἡμῶν ἐπικουφίζει. ὅστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ οἰκεῖα πεισόμεθα ὑμῶν γενόμενοι δεσποτῶν δοῦλοι, καὶ ο θεὸς τὸ οἰκείον ἐργάζεσται ἑαυτῶ, ἀφεσὶ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς ἱκέτισιν αὐτοῦ δικαστὴς προκηρύξας, οὐ μόνον λύειν δεσμῶν καὶ ἐξοδον ἐκ τῆς περι- πεφρουρμενῆς εἰρκῆς παρασχόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐφόδια δοῦν, ἀπερ ἀποσκευὴ ἑκάλεσε. τί δὲ τοῦτ' 274 ἐστὶν; ἐπειδὰν ἄνωθεν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταβᾶς ὁ νοῦς ἐνδεθῇ ταῖς σώματος ἀνάγκαις, εἶτα ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς δελεασθεὶς οἰα ἄνδρόγυνος ἡ γυναῖκας οἱ ἡδέα ἀστάσηται κακά, μείνας δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εαυτοῦ φύσεως ἀνὴρ ὁμῶς τραχηλίζειν μᾶλλον ἡ τρα- χηλίζεσθαι δύνηται, τοῦ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς

α ἀνάγκαις echoes the δουλιώσουσι of the text just quoted, as κακά echoes the κακώσουσι.
desired object even though it flee from our grasp, fear on the other hand creates a sense of estrangement and sunders and removes us far from the sight we dread. LV. The sovereignties of the passions here named entail a grievous slavery on their subjects, until God the arbiter and judge makes a separation between the ill-treater and the ill-treated, brings forth the one to full liberty and renders to the other the recompense for his misdeeds. For we read, "the nation whom they shall serve I will judge, and after this they shall come out hither with much stock" (Gen. xv. 14). It must needs be that mortal man shall be oppressed by the nation of the passions and receive the calamities which are proper to created being, but it is God’s will to lighten the evils which are inherent in our race. So while we shall suffer at first such things as are proper to ourselves, enslaved as we are to cruel masters, God will accomplish the work which is proper to Himself in proclaiming redemption and liberty to the souls which are His suppliants, and not only will He provide release from bonds and an issue from the closely-guarded prison, but give us also the viaticum which he here calls “stock.” What is the meaning of this? It is when the mind which has come down from heaven, though it be fast bound in the constraints of the body, nevertheless is not lured by any of them to embrace like some hybrid, man-woman or woman-man, the pleasant-seeming evils, but holding to its own nature of true manhood has the strength to be victor instead of victim in the wrestling-bout. Reared in all the lore of the schools, it acquires therefrom

\[b\text{ See App. p. 574.}\]
ἐντραφεῖς ἀπασιν, εξ ὧν θεωρίας λαβὼν ἵμερον ἐγκράτειαν καὶ καρτερίαν, ἐρρωμένας ἁρεταῖς, ἐκτήσατο, μετανιστάμενος καὶ κάθοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐρισκόμενος πάντ' ἐπάγεται τὰ παιδείας, ἀπερ ἀποσκευὴ καλεῖται.

275 LVI. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἐπιλέγει· "οὐ δὲ ἀπελεύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου μετ' εἰρήνης τραφεῖς ἐν γηρᾷ καλῶ." οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν ἀτελεῖς καὶ πολέμοιμεθα καὶ δουλεύομεν καὶ μόλις ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπικρεμασθέντων φοβερῶν εὐρισκόμενας, τὸ δὲ τέλειον γένος ἀδουλωτον, ἀπολέμητον, εἰρήνη καὶ ἐλευθερία βεβαιότατη ἐντερφόμενον.

276 ἤτοι δὲ τὸν ἀστεῖον οὐκ ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀλλ' ἀπερχόμενον εἰσήγαγεν, ἵνα ἀσβεστον καὶ ἀθάνατον τὸ τῆς κεκαθαρμένης άκρως ψυχῆς ἀποφανῇ γένος, ἀποδημία τῇ ἐνθένδε πρὸς οὐρανὸν χρησόμενον, οὐ διαλύσει καὶ φθορᾶ, ἡν ἐπάγειν θάνατος δοκεῖ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ "ἀπελεύσῃ" γέγραπται τὸ "πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου"· ποιοὺς πατέρας, ἄξιον σκέφασθαι. τοὺς μὲν γάρ ἐν τῇ Χαλδαιῶν χώρᾳ βεβιωκότας, οἱς μόνοις ἐχρήσατο συγγενεῖσιν, οὐκ ἄν λέγου, διὰ τὸ χρησμῷ τῶν ἀφ' αἴματος ἀπαντῶν διωκίσθαι. "εἶπεν" γάρ φησιν "κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ· ἀπελθὲ ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν σοι δεῖξω· 278 καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγα." τὸν γὰρ ἀλλο·

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1 mss. and Pap. ἐγγραφεῖς.
2 A noun seems to be wanted either as a substitute for or in addition to ἀπασι. Wend. suggests προπαϊκέφανος or παϊδεύμασι (or perhaps μαθήμασι).

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a longing for the higher contemplation, and wins the sturdy virtues of self-mastery and perseverance; and thus when the pilgrim wins his return to his native land, he takes with him all these fruits of instruction, which are here called "stock."\(^a\)

LVI. Having said thus much on these points also he continues, "but thou shalt depart to thy fathers nourished with peace, in a goodly old age"\(^b\) (Gen. xv. 15). So then we who are imperfect are victims both of war and slavery, and hard-won is our release from the terrors which menace us. But the perfect are a race subject neither to war nor slavery, but nourished in peace and freedom sure and secure. And when he represents the good man as not dying but departing, there is sound doctrine in the words. He would have the nature of the fully purified soul shewn as unquenchable and immortal, destined to journey from hence to heaven, not to meet with dissolution and corruption, which death appears to bring. After "thou shalt depart" come the words "to thy fathers." What fathers? This is worth inquiring. For Moses could not mean those who had lived in the land of the Chaldeans, who were the only kinsfolk Abraham had, seeing that the oracle had set his dwelling away from all those of his blood. For we read, "the Lord said unto Abraham 'depart from thy land and from thy kinsfolk and from the house of thy father unto the land which I shall shew thee, and I will make thee into a great nation'" (Gen. xii. 1, 2). Was it reasonable that he should again have affinity with the

\(^a\) See App. p. 575.

\(^b\) The μετ' εἰρήνης or εν εἰρήνη of the LXX is of course intended to go with ἀπελευσθη.
τριωθέντα ἐπιφροσύνη θεία πῶς ἢν τοῖς αὐτοῖς εὐλογον οἰκειοῦδοι πάλιν; πῶς δὲ τοῦ ἐθνος καὶ γένους ἕτερον μέλλοντα ἥγεμόνα ἔσεσθαι προσκληροῦθαι τῷ παλαιῷ; οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔχαριζε τοι κανὸν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ νέον ἐθνος καὶ γένος αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς, εἴ μὴ τοῦ ἀρχαίου κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσχοίνιζεν. ἐθνάρχης γὰρ καὶ γενάρχης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔστιν οὕτως, ἀφ' οὗ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης τὸ σκεπτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων ἀνέβλαστον ἐρνὸς, ὄνομα Ἰσραήλ· ἑπεὶ καὶ ὅ τα παλαιὰ ἐκ προσώπου νέων ἐκφέρειν" διείρηται. ποὺ γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίας ἐτί καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ κατημαξευμένων ἐθῶν ὀφελος, οἷς ἔξαπεναίως οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἄθροι καὶ νέα ὠμβρησεν ἅγαθὰ;

LVII. πατέρας οὗν οὐχ ὅν μετανάστατος ἐγένετο ἡ ψυχὴ καλεῖ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Χαλδαῖκοις κατορωρυγμένους μνήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν ἕνοι φασιν, ἦλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας—τὴν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀπάντων γένεσιν διὰ τούτων λόγος ἔχει συνιστασθαι,—ὡς δὲ τινὲς νομίζουσιν, τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἑδέας, τὰ νοητὰ καὶ ἀόρατα. οἱ αὐτῶν ἀλήθητων καὶ ὀρωμένων τούτων παραδείγματα, πρὸς ἀ τὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοιαν μετουκίζεσθαι. τινὲς δὲ πατέρας ύπετόπασαν ιερήσθαι τὰς τέτταρας ἀρχὰς τε καὶ δυνάμεις, ἐξ ὧν συνεστηκεν ὁ κόσμος, γῆν ύδωρ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκαστον τῶν γενο-μένων φασιν ἀναλύεσθαι δεόντως. καθάπερ γὰρ

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a See note on De Sac. 79.
b Mangey took this to mean "whose souls have departed," "quorum animae demigrarunt," and he might have alleged in support De Sac. 10 τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα μετανάστασιν ψυχῆς of
very persons from whom he had been alienated by the
forethought of God? Or that he who was to be the
 captain of another race and nation should be asso-
ciated with that of a former age? God would not
bestow on him a fresh and in a sense a novel race and
nation, if he were not cutting him right adrift from
the old. Surely he is indeed the founder of the nation
and the race, since from him as root sprang the young
plant called Israel, which observes and contemplates
all the things of nature. So we are told to bear out
the old from the face of the new (Lev. xxvi. 10). Rightly, for how shall they on whom the rain of new
blessings has fallen in all its abundance, sudden and
unlooked for, still find profit in old-world lore and the
ruts of ancient customs?

LVII. No; by “fathers” he does not mean those whom the
pilgrim soul has left behind, those who lie buried in
the sepulchres of Chaldaea, but possibly, as some say,
the sun, moon and other stars to which it is held that
all things on earth owe their birth and framing, or,
as others think, the archetypal ideas which, invisible
and intelligible there, are the patterns of things visible
and sensible here—the ideas in which, as they say, the
mind of the Sage finds its new home.

Others again have surmised that by “fathers” are meant the four first principles and potentialities, from
which the world has been framed, earth, water, air
and fire. For into these, they say, each thing that has
come into being is duly resolved. Just as nouns and
Moses’ death. But apart from the singular ψυχή, such a
description of the death of the “fathers” would be pointless
here, and the allegorical use of μετανιστάσθαι and kindred
words throughout this meditation (e.g. § 274) leaves no doubt
that the words are to be taken as in the translation.
ονόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ λόγου μέρη πάντα συνέστηκε μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων, ἀναλύεται δὲ πάλιν εἰς ἐσχατά ἐκεῖνα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαστος ἡμῶν συγκριθείς ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀφ’ ἐκάστης οὐσίας μικρὰ

[514] μόρια, | καθ’ ὄρισμένας περιόδους καιρῶν ἐκτίνει τὸ δάνειον, εἰ μέν τι ἔχρον εἶη, ἀποδίδους γῆ, εἰ δὲ τι ύγρὸν, ὑδατί, εἰ δὲ ψυχρὸν, ἀέρι, εἰ δ’ ἐν-283 θερμῷ, πυρί. τὰ μὲν σωματικὰ ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ νοερὸν καὶ οὐράνιον τῆς ψυχῆς γένος πρὸς αἰθέρα τὸν καθαρώτατον ὡς πατέρα αφιέται. πεμπτὴ γάρ, ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγος, ἐστω τις οὐσία κυκλοφορητική, τῶν τεττάρων κατὰ τὸ κρείττον διαφέρουσα, ἡ οί τε ἀστέρες καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός ἐνδοξὲ γεγενήσθαι, ἡς κατ’ ἀκόλουθον θετέον καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα.

LVIII. Τὸ δὲ “μετ’ εἰρήνης τραφείς” οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ προσδιώρισται, ἀλλ’ ὅτι σχεδὸν τὸ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ πολέμου κακοὶ πᾶσι τρέφεται. πόλεμος δ’ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκτὸς ἐστὶν, ὅν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ δομιστηρία ἐπάγουσιν, δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀσθένεια, λύβαι, πηρώσεις παντελεῖς καὶ κηρῶν σωρὸς ἄλλων ἀμυθητῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν πάθη, νοσήματα, ἀρρωστήματα, αἱ ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ὀμοτυράννων χαλεπαὶ καὶ βαρύταται ἐπαναστάσεις 285 καὶ ἀκαθαίρετοι δυναστείαι. “μετ’ εἰρήνης οὖν

1 My correction for ms. and Pap.? δ’: Wend. proposed ἔτι δ’.

α στοιχεία being the regular term for the letters of the alphabet.  

b See App. p. 575.
verbs and all parts of speech which are composed of the "elements" in the grammatical sense are finally resolved into the same, so too each of us is composed of the four mundane elements, borrowing small fragments from the substance of each, and this debt he repays when the appointed time-cycles are completed, rendering the dry in him to earth, the wet to water, the cold to air, and the warm to fire. These all belong to the body, but the soul whose nature is intellectual and celestial will depart to find a father in ether, the purest of the substances. For we may suppose that, as the men of old declared, there is a fifth substance, moving in a circle, differing by its superior quality from the four. Out of this they thought the stars and the whole of heaven had been made and deduced as a natural consequence that the human soul also was a fragment thereof.

LVIII. The words "nourished with peace" are not a pointless addition, but mean that the greater part of the human race are with little exception "nourished" for war and all its attendant evils. Now war sometimes arises from things outside us, waged against us by ill-repute and poverty and mean birth and the like. Sometimes it arises from intestine enemies—in the body, sicknesses, maimings, complete disablements of the senses and numberless other calamities piled on each other; in the soul, passions, diseases and infirmities of mind, the fierce and bitter insurrections, the inexpugnable despotisms of folly and injustice and their fellow usurpers. So, then, if a man be "nourished with peace" he

*i.e.* Philo is willing to accept this explanation of "fathers," if with the four elements for the body is coupled the fifth for the soul.
τραφεῖς" γαληνὸν καὶ εὖδιον κτησάμενος βίον, εὐδαίμον ὦς ἀληθῶς καὶ μακάριον . . . 1.
pότε οὖν τούτο συμβήσεται; ὃταν εὔοδὴ μὲν τὰ ἐκτὸς πρὸς εὐπορίαν καὶ εὐδοξίαν, εὔοδὴ δὲ τὰ σώματος πρὸς υγείαν τε καὶ ἱσχῦν, εὔοδὴ δὲ τὰ

286 ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀρετῶν. χρῆξει γὰρ ἐκαστὸν οἰκείων δορυφόρων· δορυφορεῖται δὲ σῶμα μὲν εὐδοξία καὶ περιουσία καὶ ἄφθονια πλοῦτον, ψυχὴ δὲ τῶ τοῦ σώματος ὀλοκλήρῳ καὶ κατὰ πάντα υγιενῷ, ὥ δὲ νοῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις θεωρημάτων· ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε εἰρήνης οὐχ ἢν αἱ πόλεις ἄγουσι μέμνηται, σαφὲς ἐστι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι ταῖς ἱεραίς γραφαῖς· μεγάλους <γὰρ> καὶ βαρεῖς πολέμους Ἀβραὰμ ἀνεδέξατο, οὓς καθηρηκὼς

287 φαίνεται. καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρίδος μέντοι γῆς ἀπόλευμις μετανισταμένω καὶ πάλιν οἰκήσαι μὴ δυναμένω, φορομένω δὲ ὅδε κάκεισαι καὶ ἑρήμους καὶ ἀτριβεῖς ὅδους ἀλωμένῳ τῷ μὴ θεοπροπίως καὶ τοις θεσφάτοις πεπιστευκότοι βαρὺς ἢν πόλεμος. ἀλλ' ἐδεί γὰρ καὶ τρίτον τι τῶν φοβερῶν προσ- επιδαπρισμένοι, λιμόν, μεταναστάσεως καὶ

288 πολέμου κακὸν χείρον. ποίαν οὖν εἰρήνην ἡγαγεν; τὸ γὰρ, ὅμως, μετανιστασθαι καὶ ἀνιδρυτον εἶναι καὶ βασιλέως ἀμάχους ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμεσι2 καὶ λιμῶ πείξεσθαι πολέμου οὐχ ἑνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πολυτρόπους ἐοικε μηνύειν. ἀλλ' ἐν γε ταῖς δὲ ὑπονοιῶν ἀποδόσεσι εἰρήνης ἀκράτους δείγμα ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι συμβεβηκε· παθῶν γὰρ |

1 The sentence seems imperfect as it stands; either read as Mangey <ὁ> γαληνὸν κτλ. sc. ἐστι or more likely a verb has been lost: Wend. ἀπελεύσεται (or perhaps ἀπεισι after τραφεῖς).

2 mss. and Pap. δυνάμενον or μὴ δυνάμενον: Mangey's text has βασιλεῖσιν . . . μὴ δυνάμενον.
WHO IS THE HEIR, 285–289

will depart, having gained a calm, unclouded life, a life of true bliss and happiness. When will this be found? When there is welfare outside us, welfare in the body, welfare in the soul, the first bringing ease of circumstance and good repute, the second health and strength, the third delight in virtues. For each part needs its own proper guards.\(^a\) 286 The body is guarded by good repute and unstinted abundance of wealth, the soul by the complete health and soundness of the body, the mind by the acquired lore of the various forms of knowledge. Such is the meaning of the text. For that he is thinking of a peace other than that which states enjoy is clear to those who are versed in the holy Scriptures. For Abraham underwent great and severe wars, which he is shewn to have fought to the finish. And further, the mere leaving of his fatherland, to emigrate without any possibility of dwelling there again, to be borne hither and thither and to wander over desolate and untrodden roads were in itself a grievous war for one who had no divine message or promise wherein to trust. Still more he had, to crown this profusion of terrors, a third, famine (Gen. xii. 10), an evil worse than migration and war. What kind of peace, then, was his? For surely to be a homeless emigrant, to be confronted by kings with overwhelming forces and to feel the stress of famine would seem to indicate not one war only, but many and manifold. But if we turn to the allegorical exposition of the words, each of these three proves to be an evidence of peace pure and simple. For dearth and

\(^a\) Cf. De Conf. 18 f.
ένδεια καὶ λιμὸς καὶ καθαίρεσις ἐχθρῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ μετανάστασις ἀπὸ Χαλδαϊκῆς δόξης πρὸς τὴν φιλόθεον, τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγονότος αἰσθητοῦ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν καὶ πεποιηκὸς αἰτίων, εὐνομίαν καὶ εὐστάθειαν κατασκευάζουσιν.

290 Ὡπισχεῖται δὲ τῷ τουαύτῃν ἄγοντι εἰρήνην καλὸν γήρας, οὐ δὴ τῷν πολυχρόνιον ἀλλὰ τῷν μετὰ φρονήσεως ἰωήν· τὸ γὰρ εὐήμερον πολυετὸς κρείττον, ὅσῳ καὶ βραχύτερον φῶς σκότους αἰωνίου. μίαν γὰρ ἰμέραν ὑγιῶς εἰπέ τις προφητικὸς ἀνήρ ἄρετη τῇ μυρίᾳ ἐτη ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου, θάνατον ἡμέρας γάρ ἐργοῖς πολλῶν αἰνιττόμενος βιών. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἐργοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ ῥήμασιν διασυνίστησι Μωυσῆς· ὀν γὰρ ἀναγράφει γῆρα χρησόμενον καλῶς, τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ὀλιγοχρονιώτατον εἰσήγαγε, φιλοσοφῶν καὶ διδάσκαλων ἦμᾶς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐγήρως ἐστῖν, ἢν μὴ πολὺν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ σώματος ποτὲ ἀποδεξώμεθα γέμοντα αἰσχύνης καὶ πολλῶν ὀνειδῶν, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίαι καὶ σταθερότητα ψυχῆς ἱδόντες τὸ γέρως ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρώνυμον καλὸν 291 γῆρας ἐπιφημίσωμεν τε καὶ μαρτυρήσωμεν. δογματικῶς οὖν ἀκούει κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τὸν ἀστεῖον εὐγήρων καὶ μακροβιώτατον, ὀλιγοχρονιῶ·

1 Pap. θανατον: mss. σκιάν: perhaps θανατον σκιάν.
2 Pap. εν τοις... ρήμασι: mss. ἐργον... ρήμα.
famine of passions, the rout of enemies in the shape of wrongdoings, the migration from the creed of the Chaldeans to the creed of the lovers of God, that is, from the created and sensible to the intelligible and creative Cause—these build up the fabric of good order and stability.

To him who enjoys a peace like this Moses promises a goodly old age, not meaning, we may be sure, the life of long duration, but the life lived wisely. For the welfare of a day ranks as far above multitude of years, as the briefer daylight above an eternity of darkness. It was a wholesome saying of a man of prophetic gifts that he would rather live a single day with virtue than ten thousand years in the shadow of death (Ps. lxxxiv. [lxxxiii.] 11) where under the figure of death he indicates the life of the wicked. And Moses in the present instance shews the same by the facts he records rather than by words. For this Abraham, whom he here describes as destined to a goodly old age, is represented by him as more short-lived than practically all who went before him. Thus he shews to us, who are his scholars in wisdom, who it is whose old age is happy, to the end that we should not look with favour on all the abounding vanity of the outward body, a vanity full of shame and rich in reproaches, but recognizing in right judgement and stability of soul that goodly old age, which both in name and nature is twin brother of “reward,” give it its rightful title and testify to its truth. Learn then thy lesson and hear how the lawgiver tells us that happy old age and longest span of life is only for the good, but briefest

\[a\] See App. p. 575.
\[b\] For the play on γῆρας and γέρας cf. De Sobr. 16.
τατον δὲ τὸν φαύλον, ἀποθνήσκειν ἄεὶ μανθάνοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἀρετῆς ζωῆν ἡδὲ τετελευτηκότα...

293 LIX. Λέγεται δ’ ἐξής: "τετάρτη δὲ γενεὰ ἀποστραφήσονται ὅσεος," οὔχ ἦν αὐτῷ μόνῳ μηνυθῇ χρόνος, ἐν ὧ τὴν ιερὰν οἰκήσουσι γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελείου ἀποκατάστασιν ψυχῆς παραστήσαν. γίνεται δὲ ὡσάνει τετάρτῃ γένει τὸν ἐξής τρόπον, ξίνων συνδιακέψασθαι. ἀποκυθῷ τὸ βρέφος ἄχρι τῆς πρώτης ἐπτατείας ἐν ἡλίκια τῇ παιδικῇ ψυχῇ ἀκραίφος μεμοίραται, λείῳ μάλιστα ἐμφερὸς κηρῷ, τοὺς ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν χαρακτῆρος μῆπω τετυπωμένης· καὶ γὰρ ὅσα γράφεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὑγρότητι ἐπαλειφόμενα συγχεῖται.

294 πρώτῃ μὲν ἦδε ὡσάνει γενεὰ ψυχῆς. δευτέρᾳ δὲ, ἦτις μετὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν κακοῖς ἄρχεται συζήν. τις ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἰσὶν χαράκτηρος τῆς μητρός τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν χαρακτῆροι μῆπω τετυπωμένοις· καὶ γὰρ ὅσα γράφεσθαι δοκεῖ, ὑγρότητι ἐπαλειφόμενα συγχεῖται.

295 πρώτῃ μὲν ἦδε ὡσάνει γενεὰ ψυχῆς. δευτέρᾳ δὲ, ἦτις μετὰ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν κακοῖς ἄρχεται συζήν, ὃς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἰσὶν χαράκτηρος τῆς μητρός τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας. τις ἤδε τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀσυμένη δέχεται. διδάσκαλοι τὲ γὰρ ἀμαρτημάτων μνημοί, τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλεις γεγραμμένοι καὶ ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι θαυμάζοντες ἰπ τῇ γελάσθαι, καὶ ἀνεύ τῶν διδαξότων αὐτομαθῆς ἦστιν αὐτὴ πρὸς τὰ ὑπαίτια, ὅσα ὑπ’ εὐθορίας ἄιε κακῶν βρίθειν.

296 ἡ διάνοια τοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἐν πυρὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκ νεότητος." ἦδι εἰσὶν ἡ ἐπαρατοτάτη γενεὰ μὲν συμβολικῶς, κυρίως δὲ ἡλικία, καθ’ ἦν τὸ τε σῶμα ἡβά καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πεφύσει, τῶν ἐντυφομένων ἀναρριφώ-

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⁹ The phrase is apparently intended to be the converse of the Platonic thought of the wise man studying to die to the body, cf. De Gig. 14. But it seems strange, and Mangey suggested λαυθάνοντα. Possibly φθάνοντα, which would carry on the thought of ὅλιγοχοροιώτατον.
WHO IS THE HEIR, 292–296

is the life of the wicked, since he is ever studying to die or rather has died already to the life of virtue.

LIX. Next we have "but in the fourth generation they shall come back hither" (Gen. xv. 16). These words are meant not only to state the date at which they should inhabit the holy land, but to bring before us the thought of the complete restoration of the soul. That restoration may be said to come in the fourth generation. How it comes deserves our careful consideration. The infant from the day of its birth for the first seven years, that is through the age of childhood, possesses only the simplest elements of soul, a soul which closely resembles smooth wax and has not yet received any impression of good or evil, for such marks as it appears to receive are smoothed over and confused by its fluidity. This is what we may call the first generation of the soul. The second is that which follows childhood and begins to associate with evils, both these engendered by the soul of its own motion, and those which are willingly accepted at the hands of others. For the instructors to sin are legion, nurses and "pedagogues" and parents and the laws of cities, written and unwritten, which extol what should be derided; and apart from and before such instruction, the soul is its own pupil in the school of guilt, so that it is throughout weighed down by its capacity for producing ills. "The mind of man," says Moses, "is carefully intent upon wickedness from youth" (Gen. viii. 21). The curse is heaviest on this "generation," to use the figurative term for the literal "age," in which the body is in its bloom and the soul inflated, when the smouldering passions are being fanned into a flame, consuming

b Or "home-tutors."
PHILO

μένων παθῶν, " ἀλως τε καὶ ἀστάχυς καὶ πεδία " 297 καὶ ὅσα ἄν τύχῃ καταπιμπράντων. ταυτὴν τὴν ἐπίνοσον γενεὰν ἢ ἤλικιαν ὑπὸ τινὸς τρίτης οἴα ὑπὸ ἱατρικῆς φιλοσοφίας νοσηλευθήναι χρή, κατεπασθεῖσαν λόγοις υγιεινοῖς καὶ σωτηρίοις, δι’ ὅν κένωσιν μὲν ἐνδέξεται τῆς ἀμέτρου τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πλημμονῆς, πλήρωσιν δὲ λιμηρᾶς κενώσεως τῶν κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἐρημιάς δεινῆς.

298 μετὰ τὴν θεραπείαν ὅπε ταυτὴν γενεὰ τετάρτη φύεται ψυχή δύναμις τε καὶ ῥώμη κατὰ τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως βεβαιοτάτην ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀπάσαις ἀρετῶις ἀκλίνες τε καὶ πάγιοι. τοὺτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον " τετάρτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ ἀποστραφήσονται ὥδε." κατὰ γὰρ τὸν δειχθέντα τέταρτον ἀριθμόν ἀποστραφεῖσα τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἡ ψυχὴ κληρονόμος ἀποδείκνυται σοφίας. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἄριθμός, καθ’ ὅν οὔτε ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν λαβείν ἐννοιαν ἔστιν, ἀτυπῶτοι τῆς ψυχῆς ύπορκοῦσας. δεύτερος δὲ, καθ’ ὅν φορὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων χρώμεθα. τρίτος δὲ; ἐν ὑπερπονεύομεθα, τὰ νοσερά διωθούμενοι καὶ τὴν ἠκμὴν τῶν παθῶν ἀφηβώντες. τέταρτος δὲ, ἐν ὑπερπονεύομεν καὶ ρώσεως. μεταποιούμεσθα, ὅποτε ἀποστραφόμενοι τὰ φαύλα τοῖς καλοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν δοκοῦμεν, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι.

300 Ι.Χ. Τὸ δὲ ἀχρὶ τῶν, αὐτὸς μηνύσει λέγων: " οὔτω γὰρ ἀναπεπληρῶνται αἱ ἀνομίαι τῶν Ἀμορραίων." διδωσι δὲ ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅτι Μωυσῆς εἰμαρμένη καὶ ἀνάγκην ὡς αἰτίας τῶν γινομένων
"threshing-floor and standing corn and fields" (Ex. xxii. 6) and whatever lies in their path. This stricken generation or age must be tended on its sickbed by a third, taking the form of philosophy with its healing art, and put under the spell of sound and salutary reasonings. Through these it will be able to void the vast overload of sins and to fill its void, its starvation, its fearful emptiness of right actions. So after this healing treatment there grows in the fourth generation within the soul power and vigour, because it has fully and firmly apprehended good sense and is immovably established in all virtues. This is what is meant by the saying "in the fourth generation they shall turn back hither." For under that fourth number, to which he points, the soul turns back from sinning and is declared the heir of wisdom. The first number is that under which it is impossible to form any conception of good or ill and the soul receives no impressions. Under the second we experience the onrush of sin. The third is that in which we receive the healing treatment, when we cast off the elements of sickness and the crisis of passion is reached and passed. The fourth is that in which we make good our claim to complete health and strength, when we feel that we are turning back from wickedness and laying our hands to the good. Till then we may not do so.

LX. How that "until" is fixed he will himself shew us, when he says "for the iniquities of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled" (Gen. xv. 16). Such words as these give weaker minds a handle for supposing that Moses represents fate and necessity as

a For the thought of §§ 293-299 cf. De Sacr. 18 f. and note.
PHILO

301 ἀπάντων εἰσάγει. χρῆ δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ἀκολουθίαν μὲν καὶ εἰρμὸν καὶ ἐπιπλοκάς αἰτιῶν ἀτε φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοφράδμων ἀνήρ οἶδεν, τούτους δὲ οὐκ ἀνάπτει τὰς τῶν γινομένων αἰτίας. ἐφαντασιώθη γὰρ πρεσβύτερον ἄλλο ἐποχούμενον τοῖς ᾧδες ἦμιόχου τρόπον ἢ κυβερνήτου. πηδαλιουχεῖ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ κόσμου σκάφος, ὡ τὰ πάντα ἐμπλεῖ, καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν ἄρμα, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, ἦμιοχεὶ χρώμενων αὐτεξουσίων καὶ αὐτο-κράτορι βασιλεία.

302 τί οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον; ἐρμηνεύονται Ἀμορραῖοι λαλούντες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν ἀνθρώπω δωρηθὲν ὑπὸ φύσεως, τὸν λόγον, μυρίοι τῶν λαβόντων διέφθειραν ἀνατροπής καὶ ἀπίστως τῇ δούσῃ προσενεχθέντες. οὖτοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ γόνηστοι, οἱ κόλακες, οἱ πιθανῶν σοφισμάτων εὑρεταὶ. [517] φενακίσαι καὶ παρακρούσασθαι μόνον εὖ εἰδότες, τοῦ ἀφευδεῖν οὐ πεφροντικότες. ἐπιτηδεύοντο μέντοι καὶ ἀσάφεια, ἀσάφεια δὲ βαθύ σκότος ἐν λόγῳ, κλέπταις δὲ συνεργὸν τὸ σκότος. οὐ χάρων Μωυσῆς τὸν ἀρχιερέα δηλώσει καὶ ἀλήθεια διακεκόσμηκεν, ἀρίδηλον ἄξιον εἶναι καὶ ἀληθῆ τὸν τοῦ σπουδαίου λόγον. οὐ δὲ πολλοὶ τὸν ἄδηλον καὶ ψευδὴ μεταδιώκουσιν, οὐ συνεπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀγελαίων καὶ ἡμελημένων ἀνθρώπων ἀπατῶ-μενὸς ὁχλος. ἐως μὲν οὖν “οὐκ ἀναπεπλήρωται τὰ ἀμαρτήματα τῶν Ἀμορραίων,” τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν λόγων διὰ τὸ ἀνεξέλεγκτον, ἀλλ' ἐτι

* Presumably the critics meant that the text represented God as wishing to bring the people to the Holy Land earlier, but unable to do so till some other event had taken place.
the cause of all events. But we should recognize that while as a philosopher and interpreter of God he understood that causes have their sequence, connexion and interplay, he did not ascribe the causation of events to these subsidiary factors. He envisaged something else higher than and antecedent to these, a Someone who is borne on the universe like a charioteer or pilot. He steers the common bark of the world, in which all things sail; He guides that winged chariot, the whole heaven, exerting an absolute sovereignty which knows no authority but its own. What then must be our explanation of these particular words? This.—The name Amorites is by interpretation “talkers.” Now speech is the greatest boon given by nature to mankind, but the gift has been marred by thousands of the recipients who have dealt ungratefully and faithlessly with the power which gave it. Such are impostors, flatterers, inventors of cunning plausibilities, who know well how to cheat and mislead, but that only, and have no thought for honest truth. And further, they practise a lack of clearness, which in speech is profound darkness, and darkness is the fellow-worker of thieves. It is for this reason that Moses adorned the high priest with Manifestation and Truth (Ex. xxviii. 26), judging that the speech of the man of worth should be transparent and true. But the speech which most aim at is obscure and false, and this is accepted by all the deluded multitude of common and unmeritable men. So long then as “the sins of the Amorites,” that is of sophistical arguments, “are not fulfilled,” because they have

b The Urim and Thummim of the E.V. (Ex. xxviii. 30), cf. Leg. All. iii. 123 f.
ολκόν¹ ἔχοντα δύναμιν ταῖς πιθανότησιν ἡμᾶς ἐπάγεται, καὶ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ οὐ δυνάμενοι τῷ δελεάζεσθαι καταμένομεν.

305 έάν δὲ πάσαι αἱ ψευδεῖς πιθανότητες διελεγχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν πίστεων καὶ πλήρεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιχειλεῖσ αἱ ἄμαρτίαι περιφανῶσιν, ἀποδρασόμεθα ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καὶ μονονοῦ τὰ ἀπόγαια ἀρέσθαν τῆς τῶν ψευσμάτων καὶ σοφισμάτων χώρας ἐξαναχθῆσομεθα, τοὺς ἀληθείας ναυλοχωτάτους ὑποδρόμως καὶ λυμέσων ἐνορμίσσασθαι ἐπειγόμενοι. τοιούτον δὲ τὸ δηλούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς προτάσεως· άμήχανον γὰρ ἀποστραφῆναι καὶ μισῆσαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸ πιθανὸν ψεῦδος, εἰ μὴ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄμαρτημα πλήρες ἀναφανεῖ καὶ τέλειον ἀναφανεῖται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ περίέργου διελεγχθῆναι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀντίταξιν καὶ βεβαίωσαι.

306 LXI. Δέγει δὲ έξῆς· "ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς δυσμαῖς, φλόξ ἐγένετο," δηλῶν ὅτι ἀρετὴ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ὑφίστησιν καὶ μή, ὡς ἐφασάν τινες, πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς τοῦ βίου δυσμαῖς βεβαιοῦμενοι. ἀρετὴν δὲ ἀπεικάζει φλογὶ· καθάπερ γάρ ἡ φλόξ καίει μὲν τὴν παραβληθείσαν υλὴν, φωτίζει δὲ τὸν γείτων ἀέρα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐμπίπτων μὲν τὰ ἄμαρτήματα ἡ ἀρετὴ, φέγγους δὲ τὴν ὅλην ἀναπλησίας διάνοιαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐτὶ τῶν ἀδιαιρέτων καὶ ἀμερίστων λόγων ἐπικρατοῦντων ταῖς πιθανότησιν, οὐς Ἀμορραίους ἀνακαλεῖ, περιφανεστάτην καὶ ἄσκιον αὐγὴν ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνά-

¹ mss. and Pap. ἐτὶ ἐνδιόλκον, a word otherwise unknown, though retained in the lexica. It is difficult to see on what principles it is formed.

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not been refuted, but still in virtue of their powers of attraction seduce us with their plausibilities, while their enticements make us powerless to turn from and leave them, we remain where we are.\(^a\)

But if ever all the plausible fallacies are refuted by true beliefs, and thus the cup is filled to the brim and their sins appear in their true light, we shall run for our lives without a backward glance, or (shall we say?) slip our cable and sail clean away from the land of falsehood and sophistry, eager to find an anchorage in the most secure of all roadsteads, the haven of truth. Such is the lesson expressed in the problem here presented. For it is impossible to turn back from, to hate, to leave the plausible falsehood, unless the sin involved in it be revealed complete and consummated. And this revelation will be made when, confronted by the firm evidence of truth, it receives the much-needed \(^b\) refutation.

LXI. He continues, "but when the sun was at its setting a flame arose" (Gen. xv. 17). Thus he shews that virtue is a late birth and indeed, as some have said, established firmly only at the very close of life's day. He likens virtue to a flame, for just as the flame consumes the fuel which lies at hand but gives light to the air in its neighbourhood, so virtue burns up the sins but fills the whole mind with its beam.

But while those unanalysed and un-classified ways of thinking, which he calls Amorites, govern us with their plausibilities, we cannot see the

\(^a\) Or "remain unable," etc.

\(^b\) Lit. "not unnecessarily." Or, if we read παρέργως (see crit. note), "thoroughly and carefully."

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\(^2\) So Pap. and some mss.: others μὴ παρέργως, a very common collocation in Philo, cf. (e.g.) § 40. So Mangey.
μεθα. κλιβάνου δ' εἰλικρινές πῦρ οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ὃς αὐτὸς ἐφι καπνιζομένου τρόπου διακείμεθα, σπυνθήροι μὲν τὴς ἐπιστήμης ὑποτυφόμενοι, μήπω δὲ καθαρῷ πυρὶ δοκιμασθήναι καὶ κραταιωθήναι δυνάμενοι. πολλῇ δὲ τῷ σπείρατας σπυνθήρας χάρις, ἵνα μὴ νεκρῶν τρόπων σωμάτων ὅ νοῦς ὑπὸ παθῶν καταψυχή, ἀλλ' ἐνθερμὸς ὦν καὶ χλιανόμενος ὑπεκαύμασιν ἀρετῆς ἑσπυρᾶται μέχρι τοῦ τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἔρον, ὡς ὁ Ναδαβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ, δέξασθαι μεταβολήν. καπνὸς δὲ γίνεται [518] μὲν πρὸ πυρὸς, δακρύειν δὲ βιάζεται τοὺς πλησιάζοντας. μηρὸτερα δὲ φιλεῖ συμβαινειν τοῖς τῇ γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγελοὶς προσγρωφοῦντες τελειοτήτα ἐλπίζομεν, καὶ εἰ μῆπω δυναίμεθα τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀδικρυτὶ διάγωμεν ἁνώμενοι. πολὺς γὰρ ὅταν ἴμερος ἐνταχῇ, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποδομένου θήραν ἐπισπεύδει καὶ ἀχρὶ τοῦ συλλαβεῖν κατηφεῖν ἀναγκάζει. κλιβάνῳ δὲ νῦν ἐξωμοίσε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδα τελεώσεως ἔχοντος, ἐπειδὴ τροφῆς πεττομένης ἐκάτερον ἀγγεῖον ἐστιν, ὁ μὲν τῆς διὰ σιτίων φθαρτῶν, ἡ δὲ τῆς δι' ἀφθαρτῶν ἀρετῶν. αἱ δὲ λαμπάδες τοῦ πυρὸς αἱ δαδουχούμεναι τοῦ

1 tois . . . áγγελοῖς mss. and Pap.: Wend. corrects to ταῖς . . . αὖγαῖς. For προσχωροῦντες (so Wend.) the mss. have προσχορεῖσθαι or προσχορεῦσθαι (Pap.?): Mangey ἐγχορεύεται. See App. p. 575.

2 Wend. inserts συγκραταίου from Pap. which apparently has κραταίου preceded by a space, or illegibility, of some kind, which he regards as representing three letters. But συγκραταίου is unknown to the lexica, and if it exists must be transitive, and we should expect τροφῆν rather than τροφή. If Pap. is to be followed, I should suggest ὑσεῖ (or 442
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rays in their full unshadowed brightness. We are in the same plight as the furnace which has no clear fire, but to use his own word (Gen. xv. 17) is “smoking.” The flickerings of knowledge are smouldering within us, but we cannot as yet bear the strengthening test of pure fire. Yet great thanks are due to Him who sowed these flickering sparks, to the end that the mind should not be chilled by passion like dead bodies, but, warmed and heated by the glowing coals of virtue, be quickened into flame, till it finds its full conversion into sacred fire, like Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 2). Now smoke comes before fire and forces those who approach it to shed tears. Both these, in the moral sphere, are a common experience. When we draw near to the forerunners of virtue we hope for its consummation, and if we cannot yet attain it our days are spent in sorrow and tears. For when some strong absorbing yearning has sunk into us, it urges us on to the quest of the desired object and forces us to be heavy of heart, until it is within our grasp. Again in this passage he compares the soul of him who loves learning and hopes for its consummation to a furnace or oven, because each serves as a vessel wherein is prepared nourishing food, in the one case the food of corruptible meats, in the other that of incorruptible virtues. Again the torches of fire borne as in the mystic torch-rite are the judgements of

\[\text{ο"{n}α κρατάων. But, as in § 76, I have thought it better to omit it.}\]
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δαδούχου θεοῦ κρίσεις1 εἰσίν, αἱ λαμπραί καὶ διανυγεῖσ, αἷς ἔθος μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐναντιοτῆτων, ἐξ ὧν ἄπασ ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε, 312 διάγειν. λέγεται γάρ. "λαμπάδες πυρός, αἱ διήλθον μέσον τῶν διχοτομημάτων," ἢν γνῶς, ὃτι αἱ θείαι δυνάμεις ἃ διὰ μέσων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ιοῦσαι φθεῖρουσι μὲν οὐδὲν—μένει γάρ ἀπαθὴ τὰ διχοτομήματα,—διαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ διαστέλλουσι σφόδρα καλῶς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις.

313 LXII. Τῆς οὖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπιστήμης κληρονόμος δεόντως ἀποδείκνυται ὁ σοφός* "ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φησίν " ἐκείνη διήθετο κύριος τῷ 'Αβραὰμ διαθήκην λέγεται γάρ ἀπαθή τὰ σπέρματι συνέστηκε, 314 ταύτην." ποιαν γῆν δηλοῖ, εἰ μὴ τὴν προερημένην, ἐφ' ἣν ποιείται τὴν ἀναφοράν; ἢς ἐστὶν ὁ καρπὸς κατάληψις άσφαλῆς καὶ βεβαία τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας, καθ' ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεύσιν ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττει ἀπαθή τὰ ἀγαθά κατὰ τά τέλη ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις. 315 ἐτ' ἐπιλέγει: "ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἐως τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου [ποταμοῦ] Εὐφράτου," δηλόων ὃτι οἱ τέλειοι τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν μερῶν, ὃν ἀνεύ ξῆν οὐκ ἔνεστιν—κρήσιμα γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ μετὰ σώματος βίῳ παιδείαν,—τὰ δὲ τέλη ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν, τῶν μὲν γένοις ὡς ἀληθῶς

1 κρίσεις is the reading of the mss. (Pap. not stated): Wend. unreasonably, as it seems to me, even if he finds it in Pap., corrects to κρίσις.

2 The last part of this sentence is noted by Wend. as corrupt. I suggest and have translated καθ' ἣν τὰ σύμπαντα τοῖς τομεύσιν ἑαυτοῦ διακρίνας φυλάττει ἀπαθὴ τὰ ἀγαθὰ κακοὶ καθὰ πρέπει τοῖς τῆς γένεσιν ἀφθάρτοις. See App. p. 576.

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God the torch-bearer, judgements bright and radiant, whose wont it is to range between the half-pieces, that is between the opposites of which the whole world is composed. For we read “torches of fire which passed through between the half-pieces” (Gen. xv. 17). Thus you may know how highly excellent is the work of the Potencies of God as they pass through the midst of material and immaterial things. They destroy nothing—for the half-pieces remain unharmed—but divide and distinguish the nature of each.

LXII. Rightly then is the Sage declared to be the heir of the knowledge of the truths here mentioned. For “on that day,” says Moses, “God made a covenant with Abraham, saying, ‘to thy seed will I give this land’” (Gen. xv. 18). What land does he mean, but that which was mentioned before to which he now refers, the land whose fruit is the sure and stedfast apprehension of the wisdom of God, by which through His dividing powers He separates all things and keeps untouched by evil those that are good, as it is meet they should be kept for those who are born to life imperishable?

Then he continues, “from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates” (Gen. xv. 18). Here he shews how it stands with the perfected. Their perfecting begins with the body and sense and the parts which serve as organs, without which we cannot live, since they are needed for our training while in the life of the body. It ends in the attainment of the wisdom of God, that truly great river, brimming over with

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\[a\] i.e. in Gen. xv. 17, which was interpreted as wisdom in §§ 98 and 99.

\[b\] See App. p. 576.
ποταμών, χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλημμυροῦντα ἀγαθῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου ἦς τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ποταμοῦ τὴν χώραν περιέγραψεν—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄρετὴν εἰς τὰ σωματικὰ πάθη κατεβίβασεν,—ἀλλ’ ἐμπαλιν ἂπὸ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου ἦς τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου.” ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θνητῶν αἱ βελτιώσεις γίνονται πρὸς τὰ ἀφθαρτα.

1 Perhaps, as Mangey, οὕτως, “for that would have been to” etc.
joy and gladness\textsuperscript{a} and all other blessings. For note \textsuperscript{316} that he does not fix the limits of the land as stretching from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt\textsuperscript{b}—he would never have made virtue take a downward course into the bodily passions—but in the opposite order, from the river of Egypt to the great Euphrates. For all progress in good begins with the mortal and proceeds to the imperishable.

\textsuperscript{a} There is evidently a play on the resemblance of \textit{Εὐφράτης} and \textit{εὐφροσύνη}; cf. its description as \textit{εὐφραίνοντα} τὴν διανολαν \textit{Leg. All.} i. 72.

\textsuperscript{b} Or "the river Aegyptus." In the \textit{Quaestiones} (Gen. iii. 5) Philo, commenting on this passage, quotes \textit{Odyssey} xiv. 255 to shew that the old name for the Nile was Egyptus.
ON MATING WITH
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES
(DE CONGRESSU QUÆRENDÆ
ERUDITIONIS GRATIA)  

I have thought it better not to attempt to alter the traditional Latin title (which is given by Wendland without quaerendæ), absurd as it is. The subject of the treatise is the training of the mind by the school subjects, the training being termed "mating," or "intercourse," because the union of Abraham with Hagar is the allegorical form in which it is set. The Greek would be better expressed, though possibly not in the best Latin, by "De coniugio cum primordiis erudiendi."
ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

The subject of this treatise is Gen. xvi. 1-6 with some omissions.

1. Now Sarai, Abram’s wife, was not bearing to him, and she had a handmaiden, an Egyptian, named Hagar.

2. And Sarai said to Abram: “Behold the Lord hath shut me out from bearing. Go in therefore unto my handmaiden that I may have children from her.” And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3. And Sarai the wife of Abram, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, took Hagar, the Egyptian, her handmaid, and gave her to Abram her husband as a wife.

4. And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived, and she saw that she was with child, and her mistress was dishonoured before her.

5. And Sarai said to Abram, “I am wronged at thy hands. I have given my handmaiden to thy bosom. But seeing that she was with child, I was dishonoured before her. The Lord judge between thee and me.”

6. And Abram said to Sarai, “Behold thy handmaid is in thy hands. Do with her as is pleasing to thee.” And Sarai afflicted her.

This treatise, though it has little of the eloquence and spirituality which brighten most of the others, has a special interest of its own. Nowhere else in
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Philo nor, so far as I know, in any other Greek writer do we find so full a treatment of the Stoic doctrine, that the accepted school course or Encyclia was the proper preparation for philosophy. Apart from this there are many remarks on the value of the different subjects and the relations of teacher and pupil, which are both sensible and acute, however fantastical we may think their allegorical setting.

Philo begins by pointing out that while Virtue or Wisdom which are represented by Sarah is never barren, she is at this stage in the story Sarai (Σάρα not Σάρα), that is wisdom in the individual, who is as yet incapable of begetting by her. Stress therefore is to be laid on “she was not bearing for him” (1-12), and when in Sarah’s own words this limitation is not mentioned, we must ascribe it to the delicacy of feeling which true wisdom shews for others (13). The immature soul must therefore resort to the handmaid, the Encyclia, and the list of these is given with some remarks on the educational value of each (14-19). The first thing we note about the handmaid of the story is her race. She is an Egyptian, of the body that is, and the Encyclia depend on the senses in a way in which the higher philosophy does not (20-21). Secondly her name—Hagar, means a sojourner, and the relation of the sojourner to the full citizen expresses that of the Encyclia to philosophy (22-23).

The thought that Abraham, the soul which learns by teaching, needs Hagar, naturally leads to the consideration of the case of Jacob, the soul which progresses through practice. He has two wives and

\[a\] For some remarks on this and Philo’s attitude in general towards “secular” education see General Introduction, Vol. I, pp. xvi ff.

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two concubines, and the functions of these four are described in a long and difficult allegory\(^a\) (24-33). On the other hand Isaac has but one wife and no concubine. Thus again he appears in his regular part as the "self-taught," the "gifted by nature," for such a soul has not the need of the extraneous aids which the other two require (34-38). Thence we pass to remarks on other cases of wives and concubines, a short one on Manasseh (39-43), and a more elaborate one on Nahor, Abraham's brother\(^b\) (44-53). Finally comes the thought that the bad also has a wife in the mind, which bears vice, and a concubine in the body, which bears passion. This is founded on the notice of Esau's son's concubine and passes into a denunciation of the Esau-mind itself, as the nature which represents both hardness and fiction (54-62).

"He hearkened to the voice of Sarah." This raises the thought how little real attention there is in the people who attend lectures and the like, how little memory even if they attend, and how little practice even if they remember (63-68). But further, the phrase "listened to her voice," instead of "listened to her," suggests the natural attitude of the Abraham-mind, as against the Jacob-mind which "practises" and thus thinks more of personal example than of what is said (69-70).

"Sarai the wife of Abram took Hagar and gave her to Abram." Virtue (or philosophy) is actively willing to give to the immature soul its preparation through the Encycelia (71, 72), while on the other hand the seemingly unnecessary repetition of the word "wife" shews the stress which philosophy justly lays on her status. She is always the wife and the

\(^a\) See notes on § 24.  \(^b\) See note on § 45.
other only the handmaid (73). Philo illustrates this from his personal experience. He tells how he delighted as a youth in literature, mathematics and music, yet always recognized that they were but stepping-stones to the higher study of ethics, which teaches us to control the lower nature, and how thus he avoided the error of those who treat these inferior studies as an occupation for life (74-80).

Abraham had "dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan" when he took Hagar. Even for the Encyclopaedia the soul is not at first fit. Childhood, in which we are dominated by bodily things, and early boyhood, in which we learn the difference between right and wrong, are both too early. While Egypt signifies the body and its passions, Canaan stands for vice, and it is only after we have passed some time in the stage in which vice is possible that we have the ability for these solid studies (81-88). But the number ten is not to be pressed. It is just the perfect number (89), and Philo takes the opportunity to descant on the prominence of it in the Pentateuch. Noah as tenth from Adam (90); Abraham as tenth combatant against the nine kings, a number which signifies hostility (91-93); the offering of tithes on various occasions, followed by the familiar insistence on the duty to offer of everything mental as well as bodily (94-106); the passover in which the lamb is killed on the tenth day (106); the Atonement and the proclamation of the Jubilee also on that day (107-108). Other examples follow, most of which, as for instance the account of the presents with which Isaac wooed Rebecca, and the ten curtains of the tabernacle, whose four colours represented the four elements, digress into morals and fancies drawn from
the content of these passages, quite apart from the Ten interest (109-119). He concludes with the remarks that after all these examples were unnecessary, since the Ten Commandments in themselves are enough to prove his point (120).

After reiterating the necessity of postponing school instruction to a suitable age, Philo proceeds to the words “He went in unto her.” This indicates the right attitude of the scholar to the teacher (121-122), but the teacher also will often do well to make the advances, as Leah did to Jacob (122-123), though again Knowledge may sometimes veil her face to try the sincerity of her pupils, as Tamar did before she gave herself to Judah (124-125). So too the word συνέλαβε, “she conceived” (lit. “she took”), has in Greek no mark of the gender, and thus in our allegory we may interpret that the “taking” is mutual (126).

Contrasted with this right view of the relation of the two is the arrogance of many teachers who think that the progress of their gifted pupils is due to themselves (127). When knowledge takes this attitude it may be described by the phrase “to have in the womb,” used of Hagar’s pregnancy, whereas Rebecca was said to “receive in the womb,” for the “receive” and “have” represent respectively reverent humility and self-conceit (128-130). He finds “received” used in the story of Moses’ birth and this leads to an eulogy of Moses and the tribe of Levi (131-134). Somewhat loosely connected with this is a short interpretation of a law by which the man who struck a woman and caused a premature birth was punished by a fine or death, according as the child born dead was fully formed or not. To destroy the fruits of another’s mind is always a crime, but a greater
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when the idea is fully formed, than when it is not (135-138).

“When she saw that she was pregnant.” Philo is confident that the first “she” is Sarah because philosophy sees into the nature of the “arts” which make up the Encyclia better than the arts see themselves. He gives the accepted definitions of “art” and “knowledge” and likens their relation to each other to that of sense to mind (139-145). Then follows a remarkable illustration of this, shewing that at the back of geometry lie the definitions of point, line and the like, which come from philosophy, and similarly that though the grammaticus may expound literature, he must go to philosophy for the nature of the parts of speech and the logic of sentences (146-150).

Philosophy rightly resents the ignoring of her claims which is represented in the words “I was dishonoured before her,” and to her complaints the true student will answer with Abraham’s words: “She is in thy hands,” and leave the lower knowledge to the treatment expressed in “and she afflicted or ill-treated her,” always remembering however that by this word (ἐκάκωσε) only admonishing or correcting is meant (151-157).

What form the admonishing would take Philo does not discuss, but passes off into a justification of his giving this meaning to ἐκάκωσε and this takes up the rest of the treatise. Consideration of the demoralizing effects of luxury shews that affliction if regulated by law is beneficial (158-160), and the use of the unleavened bread, called in Deuteronomy bread of affliction, and of bitter herbs at the Paschal Feast agree with this, for feasts are things of joy and the
ordinance must mean that chastening toil is a joy to the earnest soul (161-162). So too at the end of the story of the bitter water of Marah we read that at Marah God gave Israel laws—the law of justice (163). The same text says that at Marah God tried Israel, tried them that is with the test of toil to which so many succumb (164-165). Yet again the waters of Marah became sweet, that is the toil is sweetened by the love of toil (166). The lesson of the unleavened bread at the Passover is confirmed by the unleavened shewbread and the prohibition of leaven in the sacrifices (167-169). So when we find in Deuteronomy ‘He afflicted thee and made thee weak with hunger’ coupled with ‘He fed thee with Manna’—the word of God—we understand that the affliction is one of discipline and the famine a dearth of passion and vice (170-174). So too when Isaac blesses Jacob, even slavery is part of the blessing, and in Proverbs ‘the Lord chastens whom He loves’ (175-177). Philo concludes the argument with what he thinks a clinching proof, that if the law speaks of ‘ill-treating or afflicting with evil,’ it implies that afflicting may exist without evil (178-179).

The last section reiterates the necessity of giving the passage an allegorical sense, and implies, if it does not actually say so, that on the literal view the story would be nothing more than an unworthy record of women’s jealousies.

* See note on § 178.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΠΑΙΔΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ

1 Ι. "Σάρα δὲ ή γυνὴ Αβραάμ οὐκ ἔτικτεν αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ αὐτῆς παιδίσκη Αίγυπτια, ἥ δὴ οὐμα "Αγαρ. εἶπε δὲ Σάρα πρὸς Αβραάμ· ἰδοὺ, συνέκλεισέ με κύριοσ τοῦ μή τίκτεων, εὑσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην

2 μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς εξ αὐτῆς." τοῦ Σάρας ὄνομα μεταληφθέν ἐστιν "ἀρχὴ μου"· φρόνησις δὲ ἦν ἐμοὶ καὶ σωφροσύνη ἦ ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἦ ἐπὶ μέρους δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἄλλων ἅρτων, ἦν περὶ ἐμὲ μόνων εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ μόνου· ἐπιστατεῖ γάρ μου καὶ ἠγεμονεῖ πειθαρχεῖν ἐγνωκότος, βασιλικ ἐκ φύσεως ὑπάρχουσα.

3 ταύτην Μωυσῆς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, καὶ στείραν ἀποφαίνει καὶ πολυγονωτάτην, εἰ γε τὸ πολυανθρωπότατον τῶν έθνῶν εῖναί αὐτῆς ἀρετής ὄμολογει γενέσθαι. τῷ γάρ ὁντὶ ἡ ἅρτη πρὸς μὲν τὰ φαύλα πάντα ἐστείρωται, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν εὐτοκία χρήται τοιαύτη, ὡς μηδὲ μαυευτικὴς τέχνης—φθάνει γὰρ ἀποτίκτουσα—δεῖσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ζώα καὶ φυτὰ διαλείποντα τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον ἀπαξ ἢ δὲς τὸ πλεῖστον τοὺς οἰκείους δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ φέρει καρποὺς, καθ'o δὲν ἔταξεν ἁριθμὸν ἑκάστοις ἡ φύσις ἐναρμοζόμενον ταῖς ἐτησίοις

4 For the thought cf. De Cher. 5.

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I. "Now Sarah the wife of Abraham was not bearing him children, but she had an Egyptian handmaiden named Hagar, and Sarah said to Abraham, 'Behold the Lord hath closed me that I should not bear. Go in unto my handmaid and beget children from her'" (Gen. xvi. 1, 2). Now Sarah's name is, by interpretation, "sovereignty of me," and the wisdom in me, the self-control in me, the individual righteousness and each of the other virtues whose place is confined to the "me," are a sovereignty over me only. That sovereignty rules and dominates me, who have willed to render obedience to it, in virtue of its natural queenship. This ruling power Moses represents as at once barren and exceedingly prolific, since he acknowledges that from her sprang the most populous of nations. A startling paradox, yet true. For indeed virtue is barren as regards all that is bad, but shews herself a fruitful mother of the good; a motherhood which needs no midwifery, for she bears before the midwife comes. Animals and plants bear the fruit proper to them only after considerable intervals, once or twice at most in the year, the number being determined for each by nature and adjusted.

b An allusion to Ex. i. 19; cf. De Mig. 142.

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ἄραις ἀρετὴ δὲ οὐ διαλεῖπουσα ἀνελλιπτῶς δὲ καὶ ἀδιαστάτως κατὰ τοὺς ἀμερεῖς χρόνους ἀεὶ γεννᾶ, βρέφη μὲν οὐδαμῶς, λόγους δὲ ἀστείους καὶ [520] ΒΟΥΛΑΣ ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις.

5 II. ἀλλ' οὔτε πλοῦτος, ἢ μὴ δυνατόν ἐστι χρήσθαι, τοὺς κεκτημένους ωφελεὶ οὔτε η φρονήσεως εὐτοκία, ἕαν μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ωφέλιμα τίκτη. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάπαυ οξίους ἐκριν τῆς συμβιώσεως αὐτῆς, οἱ δ' οὔπω «τὴν» ἡλικίαν ἑδοξεν ἑχειν, ὡς ἐπαινετῆς καὶ σώφρονος οἰκουρίας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἷς τὰ προτελεία τῶν γάμων ἐφήκε ποιεῖσθαι, ἐλπίδα καὶ τοῦ θύσειν τοὺς γάμους παρασχοῦσα.

6 Ἡ ἄρχουσα τῆς φυχῆς ἀρετή, ἔτικτε μέν, ἐμοι δ' οὔτι ἔτικτε· οὐ γὰρ ἡδονάμην πω νέος ἐβελεια ἐν τὸν γεννήματα αὐτῆς παραδέχεσθαι, τὸ φρονεῖν, τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, τὸ εὐφρενεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν νόθων παίδων, οὕς ἀπεκύημαν μοι αἰ κεναί δόξαι. τροφαὶ γὰρ αἰ τούτων καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ φροντίδες ἀληκτοὶ τῶν γνησίων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἁστῶν ὀλγωρεῖν ἡνάγκασαν. καὶ γάρ τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ μιμήματος παράδειγμα, ἐκ

8 Μωυσής, ἀνοίξαντι. καὶ γὰρ τὴν λυχνίαν, τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ μιμήματος παράδειγμα, ἐκ

1 mss. ἀλεκτοί.

a i.e. in Ex. xxv. 37, in the “pattern shewn to Moses in the mount” (v. 40), the lamps are to give light ἐξ ἐνὸς προ-

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to the seasons of the year. But virtue has no such intervals. She bears ceaselessly, successively, from moment to moment, and her offspring are no infants, but honest words, innocent purposes and laudable acts.

II. But as wealth which one cannot use does not profit the owner, so the motherhood of virtue profits not if the offspring be not profitable for ourselves. Some she judges quite worthy to share her life, but others she thinks have not yet reached the age to submit to her admirable and chaste and sober domesticity. Such she allows to celebrate the preliminaries of marriage, and holds out hopes of consummating the full rite in the future. So Sarah, the virtue which rules my soul, was a mother, but not a mother for me. For young as I was I could not yet receive her offspring, wisdom, justice, piety, because of the multitude of bastard children whom vain imaginations had borne to me. The nurture of these, the constant supervision, the ceaseless anxiety, compelled me to take little thought of the genuine, the truly free-born. It is well then to pray that virtue may not only bear (she does that in abundance without our prayers), but also may bear for ourselves, that we, by sharing in what she sows and genders, may enjoy happiness. For in ordinary course she bears for God only, thankfully rendering the first-fruits of the blessings bestowed upon her to Him who, as Moses says, opens the womb which yet loses not its virginity (Gen. xxix. 31). In confirmation of this we read that the candlestick, that is the original pattern of the later copy,\(^a\) gives light from one part

\(\sigma\dot{\omega}\pi\nu\) (E.V. "over against it"). In the narrative of the making of the candlestick, Ex. xxxviii. 5 f. (xxxvii. 17), this point is not repeated.
PHILO

τοῦ ἕνος μέρους φησὶ φαίνειν, δηλονότι τοῦ πρὸς θεόν ἐβδόμη γάρ οὕσα καὶ μέσῃ τῶν ἐξ καλαμίσκων δίχα διηρημένων εἰς τριάδας, ἐκατέρωθεν ὄροφοροῦντων, ἀνω τὰς αὐγὰς ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸ ὅν, 1 λαμπρότερον ἡγομένη τὸ φέγγος ἡ, ὥς δύνασθαι θνητήν αὐτῷ προσβάλλειν ὡφιν.

9 III. διὰ τούτο οὐ φησί μὴ τίκτειν τὴν Σάραν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ τινι μὴ τίκτειν. οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ἑκατέρωθεν δορυφορούντων, ἀνω τὰς αὐγὰς ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν οἶκον, λαμπρότερον θεραπαινίς τῇ θεραπαινίς δὲ σοφίας ἡ διὰ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων ἐγκύκλιος μουσική. 2 ὡσπερ γάρ ἐν μὲν οἰκίαις αὐλειοῖς πρόκειται κλισιάδων, ἐν δὲ πόλει τὰ προάστεια, δἰ’ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν ἐνεστίν, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς πρόκειται τὰ ἐγκύκλια· τάτα γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπ’ ἑκείλῃν φέρουσα.

11 Χρῆ δ’ εἰδέναι, ὅτι τῶν μεγάλων ὑποθέσεων μεγάλα καὶ τὰ προοίμια εἶναι συμβέβηκε. μεγίστη δὲ ὑπόθεσις ἀρετή· καὶ γὰρ περὶ μεγίστην ὑλὴν καταγίνεται, τὸν σύμπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον. εἰκότως οὖν ὅτι βραχέσι χρήσεται προοίμιοι, ἀλλὰ γραμματική, γεωμετρία, ἄστρονομια, ρητορική, μουσική, τῇ ἀλλή λογική θεωρίᾳ πάσῃ, ὅτι ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἡ Σάρασ θεραπαινίς "Αγαρ, ώστε διεξεχομεν. "εἶπε" γάρ φησι "Σάρα πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ ᾧ διὸ συνέκλεισε μὲ κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν· εἰσελθε πρὸς τὴν παιδίσκην μου, ἵνα τεκνοποιήσῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς." τὰς σωμάτων πρὸς σώματα μίξεις καὶ ὁμιλίαι ἡδονήν ἔχοισας τὸ τέλος ὑπέξ—

1 mss. ἐν.

2 Some mss. add καὶ ἡ λογικὴ σοφισμάτων γεύσις (γεύσις), the last word being evidently a corruption for ἐὑρέσις. Cf. § 29. The interpolators did not understand that μουσική is here used in the more general sense.
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only, that is the part where it looks towards God. For being seventh in position, and placed between the six branches, divided as they are into triplets which guard it on either side, it sends its rays upwards towards the Existent, as though feeling that its light were too bright for human sight to look upon it (Ex. xxv. 37, 31).

III. This is why Moses does not say that Sarah did not bear, but only that she did not bear for some particular person. For we are not capable as yet of receiving the impregnation of virtue unless we have first mated with her handmaiden, and the handmaiden of wisdom is the culture gained by the primary learning of the school course. For, just as in houses we have outer doors in front of the chamber doors, and in cities suburbs through which we can pass to the inner part, so the school course precedes virtue; the one is a road which leads to the other.

Now we must understand that great themes need great introductions; and the greatest of all themes is virtue, for it deals with the greatest of materials, that is the whole life of man. Naturally, then, virtue will employ no minor kind of introduction, but grammar, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, music, and all the other branches of intellectual study. These are symbolized by Hagar, the handmaid of Sarah, as I shall proceed to shew. For Sarah, we are told, said to Abraham: “Behold, the Lord has shut me out from bearing. Go in unto my handmaid, that thou mayest beget children from her.” In the present discussion, we must eliminate all bodily unions or

See App. p. 577.
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αἰρετέον τοῦ παρόντος λόγου· νοῦ γὰρ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐστὶ σύνοδος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐφιεμένου παιδοποιεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύνατο εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ τὴν θεραπανίθα αὐτῆς, τὴν μέσην παιδείαν, ἐγνώσθαι διδασκο-μένου.


15 γνησίων ἀπόνασθαι. γραμματικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορίαν τὴν παρὰ ποιήτασ καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἀναδιάξασα 

1 νόησιν καὶ πολυμάθειαν ἐργάσεται καὶ καταφρονητικὸς ἔχειν ἀναδιάξει τῶν ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσι, διὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας, αἷς τοὺς ἀδομένους παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἤρωάς τε καὶ ἤμιθέους λόγον ἔχει χρῆσασθαι.

16 μον-σικῆ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρρυθμον [ἐν] ῥυθμοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἀνάρ-μοστον ἀρμονία, τὸ δ’ ἀπωδὸν καὶ ἐκμελές καὶ ἀδομένου ἐν ἀναλογίας ἐξει. γεωμετρία δ’ ἰσότητος καὶ ἀναλογίας ἐμβαλ-

1 Or or perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ἀναπτύξασα. See § 148 and note.

* a Or "delicate feeling." The genitive is one of cause, a common construction with θαυμάζω and similar verbs.

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intercourse which has pleasure as its object. What is meant is a mating of mind with virtue. Mind desires to have children by virtue, and, if it cannot do so at once, is instructed to espouse virtue’s handmaid, the lower instruction.

IV. Now we may well feel profound admiration for the discretion shewn by Wisdom. She refrains from reproaching us with our backwardness or complete impotence in generation, though, as the text truly stated, it was through our unfitness that she was not bearing, and not because she grudged us offspring. Thus she says, “The Lord has shut me out from bearing,” and does not go on to add, “for you.” She does not wish to seem to upbraid and reproach others for their misfortune. "Go in, then," she says, "to my handmaid, the lower instruction given by the lower branches of school lore, that first you may have children by her,” for afterwards you will be able to avail yourself of the mistress’s company to beget children of higher birth. For grammar teaches us to study literature in the poets and historians, and will thus produce intelligence and wealth of knowledge. It will teach us also to despise the vain delusions of our empty imagination by shewing us the calamities which heroes and demi-gods who are celebrated in such literature are said to have undergone. Music will charm away the unrhythmic by its rhythm, the inharmonious by its harmony, the unmelodious and tuneless by its melody, and thus reduce discord to concord. Geometry will sow in the soul that loves to learn the seeds of equality

See App. p. 577.

The accepted division of music was into rhythm, harmony, and melody; cf. De Agr. 137.
λομένη τὰ σπέρματα εἰς ψυχὴν φιλομαθῆ γλα-
φυρότητι συνεχοὺς θεωρίας δικαιοσύνης ξῆλον
17 ἐμποιήσει. ῥητορικὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς
θεωρίαν ἀκονησαμένη καὶ πρὸς ἐρμηνείαν γυμ-
νάσασα τὸν λόγον καὶ συγκροτήσασα λογικὸν
ointment ἀποδείξει τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐπιμεληθείσα τοῦ
ἰδίου καὶ ἔξωρέτου, δὲ μὴδενί τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἡ
18 φύσις διεδώρηται. διαλεκτικὴ δὲ ἡ ῥητορικῆς
ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἰδίῳστος, ως εἰπόν τινες, τοὺς ἀληθεῖς
τῶν ψευδῶν λόγους διακρίνουσα καὶ τὰς τῶν
σοφισμάτων πιθανότητας ἐλέγχουσα μεγάλην νόσον
ψυχῆς, ἀπάτης, ἀκέσεται. τούτωσι οὖν
καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις ἐνομιλήσαι καὶ ἐμπρο-
μελετῆσαι λυσιτελές· ἵσως γάρ, ἵσως, ὁ πολλοῖς
συνέβη, διὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ταῖς βασιλείαις ἀρεταῖς
19 γνωρισθήσομεθα. οὐχ ὅρας, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σῶμα
ημῶν οὐ πρότερον πεπηγυίαις καὶ πολυτελέσι
χρήται τροφαῖς, πρὶν ἡ ταῖς ἀποκύλοις καὶ γαλα-
κτώδεσιν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ βρεφώδει; τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
τρόπον καὶ τῇ ψυχῆ παιδικᾶς μὲν νόμισον εὔτρε-
πισθαὶ τροφὰς τὰ ἐγκύκλια καὶ τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν
αὐτῶν θεωρήματα, τελειοτέρας δὲ καὶ πρεποῦσας
ἀνδράσι ως ἀληθῶς τὰς ἀρεταῖς.
20 V. Οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς μέσης παιδείας χαρακτήρες
diὰ δυνῶν παριστάνται συμβόλων, τοῦ τε γένους
καὶ τοῦ ὠνόματος. γένοις μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτία,
kaleitai de Ἡγαρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἐρμηνευθὲν ἐστὶ
παροίκησις· ἀνάγκη γάρ τὸν ἐγχορεύοντα ταῖς
ἐγκυκλίοις θεωρίαις καὶ πολυμαθείας ἔταξιν ῥὸν
τῷ γεώδι καὶ Αἰγυπτίων προσκεκληρώσθαι σῶ-
and proportion, and by the charm of its logical continuity will raise from those seeds a zeal for justice.

Rhetoric, sharpening the mind to the observation of facts, and training and welding thought to expression, will make the man a true master of words and thoughts, thus taking into its charge the peculiar and special gift which nature has not bestowed on any other living creature. Dialectic, the sister and twin, as some have said, of Rhetoric, distinguishes true argument from false, and convicts the plausibilities of sophistry, and thus will heal that great plague of the soul, deceit.

It is profitable then to take these and the like for our associates and for the field of our preliminary studies. For perhaps indeed it may be with us, as it has been with many, that through the vassals we shall come to the knowledge of the royal virtues. Observe too that our body is not nourished in the earlier stages with solid and costly foods. The simple and milky foods of infancy come first. Just so you may consider that the school subjects and the lore which belongs to each of them stand ready to nourish the childhood of the soul, while the virtues are grown-up food, suited for those who are really men.

V. The primary characteristic marks of the lower education are represented by two symbols giving its race and its name. In race it is Egypt, but its name is Hagar, which is by interpretation "sojourning." The votary of the school studies, the friend of wide learning, must necessarily be associated with the earthly and Egyptian body; since he needs eyes

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a The θεωρία represents the technical εὑρέσις. See on De Mig. 35.

b See App. p. 577.

c See note on Leg. All. iii. 244.
ματι, χρήζοντα καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡς ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀναγνώναι, καὶ ὠτων, ὡς προσσχεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων, ὡς ἐκαστον τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀναπτύξαι. δίξα γὰρ τοῦ κρίνοντος τὸ κρινόμενον οὐ πέφυκε καταλαμβάνεσθαι· κρίνει δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν αἰσθήσις, ὡστ' ἀκριβωθήναι τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ἐν οἷς ἡ πλείων μοίρα τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἐνὴν ἤνευ αἰσθήσεως. αἰσθήσις δὲ, τὸ σωματειδέστερον ψυχῆς μέρος, τὸ τῆς ὀλης ψυχῆς ἀγγείως προσερρίζωται, τὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγγείου Αἴγυπτος διὰ συμβόλου προσονομάζεται.

22 Χαρακτήρ μὲν εἰς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὗτος, ὅν ἡ θεραπαινις ἀρετῆς ἔλαχεν· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνοματος ποῖος ἐστων, ἐπισκεφώμεθα. τὴν μὲν παιδείαν παροίκου λόγον ἔχειν συμβεβηκεν· ἐπιστήμη μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ πᾶσα καὶ αὐτόχθων καὶ πολίτες ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι μόνη τοῦ παντός, ἂν δὲ άλλαι παιδεῖαι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων καὶ ὑστάτων ἀθλῶν τυχάνουσαι μεθόριοι ἐξένων καὶ ἀστῶν εἰσιν. οὐδετέρου τε γένους ἀκράτου καὶ πάλιν ἄμφοτερα κατὰ τινὰ κοινωνίαν ἐφάπτονται. 

23 πάροικος γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἐνδιατρίβειν ἀστοῖς, τῷ δὲ μὴ κατοικεῖν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἴσοται· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ οἱ θετοὶ παῖδες, ἢ μὲν κληρονομοῦσι τὰ τῶν θεμένων, τοῖς γνησίοις, ἢ δ' οὐ γεγέννηται πρὸς αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἄθνείοις. οὐν δὴ λόγον ἔχει δέσποινα μὲν πρὸς θεραπαινίδα, γυνὴ δὲ ἀστὴ πρὸς παλ- λακὴν, τοῦτον ἔξει τὸν λόγον ἀρετῆς Σάρρα πρὸς παῖδείαν "Αγαρ· οὐστ' εἰκότως τοῦ θεωρίαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐξηλωκότος, 'Αβραὰμ ὄνομα, γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ μὲν ἀρετή, Σάρρα, γυνή, παλλακὴ δὲ "Αγαρ, ἡ ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ πᾶσα.

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to see and read, ears to listen and hear, and the other senses to unveil the several objects of sense. For the thing judged cannot be apprehended without one to judge it, and it is sense which judges the sensible, and therefore without sense it is always impossible to obtain accurate knowledge of any of the phenomena in the sensible world which form the staple of philosophy. Sense being the bodily part of the soul is riveted to the vessel of the soul as a whole, and this soul-vessel is symbolically called Egypt.

This, then, is one of the marks of the handmaid of virtue, namely that of race. Let us now consider the nature of the other mark, that of name. The lower education is in the position of a sojourner. For knowledge and wisdom and every virtue are native born, indigenous, citizens in the truest sense, and in this they are absolutely alone; but the other kinds of training, which win second or third or last prizes, are on the border-line between foreigners and citizens. For they belong to neither kind in its pure form, and yet in virtue of a certain degree of partnership they touch both. The sojourner in so far as he is staying in the city is on a par with the citizens, in so far as it is not his home, on a par with foreigners. In the same way, I should say, adopted children, in so far as they inherit from their adopters, rank with the family; in so far as they are not their actual children, with outsiders.

Sarah, virtue, bears, we shall find, the same relation to Hagar, education, as the mistress to the servant-maid, or the lawful wife to the concubine, and so naturally the mind which aspires to study and to gain knowledge, the mind we call Abraham, will have Sarah, virtue, for his wife, and Hagar, the whole range of school culture, for his concubine.
PHILO

24 Ὡτινὶ μὲν οὖν φρόνησις ἐκ διδασκαλίας περι-
γίνεται, τὴν Ἀγαρ οὐκ ἄν ἀποδοκιμάζοι; πάνυ γὰρ
ἀναγκαία ἠ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων κτήσις. VI. εἰ
dὲ τις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἄθλους ἐγνωκὼς δια-
pονεῖς μελέταις χρήτι ταυνεχέσων ἀνειδότως ἔχων
πρὸς ἄσκησιν, δύο μὲν ἀστάς, παλλακὸς δὲ τὰς
ίσας, τῶν ἀστῶν | θεραπαύτιδας, ἄξεται. φύσιν
dὲ καὶ ἴδεαν ἐλαχεῖα αὐτῶν ἐκάστη διάφορον.
ἀυτίκα τῶν ἀστῶν ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν υγειοντάτη καὶ
eὐσταθεστάτη καὶ εἰρήνευστάτη κίνησις, ἣν ἀπὸ
tοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὑνόμασε Λείαν. ἥ δὲ ἐσκοπεῖ
ἀκόνῃ, καλεῖται δὲ 'Ραχῆλ, πρὸς ἦν οἱ φιλάθλος
cαὶ φιλογυμναστὴς νοῦς παραθηγόμενος ὀξύνεται:
ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ ὀρατὰς βεβηλώσεως, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ
βεβηλώσει, ἀλλὰ τοῦναυτὶν, ὅτι τὰ ὀρατὰ καὶ
αισθήσεως παρὰ τὴν αἰκήρατον φύσιν τῶν ἀστῶν
καὶ νοητῶν οὐκ εὐαγρῇ βέβηλα δὲ εἷναι νομίζει.

25 τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς ἡμῶν διμεροῦς ὑπάρχουσις καὶ τὸ
μὲν λογικὸν τὸ δὲ ἀλογὸν ἑκοῦσις, ἀρετὴν ἐκατέρω
ὑπάρχειν συμβέβηκε, Λείαν μὲν τῷ λογικῷ, τῷ δὲ
ἀλόγῳ ἡ 'Ραχῆλ. γυμνάζει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ
μὲν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀλόγου μερῶν
πάντων καταφρονητικῶσ ἔχειν ἃν ἀλογείν ἀξίον,
δόξης καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ ἴδουνῆς, ἃ περίβλεπτα καὶ

1 mss. τὸ λογικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀλόγον, which might be kept, if with
some mss. we read ἐκάτερον ἔχειν above for ἐκατέρω ὑπάρχειν.

The allegory of §§ 24-33 is in some ways difficult and very
different from Philo’s usual way of treating the two wives of
Jacob. Elsewhere Rachel is αἰσθησις or σώματος εὐμορφία.
Here no doubt she is connected with τὸ ἀλόγον and trains us
through the senses and so far is entitled to have the bodily
function of “swallowing” as her handmaid, but her function
is to teach us the inferiority of sense, while Leah is no longer
the virtue which “refuses” vice and is “weary” with effort
He then who gains wisdom by instruction will not reject Hagar, for the acquisition of these preliminary subjects is quite necessary, (VI.) but, anyone whose mind is set on enduring to the end the weary contest in which virtue is the prize, who practises continually for that end, and is unflagging in self-discipline, will take to him two lawful wives and as handmaids to them two concubines. And to each of them is given a different nature and appearance. Thus one of the lawful wives is a movement, sound, healthy and peaceful, and to express her history Moses names her Leah or "smooth." The other is like a whetstone. Her name is Rachel, and on that whetstone the mind which loves effort and exercise sharpens its edge. Her name means "vision of profanation," not because her way of seeing is profane, but on the contrary, because she judges the visible world of sense to be not holy but profane, compared with the pure and undefiled nature of the invisible world of mind. For since our soul is twofold, with one part reasoning and the other unreasoning, each has its own virtue or excellence, the reasoning Leah, the unreasoning Rachel. The virtue we call Rachel, acting through the senses and the other parts of our unreasoning nature, trains us to despise all that should be held of little account, reputation and wealth and (see note on De Cher. 41), but the virtue which proceeds to noble life without a conflict. In fact, she is rather akin to the αὐτομαθῆς Isaac, and Rachel to the ἀσκητὴς Jacob. Why this Leah needs oratorical power for her handmaid is not clear to me.

b Philo here and in § 31 adopts the Epicurean term λεία κίνησις, which he has used with disparagement in De Post. 79, and with a qualification in De Agr. 142 (see notes). The name is also derived from the Greek instead of the Hebrew in Leg. All. ii. 59, but in a somewhat different sense.
περμάχητα δ' πολὺς καὶ ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπων ὀχλὸς κρίνει δεδεκασμέναις μὲν ἂκοαῖς, δεδεκασμένω δὲ 28 καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀσθήσεων δικαστηρίων ἢ δὲ ἀναδιδόσκη τῇ ἀνώμαλῳ καὶ τραχείῳ ὁδὸν ἀβατον ἕλαρτος ψυχαῖς ἐκτρέψεθαι, λείως δὲ διὰ τῆς λεωφόρου βαίνειν ἀνευ πταισμάτων καὶ 29 τῶν ἐν ποιν ὀλίσθων. ἀναγκαίως οὖν τῆς μὲν προτέρας ἔσται θεραπαινίς ἢ διὰ τῶν φωνητηρίων ὅργων έμπνευτικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἡ λογικὴ 1 σοφισμάτων εὑρέσεις εὐστόχω πιθανότητι καταγοητεύουσα, τῆς δὲ ἀναγκαίαι τροφαί, πόσις τε 30 καὶ βρώσεις. όνόματα δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν δυείν θεραπαινίδων ἀνέγραψε, Ζελφὰν τε καὶ Βάλλαν. ή μὲν οὖν Ζέλφα μεταληθεῖσα πορευόμενον καλεῖται στόμα, τῆς ἐρμηνευτικῆς καὶ διεξοδικῆς σύμβολον δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ Βάλλα κατάποσις, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαίοτατον θυτῶν ζώων ἐρεισμα· καταπόσει γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν ἐνορμεῖ, καὶ τὰ τῶν ζήν πείσματα ἐκ ταύτης ὡς ἀπὸ κρητίδος 31 ἐξηπταί. πάσαις οὖν ταῖς εὑρεμέναις δυνάμεσιν ὁ ἄσκητης ἐνομιλεῖ, ταῖς μὲν ὡς ἐλευθεραις καὶ ἄσταῖς, ταῖς δὲ ὡς δουλαῖς καὶ παλλακίσιν. ἐφίεται μὲν γὰρ τῆς Λείας κινήσεως—λεία δὲ κίνησις ἐν μὲν σώματι γνωριμένη ὑγείαν, ἐν δὲ ψυχῆ καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀν ἐργάσαιτο—, 'Ραχὴλ δὲ ἀγαπᾷ πρὸς τὰ πάθη παλαιῶν καὶ πρὸς

1 I suspect a lacuna between λογικὴ and σοφισμάτων. See App. p. 577.

a See App. p. 577.

b In the interpretation of Zilpah's name διεξοδικῆς represents πορευόμενον and ἐμπνευσίας (-ευτικῆς) represents στόμα. The former corresponds to the εὑρέσεις of technical rhetoric and 472
pleasure, which the vulgar mass of ordinary men who accept the verdict of dishonest hearsay and the equally dishonest court of the other senses, judge worthy of their admiration and their efforts. Leah teaches us to avoid the rough and uneven path, impassable to virtue-loving souls, and to walk smoothly along the level highway where there are no stumbling-blocks or aught that can make the foot to slip.

Necessarily then Leah will have for her handmaid the faculty of expression by means of the vocal organs, and on the side of thought the art of devising clever arguments whose easy persuasiveness is a means of deception, while Rachel has for her's the necessary means of sustenance, eating and drinking. Moses has given us, as the names of these two handmaidens, Zilpah and Bilhah (Gen. xxx. 3, 9). Zilpah by interpretation is "a walking mouth," which signifies the power of expressing thought in language and directing the course of an exposition, while Bilhah is "swallowing," the first and most necessary support of mortal animals. For our bodies are anchored on swallowing, and the cables of life are fastened on to it as their base.

With all these aforesaid faculties the Man of Practice mates, with one pair as free-born legitimate wives, with the other pair as slaves and concubines. For he desires the smooth, the Leah movement, which will produce health in the body, noble living and justice in the soul. He loves Rachel when he wrestles with the passions and when he goes into training to gain self-control, thus appears in § 33 as η κατά διάνοιαν πηγή. διέξοδος, a rather vague word, signifying a fully worked out narrative or disquisition, is used because the δος in it corresponds to πορευόμενον. Hence the use of the word "course" in the translation.
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ἐγκράτειαν ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πᾶσιν

32 ἀντιταττόμενος. διιττοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὅφελείας τρόποι,

ην κατὰ ἀπολαυσιν ἀγαθῶν ὡς ἐν εἰρήνη ἤ κατὰ

[524] ἀντίταξιν καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν κακῶν ὡς ἐν | πολέμῳ.

Δεῖα μὲν οὖν ἔστι, καθ’ ἂν συμβαίνει τὰ πρε-

σβύτερα καὶ ἄγεμον εὐποροῦσθαι, 'Ῥαχήλ δὲ, καθ’ ἂν τὰ ὡς ἢ ἐκ πολέμου λάφυρα.

33 τοιαύτῃ μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὰς ἀστάς συμβίωσις. χρήζει
dὲ ὁ ἀσκητὴς Βάλλας μὲν, καταπόσεως, ἀλλὰ ὡς
dούλης καὶ παλλακίδος—ἀνευ γὰρ τροφῆς καὶ ζωῆς

οὐδ’ ἀν τὸ καθ' ἦν περιγένετο, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέσα τῶν

ἀμειλῶν ἢ ἡ σκέλεα,—χρήζει δὲ καὶ Ζέλφας,

dιεξοδικὴς ἐρμηνείας, ὥστε τὸ λογικὸν αὐτῷ διόθεν

συνεργαίτατα πρὸς τελείωσιν, ἐκ τε τῆς κατὰ
dιάνοιαν πηγῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ φωνητήριον

ὀργανον ἀπορροῆς.

34 VII. 'Αλλ’ οὕτωι μὲν καὶ πλείονων γυναικῶν καὶ

παλλακίδων, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἀνδρεὶς ἐγένοντο,

ὡς αἱ ἑρεία μηνύουσι γραφαὶ τῷ δὲ 'Ἰσαὰκ οὕτε

πλείους γυναῖκες οὕτε συνόλως παλλακῆ, μόνη δ’

35 ἡ κουρίδιος ἀχρὶ παντὸς συνοικεῖ. διὰ τὶ; ὂτι

καὶ ἡ διδακτικὴ ἀρετή, ἢν 'Αβραὰμ μέτεισι,

πλείονων δεῖται, γνησίων μὲν τῶν κατὰ φρόνησιν,

νόθων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα

θεωρημάτων, καὶ ἢ δι’ ἀσκήσεως τελειομένη, περὶ

ἣν 'Ἰακὼβ ἐσπουδακέναι φαίνεται: διὰ πλείονων

γὰρ καὶ διαφερόντων αἱ ἀσκήσεις δογμάτων, ἡγου-

μένων ἑπομένων, προαπαντώτων ὑπερεξάκτων,

πόνους τοτὲ μὲν ἐλάττους τοτὲ δὲ μείζους ἐχόντων.

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and takes his stand to oppose all the objects of sense. For help may take two forms. It may act by giving us enjoyment of the good, the way of peace, or by opposing and removing ill, the way of war. So it is Leah through whom it comes to pass that he reaps the higher and dominant blessings, Rachel through whom he wins what we may call the spoils of war. Such is his life with the legitimate wives. But the Practiser needs also Bilhah, “swallowing,” though only as the slave and concubine, for without food and the life which food sustains we cannot have the good life either, since the less good must always serve as foundation for the better. He needs Zilpah too, the gift of language giving expression to the course of an exposition, that the element of words and thoughts may make its twofold contribution to the perfecting process, through the fountain of thought in the mind and the outflow through the tongue and lips.

VII. Now Abraham and Jacob, as the Holy Scriptures tell us, became the husbands of several women, concubines as well as legitimate wives, but Isaac had neither more wives than one nor any concubine at all, but his lawful wife is the one who shares his home throughout. Why is this? It is because the virtue that comes through teaching, which Abraham pursues, needs the fruits of several studies, both those born in wedlock, which deal with wisdom, and the base-born, those of the preliminary lore of the schools. It is the same with the virtue which is perfected through practice, which Jacob seems to have made his aim. For many and different are the truths in which practice finds its exercising ground, truths which both lead and follow, hasten to meet it and lag behind, and entail sometimes greater, sometimes less
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36 τὸ δὲ αὐτομαθῆς γένος, οὐ κεκοινώνηκεν Ἰσαὰκ, ἢ εὐπαθείων ἀρίστῃ χαρᾷ, φύσεως ἀπλῆς καὶ ἀμυγοῦς καὶ ἀκράτου μεμοίραται, μήτε ἀσκήσεως μήτε διδασκαλίας δεόμενον, ἐν οἷς παλλακίδων ἐπιστημονῶν, οὐκ ἀστῶν μόνον, ἕστι χρεία. θεοῦ γὰρ τὸ αὐτομαθῆς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον ἀνωθέν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καλὸν ὀμβρήσαντος ἀμήχανον ἣν ἐτὶ δούλαις καὶ παλλακαῖς συμβιώναί τέχναις, νόθων δογμάτων οἷα παίδων ὑπερέχεστα. δεσποίνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὁ τούτου λαχῶν τοῦ γέρως ἀνήρ ἀναγράφεται: καλεῖται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησῖν ὑπομονή, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἄρεβέκκα. ζητεῖ γὰρ ἐκ ἀπονομοῦ καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον εὐφράωμεν σοφίας δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως καὶ εὐτοκίαν ψυχῆς οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς βελτίων. 37 έχει γὰρ ἐν ἐτοίμω τέλεια τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα θεοῦ καὶ βασιλίδος ἀρετῆς ὁ τούτου λαχῶν τοῦ γέρως ἀνήρ ἀναγράφεται: καλεῖται δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησῖν ὑπομονή, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἄρεβέκκα. ζητεῖ γὰρ ἐκ ἀπονομοῦ καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον εὐφράωμεν σοφίας δι' εὐμοιρίαν φύσεως καὶ εὐτοκίαν ψυχῆς οὐδὲν τῶν εἰς βελτίων. 38 συν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐν ἐτοίμω τέλεια τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρα χάρισι ταῖς πρεσβυτέραις ἐπιπνευσθέντα, βουλεῖται δὲ καὶ εὐχεται ταύτα ἐπιμείναι. παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ εὐεργέτης, ίνα διαμωνώσωσιν αἱ χάριτες αὐτοῦ τῷ λαβόντι, γυναῖκα τὴν ἐπιμονὴν ἐγγυήσαι.

39 VIII. Ἀνάμνησις γε μὴν μνήμης τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται καὶ ὁ ἀναμμυνησκόμενος τοῦ μεμνημένου. [525] ο μὲν γὰρ ἐν συνεχῶς ὑγιαίνοντι, ο δὲ τῷ ἕκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνοντι. λήθη γὰρ νόσοσ μνήμης. 40 ἀνάγκη δὲ τοῦ ὑπομνήσει χρώμενον ἐκλαθέσθαι πρότερον ὅν ἐμέμνητο. τὴν μὲν οὖν μνήμην Ἐφραίμ, ἐρμηνευόμενον καρποφορίαν, ο ἱερὸς ὄνομαξει λόγος, τὴν δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐκ λήθης Μανασσήν.
labour. But the self-learnt kind, of which Isaac is a member, that joy which is the best of the good emotions, is endowed with a simple nature free from mixture and alloy, and wants neither the practice nor the teaching which entails the need of the concubine as well as the legitimate forms of knowledge. When God rains down from heaven the good of which the self is a teacher and learner both, it is impossible that that self should still live in concubinage with the slavish arts, as though desiring to be the father of bastard thoughts and conclusions. He who has obtained this prize is enrolled as the husband of the queen and mistress virtue. Her name in the Greek means "constancy"; in the Hebrew it is Rebecca. He who has gained the wisdom that comes without toil and trouble, because his nature is happily gifted and his soul fruitful of good, does not seek for any means of betterment: for he has ready beside him in their fulness the gifts of God, conveyed by the breath of God's higher graces, but he wishes and prays that these may remain with him constantly. And therefore I think his Benefactor, willing that His graces once received should stay for ever with him, gives him Constancy for his spouse.

VIII. Again, reminiscence takes the second place to memory, and so with the reminded and the rememberer. The conditions of these two resemble respectively continuous health and recovery from disease, for forgetting is a disease of memory. The man who is reminded must necessarily have forgotten what he remembered before. So the holy word names memory Ephraim, which by interpretation is "fruit-bearing," while reminding or reminiscence is called in the Hebrew Manasseh, that is "from
41 προσαγορεύουσιν Ἐβραίοι. ὃντως γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ
μεμνημένου ψυχῆς καρποφορεῖ ἡ ἐμαθεὶν οὐδέν ἀποβάλλουσα αὐτῶν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀναμνῆσει χρωμένου
ἐξω λήθης γίνεται, ἣ πρὶν ὑπομνησθήναι κατέσχητο.
μνημονικῷ μὲν οὖν ἀνάδρη ἀστὴ συμβοῦ γυνῆ,
μνήμη, ἐπιλαμβανομένῳ δὲ παλλακίς, ἀνάμνησις,
Σύρα τὸ γένος, ἀλαζών καὶ ὑπέραυχος. Συρία γὰρ
42 ἐρμηνευέται μετεωρία. 1 τῆς δὲ παλλακίδος ταύτης,
ἀναμνήσεως, νῦσ έστι Μαχείρ, ὡς Ἐβραίοι κα-
λοῦσιν, ὡς δὲ Ἐλληνες, πατρός 2 νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα νοῦν αὐτίον εἶναι τοῦ
ὑπομνησθῆναι, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται, ἢτι ο ἀυτὸς
νότος ἐχώρησε ποτὲ καὶ λήθην, οὐκ ἃν δεξάμενος
43 αὐτήν, εἰ παρ' αὐτὸν ἢν τὸ μεμνήθαι. λέγεται
gὰρ `` ἐγένοντο γιοὶ Μανασσῆ, οὓς ἐτέκεν αὐτῷ
ἡ παλλακή. ἡ Σύρα, τὸν Μαχείρ· Μαχείρ δὲ ἐγέν-
νησε τὸν Γαλαάδ.``
Καὶ Ναχώρ μέντοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβραὰμ, ἔχει δύο
γυναῖκας, ἀστὴ τε καὶ παλλακήν ὄνομα δὲ τῆς
μὲν ἀστῆς Μελχὰ, Ὥρουμὰ δὲ τῆς παλλακίδος.
44 ἄλλ' οὐχ ἱστορικὴ γενεαλογία ταύτ' ἐστὶν ἀναγρα-
φείσα παρά τῷ σοφῷ νομοθέτῃ—μηδεὶς τοῦτ' εὖ
φρονῶν ὑπονοήσειν,—ἄλλα πραγμάτων ψυχήν
ωφελῆσαι δυναμένων διὰ συμβόλων ἀνάπτυξις.
τὰ δ' ὀνόματα μεταβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἤμετέραν
dίάλεκτον εἰςόμεθα τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀληθῆ. φέρ'
οὐν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐρευνήσωμεν.

1 So mss.: Wendland μετέωρα, which the mss. have in
Leg. All. iii. 18. The neuter plural seems strange; μετεωρία,
however, is only quoted from Latin writers and in the sense
of "forgetfulness."

2 Cohn suggested ἐγρήγορος, from "Onomastica,
ed. Lag. 195. 68." This I have not been able to see.
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 41–44

forgetfulness.” For it is quite true that the soul of 41 the rememberer has the fruits of what he learned and has lost none of them, whereas the soul of the reminded comes out of forgetfulness which possessed him before he was reminded. The man of memory then is mated to a legitimate wife, memory; the forgetful man to a concubine, reminiscence, Syrian by race, boastful and arrogant, for Syria is by interpretation “loftiness.” This concubine has for a son, in the 42 Hebrew, Machir, meaning with us “the father’s,” for people who recall to memory think that the father mind was the cause of their being reminded, and do not reflect that this same mind also contained the forgetfulness, for which it would not have had room, if memory were present with it. We read, “The 43 sons of Manasseh were those whom the Syrian concubine bore to him, Machir, and Machir begat Gilead” (Gen. xlvi. 20).a

Nahor too, the brother of Abraham, has two wives, legitimate and concubine, and the name of the legitimate wife was Milcah, and the name of the concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 23, 24). Now let no 44 sane man suppose that we have here in the pages of the wise legislator an historical pedigree. What we have is a revelation through symbols of facts which may be profitable to the soul. And if we translate the names into our own tongue, we shall recognize that what is here promised is actually the case. Let us inquire then into each of them.

a This verse is not in the Hebrew here, but the substance of it appears in both Hebrew and LXX in 1 Chron. vii. 14.
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45 IX. Ναχώρ ἐρμηνεύεται φωτὸς ἀνάπαυσις, Μελχὰ δὲ βασιλίσσα, Ἄρουμα δὲ ὀρώσα τι. τὸ μὲν ὅν φῶς ἔχειν κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀγαθὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄναπαυμένον καὶ ἰδρυμοῦ καὶ ἀκίνητον οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν· ἑσυχίᾳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ κακὰ χρῆσθαι λυσιτελές, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ κινῆσει συμφέρον. τὸς γὰρ ὅνησις εὐφώνου ἕσυχαζοντος ἤ μὴ αὐλοῦντος αὐλητοῦ ἤ κιθαρίστου μὴ κιθαρίζοντος ἤ συνόλως τεχνίτου τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην μὴ ἐνεργοῦντο; ἢ γὰρ ἀνευ πράξεως θεωρία ψυλή πρὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῖς ἐπιστήμοσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ παγκρατιάζειν ἢ πυκτεύειν ἢ παλαίειν εἰδῶς ἔξαγκωνισθείς αὐτόν· ἢ ἄθλησες ἢ τὸ τοῦ τρέχειν ἐπιστήμην ἐκμάθωσα, εἰ ποδαγυκῷ χρῆσιν πάθει ἢ τυχὸν ἄλλην περί τὰς βάσεις κῆρα ἀναδέξιατο. φῶς δὲ ψυχῆς ἕλιοειδέστατον ἐπιστήμην· καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἕκαστα αὐγαῖς, καὶ θεωρήματα κήρᾳ ἐνεργοῦνται καὶ |

[526] οξυδερκέστερα ἐμβλέπειν ἐγχορευμένη καινοῖς ἀεὶ ἐθερήμασιν ἐθύμεται. φωτὸς οὖν ἀνάπαυσις ἐρμηνεύεται Ναχώρ εἰκότως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐστὶν τοῦ σοφοῦ συγγενῆς, φωτὸς τοῦ κατὰ σοφίαν μετέχηκεν· ἢ δ’ οὐ συναποδέδημηκεν αὐτῷ τῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου πρὸς τὸν κόσμοπλάστην ἀποδημίαν, χωλὴν καὶ ἀτελὴ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκτῆσατο, ἀναπαυμένην καὶ μένουσαν, μᾶλλον δ’ ἀνδριάντος ἀψύχου τρόπον πεπηγυθαν. τῆς γὰρ Χαλδαίκης

° In the allegory of §§ 45-53, Nahor represents any philosophy which does not rise to the acknowledgement of God, not merely astrology, though for a moment in § 49 it seems to be identified with it. Rather its highest study is astrology, a science for which, so far as it recognizes the harmony of the heavens, Philo has considerable respect, cf. 480
IX. Nahor means "rest of light"; Milcah, "queen"; and Reumah, "seeing something." Now to have light in the mind is good, yet what is at rest, quiet and immovable, is not a perfect good; it is well that things evil should be in a state of stillness; motion on the other hand is the proper condition for the good. For what use is the flute-player, however fine a performer he may be, if he remain quiet and does not play, or the harpist if he does not use his harp, or in general any craftsman if he does not exercise his craft? No knowledge is profitable to the possessors through the mere theory if it is not combined with practice: a man may know how to contend in the pancratium, to box or to wrestle, yet if his hands be tied behind his back he will get no good from his athletic training; so too with one who has mastered the science of running, if he suffers from gout or from any other affliction of the feet. Now knowledge is the great sunlight of the soul. For as our eyes are illuminated by the sun's rays, so is the mind by wisdom, and anointed with the eyesalve of ever fresh acquisitions of knowledge it grows accustomed to see with clearer vision. Nahor is therefore properly called "rest of light": in so far as he is wise Abraham's kinsman, he has obtained a share in wisdom's light; but in so far as he has not accompanied him abroad in his journey from the created to the uncreated, and from the world to the world's Framer, the knowledge he has gained is halting and incomplete, resting and staying where it is, or rather standing stockstill, like a lifeless statue. For he does not

*De Mig.* 178 f. Its lower study is sceptical quibbling, and these two represent respectively the lawful wife and the concubine.
οὐ μετανισταται χώρας, τούτεστι τῆς περὶ ἀστρονομίαν θεωρίας οὐ διαξεύγνυται, τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ κόσμον πρὸ θεοῦ τετυμηκώς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν θεοῦ αὐτοκράτορα νομίζων, οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον θεοῦ.

50 Χ. Μελχάν δὲ ἄγεται γυναῖκα, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἡ πόλεως ἀφηγομένη, <ὦ> τύχη, βασιλίδα, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμον αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκείνη. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀτε κρατίστον οὖν τῶν γεγονότων, βασιλέα τῶν ἀισθητῶν εἴποι τις ἄν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοπού, οὕτως καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην, ἢν μετίασων οἱ ἀστρονομοῦντες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι διαφερόντως,

51 βασιλίδα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν. γυνῆ μὲν οὖν ἦδε ἀστή, παλλακὴ δὲ ἡ ἐν τὶ τῶν ὄντων ὀρῶσα, κἂν εἰ πάντων εὐτελεστατον ὑπάρχοι. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἀρίστῳ γένει τὸ ἀριστον ὀρᾶν, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, συμβεβήκεν—Ἰσραήλ γὰρ ὀρῶν θεοῦ ἐρμηνευέται,—τῷ δὲ δευτερείων ἐφιμεὼν τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐναρμονίον τάξιν καὶ πάμμουσον ώς ἀληθῶς χορεῖαν.

52 τρίτοι δὲ εἴσων οἱ σκεπτικοί, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ φύσει κρατίστων, αἰσθητῶν τε καὶ νοητῶν, οὐκ ἐφαιτόμενοι, περὶ μικρὰ μέντοι σοφίσματα τριβόμενοι καὶ γλισχρολογοῦμενοι. τούτοις ἥ ὀρῶσα τὶ κἂν τὸ μικρότατον παλλακὸς ὑπαγεὶ μὴ δυναμένος πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμεινώνων ἐλθεῖν ἔρευναν,

53 εἷς ὁν τὸν ἑαυτῶν βιόν ὀνήσουσιν. ὠσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἱστροῖς ἡ λεγομένη λογιατρεία πολὺ τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ὠφελείας ἀποστατεῖ—φαρμάκοις γὰρ καὶ χειρουργίαις καὶ διαίταις, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγοις, αἱ νόσοι θεραπεύονται,—οὕτω καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

1 MSS. καί.
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 49–53

remove from the land of Chaldaea, that is he does not sever himself from the study of astrology; he honours the created before the creator, and the world before God, or rather he holds that the world is not the work of God but is itself God absolute in His power.

X. But in Milcah he marries a queen, not a ruler of men or perhaps cities, but one who merely bears the same name with a different meaning. For just as heaven, being the best and greatest of created things, may be rightly called the king of the world of our senses, so the knowledge of heaven, which the star-gazers and the Chaldaeans especially pursue, may be called the queen of sciences. Milcah, then, is the legitimate wife, but the concubine is she who sees one thing of what is, though it be but the meanest of all. Now to see the best, that is the truly existing, is the lot of the best of races, Israel, for Israel means seeing God. The race or kind that strives for the second place sees the second best, that is the heaven of our senses, and therein the well-ordered host of the stars, the choir that moves to the fullest and truest music. Third are the sceptics, who do not concern themselves with the best things in nature, whether perceived by the senses or the mind, but spend themselves on petty quibbles and trifling disputes. These are the housemates of Reumah, who “sees something,” even the smallest, men incapable of the quest for the better things which might bring profit to their lives. In the case of physicians what is called word-medicine is far removed from assistance to the sick, for diseases are cured by drugs and surgery and prescriptions of diet, but not with words; and so too in philosophy
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λογοτῆραι καὶ λογοθηραῖ τινες αὐτὸ μόνον εἰσὶ, τὸν ἄρρωστομάτων γέμοντα βιον θεραπεύειν οὔτε ἑθέλουστε οὔτε ἐπιτηδεύσουστε, ἐκ πρώτης δὲ ἡλικίας ἀληθῶς ἐσχάτου γνωσιμαχοῦντες τε καὶ συλλαβομαχοῦντες οὐκ ἐρυθρῶσι, ὅπερ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ρημάτων [καὶ] ἀπεραντῶς καὶ ἀνηνύτως περιεργία κεμένης, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν τῷ τὸ ἱθος, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου <βίου> πηγήν, ἀμεινον καταστήσασθαι, τὰς μὲν κακίας ύπερροήν πυγαδευσάντα αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς εἰσοδιούσαντα.

54 XI. Παλλακάς μέντοι [ἡ] δόξας καὶ δόγματα προσίεναι καὶ οἱ φαύλοι. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Θαμνά, ἡ παλλακὴ Ἐλιφᾶς τοῦ νιὸν Ἡσαῦ, ἔτεκε τῷ Ἐλιφᾶς τὸν Ἀμαλήκ. ὃς τῆς τοῦ ἀπογόνου λαμπρᾶς δυσγενείας. ὅψει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσγένειαν, ἕαν ἀποστάς τοῦ περὶ ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα εἰρήσατε νομίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὅπερ εἴς ἀνατομής ἐπισκέπτη. τὴν μὲν τοῖνυν ἀλογόν καὶ ἀμετρῶν ὀρμήν τοῦ πάθους Ἀμαλήκ προσαγορεύει. μεταληθεῖσα γὰρ ἐστὶ λαὸς ἐκλείχων. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐτὸς πυρὸς δύναμιν τὴν παραβληθείσαν ύλὴν αναλίσκει, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπον καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀναζέοντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς πάντα ἐπιλιχμάται καὶ διαφθείρει.

55 τοῦτο τοῦ πάθους πατὴρ Ἐλιφᾶς ἀναγράφεται δεόντως. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ. θεός με διεσπειρεν. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὅταν ἀνασκεδάση ὣς ἀναλύεται καὶ σκορπα-

1 tina must be understood as subject to καταστήσασθαι; otherwise grammar will require φυγαδεύσαται (-ês?) and εἰσοδιούσας (-es?).
2 Perhaps read παλλακάς μέντοι <καὶ ἀστάς>, δόξας κτλ. See App. p. 578.
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there are men who are merely word-mongers and
word-hunters, who neither wish nor practise to cure
their life, brimful of infirmities as it is, but from their
earliest years to extreme old age contend in battles
of argument and battles of syllables and blush not
to do so. They act as though happiness depended
on the endless fruitless hypercriticism of words as
such, instead of on establishing on a better basis
character, the fount of human life, by expelling the
vices from its borders and planting there the virtues
as settlers in their stead.

XI. The wicked, too, take to them as concubines, opinions and doctrines. Thus he says that Timna,
the concubine of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, bore
Amalek to Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 12). How distin-
guished is the misbirth of him whose descent is here
given! What the misbirth is you will see, if you cast
away all thought that these words refer to men and
turn your attention to what we may call the anatomy
of soul-nature. It is then the unreasoning and un-
measured impulse or appetite of passion which he
calls Amalek, for the word by translation means
"people licking up." For as the force of fire con-
sumes the fuel laid before it, so too the boiling of
passion licks up and destroys all that stands in its
way.

This passion is rightly declared to have Eliphaz for its father, for Eliphaz means "God hath dispersed me." And is it not true that when
God scatters and disperses the soul and ejects

\[ ^a \text{See App. p. 577.} \]
\[ ^b \text{Lit. "nouns and verbs," see note on De Mig. 49.} \]
\[ ^c \text{See App. p. 578.} \]
\[ ^d \text{Lit. "observe the soul as it were by anatomy."} \]
κίση τὴν ψυχὴν ἃφ' ἐαυτοῦ ὁ θεός, τὸ ἄλογον εὐθὺς γεννᾶται πάθος; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὀρατικὴν ἀυτοῦ φιλόθεου ὄντως διάνοιαν, κληματίδα εὐγενῆ, καταφυτεύει βίζας ἀποτείνων πρὸς ἀιδιότητα καὶ εὐφορίαν καρπῶν διδοὺς πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπὸ-57 λαυσιν ἄρετῶν. διὸ καὶ Μωυσῆς εὐχεταί φάσκων: "εἰσαγαγῶν καταφυτευσον αὐτοὺς," ἵνα μὴ ἐφῆμερα ἄλλῃ ἀθάνατα καὶ μακραῖνα γένηται τὰ θεῖα βλαστήματα. τὴν δὲ ἄδικον καὶ ἄθεον ψυχὴν φυγαδεύων ἃφ' ἐαυτοῦ πορρωτάτων ὑπόδειπνα εἰς τὸν ἡδονών καὶ ἐπιθυμιών καὶ ἀδικημάτων χώρον. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος προσφυεῖται ἀσεβῶς καὶ καταφυτεύει ρίζας ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου καὶ πάσας καὶ πάσας ἀρετῶν, διὸ καὶ Ἔμενω ἔμενω "Αἰδώς ὁ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίου ἄρετιν, ὁ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναίος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἐνοχοῖς. 58 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἐστηλιτευμένον: "ἡνίκα διεμέριζεν ὁ ὑφίστος ἐθνή, ώς διέσπειρεν ὡσίας Ἀδάμ," τοὺς γηῆνους ἀπαντασ τρόπους οὐράνιον οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐσπουδακότας ἵσειν ἠλασέν, ἀοίκους καὶ ἀπόλιδας καὶ σποράδας ὄντως ἐργασάμενος. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν φαύλων οὐκ οἶκος, οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν οὐ ντων κοινωνίαν οὐδὲν διασώζεται, ἀλλ’ ἀνίδρυτος ὃν σπείρεται, πάντη φοροῦμεν καὶ μετανιστάμενος ἀεὶ καὶ μηθαμόθι στηριχθήναι δυνάμενος. 59 γίνεται οὖν τῶν φαύλω ἐξ ἀστῆς μὲν κακία, τὸ δὲ πάθος ἐκ παλλακῆς. λογισμῷ γὰρ ἢ μὲν ὅλη 526 ψυχὴ καθάπερ ἀστή σύμβιος —ψυχὴ δὲ ἐπίληπτος τίκτει κακίας,—ἡ δὲ τοῦ σώματος φύσις παλλακῆ,

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α Or "graft."  
β Or simply "recorded."  
γ ἢ δὲ τοῦ σώματος φύσις παλλακῆ.

*Cf. Quis Rerum 55.*

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it with contumely from His presence unreasoning passion is at once engendered? The mind which truly loves God, that has the vision of Him, He "plants in," as a branch \( \alpha \) of goodly birth, and He deepens its roots to reach to eternity and gives it fruitfulness for the acquisition and enjoyment of virtue. That is why Moses prays in these words, 57 "Bring them in and plant them in" (Ex. xv. 17), that the saplings of God's culture may not be for a day but age-long and immortal. On the other hand he banishes the unjust and godless souls from himself to the furthest bounds, and disperses them to the place of pleasures and lusts and injustices. That place is most fitly called the place of the impious, but it is not that mythical place of the impious in Hades. For the true Hades is the life of the bad, a life of damnation and blood-guiltiness, the victim of every curse.

XII. And elsewhere we have this text, 58 graven as on a stone, "When the Highest divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam" (Deut. xxxii. 8), that is, when He drove away all the earthly ways of thinking which have no real desire to look on any heaven-sent good, and made them homeless and cityless, scattered in very truth. For none of the wicked have preserved for them home or city, nor aught else that tends to fellowship, but they are scattered without settlement, driven about on every side, ever changing their place, nowhere able to hold their ground. So then the wicked man 59 begets vice by his legitimate wife and passion by his concubine. For the soul as a whole \( \epsilon \) is the legitimate life-mate of reason, and if it be a soul of guilt it brings forth vices. The bodily nature is the concubine, and
δι' ἦς ἡ γένεσις τοῦ πάθους θεωρεῖται: ἡδονῶν γὰρ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν χῶρα τὸ σῶμα. καλεῖται δὲ Θαμνά, ἢς μεταληφθὲν ἐστὶ τούνομα ἐκλευμενὴ ἐκλείπει γὰρ καὶ ἀδυνατεὶ ἡ ψυχή τῷ πάθει, σῶλον καὶ κλύδωνα πολὺν ἀπὸ σῶματος ἐνδεξαμένη διὰ τὸν καταρραγέντα βαρὺν χειμώνα ἐξ ἀμετρίας ὀρμῆς. κεφαλὴ δὲ ὡς ζῶου πάντων τῶν λεχθέντων μερῶν ὁ γενάρχης ἐστὶν Ἦσαῦ, ὁς τοτὲ μὲν ποίημα, τοτὲ δὲ δρῦς ἐμπνεύεται, δρῦς μὲν, παρόσον ἀκαμπής καὶ ἀνένδοτος ἀπειθής τε καὶ σκληραύχην φύσει, συμβούλω χρώμενος ἀνοία, δρῦνος ἄνωτος, ποίημα δὲ, παρόσον πλάσμα καὶ μῦθος ἔστω ὁ μετὰ ἀφροσύνης βίος, τραγῳδίας καὶ κενοῦ κόμπου καὶ πάλιν γέλωτος καὶ κωμικῆς χλεύης ἀνάπλεως, ὡς ἦκεν οὐδέν, κατευθυνόμενος, ἐκτετοξευκῶς ἀλήθειαν, τὴν ἄποιον καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀπλαστον φύσιν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέμενος, ὡς ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἔρα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Μωυσῆς φάσκων, ὡς ὁ Ἱακὼβ ἀπλαστος, οἰκίων οἰκίαν," ὡστε ὁ ἐναντίος τοῦτω ἀοικος ἀν εἶν, πλάσματος καὶ ποίηματος καὶ μυθικῶν λήρων ἐταίρος, μᾶλλον δὲ σκηνή καὶ μῦθος αὐτὸς.

XIII. Ἡ μὲν δὴ λογισμοῦ φιλοθεάμονος πρὸς ἀστάς καὶ παλλακίδας δυνάμεις σύνοδος, ὡς οἶδον τε ἦν, εὑρηταί· τὸν δ' εἱρμον τοῦ λόγου συνυφαν-

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*a Cf. note on De Sac. 17.

b Throughout these sections there is a play upon the technical literary use of ποίημα and πλάσμα. While ποίημα in this sense is a poem in general, πλάσμα is used of fictitious but possible material such as was used in comedy, while μῦθος gives the legendary matter which formed the staple of tragedy. The double use of ποίημα in Quod Det. 125 is somewhat similar.
we see that through it passion is generated, for the body is the region of pleasures and lusts. This concubine is called Timna, whose name translated is "tossing faintness." For the soul faints and loses all power through passion when it receives from the body the flood of tossing surge caused by the storm wind which sweeps down in its fury, driven on by unbridled appetite.

And of all the members of the clan here described Esau is the progenitor, the head as it were of the whole creature,—Esau whose name we sometimes interpret as "an oak," sometimes as "a thing made up." He is an oak because he is unbending, unyielding, disobedient and stiff-necked by nature, with folly as his counsellor, oak-like in very truth; he is a thing made up because the life that consorts with folly is just fiction and fable, full of the bombast of tragedy on the one hand and of the broad jesting of comedy on the other; it has nothing sound about it, is utterly false and has thrown truth overboard; it makes no account of the nature which is outside qualities and forms and fashionings, the nature which the Man of Practice loves. To this Moses testifies when he says, "Jacob was a plain or unfashioned man, living in a house" (Gen. xxv. 27). And therefore Esau his opposite must be houseless, and the friend of fiction and make-up and legendary follies, or rather himself the actor's stage and the playwright's legend.

XIII. We have now to the best of our ability described the mating of the reason which yearns to see and learn with the faculties both of the lawful and the concubine type. We must now continue the thread of our discourse by examining the words

c Again a play (not translatable) on πολημα.
τέον τάκόλουθα διερευνώντας. "ὑπήκουσε" φησίν "Ἀβραὰμ τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας". ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ τοὺς παραγγέλμασιν ἀρετῆς τὸν μανθάνοντα πειθ-64 αρχεῖν. οὐ πάντες δὲ πειθάρχοισιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοις σφοδρὸς ἔρως ἐντέτηκεν ἐπιστήμης· ἐπεὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν τά τε ἀκροατήρια καὶ τὰ θέατρα πληροῦται, διεξέρχονται δὲ ἀπνευστὶ συν-εἰροντες τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς λόγους οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες. 65 ἀλλὰ τί τῶν λεγομένων ὀφελός; ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσέχειν ἔτερωσε τὸν νοῦν ἀποστείλαντες οἱ μὲν πλοῦ καὶ ἐμπορίας, οἱ δὲ προσόδων καὶ γεωργίας, οἱ δὲ τιμῶν καὶ πολιτείας, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφ’ ἐκάστης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως κερδῶν, ἀλλοι δὲ τιμῶ-66 ρίας ἔχθρων, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπεικῶς ἀπολαύσεων καὶ συνόλως ἐτέρων ἐτεροι διαμέμνηνται, ὡς ἐνεκα τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων κεκω-67 φήσθαι, τοῖς μὲν σώμασι παρεῖναι μόνον, ταῖς δὲ διανοίασι ἀπηλλάχθαι, εἰδώλων καὶ ἀνδριάτων διαφέρειν μηδέν. εἰ δὲ τίνες καὶ προσ-68 έχουσι, τοσοῦτον χρόνον καθέζονταὶ μόνον ἀκού-움ετε, ἀπαλαγέντες δ’ οὔδενὸς τῶν εἰρημένων δια-μέμνηνται, καὶ ἢκον τερφθῆναι δι’ ἀκοῆς μᾶλλον ἡ ὑφεληθῆναι· ὡςτε οὔδεν αὐτῶν ἵσχυσεν ἡ ψυχὴ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κυνοφῆσαι, ἀλλ’ άμα τὸ κινοῦν τὴν [529] ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν | ἡσύχασε καὶ ἡ προσοχὴ κατεσβέσθη. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἴς ἐναυλὰ μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπηχεῖ, σοφισταὶ δὲ ἀντὶ φιλοσόφων ἀνευρίσκονται. τούτων ο μὲν λόγος ἐπιστήμωσι, ὁ δὲ βίος ψεκτὸς ἐστι· δυνατοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, 68 ἀδύνατοι δὲ εἰσὶ πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα. μόλις οὖν
which follow. Abraham, it says, "hearkened to the voice of Sarah" (Gen. xvi. 2), for the learner must needs obey the commands of virtue. Yet not all do obey, only those in whom the strong longing for knowledge has become ingrained. Hardly a day passes but the lecture-halls and theatres are filled with philosophers discoursing at length, stringing together without stopping to take breath their disquisitions on virtue. Yet what profit is there in their talk? For instead of attending, the audience dismiss their minds elsewhither, some occupied with thoughts of voyaging and trading, some with their farming and its returns, others with honours and civic life, others on the profits they get from their particular trade and business, others with the vengeance they hope to wreak on their enemies, others with the enjoyments of their amorous passions, the class of thought in fact differing with the class of person. Thus, as far as what is being demonstrated is concerned, they are deaf, and while they are present in the body are absent in mind, and might as well be images or statues. And any who do attend sit all the time merely hearing, and when they depart they remember nothing that has been said, and in fact their object in coming was to please their sense of hearing rather than to gain any profit; thus their soul is unable to conceive or bring to the birth, but the moment the cause which stirred up pleasure is silent their attention is extinguished too.

There is a third class, who carry away an echo of what has been said, but prove to be sophists rather than philosophers. The words of these deserve praise, but their lives censure, for they are capable of saying the best, but incapable of doing it.
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έστιν εὑρεῖν προσεκτικὸν καὶ μνημονικὸν, τὸ πρᾶττειν τοῦ λέγειν προτιμῶντα, ὥς ἡ μαρτυρεῖται τῷ φιλομαθεῖ διὰ τοῦ "ὑπῆκουσε τῆς φωνῆς Σάρρας." οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων ἄλλ' ὑπακούων εἰσάγεται· τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ συναντεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν εὐθυβολῶτατον ὄνομα. οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ δὲ πρόσκειται τὸ "τῆς φωνῆς," ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς φωνούσης Σάρρας ὑπακούσαι. ἵδιον γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος φωνῆς καὶ λόγων ἀκροάσθαι, διδάσκεται γὰρ τοῦτοις μόνοις· ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ διδασκαλία κτώμενος οὐ τοῖς λέγομένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς λέγουσι προσέχει, μιμούμενος τὸν ἐκείνων βίον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ἀνεπιλήπτοις πράξεσι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἡνίκα εἰς τὸν συγγενικὸν γάμον πέμπται: "ἐἰσήκουσεν Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν," οὐ τῆς φωνῆς οὐδὲ τῶν λόγων—τοῦ γὰρ βίου μιμητὴν ἐδει τὸν ἀσκητῆν, οὐκ ἀκροατὴν λόγων εἶναι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἵδιον τοῦ διδασκόμενου, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῦ διαθλούντος,—ίνα κάνταυθα διὰφορὰν ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μανθάνοντος καταλάβωμεν, τοῦ μὲν κοσμομένου κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον.

71 XIV. "Διαβοῦσα" οὖν φησί "Σάρρα ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραὰμ Ἀγαρ τῆν Αἴγυπτιαν, τὴν ἑαυτῆς παιδίσκην, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τοῦ οἰκήσαι Ἀβραὰμ ἐν γῇ Χανὰν, ἐδώκε τῷ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ ἄνδρὶ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γυναῖκα." βάσκανον μὲν καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακοῆθες φύσει κακία, ἣμερον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ εὐμενὲς
Rarely then shall we find one who combines attention, memory and the valuing of deeds before words, which three things are vouched for in the case of Abraham, the lover of learning, in the phrase “He hearkened to the voice of Sarah,” for he is represented not as hearing, but as hearkening, a word which exactly expresses assent and obedience. There is a point, too, in the addition “to the voice,” instead of “he hearkened to Sarah speaking.” For it is a characteristic mark of the learner that he listens to a voice and to words, since by these only is he taught, whereas he who acquires the good through practice, and not through teaching, fixes his attention not on what is said, but on those who say it, and imitates their life as shewn in the blamelessness of their successive actions. Thus we read in the case of Jacob, when he was sent to marry into his mother’s family, “Jacob heard his father and mother, and went to Mesopotamia” (Gen. xxviii. 7). “Heard them,” it says, not their voice or words, for the practiser must be the imitator of a life, not the hearer of words, since the latter is the characteristic mark of the recipient of teaching, and the former of the strenuous self-exerciser. Thus this text too is meant as a lesson to us that we may realize the difference between a learner and a practiser, how the course of one is determined by what a person says, the other by the person himself.

XIV. The verse continues, “So Sarah the wife of Abraham, ten years after Abraham dwelt in Canaan, took Hagar the Egyptian her handmaid and gave her to Abraham her husband as his wife” (Gen. xvi. 3). Now vice is malignant and sour and ill-minded by nature, while virtue is gentle and sociable
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ἀρετή, πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας ὠφελεῖν

72 ἢ δὲ αὐτῆς ἢ δὲ ἐτέρων ἐθέλουσα. νυνὶ γοῦν μήτων δυναμένοις ἢμῖν ἐκ φρονήσεως παιδοποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐαυτῆς ἐγγυαθήθη παιδεία, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον, ὡς ἐφην, παιδείαν, καὶ μονονοῦ προξενεῖν καὶ νυμφοστολεῖν ὑπομένειν. αὐτὴ γὰρ λέγεται λαβοῦσα διδόναι τῷ

73 ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς γυναῖκα ταύτην. ἀξιών δὲ διαπορήσαι, διὰ τὶ νυνὶ πάλιν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ εἶπε τὴν Ἁρράα, πολλάκις ἢδη πρότερον μεμηνυκώς· οὐ γὰρ μακρολογίας τὸ φαυλότατον εἰδος, ταυτολογίαν, ἑπιτετήδευκε. τί οὖν λεκτέον; ἐπειδὴ μέλλει τὴν παιδανάδα φρονήσεως, τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν, ἐγγυάσθαι, φησίν ὅτι οὐκ ἐξελάθετο τῶν πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς ὑμολογίων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν ἐκεῖνην ἐαυτοῦ νόμω καὶ γνώμη γυναῖκα, ταύτην δὲ ἀνάγκη καὶ βίᾳ καίρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ παντὶ συμβαίνει φιλομαθεί' μάρτυς δ’ ο πεπονθώς γένοιτ' ἂν ἄμειν-δέστατος. | ἔγω γοῦν ἡμίκα πρώτων κέντροις φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτῆς ἀνθρεβίσθην, ὑμίλησα κομιδῇ νέος ὃν μᾶ τῶν θερα-παινίδων αὐτῆς, γραμματικῆ, καὶ ὡς ἐγέννησα ἐκ ταύτης, τὸ γράφειν, τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, τὴν ἱστορίαν

75 τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς, ἀνέθηκα τῇ δεσποίνῃ. καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρα συνελθὼν, γεωμετρία, καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγάμενος—εἰχὲ γὰρ συμμετρίαν καὶ ἀναλογίαν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι πάσι—τῶν ἐγγόνων οὐδὲν ἐνοσφισάμην, ἄλλα τῇ ἀστῇ φέρων ἐδωρησάμην. ἐσπούδασα καὶ τρίτη συνελθεῖν—ἡν δὲ εὔρυθμος, εὐάρμοστος, ἐμ-
and kindly, willing in every way, either by herself or others, to help those whom nature has gifted. Thus in the case before us, since as yet we are unable to beget by wisdom, she gives us the hand of her maiden, who is, as I have said, the culture of the schools; and she does not shrink, we may almost say, to carry out the wooing and preside over the bridal rites; for she herself, we are told, took Hagar and gave her as wife to her husband. Now it is worth considering carefully why in this place Moses again calls Sarah the wife of Abraham, when he has already stated the fact several times; for Moses did not practise the worst form of prolixity, namely tautology. What must we say then? This. When Abraham is about to wed the handmaid of wisdom, the school culture, he does not forget, so the text implies, his faith plighted to her mistress, but knows that the one is his wife by law and deliberate choice, the other only by necessity and the force of occasion. And this is what happens to every lover of learning; personal experience will prove the most infallible of testimonies. For instance when first I was incited by the goads of philosophy to desire her I consorted in early youth with one of her handmaids, Grammar, and all that I begat by her, writing, reading and study of the writings of the poets, I dedicated to her mistress. And again I kept company with another, namely Geometry, and was charmed with her beauty, for she shewed symmetry and proportion in every part. Yet I took none of her children for my private use, but brought them as a gift to the lawful wife. Again my ardour moved me to keep company with a third; rich in rhythm, harmony and melody was she, and her name was
μελής, μουσική δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο—καὶ ἐγέννησα ἥπερ αὐτῆς
dιατονικὰ χρώματα καὶ ἐναρμόνια, συνημμένα,
dιεζευγμένα μέλη, τῆς διὰ τεττάρων, τῆς διὰ
pέντε, τῆς διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίας ἐχόμενα,—καὶ
πάλιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀπεκρυψάμην, ἵνα πλουσία μοι
gένηται ἡ ἀστή γυνὴ, μυρίων οἰκετῶν ὑπηρετοῦν—

77 μένη πλήθει.

τινὲς γὰρ τοὺς φίλτροις τῶν
θεραπαινίδων ἀπεκρύψαν τῆς δεσ-
ποίησις, φιλοσοφίας, καὶ κατεγίρασαν οἱ μὲν ἐν
ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν γραμμαῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐν χρωμάτων
κράσεσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄλλως μυρίως, οὐ δυνηθέντες

78 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀστήν ἀναδραμεῖν. ἔχει γὰρ ἐκάστη τεχνή
gλαφυρότητας, ὅλκοις τινὰς δυνάμεις, ὃ ὥν ἐνοι
ψυχαγωγοῦμενοι καταμένουσιν, ἐκκλησμένοι τῶν
πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὑμολογιῶν. δ' ὃ ἐμέμνησον ταῖς
συνθήκαις πορίζει πάντα πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν
ἀρέσκειαν αὐτῆς. εἰκότως οὖν τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν
ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερός λόγος φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἢν αὐτῷ
γυνὴ Σάρρα, ὅτε τὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς τὴν ἑκείνης

79 ἀρέσκειαν ἠγάγετο. καὶ μὴν ῥήματε τά ἐγκύκλια
συμβάλλεται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀνάληψιν, οὖτω καὶ
φιλοσοφία πρὸς σοφίας κτήσιν. ἐστὶ γὰρ φιλο-
σοφία ἐπιτήδευσις σοφίας, σοφία δὲ ἐπιστήμη
θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ τῶν τούτων αἰτίων.
γένοιτ' ἂν οὖν ῥήματε ἐγκύκλιος μουσικὴ φιλο-

80 σοφίας, οὖτω καὶ φιλοσοφία δοῦλη σοφίας. φιλο-
σοφία δὲ ἐγκράτειαν μὲν γαστρός, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ

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Music, and from her I begat diatonics, chromatics and enharmonics, conjunct and disjunct melodies, conforming with the consonance of the fourth, fifth or octave intervals. And again of none of these did I make a secret hoard, wishing to see the lawful wife a lady of wealth with a host of servants ministering to her. For some have been ensnared by the love lures of the handmaids and spurned the mistress, and have grown old, some doting on poetry, some on geometrical figures, some on the blending of musical "colours," and a host of other things, and have never been able to soar to the winning of the lawful wife. For each art has its charms, its powers of attraction, and some beguiled by these stay with them and forget their pledges to Philosophy. But he who abides by the covenants he has made provides from every quarter everything he can to do her service. It is natural, then, that the holy word should say in admiration of his faithfulness that even then was Sarah his wife when he wedded the handmaid to do her service. And indeed just as the school subjects contribute to the acquirement of philosophy, so does philosophy to the getting of wisdom. For philosophy is the practice or study of wisdom, and wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human and their causes. And therefore just as the culture of the schools is the bond-servant of philosophy, so must philosophy be the servant of wisdom. Now philosophy teaches us the control of the belly and the

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\( a \) Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 122, *De Post.* 104, *De Agr.* 137.

\( b \) See App. p. 578.

\( c \) For the tendency to prolong the study of the *Encyclia* beyond what Philo considered the proper time cf. *De Ebr.* 51.

\( d \) See App. p. 579.
τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα, ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ γλώττης ἀναδιδάσκει. ταῦτα λέγεται μὲν εἶναι δι' αὐτὰ αἱρετά, σεμνότερα δὲ φαίνοντ' ἧδερε, εἰ θεοῦ τιμής καὶ ἀρεσκείας ἐνεκα ἐπιτηδεύουστο. μεμνῄσθαι οὖν δει τῆς κυρίας, ὅπωτε μέλλομεν αὕτης <τὰς> θεραπεύουσας μνᾶσθαι· καὶ λεγώμεθα μὲν ἄνδρες εἶναι τούτων, ὑπαρχέτω δ' ἦμῖν ἐκείνῃ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γυνῆ, μη λεγέσθω.

81 XV. | Δίδωσι δ' οὕκ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Χαναναίων γῆν ἀφικομένω, ἄλλα μετὰ δεκαετίαν τῆς ἔκει διατριβῆς. τι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστὶ, οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἐπικεπτέον· ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν ἡ πυχὴ συντρόφοις τοῖς πάθει μόνοις χρῆται, λύπαις, ἀληθοῦσι, πτῶσις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, αἱ διὰ τῶν αἰσθάνεται ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔρχεται, μήτω τοῦ λογισμοῦ βλέπειν δυναμένου τά τε ἁγαθά καὶ κακά καὶ δ' διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων ἀκριβοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐτί νυστάζοντος καὶ ὡς ἐν ὑπνὼ βαθεῖ καταμεμυκότος.

82 χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος όταν ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς παιδικῆς ἡλικίας μειρακιοῦσθαι μέλλωμεν, τὸ δίδυμον στέλεχος εὐθὺς ἐκ μιᾶς, ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία, φύεται ἡμέρας· καὶ ποιούμεθα μὲν τὴν κατάληψιν ἀμφοῖν, αἱροῦμεθα δὲ πάντως τὴν ἐτέραν, οἱ μὲν εὐφυεῖς ἀρετήν, κακίαν δ' οἱ ἐναντίοι.

83 τούτων προὐποτυπωθέντων εἰδέναι χρῆ, ὅτι παθῶν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον σύμβολον ἔστι, κακίων δὲ ἡ Χαναναίων γῆ· ὡστ' εἰκότως ἀναστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τὸν λεών εἴς τὴν Χαναναίων εἰσάγει χώραν. ἂνθρωπός γάρ, ὡς ἐφήν, ἀμα μὲν τῇ γενέσει τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πάθος ἔλαχεν οἰκεῖν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀληθοῦσι προσερρίζομένος, ἀδικιὰς δ' ἀποκιάν στέλλεται τῇ πρὸς
parts below it, and control also of the tongue. Such powers of control are said to be desirable in themselves, but they will assume a grander and loftier aspect if practised for the honour and service of God. So when we are about to woo the handmaids we must remember the sovereign lady, and let us be called their husbands, but let her be not called but be in reality our true wife.

XV. Next Sarah gives Hagar to Abraham, not at once after his arrival in the land of the Canaanites, but after he has stayed there for ten years. The meaning of this requires careful consideration. In the first stage of our coming into existence the soul is reared with none but passions to be its comrades, griefs, pains, excitements, desires, pleasures, all of which come to it through the senses, since the reason is not yet able to see good and evil and to form an accurate judgement of the difference between them, but is still slumbering, its eyes closed as if in deep sleep. But as time goes on, when we leave the stage of boyhood and are adolescent, there springs from the single root the twofold stalk, virtue and vice, and we form an apprehension of both, but necessarily choose one or the other, the better-natured choosing virtue, the opposite kind vice.

Following on this preliminary sketch we must know that Egypt symbolizes sense, and the land of the Canaanites vice, and thus it is natural that when Moses brings the people out of Egypt he should lead them into the country of the Canaanites. The man, as I have said, at his first coming into being receives for his habitation Egyptian passion, and his roots are fixed in pleasures and pains; but after awhile he emigrates to a new home, vice. The
κακίαν, ἤδη τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὄξυωπέστερον ἐπιδεδωκότος καὶ καταλαμβάνοντος μὲν ἀμφότερα, ἀγαθόν τε αὖ καὶ κακόν, τὸ δὲ χείρον αἰρουμένου διὰ τὸ πολὺ μετέχειν τοῦ θυντοῦ, ὃ τὸ κακὸν οἰκεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦναντίον τῷ θείῳ, τὸ ἀγαθόν.

85 XVI. ἀλλ' ἀἱ μὲν φύσει πατρίδες αὐται, παιδικῆς μὲν ἡλικίας τὸ πάθος, Αἴγυπτος, ἡβώσης δὲ κακία, ἡ Χανάνιτις. ὃ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος, καίτοι σαφῆς ἐπιστάμενος τὰς τοῦ θυντοῦ γένους πατρίδας ἡμῶν, ὑποτίθεται τὰ πρακτεῖα καὶ συνοίσοντα παραγγέλλων μισεῖν τὰ ἔθη καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν ἐν ὅις φησι· "καὶ εἴπε κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν· κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Αἴγυπτου, ἐν ἥ κατοικήσατε ἐστὶν αὐτής, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα γῆς Χανάαν, εἰς ἥν ὤγο εἰσάγων ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ, οὐ ποιήσετε· καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν οὐ πορεύσεσθε· τὰ κρίματά μου ποιήσετε, καὶ τὰ προστάγματά μου φυλάξεσθε, πορεύσεθε ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν. καὶ φυλάξεσθε πάντα τὰ προστάγματα μου καὶ τὰ κρίματα μου, καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτά. ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς· 87 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν·' οὐκοῦν ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ζωῆς περιπατοῦντός ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσεις καὶ προστάξεσιν, | ὡστε θάνατος ἄν εἰη τὰ τῶν ἄθέων ἐπιτηδεύματα. τίνα δὲ τὰ ἄθέων εἰρηναί.
reason has by this time advanced to a higher degree of vision, and while it apprehends both alternatives, good and evil, chooses the worst, because mortality is so large an ingredient in the reason, and evil is native to mortality as its opposite, good, is to the divine. XVI. Now according to nature these are the native-lands of the two ages: Egypt, that is passion, of the age of childhood; Canaan, that is vice, of the age of adolescence. But the holy word, though it knows full well what are the native-lands of our mortal race, sets before us what we should do and what will be for our good, by bidding us hate the habits and the customs and the practices of those lands. It does so in the following words, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: 'Speak unto the sons of Israel, and thou shalt say unto them 'I am the Lord your God. According to the practices of the land of Egypt, in which ye dwelt therein, ye shall not do; and according unto the practices of the land of Canaan, into which I bring you there, you shall not do, and by their customs ye shall not walk. Ye shall do My judgements and ye shall keep My ordinances, walk in them. I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep all My ordinances and My judgements, and ye shall do them. He that doeth them shall live in them. I am the Lord your God: '" (Lev. xviii. 1-5). So then the true life is the life of him who walks in the judgements and ordinances of God, so that the practices of the godless must be death. And what the practices of the godless are we have been told. They are the practices of passion and
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tā πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστὶν,1 εὖ δὲν τὰ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἄνοσιουργῶν2 πλῆθη φύεται.

88 Μετὰ δεκαετίαν οὖν τῆς πρὸς Χαναναίους μετοικίας ἀξόμεθα τὴν "Αγαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὠς εὐθὺς μὲν γενόμενοι λογικοὶ τῆς φύσει βλαβερὰς ἁμαθίας καὶ ἀπαίδευσίας μεταποιοῦμεθα, χρόνω δὲ ύστερον καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελεῖοι, δεκάδι, νομίμου3 παιδείας τῆς ὡφελεῖν δυναμένης εἰς ἐπίθυμιαν ἐρχόμεθα.

89 XVII. Τὸν δὲ περὶ δεκάδος λόγον ἐπιμελῶς μὲν ἡκρίβωσαν μουσικῶν παῖδες, ὡμογενὲς δὲ οὐ μετρίως ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς, ἄναθεις αὐτῆ τὰ κάλλιστα, τὰς ἀρχὰς,4 τὰς ἀπαρχὰς, τὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐνδελεχῆ δώρα, τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα διατήρησιν, τὸν ἑλισμόν, τὴν δἰα πεντηκονταετίας ἀφεσὶν τε καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα λήξεις ἐπάνοδον, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἀδιάλυτου σκηνῆς, ἀλλὰ μυρία, ὡν μακρὸν ἂν εἰη μεμνήσθαι.

90 τὰ δὲ καίρια οὐ παρετεον.5 αὐτίκα τὸν Νώε ἢμίν—πρώτος δ' οὗτος δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀνερρήθη γραφαῖς—ἀπὸ τοῦ διαπλασθέντος ἐκ γῆς εἰσάγει δέκατον, οὐκ ἐναυτῶν πλῆθος παραστήσατε

1 mss. τινὰ δὲ ἀθεώρητα πάθους καὶ κακιῶν ἐστίν.—The text printed is my conjecture. Mangey retains the ms. text and translates, ignoring the neuter τινὰ, "quidam non perpendunt affectus et vitia." Markland's τινὰ δὴ is an improvement, but still leaves ἀθεώρητα in the unnatural sense of "regardless of" (and therefore "practising"). Moreover, the words are quite pointless. With the correction the argument proceeds quite logically. The later part of the quotation tells us that he who does God's ordinances will live. It follows that the practices of the godless are death. If you ask what are the practices of the godless, the first part of the text has told us (εἰρηται) that they are the practices of Egypt and Canaan, that is (see § 85) passion and vice. We might perhaps get even nearer to the mss. by omitting τὰ before ἀθέων.
vices, from which spring the many multitudes of the 
impious and the workers of unholiness.

So then ten years after our migration to the Canaanites we shall wed Hagar, since as soon as we have become reasoning beings we take to ourselves the ignorance and indiscipline whose nature is so mischievous and only after a time and under the perfect number ten do we reach the desire for the lawful discipline which can profit us.

XVII. Now the lore of the decad has been carefully discussed in detail in the schools of the musicians, and is extolled in no ordinary degree by the holiest of men, Moses, who connects with it things of special excellence, governments, the first-fruits, the recurrent gifts of the priests, the observation of the passover, the atonement, the liberation and return to the old possessions in the fiftieth year, the furnishing of the permanent tabernacle, and others without number. These it would take too long to mention, but crucial examples must not be omitted.

For instance, he represents Noah, the first man recorded as just in holy scriptures, as the tenth descendant from the man who was moulded from the earth; and in doing so he does not wish to set before

\[^a\] Or perhaps “the natural (and harmful) ignorance,” which, though a less obvious way of taking the words, agrees better with the thought that ignorance is the πατρίς of the man.

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2 Perhaps read ἄνοσίων ἐργῶν; general practices are the progenitors of particular deeds.
3 MSS. νομίμω (-ως).
4 So one MS.: the rest εὐχάς, which Mangey preferred, but see beginning of § 92, and the thought of ἀρχάς recurs in § 110.
5 MSS. παρεατέον or παριτέον.
βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ διδάξαι σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁσπερ' δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἑστὶ πέρας τελειότατον, οὔτω τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ψυχῇ τελειον καὶ πέρας ὄντως τῶν κατὰ τὸν βιόν πράξεων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πολλαπλασιαζομένην ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τριάδα πρὸς ἐνάτον γένεσιν ἀριθμὸν πολεμωτάτην ἐξεύρον οἱ χρησμοὶ, τὴν δὲ ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν μονάδα πρὸς ἐκπλή-

rhoσιν δεκάδος ὡς φίλην ἀπεδέξαντο. σημεῖον δὲ
tάς ἐννέα τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχάς, ἥνικα ἡ ἐμφύλιος ἀνερρίπτεισθη στάσις, τῶν τεττάρων παθῶν πρὸς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεων κοινοσκόπων καὶ ἄρησαν καὶ κατασκαφήν κυνδυνευόμενης τρόπον πολέως τῆς όλης ἀναδεικνύει τευχῆς, ἐκστρατεύσας ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ κατέλυσε δεκατος ἐπιφανεῖς. οὗτος ἄντὶ χειμὼν γαλήνην καὶ υγείαν ἄντὶ νόσου καὶ ζωῆν, εἰ δεὶ τάληθες εἶπεῖν, ἄντὶ θανάτου παρεσκεύασε, τοῦ νικηφόρου θεοῦ τροπαιοφόρον ἀυτὸν ἀναδεί-

ξαντος, ὡ καὶ τᾶς δεκάτας χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἀνατίθησι. καὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἐλθόν-
tος "ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάβδουν," λέγω δὲ τὴν παιδείαν, ἡμέρον καὶ τιθάς σεβασμὸ θρεμάτω τὸ δέκατον ἀπο-

κρύνεται, νόμου προστάτης μενομονον "άγγιον," ἐν' ἐκ πολλῶν διδασκόμεθα τήν δεκάδος πρὸς θεοῦ ὀικεῖοτητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐννέα ἀριθμὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀναδείξαντι καὶ τῆς τοῦ εὐθυνόν ἡμῶν γένος.

XVIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ νόμον προστάξει γίνομεν "ἄγιον," ἔν' ἐκ πολλῶν διδασκόμεθα τήν δεκάδος πρὸς θεοῦ ὀικεῖοτητα καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐννέα ἀριθμὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀναδείξαντι καὶ τῆς τοῦ εὐθυνόν ἡμῶν γένος. 

οὐκ ἀπὸ ζώων | μόνον ἀπάρχεσθαι δεκάτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅσα ἐκ γῆς βλαστάνει διείρηται. "πᾶσα" γὰρ φησι ἁγκάτη τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 Some mss. αὐλῆς: Wend. conjectures ἀλούσης.

a See note on § 59. Here the phrase seems to be used of the animal or unreasoning nature, ignoring the mind. For the "city" of the story is Sodom, which is a "soul blind of

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us any particular number of years, but to shew us clearly that, just as ten is the end of the numbers which start from one and most perfect, so justice in the soul is perfect and the true end of our life's actions. For when three is multiplied by itself and thus produces the number nine, the oracles pronounce it to be a number of great hostility, while the added one which completes the ten they approve of as friendly. This is shewn in the incident of Abraham and the nine kings. When the civil war burst into flames, and the four passions prepared for combat with the five senses, when the whole soul was on the point to suffer sacking and razing like a city, wise Abraham took the field, and appearing as the tenth, made an end of all nine governments (Gen. xiv.). He provided calm in the place of storm, health for sickness, and life we may truly say for death, being declared the winner of the trophies by God the victory-giver, to whom too he dedicated the tenths as thank-offerings for his victory (Gen. xiv. 20).

Further, everything that comes "under the rod," the rod of discipline, that is every tame and docile creature, has a tenth set apart from it which by the ordinance of the law becomes "holy" (Lev. xxvii. 32), that so through many reminders we may learn the close connexion of ten with God and of nine with our mortal race.

XVIII. But indeed it is commanded to offer tenths as first-fruits, not only from animals, but from all that springs from the earth. "Every tenth of the earth," it says, "from the seed

reason" (§ 109). Wendland's ἀλοψής (agreeing with πόλεως) may be right.

*Cf. Leg. All. iii. 89 f., De Post. 97. For ten as the number of παιδεία cf. note on De Sac. 122.*
σπέρματος καὶ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἕντος ἀγιον τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ πᾶσα δεκάτη βοῶν καὶ προβάτων, καὶ πάν ὃ ἂν διέλθῃ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ ὕπο τὴν ράβδον, τὸ δέκατον ἔσται ἀγιον τῷ κυρίῳ." ὁ ὅρασὶ. ὃτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅγκον σωματικοῦ, ὃς γεωδῆς καὶ ἕντος ὄντως ἐστὶν, οἴεται δὲν ἀπάρχεσθαι; ἢ γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ διαμονὴ καὶ αὐξητικὴς καὶ ὑγεία αὐτῶ θεία γίνεται χάριτι. ὁ ὅρασὶ δ' ὃτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡμῶν ἀλόγων—ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν αἰσθήσεις—πάλιν ἀπάρχεσθαι διείρηται; τὸ γὰρ ὅραν καὶ ἀκούει καὶ σοφραίνεσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι, ἕτε ἐπι ἀπεσθαὶ διωρεῖ θείαι, ὑπὲρ ὃν εὐχαριστητέον.

97 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὗ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἕντος καὶ γηίνοις σώματος ὅγκοις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἠμῶν ἡμῶς, ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, τὸν εὐφυεῖν ἑπανεῖν διδασκόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ νῦ, ὃς κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν ἐν ἀνθρώπω, κρείττον ἐν χείροι καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐν θυητῷ. διὰ τοῦτο οἵμαι τὰ πρωτότοκα καθιέρωσε πάντα, τὴν δεκάτην, λέγω τιμῶν Φυλῆ, ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ ὑγείας καὶ αὐξήσεως καὶ λειτουργίαν, ἀι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήν ἀναφέρομαι. τὸ γὰρ πρώτου καὶ ἀριστοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ λογισμὸς ἐστι, καὶ ἀξίων τῶν συνέσεως καὶ ἀγχών τῆς καταλήψεως τοι καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ἀλλων δυνάμεων, ὃς ὅρασι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν, ἀπαρχᾶς ἀνατιθέναι θεῷ τῷ τῆν εὐφορίαν τοῦ διανοεῖσθαι παρασχῶντι. ἐνθένε γὰρ ἡ ἀσκητικὸς ὁρμῆσεις εὐχόμενοι εἶπε· "πάντων ὃν ὃν μοι δῶς, δεκάτῃ ἀποδεκατώσω σοι," ὃ ὃς ἡ ἄποδεκατώσω σοι, ὃ ὅρασι· τὰς ἑπενεκίους εὐχάς ἀναγραφεῖς, ὅς ὁ τῆν αὐτομαθή ἐπιπληθνεւμένοις σωματικοῖς.  

1 MSS. σωματικοῖς.
and from the fruit of wood, and every tenth of oxen and sheep, and everything that passes through in the number under the rod the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord” (Lev. xxvii. 30, 32). Observe that he thinks that first-fruits are due from our body, the cumbersome mass which is indeed of earth and of wood. For its life and survival, growth and health, come to it by the grace of God. Note too that we are also bidden to give first-fruits of the unreasoning creatures within us, the senses, for sight and hearing and smell and taste and touch also are gifts of God for which we must give thanks.

Yet not only for the wooden and earthen mass of the body, not only for the unreasoning creatures, the senses, are we taught to praise the Benefactor, but also for the mind which may be truly called the man within the man, the better part within the worse, the immortal within the mortal. This is why, I believe, He sanctified all the first-born, and took as their ransom the tenth, that is the tribe of Levi, that they should observe and maintain holiness and piety and the rites which are offered for the honour of God. For the first and best thing in us is the reason, and it is only right that from its intelligence, its shrewdness, its apprehension, its prudence and the other qualities which belong to it, we should offer first-fruits to God, who gave to it its fertility of thinking. It was this feeling which prompted the Man of Practice when he vowed thus, "Of all that thou givest me, I will give a tenth to thee” (Gen. xxviii. 22); which prompted the oracle that follows the blessing given to the victor by Melchisedek the holder of that priesthood, whose
καὶ αὐτόδιδακτον λαχῶν ἱερωσύνην ποιεῖται Μελ-
χισεδέκ, ἓδοκε γὰρ αὐτῷ φησὶν "δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων," ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ αἴσθησιν τὸ καλὸς αἰσθάνε-
σθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ λόγον τὸ εὖ λέγειν, ἀπὸ τῶν
κατὰ νοῦν τὸ εὖ διανοεῖσθαι. ... παγκάλως
οὗν καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἁμα ἐν εἴδει παραδιηγήματος,
ἡνίκα τής οὐρανίου καὶ θείας τροφής τὸ μνημεῖον
ἐν στάμνῳ χρυσῷ καθιεροῦτο, φησὶν ὡς ἄρα "τὸ
γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν." ἐν ἡμῖν
γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρία μέτρα εἶναι δοκεῖ, αἴσθησις, λόγος,
nοῦς, αἰσθητῶν μὲν αἴσθησις, ὀνομάτων δὲ καὶ
ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὁ λόγος, νοητῶν δὲ
νοῦς. ἄφ᾽ ἐκάστου δή τῶν τριῶν μέτρων τούτων
ἀπαρκέτων ὀστερ ὑπάρχει ἡ εἰράν δεκάτην, ἵνα καὶ τὸ
λέγειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ καταλαμβάνειν
ἀνυπαντίως καὶ ὑγιείως κατὰ θεὸν ἔξετάζηται· τὸ
[534] γὰρ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον μέτρον τοῦ ἦτ' ἐστί, τὰ δὲ
καθ' ἡμᾶς φενδή τε καὶ ἄδικα. XIX. εἰκότως οὖν
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν τὸ μὲν δέκατον τοῦ μέτρου τῆς
σεμιδάλεως τοῖς ιερείοις ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ συναν-
ενεχθῆσεται, ὁ δὲ ἐνατὸς ἀριθμός, τὸ λείψανον τοῦ
dεκάτου, παρ᾽ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παραμενεῖ.

τούτων συνάδει καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερεών εὐδελεχῆς θυσία·
tὸ γὰρ δέκατον τὸ τοῦ οἵφι σεμιδάλεως αἰεὶ δι-
eίρηται προσφέρειν αὐτοῖς. ἔμαθον γὰρ τὸν ἐνατον
ὑπερβαίνουτες αἰσθητόν δοκήσει θεόν τῶν δεκάτων
καὶ μόνον ὅντα ἀμενίδως προσκυνεῖν. ἐννέα γὰρ
ὁ κόσμος ἐλαχεὶς μοίρας, ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὀκτώ, τὴν
te ἀπαλανή καὶ ἔπτα τὰς πεπλαιμόμενας ἐν τάξει

α Or “Him who is tenth and alone truly exists”; or
“Him who is truly tenth and alone” (cf. § 10), referring to
the mystical identity of the Ten and the One.
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tradition he had learned from none other but himself. For "he gave him," it runs, "a tenth from all" (Gen. xiv. 20); from the things of sense, right use of sense; from the things of speech, good speaking; from the things of thought, good thinking. Admirable then, and demanded by the facts, are the 100 words added as a sort of side utterance, when while telling us how the memorial of the divine and heaven-sent food was enshrined in a golden jar he continues, "the omer was the tenth part of three measures" (Ex. xvi. 36). For we seem to contain three measures, sense, speech, mind; sense measuring the objects of sense, speech the parts of speech and what we say, and mind the things of mind. Of each of these three measures we must offer as it were a holy tenth, that speech, sense perception and apprehension may be judged soundly and blamelessly according to God's standard, for this is the true and just measure, while our measures are false and unjust. XIX. So too it is only natural that in the matter of sacrifices the tenths of the measure of fine flour should be brought with the victims to the altar (Ex. xxix. 40), while the numbers up to nine, what is left by the tenth, remain with ourselves. And the recurrent oblation of the priests is in agreement with this; they are commanded to offer always the tenth of the ephah of fine flour (Lev. vi. 20), for they have learned to rise above the ninth, the seeming deity, the world of sense, and to worship Him who is in very truth God, who stands alone as the tenth. For to the world belong nine parts, eight in heaven, one of the stars which wander not and seven of those that wander, though the order of their wandering is ever
φερομένας ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἐνάτην δὲ γῆν σὺν1 ὑδατι καὶ ἀέρι· τούτων γὰρ μία συγγένεια τροπᾶς καὶ 105 μεταβολὰς παντοίας δεχομένων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὰς ἐννέα ταύτας μοίρας καὶ τὸν παγέντα κόσμον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτίμησαν, ὃ δὲ τέλειος τὸν ύπεράνω τῶν ἐννέα, δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν, δέκατον θεὸν· ὅλον γὰρ ὑπερκύψας τὸ ἔργον ἐπόθει τὸν τεχνίτην, καὶ ἱκέτης καὶ θεραπευτὴς ἐσπούδαζεν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτῳ δεκάτην ἐνδελεχὴ τῷ δεκάτῳ καὶ μόνῳ 106 καὶ αἰωνίῳ ὁ ἱερεύς ἀνατίθησι. τοῦτο2 ἐστὶ κυρίως εἰπεῖν τῷ ψυχικῷ Πάσχα, ἡ <άπο> παντὸς πάθους καὶ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ διάβασις πρὸς τὸ δεκάτον, ὁ δὴ νοητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ θειόν· λέγεται γὰρ· “δεκάτη τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου λαβέτωσαν ἐκαστός πρόβατον κατ’ οἰκίαν,” ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν δεκάτω καθιερωθῆ τὰ θύματα διατηρηθέντα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατὰ δύο μοίρας ἐκ τριῶν πεφωτισμένη, μέχρι ὅτι ὁλὴ δὲ ὅλων γενομένη φέγγος οὐράνιον, οὐαὶ πλησιφαής σελήνη κατὰ δεύτερας ἐβδομάδος παραύζησιν, μὴ μόνον φυλάττειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ιερουργεῖν ἡδὴ δύνηται τάς ἀσυνεῖς καὶ ἀμώμους προ- 107 κοπᾶς. τοῦτο2 ἐστὶν ἱλασμός—καὶ γὰρ οὕτως δεκάτη τοῦ μηνὸς βεβαιοῦται, τὸν δέκατον ἱκετευούσης θεοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ

1 MSS. τὴν σὺν (ἐν).
2 MSS. ἱλασμός.
the same, while earth with water and air make the ninth, for the three form a single family, subject to changes and transformations of every kind. Now the mass of men pay honour to these nine parts and to the world which is formed from them, but he that has reached perfection honours Him that is above the nine, even their maker God, who is the tenth. For he continues to soar above all the artificer’s work and desire the artificer Himself, ever eager to be His suppliant and servant. That is why the priest offers recurrently a tenth to Him who is tenth and alone and eternal. We find this “ten” plainly stated in the story of the soul’s passover, the crossing from every passion and all the realm of sense to the tenth, which is the realm of mind and of God; for we read “on the tenth day of this month let everyone take a sheep for his house” (Ex. xii. 3), and thus beginning with the tenth day we shall sanctify to Him that is tenth the offering fostered in the soul whose face has been illumined through two parts out of three, until its whole being becomes a brightness, giving light to the heaven like a full moon by its increase in the second week. And thus it will be able not only to keep safe, but to offer as innocent and spotless victims its advances on the path of progress. We find the same in the propitiation which is established on the tenth day of the month (Lev. xxiii. 27), when the soul is suppliant to God the tenth, and is schooled to know the humili-

progress and preserves (or increases?) it till it reaches its consummation, when it offers itself to God. For the connexion of the sheep with moral progress cf. De Sac. 112 προκοπής δὲ πρόβατον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοὶ τοῦνομα (derived from προβαίνω) σύμβολον. φωτισμός and παραύξησις are the regular terms for the “lighting up” and increasing of the moon.

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οὐδενειαν τοῦ γενητοῦ περίνοιαν ὁ λογισμὸν πεποιθυίας καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπασὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ὑπερβολάς καὶ ἀκρότητας τοῦ ἄγενντος δεδιδαγμένης. Ἰλεος οὖν καὶ ἀνευ ἴκετείας Ἰλεος εὐθὺς γίνεται τοῖς ἔμπνυός κακοῦσι καὶ συντελλουσί καὶ μὴ καυχήσει καὶ οἴησει φυσωμένοις. τοῦτ' ἐστιν ᾠφεσία, τοῦτ' ἔλευθερία παντελῆς ψυχῆς διὸ ἐπλανῆθη τε πλάνον ἀποσειομένης καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπλανή φύσιν μεθορμιζομένης καὶ ἕπι τοὺς κλήρους ἐπανιούσης,

108 [535] οὐς ἔλαχεν, ἡνίκα λαμπρὸν | ἔπνευ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν καλῶν πόνους ἤθλει.2 τότε γὰρ αὐτὴν τῶν ἀθλων ἀγάμενος ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐτίμησε, γέρας ἐξαίρετον δοὺς, κλήρον ἀθάνατον, τὴν ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ γένει τάξιν. τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ σοφὸς ἴκετευε, μελλούσης ἐμπίπρασθαι λόγῳ μὲν τὴς Σοδομίτιδος γῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς ἐστειρωμένης τὰ καλὰ καὶ τυφλῆς τοῦ λογισμὸν ψυχῆς, ἵν' ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ τὸ δικαιοσύνης μημεῖον, ἡ δεκάς, ἐν αὐτῇ, τύχη τυνός ἀμνηστίας: ἀρχεῖα μὲν οὖν τῇς ἱκεσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀριθμοῦ, πεντηκοντάδος, λήγει δὲ εἰς δεκάδα, τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπολύτρωσιν.

109 γένει τάξιν. τοῦτο καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ σοφὸς ἴκετευε, μελλούσης ἐμπίπρασθαι λόγῳ μὲν τὴς Σοδομίτιδος γῆς, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς ἐστειρωμένης τὰ καλὰ καὶ τυφλῆς τοῦ λογισμὸν ψυχῆς, ἵν', ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ τὸ δικαιοσύνης μημεῖον, ἡ δεκάς, ἐν αὐτῇ, τύχη τυνός ἀμνηστίας: ἀρχεῖα μὲν οὖν τῇς ἱκεσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀριθμοῦ, πεντηκοντάδος, λήγει δὲ εἰς δεκάδα, τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπολύτρωσιν.

XX. ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Μωυσῆς μετὰ τὴν χιλιάρχων καὶ ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ πεντηκοντάρχων αἴρεσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι δεκάδαρχοις χειροτονεῖν, ἵν', εἰ μὴ δύνατο διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τάξεων βελτιωθῆσθαι ὁ νοῦς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν

1 mss. περίνοιαν (-as): Mangey adopted περινοία, but took it as "having learnt by sagacity of reason the nothingness," etc., a sense which πεποιθυίας cannot, I think, bear. The translation given above is just grammatical, but awkward in the extreme. For conjectures see Appendix, p. 579.

2 mss. ἤθλει.

a Though 50 (see § 109) is the leading number in the

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tion and nothingness of its trust in the sagacity of a created reason, and how transcendent and supreme is the Uncreated in all that is good. And so He becomes propitious, and propitious even at once without their supplication, to those who afflict and belittle themselves and are not puffed up by vaunting and self-pride. We find it in the 108 "release" (Lev. xxv. 9 ff.), in the perfect freedom of soul which shakes off the wandering of its past and finds a new harbour in the nature which wanders not, and returns to the heritages which it received in the years when the breath of its spirit was fresh and strong, and travail which has the good for its prize exercised its energy. For then the holy word, in admiration of its efforts, honoured it, and gave it a special guerdon, an undying heritage, its place in the order of the imperishable. We find it in the suppliant prayer of wise Abraham, 109 who when fire was about to consume what is called the land of Sodom, but is in reality a soul barren of good and blind of reason, prayed that if there should be found in it that token of righteousness, the ten, it might receive some remission of punishment (Gen. xviii. 32). He begins indeed his supplication with fifty, the number of release, but ends with ten, which closes the possibility of redemption. 

XX. It is on the same principle, as it seems to me, 110 that Moses, after choosing rulers of thousands and hundreds and fifties, appointed rulers of tens last of all (Ex. xviii. 25), so that if the mind could not be bettered through the work of the senior ranks, it might get purification through the hindermost.

institution of the Jubilee year, Philo refers to its proclamation on the 10th day of the month.
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111 ύστάτων καθαίρεται. πάγκαλον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ὁ τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς παῖς ἐμαθεν, ἡνίκα τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην ἐπρέσβευε προσβείαν, αὐτο-μαθεὶ σοφῶ προξενῶν οἰκειοτάτην ἀρετήν, ἐπίμονήν. “δέκα γὰρ καμήλους λαμβάνει,” τὴν δεκάδος, λέγω δὲ παιδεῖας ὀρθῆς, ἀνάμνησιν, ἀπὸ πολλῶν Ἀπείρων μὲν οὖν τοῦ κυρίου μνημῶν. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ “τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνου” δήλον ὃς οὐκ ἄργυρον οὐδὲ χρυσὸν ἢ τινὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐν υλαις φθαρτάις—τὴν γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσρησιν οὐδέποτε τούτοις ἐπεφήμισε Μωυσῆς,—ἀλλὰ τὰ γνήσια, ἃ δὴ ψυχῆς ἐστι μόνα, ἐφοδιάζεται καὶ ἐμπορεύεται, διδασκαλίαν, προκοπῆν, σπουδήν, πόθον, ᾠδον, ἐνθουσιασμοὺς, προφητείας, τοῦ κατορθούν ἐρωτα· οἷς ἐμμελετῶν καὶ ενασκούμενος, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐκ πελάγους ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμενὲς μέλλη, λήψεται δύο μὲν ἐνώτια, ἀνά δραχμῆς ὅλκην, ψέλια δὲ δέκα χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κείρας τῆς προξενουμένης. ὁ θεοπρεπῶς κόσμοι, δραχμὴν μίαν εἴναι τὸ άκουσμα καὶ μονάδα ἀρραγῆς καὶ ὅλκον φύσει—άκοήν γάρ οὐδενὶ σχολάξεις ἐμπρεπές, οτι μὴ λόγῳ ἐνί, ὅσ ἀν τὰς τοῦ ἐνός ἀρετὰς καὶ μόνον θεοῦ καλῶς διεξέρχηται,—δέκα δὲ χρυσῶν τὰ ἐγχειρήματα· πράξεις γὰρ αἱ κατὰ σοφίαν τελείους ἄριθμοῖς βεβαιοῦνται, καὶ ἔστων ἐκάστη τιμιωτέρα χρυσοῦ.

113 σιασμοῦς, προφητείας, τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἐρωτα· οἷς ἐμμελετῶν καὶ ἐνασκούμενος, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐκ πελάγους ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμενὲς μέλλη, λήψεται δύο μὲν ἐνώτια, ἀνὰ δραχμῆς ὅλκην, ψέλια δὲ δέκα χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κείρας τῆς προξενουμένης. ὁ θεοπρεπῶς κόσμοι, δραχμὴν μίαν εἴναι τὸ άκουσμα καὶ μονάδα ἀρραγῆς καὶ ὅλκον φύσει—άκοήν γάρ οὐδενὶ σχολάξεις ἐμπρεπές, ὅτι μὴ λόγῳ ἐνί, ὅσ ἀν τὰς τοῦ ἐνός ἀρετὰς καὶ μόνον θεοῦ καλῶς διεξέρχηται,—δέκα δὲ χρυσῶν τὰ ἐγχειρήματα· πράξεις γὰρ αἱ κατὰ σοφίαν τελείους ἄριθμοῖς βεβαιοῦνται, καὶ ἔστων ἐκάστη τιμιωτέρα χρυσοῦ.

114 XXI. τοιαύτη τις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀριστηδὴν ἐπικριθείσα τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰσφορά, ἣν

1 mss. μέν: perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, μὲν μίαν.
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 111–114

And that is the high truth, too, which 111 the servant of the lover of learning had mastered when he went as ambassador on that splendid errand, wooing for the man of self-taught wisdom the bride most suited to him, constancy (Gen. xxiv. 10); for out of the many or rather countless memories of his lord, he takes "ten camels," that is the "reminding"\(^a\) which right instruction figured by the ten produces. He takes too of "his goods," clearly meaning not 112 gold or silver or any others which are found in perishable materials, for Moses never gave the name of good to these; but genuine goods, which are soul-goods only, he takes for his journey's provisions and his trading wares,—teaching, progress, earnestness, longing, ardour, inspiration, prophecy, and the love of high achievement. By practice and exercising himself in these, when the time comes for him to leave the seas, so to speak, and anchor in harbour, we shall find that he takes two ear-rings, drawing a weight\(^b\) of a drachma, and bracelets of ten weights of gold for the hands of the bride, whom he courts for his master (Gen. xxiv. 22). Truly a glorious adorning, first that the thing heard should be a single drachma, a unit without fractions whose nature is to draw, for it is not well that hearing should devote itself to aught save one story only, a story which tells in noble words the excellences of the one and only God; secondly, that the undertakings of the hands should be of ten weights of gold, for the actions of wisdom rest firmly on perfect numbers and each of them is more precious than gold.

XXI. Such too is that 114 tribute of the princes, chosen as the best that they

\(^a\) For the symbolism of camels = memory, and Philo's reasons for it, cf. De Post. 148 f.

\(^b\) For the play on \(\delta\lambdaκ\, \delta\lambdaκ\,\) see De Mig. 202.
εποιήσαντο, ἡνίκα ἡ ψυχή κατασκευασθείσα ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἱεροπρεπῶς τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἤγεν αὐτῆς 
ἐνχαριστούσα τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ ὕφηγητή θεῷ.
"θυίσκην γὰρ δέκα χρυσῶν πλήρη θυμάματος
ἀνατίθην," ῥοτὰ ὑπὸ φρονήσεως καὶ πάσης
ἀρετῆς ἀναδιομένας αὕρας ὁ μόνος ἐπικρίνη 
σοφὸς.
115 ἐπειδὰν δὲ δόξῳσε ἐμαυτεὶς, τὸ ἑφύμινον ὁ
[536] Ἀρτέμιδος λέγων: "ὁμοφράνθη κύριος ὅσμῆν
ἐνωδίας," τὸ ὁμοφρανθῆναι τὺθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ 
συναινέσαί· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος οὐδὲ 
μυκτήρων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων μερῶν ἵ
χρεῖος.
116 προῦν δὲ καὶ τὸ θείον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὴν σκηνὴν,
"δέκα αὐλαίας" ἔρει· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης πήγμα
σοφίας ἀριθμὸν τέλειον εἰληχε, δεκάδ: 
σοφία ἡ αὐλὴ καὶ βασίλειών ἐστὶ τοῦ 
πανηγεμόνος καὶ
117 μόνον βασιλέως αὐτοκράτορος. ὁ μὲν δὴ 
νοητὸς ὀίκος σῶτος, αἰσθητὸς δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ
tὰς αὐλαίας ἐκ τοιούτων συνύφηνεν, ἃ τῶν 
tεττάρων στοιχείων σύμβολα ἐστὶν· ἐκ γὰρ 
βύσσου καὶ ὑάκινθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ 
κοκκίνου δημιουργοῦνται, τεττάρων, ὃς ἔφην, 
ἀριθμῷ. 1 
σύμβολον 
δὲ γῆς μὲν ἡ βύσσος—φύεται γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης,—
ἀέρος δὲ ὁ ὑάκινθος—μέλας γὰρ ὀοτὸς φύσει,—
ὑδάτος δὲ ἡ πορφύρα—τὸ γὰρ τῆς βαφῆς αἴτιον ἐκ

1 So Mangey: mss. and Wendland ἀριθμῶν.

a Or "chosen (by God) in virtue of the princes' special 
rank or merit"; cf. Plato, Legg. 855 c τὸ τῶν περυσιῶν 
ἀρχῶντων ἀριστινδὴν ἀπομερισθέν δικαστήριον. 
Mangey's translation, "per optimates virilitim facta 
collatio," gives no adequate sense to ἀριστινδήν.
b There is an obvious play on αὐλή and αὐλαίας which 
cannot be reproduced in English.
c Or "the adornment (i.e. the curtains) is perceived by
had, which they offered when the soul, equipped by the love of wisdom, celebrated its dedication in right holy fashion, giving thanks to the God who was its teacher and guide. For the worshipper offers "a censer of ten gold weights, full of incense" (Num. vii. 14, 20, etc.), that God who alone is wise might choose the perfumes exhaled by wisdom and every virtue. And when these perfumes are pleasant in His judgement, Moses will celebrate them in a hymn of triumph in the words "The Lord smelt a scent of sweet fragrance" (Gen. viii. 21). Here he uses smell in the sense of accept, for God is not of human form, nor has need of nostrils or any other parts as organs. And further on he will speak of God's dwelling-place, the tabernacle, as being "ten curtains" (Ex. xxvi. 1), for to the structure which includes the whole of wisdom the perfect number ten belongs, and wisdom is the court and palace of the All-ruler, the sole Monarch, the Sovereign Lord. This dwelling is a house perceived by the mind, yet it is also the world of our senses, since he makes the curtains to be woven from such materials as are symbolical of the four elements; for they are wrought of fine linen, of dark red, of purple and of scarlet, four in number as I said. The linen is a symbol of earth, since it grows out of earth; the dark red of air, which is naturally black; the purple of water, since the means by which the dye is produced, the shell-fish sense." The translation above is given in the belief that the thought is something less obvious. Philo finding the tabernacle apparently identified with the curtains (ποιήσεις σκηνήν δέκα αὐλαίας) infers the mystical identity of the two worlds, cf. De Mig. 205. But it is difficult to extract this sense from the words as they stand. Perhaps read αἰσθητὸς δὲ καὶ κόσμος.  

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θαλάττης, ή ὄμωνυμοῦσα κόγχη,—πυρὸς δὲ τὸ κόκκινον· ἐμφερέστατον γὰρ φλογὶ.

118 πάλιν γε μὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀφηνιάσασαν, ἦνίκα τὸν ἀντίθετον ἀπεσέμνυν μὲν τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀναδοῦσα αὐτῷ, τὸν θρόνον, τὸ σκήπτρον, τὸ διάδημα, δέκα πληγαίς καὶ τιμωρίαις ὅ τῶν ὅλων ἐπίτροπος καὶ κηδεμών νουθετεῖ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπισχνεῖται τῷ σοφῷ οὕτε πλειώνοι οὕτε ἐλαττόνων, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ μόνον δέκα ἐθνῶν ἀπώλειαν καὶ παντελῆ φθορὰν ἐργάσεσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων χώραν δώσειν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ, πανταχοῦ δεκάδι καὶ πρὸς ἐπαινοῦ καὶ πρὸς φόνον καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν καὶ πρὸς κόλασιν καταχρήσθαι δυκαίων.

119 καίτοι τί τούτων μεμνήμεθα; τὴν γάρ ἱερὰν καὶ θείαν νομοθεσίαν δέκα τοῖς σύμπασι λόγοις Μωυσῆς ἀναγέγραφεν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ θεσμοί, τῶν καὶ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, ρίζαι καὶ ἀρχαῖ πηγαῖ διατάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις περιεχόντων ἐπ' ὁφελεῖά τῶν χρωμένων.

120 καίτοι τί τούτων μεμνήμεθα; τὴν γάρ ἱερὰν καὶ θείαν νομοθεσίαν δέκα τοῖς σύμπασι λόγοις Μωυσῆς ἀναγέγραφεν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ θεσμοί, τῶν καὶ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, ρίζαι καὶ ἀρχαῖ πηγαῖ διατάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις περιεχόντων ἐπ' ὁφελεῖά τῶν χρωμένων.

· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ θεσμοί, τῶν καὶ μέρος ἀπείρων νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, ρίζαι καὶ ἀρχαῖ πηγαῖ διατάξεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις περιεχόντων ἐπ' ὁφελεῖά τῶν χρωμένων.

XXII. εἰκότως οὖν μετὰ δεκατίαν τῆς εἰς Χαναναίων γῆν καὶ Αγαρ κοινωνία γίνεται· οὐ γάρ εὐθὺς λογικοὶ γενόμενοι πλαδώσης ἐτὶ τῆς διανοίας ὁρεχθήναι παίδειας τῆς ἐγκυκλίου δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν σύνεσιν καὶ ἀγχίνοιαν κραταιοσάμενοι μηκέτι κούφη καὶ ἐπιστολαί, ἀλλὰ βεβαιὰ καὶ παγία γνώμη περὶ ἀπάντων χρώμεθα.

1 MSS. ἀντίθετον.

2 MSS. ἐκκλησίαν — a very drastic alteration, for which, however, there seems no alternative; unless indeed we substituted ἀναδεδιδάξειν for ἀναγέγραφεν. But the congregation though often called “holy” could hardly be called “divine.”

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THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 117–121

which bears the same name, comes from the sea; and the scarlet of fire, since it closely resembles flame. Again rebellious Egypt, when it glorified the mind which usurps the place of God, and bestowed on it the emblems of sovereignty, the throne, the sceptre, the diadem, is admonished through ten plagues and punishments by the Guardian and Ruler of all. In the same way He promises to wise Abraham that He will work the ruin and complete destruction of just ten nations, neither more nor less, and will give the land of the victims to his descendants (Gen. xv. 18-20). Thus everywhere he thinks well to extend the meaning of the ten, to cover both praise and blame, honour and chastisement. But why note such examples as these, when the holy and divine law is summed up by Moses in precepts which are ten in all, statutes which are the general heads, embracing the vast multitude of particular laws, the roots, the sources, the perennial fountains of ordinances containing commandments positive and prohibitive for the profit of those who follow them?

XXII. It is quite natural, then, that the mating with Hagar should take place when ten years have elapsed from the arrival in the land of the Canaanites; for we cannot desire the training of the schools the moment we become reasoning beings, as the understanding is still soft and flaccid. That only comes when we have hardened our intelligence and quickness of mind and possess about all things a judgement which is no longer light and superficial, but firm and steady.

3 All mss. but one γῆς, which points to Mangey’s conjecture τῆς εἰς Χανααῖων Ἑκ Χαλδαίων> γῆς.
Διό τάκόλουθον προσυφαινεται | το “εἰσήλθη
πρὸς "Ἀγαρ"· ἢν γάρ ἀρμόττον τῷ μανθάνοντι
πρὸς ἐπιστήμην διδάσκαλον φοιτᾶν, ὥστε ἀναδιδαχθῇ
τα προσήκοντα ἀνθρώπου φύσει παιδεύματα. νυνι
μὲν ὁ γνώριμος εἰς διδασκάλου βαδίζων εἰσάγεται.
προεκτρέχει δὲ πολλάκις ἐξουκίσασα φθόνον ἄφ'
123 ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἑχοντας εὐφυῶς ἐπιστάται, τὴν
γοῦν ἀρετήν, Λείαν, ἔστων ἰδεῖν προαπαντώσαν καὶ
λέγουσαν τῷ ἀσκητῇ "πρὸς μὲ εἰσελεύση σῆμερον," ἥνικα ἐκεῖνος ἀγρόθεν ἐπανήει. ποῦ γὰρ
ὡφειλεν <εἰσ>ελθεῖν ο τῶν ἐπιστήμης σπερμάτων
καὶ φυτῶν ἐπιμελητῆς, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὴν γεωρ-
124 γηθείσαν ἀρετήν; XXIII. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ
ἀποπειρωμένη τῶν φοιτητῶν, ὥς ἑχουσι προ-
θυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς, οὐχ ὑπαντά μὲν, ἐγκαλυφα-
μένη δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ὄσπερ Θάμαρ ἐπὶ τρίδου
καθέτεται, πόρνης δόξαν παρασχοῦσα τοῖς ὄδιο
βαδίζουσιν, ἡν οἱ περιέργως ἑχοντες ἀνακαλύ-
ψαντες ἀναφήνωσι καὶ καταθέασωνται τὸ ἀφαντον
καὶ ἀμιάντον καὶ παρθένων ὄντως αἴδους καὶ
125 σωφροσύνης ἑκπρεπέστατον κάλλος. τὸς οὖν ὁ
ἐξεταστικός καὶ φιλομαθής καὶ μηδὲν ἀσκεπτὸν
c καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν ἐγκαλυμμένως πραγμάτων
παραλυτικῶν ἑξετάτων ἄξιως ἔστων, ὅτι μὴ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος
καὶ βασιλεύς καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεόν ὀμολογίαις ἐμ-
μένων τε καὶ χαίρων, ὅνομα Ἰούδας; "ἐξέκλινε"
γάρ φησι “πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὄδον καὶ ἔπεν· ἐασόν
με εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς σέ”—ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμελλε παρα-
βιάζοντι—καὶ σκοπεῖν, τίς τε ἡ ἐγκαλυμμένη
126 δύναμις ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τί παρεσκεύασται. μετὰ τοῖς

1 Some mss. and Wendland τοῦ.
That is why the text continues with the words that follow, "He went in unto Hagar" (Gen. xvi. 4), for it was well that the learner should resort to knowledge as his teacher, to be instructed in the lessons suited to human nature. In the present case the pupil is represented as going to the teacher's school, but often knowledge rids herself of grudging pride, runs out to meet the gifted disciples, and draws them into her company. And so we may see that Leah, or virtue, goes forth to meet the Man of Practice when he was returning from the field, and says to him, "Thou shalt come in unto me to-day" (Gen. xxx. 16); for whither indeed should he go in, he who is tending the seeds and saplings of knowledge, save to virtue, the field of his husbandry?

XXIII. But sometimes she makes trial of her scholars, to test their zeal and earnestness; and then she does not meet them, but veils her face and sits like Tamar at the cross-roads, presenting the appearance of a harlot to the passers-by (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 15). Her wish is that inquiring minds may unveil and reveal her and gaze upon the glorious beauty, inviolate, undefiled and truly virginal, of her modesty and chastity. Who then is he, the investigator, the lover of learning, who refuses to leave aught of the things that are veiled, unexamined and unexplored? He can only be the chief captain, the king, whose name is Judah, who persists and rejoices in confessing and praising God. "He turned aside his path to her" (Gen. xxxviii. 16) it says, and said "Suffer me to come in unto thee." "Suffer me," he means (for he would not use force to her), "suffer me to see what is the virtue which veils its face from me, and what purpose it is prepared to serve." And so then after he went
τὸ εἰσελθεῖν γέγραπται "καὶ συνέλαβε" καὶ τὸ "τίς" ὅτι οὐ μεμήνυται· συλλαμβάνει γὰρ καὶ συναρπάζει ἡ μὲν τέχνη τῶν μανθάνοντα ἐρωτικῶς ἐχεῖν ἀναπείθουσα ἑαυτῆς, ὥς δὲ μανθάνων τὴν διδασκούσαν, ὅποτε φιλομαθὴς εἶη.

127 Πολλάκις δὲ τίς τῶν μέσας ἐπιστήμασι ὑφηγούμενων γνωρίμου τυχῶν εὐφυός ηὐχησὲν ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μόνος ὑπολαβὼν τῷ φοιτητῇ γεγονέναι τῆς εὐμαθίας αἴτιος, καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἑαυτὸν ὑπαχεὶν· καὶ τὰς ὅψιν ἐν μάλα ἀνασπάσας τετύφωσαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων συν-διαστρίβειν πάμπολλα αἴτει· οὔς δὲ ἀν αἰσθηταὶ πένητας μὲν, δυσμένας δὲ παιδείας, ἀποστρέφεται, ὢσπερ θησαυρὸν τίνα σοφίας μόνος ἀνευρηκώς.

128 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ "ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχεῖν," οἴδειν καὶ τετυφώσθαι καὶ ὅγκον πλείονα· τοῦ μετρίου περιβεβλήσαται, δι' ὅν καὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν, ἀρετήν, ἔδοξάν τινες ἀτιμάζειν, ἐπὶ-

129 τιμον ὅσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ψυχαί μετὰ φρονήσεως κυνοφοροῦσι <μετὰ>² πραγμάτων τικ-τουσιν ὅμως τὰ συγκεχυμένα διακρῖνουσι καὶ |

1 mss. πολλάκις δὲ τίνα τῶν μέσων ἐπιστημῶν ὑφηγούμενου (·η), which Mangey keeps with ὑφηγούμενος.

² <μετὰ> is my insertion: Mangey takes πραγμάτων as object of κυνοφοροῦσι (surely impossible) and reads ὁμοίως for ὅμως (i.e. all these souls bear in the same way): Wendland proposed <ἀνευ> πραγμάτων . . . ἀπόνως. I understand Philo to mean that these souls, before they attain their εὐτοκία, have to go through the pains suggested by διαστέλλονσαι τὰ συγκεχυμένα. I have not found the combination μετὰ πραγμάτων as antithesis to the common ἀνευ, but σὺν πράγμασι and μετὰ πραγματείας are quoted.
THE PRELIMINARY STUDIES, 126–129

in to her, we read of a conceiving or taking⁴ (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Who it is who conceives or takes we are not told in so many words. For the art or science that is studied does seize and take hold of the learner and persuades him to be her lover, and in like manner the learner takes his instructress, when his heart is set on learning.

Often on the other hand some teacher of the lower 127 subjects, who has chanced to have a gifted pupil, boasts of his own teaching power, and supposes that his pupil’s high attainments are due to him alone. So he stands on tiptoe, puffs himself out, perks up his neck and raises high his eyebrows, and in fact is filled with vanity, and demands huge fees from those who wish to attend his courses; but when he sees that their thirst for education is combined with poverty, he turns his back on them as though there were some treasures of wisdom which he alone has discovered. That is the condition called 128 “having in the womb,” a swollen, vanity-ridden condition, robed in a vesture of inordinate pride, which makes some people appear to dishonour virtue, the essentially honourable mistress in her own right of the lower branches of knowledge. The souls then 129 whose pregnancy is accompanied with wisdom, though they labour, do bring their children to the birth, for they distinguish and separate what is in con-

⁴ i.e. grammatically the subject of συνέλαβε may be either. Philo must not be thought to deny that in the literal story the subject must be Tamar, but spiritually both learner and teacher may be said συλλαμβάνειν in its original sense of to seize or take, and he considers himself entitled to find this secondary thought in the text.
PHILO

[538] διαστέλλουσαι, καθάπερ ἡ Ρεβέκκα—λαβοῦσα γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ τῶν δυτικῶν διανοιάς ἐθνῶν ἐπιστήμην, ἀρετής τε καὶ κακίας, εὐτοκία χρωμένη τῇ ἐκατέρου φύσιν διαστέλλει τε καὶ διακρίνει—δόσαι δὲ ἄνευ φρονήσεως, ἡ ἀμβλύσκουσιν ἡ δύσερν καὶ σοφιστῆν βάλλουντα καὶ τοξεύοντα ἡ βαλλόμενον 130 καὶ τοξευόμενον ἀποκύουσι. καὶ μήποτε εἰκότως· αἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνειν αἱ δὲ ἔχειν ἐν γαστρὶ οἴονται, παμμεγέθους <οὐσία> διαφοράς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν νομίζουσι τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ γένεσιν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιγράφουσαι σεμνομυθοῦσι, αἱ δὲ λαμβάνειν ἄξιονναι τὸ μὲν μηδὲν οἰκείον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχειν συνομολογοῦσι, τὰ δὲ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς γονάς ἔξωθεν ἀρδομένας καταλαμβάνουσαι καὶ θαυμάζουσαι3 τὸν διδόντα κακὸν μέγιστον, φιλαυτίας, ἀγαθῆς τελείως, θεοσβείας, διωθοῦνται. XXIV. τούτου τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ νομοθετικὴς τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις κατεβλήθη σπέρματα· "ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευί, ὅς ἔλαβε τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευί, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλαβε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρρεν· ἠδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀστεῖον ὃν ἐσκέπασαν 132 αὐτὸ μήνας τρεῖς." οὕτως ἐστὶ Μωυσῆς, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ὁ ἀστεῖος ὄντως, ὁ νομοθετικὴν ὁμοί καὶ προφητεῖαν ἐνθουσιώσῃ καὶ θεοφορήτω σοφία λαβών, ὃς γένος ὃν τῆς Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς καὶ

1 mss. διανοιάς.
2 The word hardly makes sense: ? ἀρρεν.
3 mss. καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ θαυμάζουσι.

* Cf. De Cher. 9 ff.
fusion within them, just as Rebecca, receiving in her womb the knowledge of the two nations of the mind, virtue and vice, distinguished the nature of the two and found therein a happy delivery (Gen. xxv. 23). But where its pregnancy is without wisdom, the soul either miscarries or the offspring is the quarrelsome sophist who shoots with the bow (Gen. xxi. 20), or is the target of the bowman. And this contrast is to be expected. For the one kind of soul thinks that it receives in the womb, and the other that it has in the womb, and that is a mighty difference. The latter, supposing that they “have,” with boastful speech ascribe the choice and the birth to themselves. The former claim but to receive, and confess that they have of themselves nothing which is their own. They accept the seeds of impregnation that are showered on them from outside, and revere the Giver, and thus by honouring God they repel the love of self, repel, that is, the greatest of evils by the perfect good.

XXIV. In this way too were sown the seeds of the legislative art which we men enjoy. “There was,” says the Scripture, “a man of the tribe of Levi who took one of the daughters of Levi and had her to wife, and she received in her womb and bore a male child, and seeing that he was goodly they guarded him for three months” (Ex. ii. 1, 2). This is Moses, the mind of purest quality, the truly “goodly,” who, with a wisdom given by divine inspiration, received the art of legislation and prophecy alike, who being of the tribe of Levi both

\[a\] Or “seize upon.” The word expresses something less passive than λαμβάνειν but escapes the thought of self-satisfaction which he finds in ἔχειν.

\[b\] See note on De Conf. 106.
φιλο

τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀμφιθαλῆς τῆς 133 ἀληθείας ἔχεται. μέγιστον δὲ ἐπάγγελμα τοῦ γενόμενον τῆς φυλῆς ἐστὶ ταύτης. θαρρεῖ γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι αὐτὸς μόι μόνος ἐστὶ θεός τιμητέος, ἀλλο δ' οὐδὲν τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν, οὐ γῆ, οὐ θάλασσα, οὔ ποταμὸς, οὐκ ἀέρος φύσις, οὐ πνευμάτων οὐχ ὦρων1 μεταβολαί, οὐ σφών οὐ φυτῶν ἰδέαι, οὐχ ἥλιος, οὐ σελήνη, οὐκ ἀστέρων πλῆθος ἐν τάξεων ἐναρμονίων περιπολούντων, οὐχ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός 134 τε καὶ κόσμος, μεγάλης καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς ψυχῆς τὸ αὐχήμα, γένεσιν ὑπερκύπτειν καὶ τοὺς ὄρους αὐτῆς ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ μέγιστον τοῦ ἀγενήτου περιέχεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ίερὰς ὑφήγησις, ἐν αῖς διείρηται ἐν άναρμονίοις περὶπολούντων, οὐχ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός 135 λέγεται, "κύριος αὐτὸς κλήρος αὐτοῦ." οὔτως ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐχουσαι2 αἱ σωματικὸι ὁφθαλμοὶ πολλάκις μέν ἀμυδρῶς πολλάκις δὲ τηλαυγῶς ὀρῶσι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα τοτὲ μὲν ὑποσυγκεκχυμένας καὶ ἀδήλους τοτὲ δὲ καθαρὰς καὶ τρανὰς δέχεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἱδιότητας. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀσαφῆς καὶ ἀδήλους τοτὲ μὲν ἀσαφῆς καὶ ἀδήλους τοτὲ μὲν ἀσαφῆς καὶ ἀδήλους τοτὲ δὲ καθαρὰς καὶ τρανὰς δέχεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἱδιότητας. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀσαφῆς καὶ ἀδήλους τοτὲ ἐμβρύω διατυπωθέντι, ἢ δὲ ἐναρμονίας καὶ τρανῆ 1 MSS. ἀέρων or καλρων. 2 MSS. ἐχουσαι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνουσαι.

1 Or "being of the tribe of Levi and equally fortunate both on his father's and his mother's side, holds fast to truth." But the point of the last words is not clear in this rendering.
on the father's and the mother's side has a double link with truth. Great indeed is the profession of the founder of this tribe. He has the courage to say, God and God alone must I honour, not aught of what is below God, neither earth nor sea nor rivers, nor the realm of air, nor the shiftings of the winds and seasons, nor the various kinds of animals and plants, nor the sun nor the moon nor the host of the stars, performing their courses in ranks of ordered harmony, no, nor yet the whole heaven and universe. A great and transcendent soul does such a boast bespeak, to soar above created being, to pass beyond its boundaries, to hold fast to the Uncreated alone, following the sacred admonitions in which we are told to cling to Him (Deut. xxx. 20), and therefore to those who thus cling and serve Him without ceasing He gives Himself as portion, and this my affirmation is warranted by the oracle which says, "The Lord Himself is his portion" (Deut. x. 9). Thus we see the capacity to bear comes to souls by "receiving" rather than by "having in the womb."

But just as the eyes of the body often see dimly and often clearly, so the distinguishing characteristics which things present sometimes reach the eye of the soul in a blurred and confused, sometimes in a clear and distinct form. When the vision thus presented is indistinct and ill-defined, it is like the embryo not yet fully formed in the depths of the womb; when it is distinct and definite, it bears

\[\text{Levi, not Moses as Wendland seems to think. See App. p. 579.}\]
\[\text{οὖτως takes us back to the argument, interrupted in§ 133 by the meditation on the tribe of Levi, and, as often, marks the conclusion of the argument. In §§ 138-139 we have a different point, though suggested by it.}\]
Philosophus

μάλιστα τῷ διαπεπλασμένῳ καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς μερῶν τετεχνυτευμένῳ καὶ τὴν 137 ἀρμόττουσαν ἰδέαν ἀπειληφότι. νόμος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐγράφη πάνω καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως τεθεὶς οὗτος. "Εάν μαχομένων ἄνδρῶν δύο πατάξῃ τις γυναῖκα ἐν γαστρὶ ἐξουσιάν καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὸ παιδίον αὐτῆς μὴ ἐξεικονισμένον, ἐπιζήμιον ζητοῦσαν καθ’ ὁ τι ἢν ἐπιβάλη ὁ ἁνήρ τῆς γυναικὸς, δώσει μετὰ ἄξιωματος· εάν δὲ ἐξεικονισμένον ἢ, δώσει ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς." οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὦμοιοι, τελειοῦ τε καὶ ἀτελές διανοίας ἐργον διαφθείρουσι, οὐδὲ εἰκα-ξόμενοι καὶ καταλαμβάνομενοι, οὐδὲ ἐλπιζόμενοι 138 καὶ ἣδη ὑπάρχον. διὰ τούτο ὅπου μὲν ἐπιτίμιον ἄδηλον ἐπὶ ἄδήλω πράγματι, ὅπου δὲ ὦμοιον ἐπὶ τελείω νομοθετεῖται, τελείω δὲ οὐχὶ τῷ πρὸς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ τινα τέχνην τῶν ἀνεπιλήπτων γενομένω· κυνοφορεὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ ἡ λαβοῦσα, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχουσα, οἷςώ πρὸ ἀτυφίας ἐπι-αγγελλομένη. καὶ γὰρ ἀμήχανον ἀμβλίσκειν τὴν ἐν γαστρὶ λαβοῦσαν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ σπείραν-τος ἐμπρεπὲς τελεσφορεῖσθαι· τὴν δὲ ἐχουσαν οὖκ ἀνοικεῖον, ἀτε νόσω χυρίς ιατροῦ κατεσχήμενην. 139 ΧΧV. Μη νομίσῃς δὲ τὴν Ἀγαρ λέγεσθαι ἑαυτὴν


1 mss. αὐτόν.

α Philo means that “perfected” or “fully grown” is here used of things on a lower plane. Since the woman of the enactment is said “to have in the womb,” the allegory cannot mean that the perfected work of the mind is one of moral perfection. It refers rather to the fully formed ideas produced by “a system of conceptions coordinated for some useful end” (see the definition of “art” in § 141). Such arts have nothing wrong about them (ἀνεπιλήπτων), but cannot rank with the study of virtue. For this reduced sense of ἀνεπιλήπτωσ see note on De Mig. 207.
a close analogy to the same embryo when fully shaped, with each of its parts inward and outward elaborated, and thus possessed of the form suited to it.

Now there is a law well and suitably enacted to deal with this subject which runs thus: "When two men are fighting if one strikes a woman who has in the womb, and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be surely fined: according as the husband of the woman shall lay upon him he shall be fined with a valuation, but if the child be fully formed he shall give life for life" (Ex. xxi. 22, 23). This was well said, for it is not the same thing to destroy what the mind has made when it is perfect as when it is imperfect, when it is guesswork as when it is apprehended, when it is but a hope as when it is a reality. Therefore in one the thing in question and the penalty are alike indefinite, in the other there is a specified penalty for a thing perfected. Note however that by "perfected" we do not mean perfected in virtue, but that it has attained perfection in some one of the arts to which no exception can be taken. For the child in this case is the fruit of one who has in the womb, not has received in the womb, one whose attitude is that of self-conceit rather than of modesty. And indeed miscarriage is impossible for her who "has received in the womb," for it is to be expected that the Sower should bring the plant to its fulness: for her who "has in the womb" it is natural enough; she is the victim of her malady, and there is no physician to help her.

XXV. Do not suppose that by the words "When
ορᾶν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν διὰ τοῦ "идοῦσαν ὅτι ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει," ἀλλὰ τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῆς Σάρραν. καὶ γὰρ ὕστερον αὐτῇ περὶ ἑαυτῆς φησιν: "идοῦσα ὅτι ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχει, ἔτιμάσθην ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς." διὰ τί; ὅτι αἱ μέσαι τέχναι, καὶ εἰ τὰ καθ᾽ αὐτῶς, ὃν εἶσι λέγωμεν, ὅρωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πάντως ἁμαρτωλοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιστήμη ματηαγωγὸς καὶ σοφόμορος ἐναργῶς καταλαμβάνεται ἐπιστήμη γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ τέχνης, τὸ βέβαιον καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου προσειληφθεῖσα. τέχνης μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτως· σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεως ἑν γαστρὶ εὐχρήστου, τοῦ εὐχρήστου διὰ τὰς κακοτεχνίας ὑγιῶς προστιθεμένου· ἐπιστήμης δὲ καταληψίας ἀσφάλης καὶ βέβαιον, ἀμετάπτωτος υπὸ λόγου. μουσικήν μὲν οὖν καὶ γραμματικήν καὶ τὰς συγγενεῖς καλούμεν τέχνας—καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀποτελοῦμενοι δι᾽ αὐτῶν τεχνῖται λέγονται μουσικοὶ τε καὶ γραμματικοί,—φιλοσοφίαν εἰς καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπιστήμασις καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰς ἐπιστήμονας. φρόνιμοι γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ὃν οὖν ἐισ ἐν τοῖς τῆς διαπεπονημένης ἐπιστήμης σφάλλεται δόγματι, καθάπερ οἱ προειρημένοι ἐν τοῖς τῶν μέσων τεχνῶν θεωρήμασιν.

1 LXX εἶδεν, which perhaps should be read here.
2 So LXX: MSS ἡτ(ο)μάσθη.
3 MSS. ἐγγεγυμνασμένον (-ον), which may be right. See App. p. 580.
she saw that she had in the womb ’ ’ (Gen. xvi. 4), it is meant that Hagar saw that it was so with herself. It is her mistress Sarah who saw, for afterwards Sarah says of herself, “ Seeing that she had in the womb, I was dishonoured before her ” (Gen. xvi. 5). Why is this? Because the lower arts, even if they see their own products, which are carried in their womb, necessarily see them but dimly, while they are clearly and very distinctly apprehended by knowledge in its various forms. For knowledge is something more than art, as it has in addition a stability which no argument can shake. The definition of art is as follows: a system of conceptions co-ordinated to work for some useful end, “ useful ” being a very proper addition to exclude mischievous arts. Knowledge on the other hand is defined as a sure and certain apprehension which cannot be shaken by argument. 

We give the name of arts therefore to music, grammar and the kindred arts, and accordingly those who by means of them reach fulness of accomplishment are called artists, whether they are musicians or grammarians; but we give the name of knowledge to philosophy and the other virtues, and that of men of knowledge to those who possess these virtues. Those only are prudent and temperate and philosophers who without exception do not err in the dogmatic conclusions belonging to that form of knowledge which they have mastered by their diligence in the way that the above-mentioned err in the more theoretical conclusions of the lower

and θεωρήματα, which are often combined by Philo, lies not so much in that the latter are uncertain (Euclid did not consider his θεωρήματα uncertain), as in that they are slighter, and do not rise to the status of an important principle.
143 ώσπερ γάρ ὀφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὀρῶσιν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι᾿ ὀφθαλμῶν τηλαυγέστερον, καὶ άκούει μὲν ὤτα, ὁ δὲ νοῦς δι᾿ ὤτων ἄμεινον, καὶ ὀσφραῖνονται μὲν οἱ μυκτῆρες, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ διὰ ῥινῶν ἐναργέστερον, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις τῶν καθ’ αὐτὰς ἀντιλαμβάνονται, καθαρώτερον δὲ καὶ εἰλικρινέστερον ἡ διάνοια—κυρίως γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἥδε ἐστὶν ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄκοη δὲ ἄκοης καὶ ἐκάστης τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἰσθήσεις εἰλικρινεστέρα, χρωμένη μὲν ἐκείναις ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ὑπηρέτω, δικάζουσα δ’ αὐτῇ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων, ὡς τοῖς μὲν συναίνειν, τὰ δὲ ἀποστρέφεσθαι,—οὕτως αἱ μὲν λεγόμεναι μέσαι τέχνην ταῖς καθ’ τὸ σῶμα δυνάμεσιν ἔοικυιαι τοῖς θεωρήμασιν ἐντυγχάνουσι κατά τινας ἀπλάς ἐπιβολάς, ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἐπιστήμαι καὶ συν ἐξετάσει περιττῆ. ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς αἰσθησιν, τούτ’ ἐπιστήμη πρὸς τέχνην ἐστὶ· καθάπερ γὰρ αἰσθησίς τις αἰσθήσεων, ὡς ἐλέχθη πρότερον, ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχή * * * ἐκείνων μὲν οὗν ἐκάστη μικρὰ ἄττα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει παρεσπάσατο, περὶ ὁ πονεῖται καὶ πραγματεύεται, γραμμάς μὲν γεωμετρία, φθόγγους δὲ μουσική, φιλοσοφία δὲ πάσαν τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν. ὧλη γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτής ὡς ὁ κόσμος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ὄντων ὀρατή τε καὶ ἀόρατος οὐσία. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἡ τὰ ὀλὰ καθορώσα θεᾶται καὶ τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἄμεινον ἐκείνων, ὁτε ὀφθαλμοῖς μείζον καὶ ὀξυέρκεστέροις ἐνομματωθείσα; εἰκότως οὖν ἡ κυρία φιλοσοφία τὴν μέσην παίδειαν, τὴν

1 Wendland supplies οὕτως τέχνη τις τεχνῶν ἐπιστήμη.

* Lit. “through simple applications (of the mind).” Cf. note on De Post. 79.

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arts. The following illustration may serve. The 143 eyes see, but the mind through the eyes sees further than the eyes. The ears hear, but the mind through the ears hears better than the ears. The nostrils smell, but the soul through the nose smells more vividly than the nose, and while the other senses apprehend the objects proper to them, the understanding apprehends with more purity and clarity. For we may say quite properly that the mind is the eye’s eye and the hearing’s hearing and the purified sense of each of the senses; it uses them as ushers in its tribunal, but itself passes judgement on the natures of the objects presented, giving its assent to some and refusing it to others. In the same way, what we call the lower or secondary arts, resembling as they do the bodily faculties, handle the questions which they answer without involved consideration, but knowledge in each case does so with greater accuracy and minute examination. What the mind is to sense, 144 that knowledge is to art; for just as, to repeat the statement, the soul is the sense of the senses, [so knowledge is the art of arts.] So each of the arts has detached and annexed some small items from the world of nature which engage its efforts and attention: geometry has its lines, and music its notes, but philosophy takes the whole nature of existing things; for its subject matter is this world and every form of existence visible and invisible. Why wonder, then, 145 if when it surveys the whole of things it sees also the parts, and sees them better than those others, furnished as it is with stronger eyes and more penetrating sight? Naturally then will the pregnancy of the handmaid, the lower instruction, be more visible to
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θεραπαινίδα αὐτῆς, ἐγκύμονα θεάσεται μᾶλλον ἢ

146 ἐαυτὴν ἐκείνην. XXVI. καίτοι γ' οὐδὲ
tοῦτό τις ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ μέρος τὰς
ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ἀναβλαστεῖν ἐδοξε
tὰ θεωρήματα, φιλοσοφία δεδώρηται. ἴσοπλευρα
gὰρ καὶ σκαλινὰ κύκλους τε καὶ πολυγώνια καὶ τὰ
άλλα σχήματα γεωμετρία προσεξεῦρε, σημειὸν δὲ
καὶ γραμμής καὶ ἐπιφανείας καὶ στερεοῦ φύσων, ὃ
dὴ ῥίζαι καὶ θεμέλιοι τῶν λεχθέντων εἰσίν, οὐκέτι

147 γεωμετρία. ὁδὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς λέγειν ὀριζομένην, ὅτι
σημεῖον μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μέρος οὐδὲν, γραμμὴ δὲ
μῆκος ἀπλατές, ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ὁ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος
μόνον ἔχει, στερεόν δὲ ὁ τὰς τρεῖς ἔχει διαστάσεις,
μῆκος, πλάτος, βάθος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνάκειται
φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ περὶ ὅρων πραγματεία πᾶσα τῷ

148 φιλοσόφῳ.

τὸ γε μὴν γράφειν καὶ
ἀναγινώσκειν γραμματικὴς τὴς ἀτελεστέρας επ­
άγγελμα, ἢ παρατρέποντές τινες γραμματιστικὴν
καλοῦσι, τῆς δὲ τελειότερας ἀνάπτυξις τῶν παρά

[541] ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεύσων. ἦτειδὰν οὐν περὶ
tῶν τοῦ λόγου διεξέρχωνται μερῶν, τότε οὐ τὰ
φιλοσοφίας εὑρήματα παρασπώνται τε καὶ παρ·

149 εργολαβοῦσι; ταύτης γὰρ ἴδιον ἔξετάζειν, τὶ σύν­
δεσμος, τὶ ὅνομα, τὶ βῆμα, τὶ κοινὸν ὅνομα, τὶ
ἴδιον, τὶ ἐλλιπέσ ἐν λόγῳ, τὶ πλήρες, τὶ ἀποφαντὸν,
tὶ ἔρωτημα, τὶ πύσμα, τὶ περιεκτικὸν, τὶ εὐκτικὸν,

a Or “prose-writers” in general. On the definition of
γραμματική here given see App. p. 580.
b The word (παρεργολαβεΐν) is not known elsewhere.
L. & S. translate “take as an accessory.” Stephanus
(impossibly) “quaestum ex aliqua re facere.” I understand
the word, in accordance with the common use of πάρεργον for
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the mistress philosophy than it is to the handmaid herself. XXVI. And indeed this too is 146 general knowledge that all the particular arts have their origins and the germs from which the conclusions they reach seem to spring, as a gift from philosophy. For such further matters as isosceles and scalene triangles, and circles and polygons and the other figures are the discovery of geometry; but when we come to the nature of the point, the line, the superficies and the solid which are the roots and foundations of those named above, we leave geometry behind. For whence does she obtain the definition of a point as that which has no parts, of a line as length without breadth, of superficies as that which has length and breadth only, and of a solid as that which has three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth? For these belong to philosophy, and the whole subject of definitions is the philosopher’s province. Again the lower stage of grammar, 148 sometimes by a slight modification of γραμματική called γραμματιστική, undertakes to teach reading and writing, while the task of the higher stage is the elucidation of the writings of the poets and historians. When therefore they discourse on the parts of speech, are they not encroaching on, and casually appropriating the discoveries of philosophy? For it is the exclusive property of philosophy to examine what a conjunction is, or a noun, or a verb, or a common as distinguished from a proper noun, or in the sentence what is meant by defective or complete or declaratory or inquiry, or question, or comprehensive, or pre-

a thing of secondary importance, to imply that they adopt these terms without any thought of how they are arrived at or any conception of their importance.
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τἳ ἀρατικῶν. τὰς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ κατηγορημάτων πραγματείας ἢδ' ἐστὶν ἡ 150 συνθείσα. ὡμίφωνον δὲ ἡ φωνή ἡ παντελῶς ἀφώνοι στοιχεῖον ἰδεῖν, καὶ πῶς ἐκαστὸν τοὺς ἐξωθε λέγεσθαι; καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ φωνῆς καὶ στοιχείων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν ἰδέα οὐ φιλοσοφία πεπόνηται καὶ κατήνυσται; βραχείας δ' ὥστε ἀπὸ χειμάρρους σπάσαντες λιβάδας καὶ βραχυτέραις ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς ἑναποθλίψαντες τὸ κλαπέν οἱ φῶρες οὐκ ἔρυθρωσί προφέροντες ὡς ἰδιον.

151 XXVII. Ὡς χάριν φρυαττόμενοι τῆς κυρίας, ἡ τὸ κύρος ὄντους καὶ ἡ τῶν θεωρούμενῶν ἀνάκειται βεβαιώσι, ἀλογοῦσι. συναισθομένη δὲ αὕτη τῆς ὀλγυρίας τοὺς ἐλέγξει καὶ μετὰ παραμετρίας φήσει: ἀδικοῦμαι καὶ παραπονοῦμαι τὸ γε ἐφ'. 152 ύμῖν ὀμολογίας παραβαίνοις. ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐνεκολπίσασαθε τὰ προπαίδευματα, τῆς ἑμῆς θεραπαινίδος τὰ ἐγγόνα, τὴν μὲν ὡς γαμετὴν ἐξετίμησατε, ἐμὲ δὲ οὕτως ἀπεστράφητε, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτε ἐς ταύτων ἑλθόντες. ἀλλ' ὑσως ἐγὼ μὲν ταῦτα περὶ ύμῶν ὑπείληφα, ἐκ τῆς φανερᾶς πρὸς τὴν οἰκέτην ὁμιλίας τὴν ἀδηλὰν πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτήν ἄλλοτριῶσιν τεκμαιρομένη: εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἑναντίως ἢ ύπείληφα διάκεισθε, γνώναι μὲν ἀμήχανον ἑτέρῳ, βάδισον δὲ 153 μόνῳ θεῷ. διότερ ὀικεῖοις ἐρεῖ: "κρίνα δὲ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ," οὐ προκατεγνωκυία ὡς

1 τἳ εὔκτικῶν, τἳ ἀρατικῶν is deduced by Wendland from εὔκτικῶν M, ἀρατικῶν A, εἰ τὶ κακὸν ἀρα SF, εἰ κακὸν δὲ τὶ H. For ἀρατικῶν cf. De Agr. 140.

a For the explanation of these terms, where they have not
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catory, or imprecatory. For to her is due the system which embraces the study of complete sentences and propositions and predicates. Again, the observation of the semi-vowel, the vowel and the completely voiceless or consonant, and the usage of each, and the whole field of phonetics and the elements of sound and the parts of speech, have been worked out and brought to its consummation by philosophy. From this, as from a torrent, the plagiarists have drawn a few small drops, squeezed them into their still smaller souls, and do not blush to parade what they have filched as their own.

XXVII. So in their insolence they neglect the mistress to whom the lordship really belongs, to whom is due the firm foundation of their studies. And she, conscious of their neglect, will rebuke them and speak with all boldness. “I am wronged and betrayed, in so far as you have broken faith with me. For ever since you took to your arms the lower forms of training, the children of my handmaid, you have given her all the honour of the wedded wife, and turned from me as though we had never come together. And yet perhaps, in thinking this of you, I may be but inferring from your open company with her my servant a less certain matter, your alienation from me. But to decide whether your feelings are as I have supposed, or the opposite, is a task impossible for any other, but easy for God alone,” and therefore Sarah will say quite properly, “God judge between you and me” (Gen. xvi. 5). She does not hastily been already explained in the note to the parallel passage De Agr. 140, 141, see App. p. 580. It is a good example of Philo’s capacity for looking at things from opposite points of view, that there these distinctions are scoffed at as superfluous refinements, here they belong to true philosophy.

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ηδικηκότος, ἀλλ' ἐνδοιάζουσα ὡς τάχ' ἂν ἰσως καὶ κατορθοῦντος: ὀπερ ἀφευδῶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναφαίνεται δι' ὅν ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐνδοια-
σμὸν αὐτῆς ἐξώμενός φησιν: "‟ιδοὺ ἡ παιδίσκη ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου, χρῶ αὐτῇ, ὡς ἂν σοι ἀρεστοῦ ὃ." 154 καὶ γὰρ ὁ παιδίσκην εἰπὼν ἀμφότερα ὀμολογεῖ, τὸ τε δούλην καὶ τὸ νηπίαν εἶναι—τὸ γὰρ τῆς παιδί-
σκῆς ὄνομα ἐκατέρω τούτων ἐφαρμόζει,—συνομο-
λογεῖ δὲ πάντως εὐθὺς καὶ τἀναντία, τῇ μὲν νηπίᾳ τὴν τελείαν, τῇ δὲ δούλῃ τὴν κυρίαν, μονονοὶ βοῶν ἀντικροὺς, ὦτι τὴν μὲν ἐγκύκλιον παῖδειαν καὶ ὡς νεωτέραν καὶ ὡς θεραπαινίδα ἀσπάζομαι, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν ὡς τελεῖαν καὶ δέσποιναν 155 ἐκτετήμικα.

τὸ δὲ "‟ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου" δηλοὶ μὲν τὸ ὑποχείριος ἐστὶ σοι. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔτερον τὰ μὲν τῆς δούλης εἰς χείρας ἄφικνεΐται σώματος—σωματικῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων καὶ δυνάμεων τὰ ἐγκύκλια χρεῖα,—τὰ δὲ τῆς κυρίας εἰς ψυχῆς ἔρχεται: λογισμοῖς γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τε φρόνησιν 156 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἀνατίθεται. ὥσθ' ὅσω δυνατώτερον καὶ δραστικῶτερον καὶ τοῖς ὀλοίς κρείττον διάνοια χειρὸς ἡ ἐστὶ, τοσοῦτῳ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μουσικῆς ἐπι-
στήμην καὶ φρόνησιν θαυμασιωτέραν εἶναι νεόμικα καὶ διαφερόντως ἐκτετήμικα. λαβοῦσα οὖν, ὦ καὶ ὑπάρχουσα καὶ πρὸς ἐμοῦ νομιζομένη κυρία, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπασαν παῖδειαν ὡς θεραπαινίδι χρῶ, "‟ὡς 157 εὐάρεστον σοι." τὸ δὲ σοι εὐάρεστον οὐκ ἄγνω

1 mss. νηπίαν. 2 mss. χρεῖος.

a The argument implies that "thy hands" refers to the body, a natural thought if the address was to the soul, but not so appropriate when addressed to philosophy. For another suggestion see App. p. 581.

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condemn Abraham as a wrongdoer, but expresses a doubt as though perhaps his heart may be true and upright. That it is so is shewn unmistakably soon after, when he makes his defence and thereby heals her doubts. "Behold," he says, "the servant girl is in thy hands. Deal with her as is pleasing to thee" (Gen. xvi. 6). Indeed in calling her a servant girl he makes a double admission, that she is a slave and that she is childish, for the name suits both of these. At the same time the words involve necessarily and absolutely the acknowledgment of the opposites of these two, of the full-grown as opposed to the child, of the mistress as opposed to the slave. They amount almost to a loud and emphatic confession: I greet the training of the schools, he implies, as the junior and the handmaid, but I have given full honour to knowledge and wisdom as the full-grown and the mistress. And the words "in thy hands" mean no doubt "she is subject to thee," but they also signify something more, namely that while what is implied by the slave belongs to the domain of the hands in the bodily sense, since the school subjects require the bodily organs and faculties, what is implied by the mistress reaches to the soul, for wisdom and knowledge and their implications are referred to the reasoning faculties. "And so," says Abraham, "in the same degree as the mind is more powerful, more active and altogether better than the hand, I hold knowledge and wisdom to be more admirable than the culture of the schools and have given them full and special honour. Do thou then, who both art the mistress and art held as such by me, take all my training and deal with it as thy handmaid, 'even as is well-pleasing to thee.' And what is well-pleasing
οτι παντως εστιν αγαθον, ει και μη προσηνεσ, και
ωφελιμον, ει και μακραν τον ήδεος αφεσηκεν.
Αγαθον δε και ωφελιμον τοις ελεγχου δεομενοι
νουθεσια, δ ετερω ονοματι κακωσιν δ ιερος μηνυει
158 λογος. XXVIII. διωπερ επιφερει "και εκακωσειν
αυτην," ίσον τω ενουθετησε και εσωφρονισε.
λυσιτελες γαρ σφοδρα τοις εν άδεια και εκεχειρια,
καθαπερ ίππους αφηγιασταις, δευ κεντρου, έπει
μαστιγη μωλις και άγωγη δαμασθηναι και τυθα-
159 σευθηναι δυνανται. η τα προκειμενα άθλα ουχ
δρας τοις ανεπιπληκτοις1; λιπωσις, ευρυνονται,
πιανονται, λαμπρων πνεουσιν ειτα αιρονται τα
ασεβειας, οι παναθλιου και βαρυειμονες, οικτρα
βραβεια, <επ> αθεοτητι κηρυττει και στεφα-
νομενοι. δια γαρ την λειως βρεοναι ευτυχιαν
υπελαβον εαυτους ειναι τους υπαργυρους και
υποχρυσους θεοις, νομισματος κεκιβδηλευμενου
τον τροπον, τοι άληθινοι και οντως οιτος εκλαθό-
160 μενοι. μαρτυρει δε και Μωυσης εν οις φησιν.
"ελιπανθη, επαχυνθη, επλατυνθη και εγκατελιπε
θεου τον ποιησαντα αυτον". άωστε ει ει έπι πλεον
ανεσις το μεγιστον κακων, ασεβειαν, ωδινει,
tουναντιον ή μετα νομον κακωσις αγαθον τελειον
αποτικτει, την αοιδημον νουθεσιαν.
161 ενθενδε ορμηθει και της πρωτης έορτης το σύμ-

1 mss. τοις ανεπιπληκτως or τοις ανεπιπληκτους. The former
may perhaps suggest τοις ανεπιπληκτως ζωσι.

a See App. p. 581.
b The article is difficult. The translation assumes that
touς ... υποχρυσους is a belated epithet to εαυτους like οι παναθλιοι above. But this is very awkward. Perhaps better
"they think themselves to be gods, these gods (of the pagans) whose very gold and silver is unreal." There is an
540
to thee I know full well is altogether good, even if it be not agreeable, and profitable even if it be far removed from pleasant.”

Yes, good and profitable. And such to those who need convincing of their errors is the admonishing which the holy text indicates under its other name of affliction. XXVIII. Therefore he adds “and she afflicted her” (Gen. xvi. 6), which means she admonished and chastised her. For the sharp spur is indeed profitable to those who live in security and ease, just as it is to unruly horses, since it is difficult to master or break them in merely with the whip or guiding hand. Or do you fail to see the rewards which await the unrebuked? They grow sleek and fat, they expand themselves, and the breath of their spirit is lusty and strong, and then to their utter sorrow and misery they win the woeful prizes of impiety, proclaimed and crowned as victors in the contest of godlessness. For because of the smooth flow of their prosperity, veneered as they are with gold and silver, like base coin, they fancy themselves to be gods, forgetting Him who is the true coin, the really Existent. I have Moses’ testimony when he says, “He waxed fat, grew thick, was widened, and abandoned the God who made him” (Deut. xxxii. 15). It follows that if increased laxity is the parent of that greatest of ills, impiety, contrarywise affliction, regulated by law, breeds a perfect good, that most admirable thing, admonition. On this same principle he calls the unleavened bread, allusion to Ex. xx. 23 θεούς ἄργυροὺς καὶ θεούς χρυσοὺς οὐ ποιήσετε. For the use of the prefix ὑπ- see App. p. 581.

As κάκωσις μετὰ νόμου has been stated to be another name for νοθεσία, this remark is extraordinarily weak. See App. p. 582.
bolon "ἀρτον κακώσεως" εἶπε, τὰ ἄξυμα. καὶ τὸς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὃ ἐορτάζοντας θαλάττων ἐν σωφροσύναις καὶ εὐθυμίαις, οὐ κακώσεις; ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ὡς ὑπὸματι κατακέχρηται πόνος, τὸν σωφρονιστὸν. τὰ γὰρ πλείονα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἀθλήσεις καὶ ἡβωσῶν πόνοι εἰσὶν περιγίνεσθαι· ψυχῆς δὲ ἐορτή ξῆλος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τελεσφοροῦμενος πόνος. οὐ χάριν διείρηται καὶ „ἐπὶ πικρίδων τὰ ἄξυμα ἔσθιευν" οὐχ ὡς προσερήματος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὴ οἶδεν καὶ ἀναζείν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐστάλθαι δὲ καὶ συνήχθαι πρὸς ἁγίας οἱ πολλοὶ τίθενται, πικρὸν ἡγούμενοι

[543] τὸ | ἀπομαθεῖν τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἐορτή διανοίας φιλάθλω.

XXIX. ταύτης ἔνεκα μοι δοκεῖ τῆς αἰτίας ἐν χωρίῳ, ὅ κέκληται πικρία, τὰ νόμιμα ἀναδιδάχαι· ἡδύ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄδικεῖν, ἐπίθετον δὲ τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν· τοῦτο καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀμευδέστατος νόμος. ἔξελθοντες γὰρ, φησιν, ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν ἥλθον εἰς Μερρᾶ, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο πιένων πόνον ἐκ Μερρῶν· πικρὸν γὰρ ἦν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπωνομάσθη τὸ ὀνόμα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου πικρία. καὶ διεγόγγυζεν ὁ λαὸς κατὰ Μωυσῆς λέγοντες· τί πιόμεθα; ἔβοησε δὲ Μωυσῆς πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὑδωρ, καὶ ἔγινεν ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν ἄρησεν καὶ δικαιώματα καὶ κρίσεις, κακεὶς αὐτὸν ἐπείραζεν. "η γὰρ ἀδηλος ἀπόπειρα καὶ δοκιμασία τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἐν

\[542^{a}\] Or "at the height of its vigour." But the word is strange and perhaps to be suspected.

\[542^{b}\] Though these words run on in the LXX, there is really a stop at "judgements," which brings to an end the proof of
the symbol of the first feast, "bread of affliction.""
And yet we all know that feasts and highdays produce cheerfulness and gladness, not affliction. Clearly he is extending the meaning of the word as a name for the chastener, toil, for the most numerous and most important of goods are wont to result from repeated strenuous contention and keen toiling, and the soul's feast is ardour for the best, and the consummation of toil. That is why we also have the command to "eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs" (Ex. xii. 8), not as a relish, but because the mass of men hold that when they no longer swell and boil with desires, but are confined and compressed, they are in a state of discomfort; and they think that the unlearning of passion is a bitterness, though to a mind that welcomes effort that same is a joy and a feast.

XXIX. For this cause I believe the lesson of the statutes of the law was given in a place whose name is bitterness, for injustice is pleasant and just-dealing is troublesome, and this is the most infallible of laws. For when they had gone out of the passions of Egypt, says the text, "they came to Marah, and they could not drink water from Marah, for it was bitter. Therefore the name of that place was called bitterness, and the people murmured against Moses, saying what shall we drink? And Moses called aloud to the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a tree; and he threw it into the water, and the water was sweetened. There He laid down for him ordinances and judgements" (Ex. xv. 23-25).

"And there He tried him" (ibid.), the text continues. Yes, for the trial and proving of the soul, the connexion of κάκωσις and its bitterness with law. The final words raise a new point, its connexion with "trial."
τῷ πονεῖν καὶ πικραίνεσθαι· ὅπη γάρ ταλαντεύσει, χαλεπῶν διαγνώσαι οὐ μὲν γὰρ προκαμόντες ἀνέπεσον, βαρῶν ἀντίπαλον ἠγησάμενοι τὸν πόνον, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας ὡσπερ ἀπειρηκότες ἀθληταὶ καθῆκαν, παλινδρομεῖν εἰς Αἰγυπτόν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόλανσιν τοῦ πάθους ἐγνωκότες. οἱ δὲ τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ δεινὰ τῆς ἔρημης πάνω τλητικῶς καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀναδεχόμενοι τὸν ἄγωντα τοῦ βίου διήθλησαν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀκόμην φυλάξαντες καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίων κατέξαντες, ὡς πείναν, δύσος, ἱππος, [ἵγος,] κρύος, θάλπος, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσθε δουλοῦσθαι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἴσχυος περιουσίαν ὑπάγεσθαι. αὕτων δὲ ἐγενέντο οὐ ψιλὸς ο ἄγων, ἄλλα σὺν τῷ γλυκανθῆναι· λέγει γάρ· "ἐγλυκάνθη τὸ ὅδωρ," γλυκὺς δὲ καὶ ἤδυς πόνος ἐτέρω ὀνόματι πείθεται καὶ τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόνῳ γλυκὺ ἔρως ἐστὶ καὶ πόθος καὶ ζῆλος καὶ φιλία τοῦ καλοῦ. μηδεὶς οὖν τὴν τοιμύτην κάκωσιν ἀποστρεφθῆναι, μηδ’ "ἄρτον κακόσως" νομισάτων ποτὲ λέγεσθαι τὴν ἔορτής καὶ εὐφροσύνης τράπεζαν ἐπὶ βλάβη μᾶλλον ἢ ωφελείας, τρέφεται γὰρ τοῖς παιδείας δόγμασιν ἢ νουθετουμένη ψυχή. XXX. τὸ ἀζύμον πέμμα τούτῳ οὔτως ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ὡστε χρησιμοῖς προστέτακται δῶδεκα ἄρτους ἀζύμους ταῖς φυλαῖς ἵσαρίθμους προτιθέναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις χρυσῆς τραπέζης, καὶ καλοῦνται προθέσεως. καὶ νόμῳ δὲ ἀπείρηται πᾶσαν ζῦμην καὶ πᾶν μέλι προσφέρειν τῷ βωμῷ· χαλεπῶν γὰρ ἢ τὰς γλυκύτητας τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα 544
with all its uncertainty, lies in toil and bitterness of heart, and it is uncertain because it is hard to discern which way the balance will incline. Some faint ere the struggle has begun, and lose heart altogether, counting toil a too formidable antagonist, and like weary athletes they drop their hands in weakness and determine to speed back to Egypt to enjoy passion. But there are others who, facing the terrors and dangers of the wilderness with all patience and stoutness of heart, carry through to its finish the contest of life, keeping it safe from failure and defeat, and take a strong stand against the constraining forces of nature, so that hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and all that usually enslave the rest, are made their subjects by their preponderating fund of strength.

But this result is brought about not by toil unaided, but by toil with sweetening. He says "the water was sweetened," and another name for the toil that is sweet and pleasant is love of labour. For what is sweet in toil is the yearning, the desire, the fervour, in fact the love of the good. Let no one, then, turn away from affliction such as this, or think that, when the table of joy and feasting is called the bread of affliction, harm and not benefit is meant. No, the soul that is admonished is fed by the lessons of instruction's doctrine. XXX. So holy is this unleavened bake-meat, that the oracles ordain that twelve unleavened loaves, corresponding to the number of the tribes, be set forth on the golden table in the inmost shrine, and these are called the loaves of setting forth (Ex. xxv. 29). And further it is forbidden by law to bring any leaven or any honey to the altar (Lev. ii. 11). For it is a hard matter to consecrate as holy the sweet flavours of bodily
Ηδονῶν ἦ τῶς ψυχῆς ἀραίὰς καὶ χαύνουσ ἐπ-άρσεις καθιεροῦν ὡς ἀγια, τὰ φύσει βέβηλα καὶ ἀνίερα εξ αὐτῶν. ἀρ’ οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως ἐπισεμνομένοις ὁ προφήτης λόγος, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ἐρεῖ: “μνησθήση πᾶσαν τὴν ὅδον ἦν ἡγαγε σε κύριος ὁ θεός ἐν ἔρήμῳ, ὅτις ἀν κακώσῃ σε καὶ ἐκπείραση σε καὶ διαγνωσθῇ τὰ ἐν καρδία σου, εἰ

170 φυλάξεις ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἦ | οὐ καὶ ἐκάκωσε σε καὶ ἠλιμαγχόνησε σε καὶ ἐπὗρ ἐν τῷ μάννα, οὐκ ἦδεσαν οἱ πατέρες σου, ἵνα ἀναγγείλῃ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζῆσαι τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν παντὶ ὑπολαβεῖν κακωτὴν τὸν θεόν καὶ λιμῷ, ὁκτωπος ἐκθρόνον, ἐπάγοντα τοῖς ἀνευ τρόφης ξῆν μὴ δυναμένοις; ἂγάθος γὰρ καὶ ἂγαθῶν αὐτίως, ἐνεργήτης, σωτήρ, τροφεύς, πλουτιστὸς, μεγαλόδωρος, κακίων ἀρων ἀπεληλακός, οὐτω γάρ τὰ γῆς άχθη, τὸν τε 'Αδάμ καὶ Εύναν, ἕφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.

171 ὕπαν οὐτως ἀνόσιος ἐστιν, ὅσον ὑπολαβεῖκα κακωτὴν τὸν θεόν καὶ λιμὼν, οἰκτυστον ὀλέθρον, ἐπάγοντα τοῖς ἀνευ τροφῆς ξῆν μὴ δυναμένοις; ἂγάθος γὰρ καὶ ἂγαθῶν αὐτίως, ἐνεργήτης, σωτήρ, τροφεύς, πλουτιστὸς, μεγαλόδωρος, κακίων ἀρων ἀπεληλακός, οὐτω γάρ τὰ γῆς άχθη, τὸν τε 'Αδάμ καὶ Εύναν, ἕφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου.

172 μὴ παραγώμεθα οὖν ταῖς φωναῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰ δι’ ὑπονοουν σημαινόμενα σκοπώμεν καὶ λέγωμεν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἔκάκωσε ἰσὸν ἐστι τῷ ἐπαιδευε καὶ ἐνυθέτησε καὶ ἐσωφρόνησε, τὸ δὲ λιμὼ ἐνπάτικα καὶ ποτῶν εἴργασαι ἐνδείαν, ἀλλ’ ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν φόβων τε καὶ λύπης καὶ ἀδικημάτων καὶ συνόλως ἀπάντων ὁς ἥ κακίων ἐστιν ἡ παθῶν ἐργα. μαρτυρεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξῆς: “ἐφώμισε σε τὸ μάννα.” ἀρ’ γε τὸν τὴν ἀπον καὶ ἀταλαιπωρον τροφῆν δίχα σπουδῆς

1 So Mangey: mss. and Wendland Κάω.

* See App. p. 582.
pleasures or the risings of the soul in their leaven-like thinness and sponginess, so profane and unholy are they by their very nature. Is it not, then, with legitimate pride that the prophet-word called Moses says, as we shall find, "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee in the wilderness, that He might afflict thee and prove thee and the thoughts in thy heart might be tested, whether thou wilt keep His commandments or not, and He afflicted thee and made thee weak by famine and fed thee with manna which thy fathers knew not, that He might proclaim to thee that not alone on bread shall man live, but on every word that goeth forth through the mouth of God" (Deut. viii. 2). Who then is so impious as to suppose that God is an afflictor, or evil-entreater, and that He sends famine, death in its most miserable form, on those who cannot live without food? For God is good and the cause of what is good, the benefactor, the saviour, the nourisher, the enricher, the bountiful giver, and He has expelled evil-mindedness from the holy boundaries. For so He banished those cumberers of the earth, both Adam and Eve, from Paradise.

Let us not, then, be misled by the actual words, but look at the allegorical meaning that lies beneath them, and say that "afflicted" is equivalent to "disciplined and admonished and chastened," and that "subjected to famine" does not mean that He brought about a dearth of food and drink, but a dearth of pleasures and desires and fears and grief and wrong-doings, and in general all the works of the vices or the passions. And this is confirmed by the words that follow, "He fed thee with the manna." He who provided the food that costs no toil or suffering, the
τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐκ γῆς, ὡς ἔθος, ἀναδοθείσων, ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ δὲ, τεράστιον ἐργαν, ἐπ’ εὐρυγεία τῶν χρησμομένων παρασχόμενον ἄξιον λέγειν λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ή τοιναντίον εὐθείας καὶ εὐρετηρίας ἀδείας τε καὶ εὐνομίας αὐτικοῦ; ἀλλ’ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄγελαι νομίζουσι τοὺς λόγους θείους τρεφομενους ἀθλίως καὶ ταλαιπώρως ζην—ἀγευστοὶ γάρ εἰσι τοῦ παντρόφου γεύματος σοφίας,—οἱ δ’ ἐν ταῖς εὐπαθείαις καὶ εὐφροσύναις λελήθαις διάγοντες.

Οὔτω τοῖνυν ἡ ποιή κάκωσις ὑφελμών ἐστὶν, ὡστε καὶ τὸ ταπεινότατον αὐτῆς, ἡ δουλεία, μέγα ἄγαθον νενόμισται. καὶ ταύτην ηὐζατο τις ἐν ταῖς ιεραίς πατήρ υἱώ, τῷ ᾠρον Ἡσαῦ ὁ ἄριστος Ἰσαάκ. εἴπε γάρ ποι.

"ἐπὶ μαχαίρα σου ζήσεις, καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου δουλεύσεις," λυσιτελέστατον κρίνων τῶν πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰρήνης αἰρομένου καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μάχαις ὀπλοφορούντι διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ στάσιν καὶ ταραχήν ὑπηκόω γενέσθαι καὶ δουλεύσαι καὶ ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀττ’ ἐν τῷ σωφροσύνης ἔραστῃς ἐπικελεύσῃ, πάσι πειθαρχεῖν. ἑνθένδε μοι δοκεῖ τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωυσέως, ὁνόμα εἰρηνικός, ὃς πατρίω γλώττῃ Έαλομών καλεῖται, φάναι: "παράκλητος θεοῦ, νιέ, μη ὀλιγώρει, καὶ μη ἐκλύνῃ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλέγχομενος· ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπὰ κύριος ἐλέγχει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱόν ὃν παραδέχεται." οὔτως ἄρα ἡ ἐπιπλήξις καὶ νοθεσία καλὸν νενόμισται, ἣν ὡστε δ’ αὐτῆς ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἀρνήσεται.

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[545] a Or “agreement,” “covenant,” words which describe the normal relation of God and Israel. Wendland, suspecting the word, conjectures ὀμολογεῖται συγγένεια γίνεσθαι.
food which without the cares and pains of men came not from the earth in the common way, but was sent, a wonder and a marvel from heaven for the benefit of those who should use it—can we rightly speak of Him as the author of famine and affliction? Should we not on the contrary call Him the author of thriving and prosperity and secure and ordered living? But the multitude, the common herd, who have never tasted of wisdom, the one true food of us all, think that those who feed on the divine words live in misery and suffering, and little know that their days are spent in continued well-being and gladness.

XXXI. Thus so profitable a thing is affliction of one sort, that even its most humiliating form, slavery, is reckoned a great blessing. Such slavery we read of in the holy scriptures as invoked by a father on his son, by the most excellent Isaac on the foolish Esau. There is a place where he says, "Thou shalt live on thy sword and shalt be a slave to thy brother" (Gen. xxvii. 40). He judges it most profitable for him who chooses war instead of peace, who by reason of his inward tumult and rebellion is armed as it were with the weapons of war, that he should become a subject and a slave and obey all the orders that the lover of self-control may impose.

Therefore, I think, did one of Moses' disciples, who is named a man of peace, which is in our ancestral tongue Solomon, say as follows: "My son, despise not the discipline of God, nor faint when thou art rebuked by Him, for whom the Lord loveth He rebukes and scourges every son whom He receiveth" (Prov. iii. 11, 12). So we see that reproaching and admonition are counted so excellent a thing, that they turn our acknowledgment of God into kinship with Him, for what relation
ομολογία συγγένεια γίνεται. τί γὰρ οἰκειότερον 178 υἱῶ πατρὸς ἢ υἱῶ πατρί; ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου συνείροντες μηκύνειν δοκῶμεν, ἐναργεστάτην δίχα τῶν εἰρημένων πίστιν παρεξό-
μεθα τοῦ τὴν ποιὰν κάκωσιν ἁρετῆς ἓργον εἶναι·
νόμος γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος· "πᾶσαν χήραν καὶ ὀρφανὸν οὐ κακώσετε· ἓὰν δὲ κακίᾳ κακώσητε αὐτοὺς." τί λέγει; ἀρ' υπὸ τύνος ἐστὶν ἄλλου κακοῦσθαι; εἰ γὰρ κακίας ἕργα μόνης αἱ κακώσεις,
περιττὸν τὸ ὀμολογούμενον γράφειν, δ καὶ δίχα 179 προσθήκης ἀνομολογηθήσεται. φήσει, δὲ πάντως·
οίδα καὶ υπὸ ἁρετῆς ἑλεγχόμενον καὶ υπὸ φρονή-
σεως παιδευόμενον. διόπερ οὐ πᾶσαν κάκωσιν ἐν
αιτίᾳ τίθεμαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν δικαιοσύνης καὶ
νομοθετικῆς ἐργον οὖσαν—ἐπιπλήξεις γὰρ σωφρονί-
ζει—μάλιστα θαυμάζω, τὴν δὲ ἀφροσύνης καὶ
κακίας, βλαβερὰν ὑπάρχουσαν, ἀποστρέφομαι καὶ
κακίζω δεόντως.

"Όταν οὖν τὴν 'Αγαρ κακουμένην υπὸ Σάρρας
ἀκούσῃς, μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ζηλο-
tυπίαις εἰσωθήτων γίνεσθαι υπονοήσῃς· οὐ γὰρ περὶ
gυναικῶν ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ διανοιῶν, τῆς μὲν
γυμναζομένης ἐν τοῖς προπαιδεύμασι, τῆς δὲ τοὺς
ἀρετῆς ἄθλους διαθλούσης.

α The argument in these sections depends, as often, on
Philo's failure to understand the well-known Hebrew idiom.
Cf., e.g., his treatment of βρώσει φάγη (Gen. ii. 16) in Leg. All.
i. 97 and of θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε of the same text in Leg. All.
i. 105.
can be closer than that of a father to a son, or a son to a father? But lest the series of argument should seem tedious and prolix, I will add but one proof, and that the clearest, to those here given, to shew that affliction or ill-usage of a kind is a work of virtue. There is a law in the following terms: "Ye shall not evil-entreat any widow or orphan, but if ye evil-entreat them with evil" (Ex. xxii. 22). What does he mean? Is it that one can be evil-entreated by some other thing than evil? For if evil-treatments are the work of evil and nothing else, it is superfluous to add what is a matter of agreement and will be admitted even without any further words. No doubt he means to say, "I know that one may be rebuked by virtue and disciplined by wisdom, and therefore I do not hold all afflicting or evil-entreating to be blameworthy." When it is the work of justice and the power of the law which chastens by reproof I am filled with admiration. When it is the work of folly and vice and therefore harmful, I turn away from it and call it by the evil names that are its due.

When, then, you hear of Hagar as afflicted or evil-entreated by Sarah, do not suppose that you have here one of the usual accompaniments of women's jealousy. It is not women that are spoken of here; it is minds—on the one hand the mind which exercises itself in the preliminary learning, on the other, the mind which strives to win the palm of virtue and ceases not till it is won.

* Or "evil-mindedness," and so throughout for κακία.
APPENDIX TO DE CONFUSIONE

§ 5. All of whom are agreed that the earth is the centre of the universe. Cf. Aristot. De Caelo, ii. 13, 293 a τῶν πλεῖστων ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κείσθαι (sc. τὴν γῆν) λέγωντων. The contrary opinion, that the centre is fire, was held by the Pythagoreans. Cf. also Diog. Laert. ix. 57.

§ 24. Creeping and flying . . . beasts. Evidently these represent the θύμος and ἐπιθυμία in the whole ψυχή, though Philo does not show which is which, cf. § 21. Judging from that we may suppose that the "flying" are the ἐπιθυμίαι.

§ 27. Veiled under their name of Sodomite. The phrase κατὰ γλώσσαν does not imply a Hebrew word, for the other two examples in the index (αἰθειν 156 below, "Ἀρης from ἀπήειν, Leg. ad Gaium 112) are both Greek. A γλώσσα is often an obscure word which requires explanation (hence our glossary). So ήμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ποιητάς ἑπανοῦμεν τοὺς κατὰ γλώσσαν γράφοντας ποιήματα, Lucian, Lexiph. 25. Cf. "lingua secretior, quas Graeci γλώσσας vocant," Quintilian, i. 35.

§ 44. Jer. xv. 10. Other mss. of the LXX have οὐκ ὡφέλησα οὐδὲ ὡφέλησάν με, and so some of the mss. of Philo. Origen, however, remarks that while most of the copies of the LXX have ὡφέλ-, the best and those most conforming to the Hebrew have ὡφελ-. Wendland adopted ὡφελ- on the grounds (1) that the better mss. of Philo have it, (2) that it is supported by the interpretation given in § 50. This last seems to me very doubtful, and altogether there is little or nothing to choose between the two.

§ 46. Fullest peace. The epithet ἀπόλεμος is applied to εἰρήνη in De Fug. 174, but in the sense of the true (inward) peace, and in somewhat the same way in De Op. 142. Here it seems pointless, unless we suppose that εἰρήνη conveys to
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Philo something short of an unbroken peace. The first half of this sentence almost repeats De Gig. 51.

§ 52. The touch, etc. The sentence as taken in the translation is extremely awkward. Further, the analogy of De Plant. 133, where ἄφη is called ἥ ἀνὰ τῶν τῶν σῶμα σκιδιδαμενὴ δύναμις, suggests that τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι δυνάμεων is the faculty of touch. This might be obtained if we omit the second τῶν and transpose κατὰ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τὰς δυνάμεων, i.e. “about the faculties or sensations residing in our bodies corresponding to the particular substances which come in contact with them.”

§ 55. τροφόν. This reading, which personifies Midian, fits better with τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτῆς than τροφήν. On the other hand, the latter might be regarded as an allusion to Num. xxv. 2 “the people ate of their sacrifices,” and Ps. cv. (cvi.) 28 καὶ ἔτελεσθησαν τῷ Βεελφεγώρ καὶ ἐφαγον ἡν προσπιπτούσα δύναμις. To suppose an allusion to the Psalm will give extra point to νεκρῶν. Philo may have understood it to refer to the worshippers instead of to the idols.

Ibid. ύπνοίντα. This alteration of one letter will enable the sentence to be translated without any other change, though it is true that it would be more natural to take ἄφωνον καὶ νεκρῶν as predicate after ἀποδείξαι rather than, as it is taken in the translation, as a further attribute to χορόν. If ύπνοίντα is retained with Wendland (and his suggestion that it is an antithesis to οὐρώντος has some support from De Mig. 222 τυφλόν γὰρ θυσίας), some other alteration is required. Wendland himself suggested ἐμαίναντες or ἀγαπήσαντα for ἐμαίναντες. Mangey’s suggestion of τελεσθέντα is very tempting, cf. De Mut. 196. But I see no way of fitting it into the construction. It can hardly be supposed that the idiom of τελεσθείν can be extended to τελεσθείν Madiaμ.

§ 70. Submerged. Or “have taken refuge in.” Cf. the use of ὑπόδρομος Quod Deus 156. Philo reads this sense into the ἸΧΧ. ἐφονυ ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ, which meant presumably “fled with the water over or threatening them.” E.V. “fled against it.”

§ 90. The other members of that fraternity and family. This passage follows the Stoic classification. The four passions and the four vices mentioned are those of the Stoics, who added, as secondary to the primary four, incontinence (ἀκρασία), stupidity (βραδύνοια), ill-advisedness (δυσβουλία),
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Diog. Laert. vii. 93. It is these last three which presumably are meant here.

§ 99. An appearance of brick. Wendland was inclined to correct εἴδος to ἐργον, in accordance with the quotation of the text above, and εἴδος might well be a slip of the scribe induced by the preceding εἴδει. But on the other hand εἴδος seems to be needed to represent the δοκεῖ of the interpretation. It seems to me safer to regard it as a slip of Philo himself, who for the moment thought that the εἴδος of the quotation went with πλινθοῦ instead of with στερεώματος.

§ 103. The asphalt was clay. In the original quotation in § 2 the mss. shew, as the LXX itself, ἄσφαλτος ἐγένετο ὁ πήλος. The question naturally arises whether we should emend the text there to bring it into conformity with this, as Wendland suggests (see footnote there). On the whole it seems to me better to leave it and to suppose that Philo here rests his argument on the order of the words. He seems sometimes to attribute an extraordinary value to order, cf. Quod Deus 72 and De Mig. 140.

§ 106. It is impossible to reproduce in translation the thoughts which the ἀστείος of Ex. ii. 2 suggests here to Philo. Struck, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 23), with the word applied to the infant Moses in the sense of a fine child, on which he also comments in De Congressu 132, he naturally enough connects it with the Stoic use for “virtuous.” But he also remembers its connexion with ἀστυ, and this enables him to identify the ἀστείον παιδίον with another ideal of the Stoics, the “world-citizen”; see De Op. 3 and note. The same play on the double meaning of ἀστείος appears in § 109 ἀστείοι . . . πολιτεύματι.

§ 108. θεοῦ δὲ υμνος. In support of the emendation suggested in the footnote, it may be noted that Ps. xlvi. (xlvi.) 4 is actually interpreted in a way very similar to what I suggest here in De Som. ii. 246 ff. There we are told that the “city of God” signifies in one sense the world, in another, the soul of the Sage.

It is no objection, I think, that η τοιάδε naturally, though not necessarily, refers to πολιτεία rather than πόλις. If the city is God’s, its πολιτεία must be God’s also.

§ 111. ο νοῦς. While the use of “the mind” in the sense of an evil mind is quite Philonic, it does not occur elsewhere in this passage, and just above we have ο ἀφρων.
The very easy correction to ἀνους seems to me therefore very probable.

§ 115. I have not been able to find elsewhere this argument or statement that the apparent examples of a providential administration of the world are sufficiently explained by τὸ αὐτόματον, and are not frequent enough to amount to even human, much less divine, providence. Philo does not repeat it in the arguments adduced by the inquirer in De Prov. 11. The sections of the De Nat. Deorum in which Cotta discusses "deorumne providentia mundus regatur" are lost.

§ 124. The causes which come higher, etc. It apparently, mind and sense, which are nearer to the original Cause than the circumstances which we often call "causes." The word seems to be introduced to interpret the "firstlings" in Abel's offering. But a more natural sense would be obtained if we suppose that the scribe by a not unnatural slip wrote προσβιτέρας for νεωτέρας.

Philo seems to use αἰτία for secondary causes in preference to αἰτίον. He only uses it of God when contrasting Him with other αἰτία.


Ibid. In accordance with the derivation of that name. I.e. θεός from τίθημι. Philo always uses ἐτύμως and ἐτύμως in this technical way, cf. e.g. De Vita Mos. i. 17 διδόσων δόμων θεμέλιων Μονοθής ἐτύμως διὰ τὸ ἕκ τοῦ ὑδάτος αὐτὸν ἀνέλεσθαι: τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὄνομάζουσι Αἰγύπτου. The one example of those given in the index which at first sight appears to be an exception shews the rule most clearly. In Quod Omn. Prob. 73 we have οἱ ἐτύμως ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες, which we might naturally suppose to mean that they were truly called wise. But examination shews that the allusion is to the supposed derivation of σοφὸς from σεβασμός, from which also ἑπτὰ is, according to Philo, derived (De Op. 127).

§ 141. ἄκοην μὴ μαρτυρεῖν. This is the form in which the mss. give the phrase in a similar passage in De Spec. Leg. iv. 61, and which is regularly used by Demosthenes and Isaeus. Wendland on that passage notes that here ἄκοη should be corrected to ἄκοην.

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Philo is no doubt alluding to the Attic orators, particularly to Dem. Contra Eubuliden p. 1300 πάσι προσήκειν . . . μηδεμίαν προσάγειν ἀκοὴν πρὸς τὸν τουπότον ἄγων. οὔτω γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀδίκον καὶ σφόδρα πάλαι κέκριται, ὥστ' οὖδὲ μαρτυρεῖν ἀκοὴν ἔσων οἱ νόμοι, οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάνιν φαύλους ἐγκλήμασι. So too in ps.-Dem. Contra Steph. ii. p. 1130, Contra Leoch. p. 1027, where exception is made if the person who was heard is dead. See Dict. of Ant. art. “Akoēn Marturein.” In De Spec. Leg. Philo definitely says, what he perhaps implies here, that the Attic legislators took the principle from Moses.

§ 149. Ryle, Philo and Holy Scripture, p. xxvi, supposes the reference to be to Ezra viii. 2. This is quite unnecessary. Ezra is nowhere else quoted by Philo, and Ryle’s idea, that the use of βασιλικαί instead of the usual βασίλειαι points to a different group from the books of Kings, is fanciful.

§ 151. ἐπὶ τῆς πολίτιδος τὸ κατασκευαστόν. While the general sense of this is clear, the text is very doubtful. κατασκευαστόν (“artificial”) for the regularity which seems artificial is strange but not impossible, and τὸ παραπλῆσιον may be used as an adverb. But the word πολίτες, only known as the feminine of πολίτης, is impossible here, where fever or malaria is clearly meant.

I suggest very hesitatingly that τῆς πολίτιδος may be a corruption of τῆς σπληνίτιδος. The word σπληνίτις for a disease of the spleen is not found in the medical writers, but they constantly insist on the enlargement of the spleen as a regular symptom of malaria (see W. H. S. Jones, Malaria, index).

Wendland would correct to ἐπὶ τῆς πυρετοῦ καταβολή τὸ παραπλῆσιον, which bears little resemblance to the text.

Mangey thought that the whole passage was an irrelevant interpolation. On the contrary, as an illustration of Philo’s point, that we find harmony and regularity in things evil, it seems very appropriate.

Ibid. eis αὐτά. The phrase is, as it stands, unintelligible. I suggest and have translated eis αὐτὰς or eis αὐτὰς αὐτήν (with regard to themselves, ἢ ἦσθαν each other). I understand Philo to mean that while the attacks recur at the same hour, they vary somewhat in nature, but the varieties also have a regular order. Whether this is medically untrue, or whether if it is, Philo is likely to have thought it true, I do not know.
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Wendland suggested αὐτὴν aiei. Mangey read εἰς τὰ qūta. I think ισότητα might be worth considering.

§ 154. ἂς τι τῶν δυντῶν. This seems to me less unsatisfactory than Wendland's reading. But τι=ότιον in this position is strange. Possibly οὖ τι (adverbial). Also ἔθος, for which Wendland would substitute θέμις, is odd. Altogether the text is unsatisfactory.

§ 164. The fortunes of tyrants. Philo doubtless has in mind the description of the miserable condition of tyrants in Republic, Bk. ix., particularly 576 b.

§ 165. Free licence to sin. This use of ἐκεχειρία (cf. τὴν ἐς τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρίαν, De Jos. 254) seems peculiar to Philo. It suggests that when it occurs without such explanatory phrases, as in De Cher. 92 and De Sac. 23, the meaning is rather licence in general, than, as it was translated there, "freedom from stress of business."

§ 173. Each of them as a whole. Did anyone deify the νοητὸς κόσμος? Philo perhaps means that the deification of the visible world ipso facto involved that of the invisible.

§ 174. ἕκάστων. I retain this, supposing that the army of the subordinates are regarded as formed of three kinds, (1) the Potencies who as agents in the creation of the two worlds stand above the rest, (2) the divine natures in heaven, i.e. the heavenly bodies, (3) the "souls" or angels in the lower air.

§§ 184-187. The sense of these sections is given also by Stobaeus, as from Chrysippus (S. V. F. ii. 471), with the same illustrations from the wine and water and oiled sponge, and much the same language throughout. There is, however, a complete difference in his use of the term μίξις, which he distinguishes from παράθεσις and applies to the ἀντιπαρεκτασις δί οἰκον in dry substances while κράσις is reserved for the same in liquids. His example of μίξις is the mixture of fire and iron in heated iron. It does not follow that Philo made a mistake; the use of terms seems to have varied. Cf. ibid. 473.

§ 186. Resolved. Or "expanded." Some mss. ἀναπληροῦσθαι. See on the word Liddell & Scott (1927). The suggestion there that the word suggests "resolving into simple elements" is unnecessary.

§ 187. Confusion is the annihilation. Cf. S. V. F. 473 (also from Chrysippus) τὰς δὲ τινας (sc. μίξεις γλυκεσθαι) συγχύσει,

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§ 198. Heinemann in a note added to Stein’s translation considers that πεφορημένος is unsuitable here and suggests πεφυρημένος. But this comes from φυράω, which will not give any suitable meaning, and the word of which he is thinking is no doubt πεφυρμένος, from φύρω, which is certainly often combined with συγχέω, cf. particularly Spec. Leg. iv. 77 διαιρείτω καὶ διακρινέτω τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἵνα μὴ φύρηται συγχέομενα τοῖς παρασήμοις τὰ δόκιμα. However, the explanation of πεφορημένος given in the footnote seems to me satisfactory, cf. the combination of πεφορημένος with ἄσωτος to indicate the profligate in De Fug. 28, and πάντας φορούμενος associated with σπείρεται in the sense of διασπείρεται in De Cong. 58.
§ 5. Soul as soul. This phrase, which occurred in Quod Det. 9, belongs, as Posner points out, to Stoic usage. See Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. vii. 233. The Stoics call the φαντασία a τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ ὡς ἄν ἐν ψυχῇ, because “impression on the soul” might in itself be applied to a pain felt in any part of the living organism. The addition, ὡς ἄν ἐν ψυχῇ signifies that it is “no chance part” which is affected, but the mind or dominant principle.

§ 17. Untouched by corruption and worthy of perpetual memory. What is the distinction between ἀξιομνημόνευτα and ἄφθαρτα or ἄδιάφθορα? Apparently the former are Joseph’s vision of, or hope for, the future, while the latter are the record of his life, so far as it is good. Philo may mean that while the record remains in the background as an example, the hope becomes the inspiring principle of the succeeding generations. If so, “ever to be borne in mind” might perhaps give better the sense of ἀξιομνημόνευτα.

§ 21. He derided lusts, etc. Neither Mangey nor Wendland give the reference to Gen. xxxix. 14 and 17, where Potiphar’s wife says “Lo, he hath brought in a Hebrew servant to mock at us” (ἐμπαίξειν ἡμίν). Presumably they supposed the words to be a general description of Joseph’s continence. But the form shews that it is a separate item in Joseph’s virtues, each based on a separate text. “Us” is interpreted as meaning “all the passions.” That in the story the “mocking” referred to Joseph’s alleged misconduct matters little or nothing to Philo.

§ 23. άνέχεται . . . ἐνθάπτεται . . . παρέπεται. I have no hesitation in rejecting Mangey’s and Wendland’s emendation of these to infinitives. Not only would these require, as Wendland indeed saw, the insertion of τὸ (or rather ὁν τὸ to agree with πολλά), and perhaps the change of οὔ to ἡ, but 560
the sense seems to me quite inferior. This particular "trait" has already been given as one of the αξιομνημόνευτα in § 18. I understand the sentence to sum up all that has been said and to assert that the good deeds and words are the "bones," which themselves cry to be taken from Egypt, and in fact never have been buried at all, a phrase quite inapplicable to Joseph himself. There would of course from this point of view be no objection to reading ἐνθάπτεσθαι dependent on ἀνέχεται, but no sufficient reason for the alteration.

§ 24. διακρίνει παρελθὼν. The text is very perplexing. As Η has παρελθὼν, Wendland suggests as a possibility διακρίνεται παρ' ἐλπίδα. Mangey suggested διακρίνεται παραλυθέντα. The reading which Wendland actually prints, and which has been reproduced here, is not satisfactory, as the παρελθὼν is very pointless. I should hesitatingly suggest either διακρίνει παρελθὼν, "removes" and "separates," or better, as retaining the διακρίνεται of all MSS., διακρίνεται παρεισελθόντων, "is separated from adventitious accretions." παρεισέρχομαι in the sense of "invading surreptitiously" is used by Philo, De Op. 150, De Ebr. 157.

§ 32. Release. An allusion to the ordinance by which in the sabbatical year the land (here compared to the mind) was to be left fallow, Ex. xxxiii. 11 τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἄφεσιν ποιήσεις καὶ ἀνήσεις αὐτήν, καὶ ἔδονται οἱ πτωχοὶ τοῦ έθνους σου. In Lev. xxv. 4-7 we have the same ordinance, but with ἀνάπαυσις for ἄφεσις. Philo understands that the land by divine grace will bear plentifully of itself. Compare his φορά τῶν αὐτόματον ἁγαθῶν with τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαίνοντα of Lev. He may also be thinking of the somewhat similar ordinance of the Jubilee year, ἐνιαυτός ἄφεσις, though there ἄφεσις means release for the people rather than for the land. On ὥσπερ τῶν ἑκουσίων Mangey wrote "omnino male" and proposed ὡς φόρτων τῶν ἔτησίων. But ἑκουσίος is in Philo's thought the direct antithesis of αὐτόματος.

§ 35. ἡχον γὰρ ἐρμηνείαν, εὑρεσιν. I have adopted Markland's ἡχον for σχεδον, but see every reason against changing εὑρεσιν. The five elements of composition are εὑρεσις, τάξις or οἰκονομία, ἐρμηνεία (otherwise called φράσις, λέξις, ἀπαγγελία), μνήμη, ὑπόκρισις. Philo enumerates them in De Som. i. 205. Of these terms the two last belong entirely to spoken oratory, and τάξις would be out of place. When inspiration comes, the two things that come are "ideas" and "language."
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These two (in Latin *inventio* and *elocutio*) are often given as the kernel of composition, *e.g.* Quintilian, Pr. 12 “omnia inventione atque elocutione explicanda sunt.” See note on *De Cher.* 105.

§ 42. Insight. The not very common word *εϊδησιν* is evidently introduced with reference to *ειδεν*. So in the other place where Philo uses it (*De Plant.* 36), it is connected with the tree of knowledge, which in Gen. ii. 9 is the tree του ειδεναι.

*Ibid.* To give teaching . . . to the ignorant, etc. Or it might be taken “to give teaching . . . is proper not for the ignorant, but only for the One who knows.” Mangey translates the reading he adopted (see critical note), “decabat igitur ignorantes docere, comemonstrareque illis singula, non vero scietem,” apparently meaning that it is right to teach the ignorant, but not to teach God who knows. But apart from the question whether *ειχε ευπρεπες* can mean “decebat,” this has no bearing on the proof that it is God who “shews.”

§ 49. The various parts of speech. By Philo’s time the primitive division into verbs, nouns, and conjunctions (the first two often standing alone in popular language) had been greatly developed and this is recognized in the *συνδλως* of § 48. The phrase *οι εις ονοματων και ρηματων ιδεας μεριζόμενοι* may recur to the primitive division and suggest that there are only two main *ιδεαι* (*so* the translation), or he may mean that verbs and nouns have their various *ιδεαι* or subdivisions, the pronoun being a form of the noun and the adverb of the verb. See the *loki classici* in Quintilian, i. 4. 18, and Dion. Hal. *De Comp.* 2.

§ 54. Both in conduct of life and in principle. Philo’s conception of moral “greatness,” as shewn by his illustrations in § 55, is a full development and intensification of each particular virtue, and this he equates with the power to understand and know. Possibly, therefore, here τα περι των βιων κατορθωματα = πληθος, and τα περι λογου = μεγεθος. If so, the former will represent the καθηκοντα or “daily duties” of the Stoics, and the latter their κατορθωματα proper, which connoted to them inwardness and sustained moral purpose. See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

§ 69. *επιγραφομενοι*. This correction of Wendland’s for *αινιττομενοι* is based on the close imitation of the passage in Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 25 *αινιττεται de . . . των πολλων έπι-
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γραφόμενον ψευδωνύμους θεούς ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνου ὑποτὸς θεοῦ, ὡσπερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πόρνης τούς πολλούς ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας ἁγνολα τοῦ πρός ἀλήθειαν πατρός. Μαγεύς suggested ἄναπλαττόμενος, which is not as good sense, though nearer to the mss.

§ 79. Mints them . . . before. The paraphrastic translation is an attempt to bring out Philo’s play upon ἀσημὸς and ἐπίσημος as signifying (1) uncoined and coined money, (2) obscure and clear or conspicuous.

Ibid. In it. Philo quotes Ex. iv. 14 in three other places. In De Mut. 168 the mss. have as here ἐν αὐτῷ. In Quod Det. 126 and 135, they have, as the 1xx itself, ἐν ἐαυτῷ and the comment on the latter of these shews that this is what Philo wrote. While printing ἐν αὐτῷ I feel very doubtful as to its correctness here and in De Mut.

§ 94. Realities. For the philosophical use of ὑπαρκτά cf. τεκμήριον τοῦ ὑπαρκτῆν εἶναι τὴν ἁρετήν, Diog. Laert. vii., and ἔστι μὲν ὑπαρκτὸν πράγμα σοφία, De Mut. 37. Compare the same point in De Sac. 43, where the force of ὑπαρκτά was unfortunately not properly recognized in the translation. Similarly in Leg. All. iii. 197 Ἀβραὰμ . . . τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα . . . κατέχει, ἀποτέμπεται δὲ τὴν ἱππον τοῦ βασιλέως Σοδόμων ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπαρκτὰ τῶν παλλακῶν, it now seems clear to me that we should read τὰ <μὴ> ὑπαρκτά, perhaps also τῶν <ὐλων τῶν> παλλακῶν.

§ 125. The threefold divisions of eternity. Or “time.” This curious interpretation of the three patriarchs is perhaps explained in § 154. “The clear sight of things present,” and the “expectation of things to come,” fit in fairly well with the αὐτομαθὴς and the προκόπτων, the characters regularly assigned to Isaac and Jacob, while the “memory of the past” suits, though not so well, the διδακτικὴ ἁρετή of Abraham. He may also be thinking of Ex. iii. 15, where “God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” is God’s αἰώνων ὄνομα.

§ 138. Spin your airy fables. The word ἄερομυθεῖτε need not mean more than talk windily, cf. the use of ἄερομυθος in the list of vices in De Sacr. 33. But there may be a special significance in it here, as the moon at any rate bordered on the ἄηρ (S. V. F. ii. 527).

§ 140. It does not say, etc. This amazing argument admits of no satisfactory explanation. It clearly demands that παιδίον may be nominative, but Mangey’s suggestion to
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read Σάρραν is out of the question. Apart from other difficulties, the natural negation would be οὐχ Σάρρα. Nor can Philo be supposed to have really thought that Σάρρα was indeclinable, seeing that he uses Σάρρας in the same sentence and elsewhere Σάρραν itself. The least unsatisfactory explanation I can give is that he means that Σάρρα, like other O.T. names, which though capable of being declined in Greek are not declined, e.g. 'Ααρών, might conceivably be undeclinable and that therefore Moses, wishing to suggest that, though literally Sarah suckles Isaac, spiritually Isaac suckles Sarah, uses this form rather than the passive, in which no ambiguity would be possible. Possibly also he puts some reliance on παιδίον preceding Σάρρα. See on De Conf. 102.

§ 150. The allusions in this section are (1) to Lot’s settling in Sodom (Gen. xii. 32), which naturally signifies his “old complaint” of ἀμαθία, cf. De Conf. 27, (2) to his capture (xiv. 12) by the Four Kings, signifying the four passions, cf. De Congressu 22, (3) the quarrel between the shepherds of Lot and Abraham (xiii. 7), which Philo unfairly turns into a conflict between the two men.

§ 160. The idol of Egyptian vanity. The meaning of this is not clear. In the other places where Philo uses Αἰγυπτιακός τύφος it is with reference to the Golden Calf as being a return to Egyptian idolatry. The meaning therefore here may be that by riding behind Pharaoh he acknowledges him as a god. But in De Som. ii. 46, where this incident is referred to, Joseph himself is ὑποτυφόμενος, and ibid. 16 we have ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν κενήν δόξαν ὡς ἐφ’ ἀρμα. This suggests that ἰδρύεται here may mean “seats himself on,” but no real parallel is forthcoming. Mangey suggested ἐνδύεται.

§ 164. μελιττῶν. The μέν αὐτῶν of the ms. seems to me to break down in two ways. There is no antithesis for the μέν. Philo’s μέν indeed is occasionally not followed by δὲ, but in these cases there is, wherever I have noted them, an antithesis to something which has gone before. Again, the plural αὐτῶν is quite out of place where both the people concerned are in the singular, and the one cannot be supposed to have any share in the labours of the other. It will be admitted that μελιττῶν makes excellent sense. Textually the ΛΙ of ΜΕΛΙΤΤΩΝ passes very easily into Ν, and Τ with no great difficulty into Τ, and when ΜΕΝΤΤΩΝ had

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thus been obtained the insertion of A to make sense would naturally follow.

§ 165. ὑπ' εὐθυμίας. It is not clear what cheerfulness has to do with the φιλοθεάμων or why it opens the eyes of the soul. As all MSS. (except H²) have ὑπέρ εὐθυμίας, it is possible, I think, that the true reading may be ὑπ' ἐρεύνης θείας, which exactly describes the φιλοθεάμων. Compare τῆς τῶν θείων ἐρεύνης, Leg. All. iii. 71 and (for the objective use of θείος) τῆς θείας θεωρίας, § 150 above, and θείος ἵμερος, § 157.

§ 167. Arts copying Nature’s works, etc. Cf. De Ebr. 90, where art is the μίμημα and ἀπεικόνισμα of nature, on which Adler remarks that, as the context shews, it does not mean that art imitates natural objects, but that it follows Nature’s methods. So here ἐργανω may be “ways of working,” “processes.”

§ 174. ὑποστείληται σε . . . The Hebrew and E.V. have “will not pardon thy transgression.” Did the 1xx. mean much the same “he will not shrink (from punishing)” ? At any rate Philo would seem to have taken it in some such sense, for where the text is quoted in the Quaestiones (in Exod. ii. 13) the Latin version of the Armenian has “non enim verebitur te.”

§ 180. For if it came into being and is one, etc. Philo takes ἐν in the full sense of the Stoic ἡνωμένον (cf. note on Quod Det. 49) and argues that if the world is ἡνωμένον, it must be composed of the same elements throughout and this, it is implied, will in itself effect συμπάθεια. Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. ix. 78 (S.V.F. ii. 1013) puts the Stoic argument in much the same way but in reverse order. Only ἡνωμένα exhibit συμπάθεια, and since there is συμπάθεια between the parts of the Cosmos, the Cosmos must be an ἡνωμένον σῶμα.

§ 206. διανιστάμενον. My suggestion of διανιστάμενον is made provisionally subject to better knowledge as to this perfect passive in the compounds of ἵστημι. In Timaeus 81 δ there is at any rate some authority for διεστάμενοι. So the 1xx in Num. xxxi. 48 καθεστάμενοι. Here a few MSS. have διενιστάμενον. The present must mean “waking up,” as in Quod Deus 97. Cohn’s suggestion of διασυνιστάμενον (presumably meaning “proved to be such,” i.e. μνημονικόν) does not give much point to ἅτε.

§ 207. That does not call for our censure. The application of the adjective ἀνεπιλήπτον, which usually denotes high
praise, to the hybrid number seventy-five is at first sight strange, and Mangey’s proposal οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτου is textually, considering our experience of the omissions of the negative in Philo, quite sound. But it would really give an inferior sense. The stress is here laid on the virtues of seventy-five, not on its shortcomings, and if we give ἀνεπιλήπτος a somewhat reduced sense as in the translation (cf. ταμιείας ἀνεπιλήπτου § 89, and De Cong. 138), that stress is well brought out. Midway between Joseph and Moses stands the Jacob soul, ὁ προκόπτων, and in its progress the seventy-five is a necessary and therefore “blameless” stage. This is immediately illustrated by §§ 208 ff., where Jacob even in victory is well-advised to return to Haran, that is, to the world of sense and even (§ 209), of opportunism.

§ 210. ζωοτροφεῖ. Mr. Whitaker was inclined to adopt Mangey’s suggestion of ζωπυρεῖ, which is in accordance with ζέον καὶ πεπυρωμένον. On the other hand ζωοτροφεῖ serves to carry on the parable in which the passions are the wild cattle reared by the κτηνοτρόφοι of Haran.

§§ 210, 211 (footnote). De Som. ii. 85 ff. looks as if the advice to temporize with angry people is to be taken more literally than I have suggested in the note.

§ 221. τῇ ἐτέρᾳ. Further consideration shews beyond doubt that in De Sac. 37 where we printed, following Cohn and Mangey, οὗ τῇ ῥαστώνῃ ταῦτα ληπτά we should have put τῇ ἐτέρᾳ οἳ θατέρᾳ. There one ms. has ῥαστώνη, others οὗ τῇ and οὐχ ἀπλῶς, while by far the best authority, the Papyrus, has συνέτερα, the origin of which is obvious. The phrase seems for some reason to have puzzled the scribes. It is strange that the two German scholars also failed to understand it, for even the old editions of Liddell & Scott record τῇ ἐτέρᾳ λαμβάνειν ‘‘to get with little trouble,’ a proverb,” and give the reference to Plato.
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§ 14. A spherical shape. Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 158 ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξύ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἄκοιντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιρειδώς, εἰτὰ κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὥς κυματούται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμένῃ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὕπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου, “we hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion, a vibration which spreads spherically and then forms waves and strikes upon the ears, just as the water in a reservoir forms wavy circles when a stone is thrown into it” (Hicks’s translation). So too Plut. Epit. iv. 20 (Diels, Dox. p. 409), where contrasting the effect of the stone in the pool, he adds καὶ αὕτη μὲν (the pool) κυκλικῶς κινεῖται, ὥ ἄ ε ἀέρ σφαιρικῶς.

§ 17. Tense of . . . completed action. The Greek grammarians named the four tenses of past time (χρόνος παρεληλυθώς) as follows: imperfect, παρατατικός; aorist, αόριστος; perfect, παρακείμενος; pluperfect, υπερσυντελικός. The name συντελικός for the aorist is sometimes, but rarely, found (see Greek Gramm. Part II. vol. iii. p. 85), but its use, perhaps to cover both aorist and perfect, is reflected in the name for the pluperfect and in the Latin term, perfectum tempus.

§ 25. Thou hast given me a tongue of instruction, etc. The reference for this almost verbatim quotation from Isaiah is given by J. Cohn. It seems to have escaped previous editors.

§ 29. άνεστοιχειωμένος. The word, which recurs in §§ 184 and 200, seems to mean “reduced to a single element”; cf. De Vit. Mos. ii. 288 ὁ αὐτὸν δύναδα δύνα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, εἰς μονάδος άνεστοιχεῖου φύσιν. L. & S. “into its elements.”

§ 36. εφεσιν (mss. φύσιν). I have ventured on this correction because the ms. reading seems to me untranslatable.
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Mangey has "sinere ut naturae meae bonum intereat"; Yonge, "to be indifferent to the sight of my own nature separated from the good"; J. Cohn, "wenn mein Wesen untergehen und nicht mehr die Schönheit schauen würde." I do not see how any of these can be got out of the Greek. Though not common, ἐφεσίς in the sense of "desire" is sufficiently authenticated and, if right, was of course intended to echo ἐφίεμαι. At the same time, τὴν ἐμαντοῦ φύσιν makes a good antithesis to γένος, and the corruption may lie in τοῦ καλοῦ (as I have alternatively suggested), or in καταλυθείσαν.

§ 46. And when the better life, etc. The metaphor is not very clear. It would be made clearer (though at the expense of some awkwardness) if we take συνεπισπασθέν to agree with βάρος instead of with τοῦθ'. In that case the meaning would be that when that part of the mixed which belongs to the better life preponderates in its side of the scales, the base life in the other scale is pulled up and kicks the beam.

§ 52. Gave the name, etc. I do not see much sense in this expression, even if ὤνόμασεν can be taken (as by J. Cohn), as merely meaning "he described as." I am inclined to think that the έκείνην of Pap. is right. Though grammatically superfluous after ἤν, so much so as to be almost ungrammatical, it may be partly accounted for by the desire to emphasize the antithesis to έαυτοῦ, and it gives a clear sense: "he gave to her who was his own death the name of Life."

§ 75. τάνθειον. It is curious that the Lexica have not noticed the occurrence of this word in Philo, here and in De Aet. 10. Otherwise, apart from definite notices of the Pantheon at Rome, the only example given is a passage in Aristotle quoted by a scholiast and referring to the Pantheon at Olympia.

§ 76. As νοητῶν, added by the Papyrus after ἡμῶν, cannot be translated as it stands, I have not inserted it. It may be a mere slip induced by the νοητός above. Cohn suggested ἐξα γνώσων καὶ ἐφιέμενος νοητῶν. The phrase ὑπεξελθὼν ἐξ ἡμῶν for ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ is certainly strange, but may be modelled on the ὅσ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ of the text.

§ 81. ἄλλα σωμάτων καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις. Wendland's text makes the ἐν τούτοις almost unintelligible, unless we may suppose that ταῦτα stands for the phenomenal world; cf. § 280 and De Ebr. 132 (and note). The insertion of καὶ and
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change of punctuation removes the difficulty satisfactorily, though εν is hardly the preposition we should expect. Mangey’s suggestion of εν τόποι gets some support from De Sac. 68.

§ 115. σπέρματα και καταβολαι. It is hard to decide between this reading and Wendland’s (“Are the seed-droppings of the plants the works of agriculture or invisible works of invisible nature?”). My preference for the former chiefly rests on a feeling that while σπέρματα may well be thought of as nature’s work (cf. § 121), this cannot be said of the human agency expressed in καταβολαι.

§ 132. Where the object, etc. For the difference between φαντασία καταληπτική and άκατάληπτος see Diog. Laert. vii. 46 τής δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικὴν, τὴν δὲ άκατά- ληπτον καταληπτικὴν μὲν ... τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ύπάρχοντος κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ύπάρχον ἐναπεφραγμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ύπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ύπάρχοντος μὲν, μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ύπάρχον τὴν μὴ τρανὴ μηδὲ ἐκτυπον, “there are two species of presentation, the one apprehending a real object, the other not. The former . . . is defined as that which proceeds from a real object, agrees with that object itself, and has been imprinted seal-fashion and stamped upon the mind; the latter, or non-apprehending, that which does not proceed from any real object, or, if it does, fails to agree with the reality itself, not being clear or distinct” (Hicks’s translation).

§ 136. Fire . . . heaven. The doctrine of the two kinds of fire is Stoic. See S. V. F. i. 120 where the “useful” fire is called ατεχνον (non-creative?), and the other τεχνικόν. The best parallel to Philo’s language is in Cic. De natura deorum, ii. 40 from Cleanthes where of one he says, “ignis, quem usus vitae requirit, confector est et consumptor omnium idemque, quocumque invasit, cuncta disturbat ac dissipat”: of the other, “contra ille corporeus vitalis et salutaris omnia conservat, alit, auget, sustinet sensuque adficit.”

§ 144. Other things are equal in capacity, etc. Wendland’s punctuation (a comma after μεγέθει) suggests that he understood the words as Mangey, Cohn, and Yonge all do, “cubit compared with cubit is equal in magnitude, but different in power” (Mangey “gravitate”). But this is hardly sense. It is quite easy to understand τὸα from the preceding τὸα μεγέθει, and we thus get the third form of equality, of which
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weights and measures of capacity are a natural example, and which is referred to again in § 151.

§ 145. One essential form is the proportional, etc. Wendland refers to Aristot. *Pol.* viii. 1, p. 1301 b, where proportional equality is called λόγω or κατ’ ἀξιαν. But there is no need to suppose any definite reference. The idea of ἀναλογία runs through all Greek arithmetic.

§ 156. No heightening or lowering of intensity. A Stoic phrase. The Stoics laid down that Virtue and the Good admitted neither of ἐπίτασις nor ἀνεσις (S. V. F. iii. 92), and in this differed from the τέχναι which did admit of such variations and gradations (ibid. 525). Thus Philo’s words are a way of saying that God’s art is like the Good and not like human art. For the antithesis of ἐπίτασις and ἀνεσις in a rather different sense cf. *Quod Deus* 162.

§ 165. The three which followed the sun’s creation. This may no doubt mean that the fourth day, on which the sun was created, divided the first, second and third from the fifth, sixth and seventh. But the stress so constantly laid on the ἔξας of creation, and equality (not the fourth day) being given as the divider, make it more probable that the three μεθ’ ἡλίου are the fourth, fifth and sixth. If so, it is strange that the fourth should be called “after the sun.” Should we read μεθ’ ἡλίου in both places?

§ 169. From his commonwealth. Or “from his own commonwealth.” On a similar passage, De Gig. 59, I suggested that Philo was hinting at a comparison between the πολιτεία of Moses and that of Plato, which expelled some forms of poetry for the same reasons as are here given for expelling painting and sculpture, viz. their tendency to produce illusion and deception. No such reason, however, is given here, and further observation of Philo’s usage inclines me to think that his use of the reflexive pronoun in such phrases is not to be pressed.

§ 170. οὐ τοῦ δ κτλ. That the negative has fallen out is evident. Mangey however proposed οὐ όφειλε, which is quite possible, though οὐ τοῦ δ is more strictly grammatical. If, as suggested in the footnote, we read τοῦ κυρίου <τοῦ θεοῦ>, it would certainly be preferable to follow it by οὐ όφειλε. That Philo should have written six οις in succession is hardly credible.

*Ibid.* The number Seven. The definite use by Philo of
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έβδομάς for the seventh day (εβδομη) is certainly rare, but is difficult to avoid here, or in De Vit. Mos. i. 205. For the epithets applied to the έβδομάς cf. De Op. 100, and Leg. All. i. 15. In the first of them the idea is ascribed to philosophers other than the Pythagoreans, in the second to the Pythagoreans themselves.

§ 182. The high priest Moses. As Moses in the history is not high priest, Mangey thought this should be corrected to ἀρχιπροφήτης. But Moses' function here is that of high priest, and he is actually given the title in De Vit. Mos. ii. 75 and elsewhere.

§ 185. νοού θείαις or νουθεσίαις. How is the latter to be translated? "Following the admonitions in its revolutions"? Mangey, who suggested and perhaps intended to translate προώδος for περιόδος, has "sequendo castigationis ductum"; Yonge, "following the guidance of admonition"; J. Cohn, "zu bestimmter Zeit den Mahnungen Folge leistet." There is no suggestion that any of these adopted νουθεσίαις, which is given by one ms. and would make the phrase more tolerable. I accept Wendland's conjecture with confidence, and suggest that νοού περιόδος is taken from Timaeus 47 β ἵνα τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ κατιδόντες τοῦ νοοῦ περιόδους χρησάμεθα ἐπὶ τὰς περιφορὰς τὰς τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν διανοήσεως, and again (ibid. δ) ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις. We have already had the combination θείαις περιόδοις in § 88, where the general sense of the passage is in close agreement with Timaeus 47, and though there is less analogy between that and the context here, Philo's love of the dialogue will account for his here introducing the phrase.

§ 188. Filling . . . being. J. Cohn and Leisegang (Index) take this as "filled all existing things." But is πάντα τῆς οὐσίας for πάσαν τὴν οὐσίαν Greek? On the other hand it seems doubtful whether ἐκπληροῦν is, like πληροῦν, followed by the genitive. Perhaps read πάντα <τὰ> τῆς οὐσίας.

§ 190. And therefore those who study such questions, etc. Cf. Diog. Laert. viii. 25 of the Pythagorean tenets: ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπαντῶν μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἄν υλήν τῇ μονάδι αἰτίω δυτὶ υποστηναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀόριστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, "the principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the undefined dyad spring numbers" (Hicks's translation).

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§ 212. ἀπέρατα or ἀπέραντα. If, as would appear from Liddell & Scott (1927), the evidence for the existence of ἀπέρατος in the sense of “unlimited” depends mainly or entirely on Philo, it seems doubtful whether it is worth much. Two examples of ἀπέρατος are given in the index apart from this passage. In one of these ἀπέρατος φλόξ, De Mig. 100, the natural meaning is “impassable.” In the other, De Fug. 57, we have ἀπέρατος αἰών in all mss. Here, as stated in the footnote, the mss. are all for ἀπέραντα, though the Papyrus may be said to favour the other. Unless better evidence is forthcoming, there would seem to be good grounds for following the mss. here, and correcting to ἀπέραντος, as Mangey wished, in De Fug. 57.

§ 218. Lamps . . . candle-bearers. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the translation of these terms, which concern the study of the LXX rather than that of Philo. Mangey gives “cauliculi” for λαμπάδια (but also for καλαμίσκοι), and “lucernae” for λύχνοι. J. Cohn translates the two by “Kelche” and “Lampen.” When he gives “Kelche” (cups) he is presumably equating λαμπάδια with κρατήρες in the parallel account of the chandelier in Ex. xxv. 31. The received text of the LXX has ἐνθέμια (sockets?) for ἄνθέμια.

§ 228. The general conflagration. While the general sense of the section is made perfectly clear by the passages referred to in the footnote, there remain the following questions:

(a) The position of the words ἀλλὰ . . . Μωυσήν. Wendland was confident that these words had been written in the margin of the archetype and inserted in different places by different scribes, and omitted by others, and only at last placed in their right position by himself. This is probable enough, but is it quite certain that the Papyrus erred in placing them between σώματος and οὔτε ἰσομεγέθος, since in De Aet. 102 the void, as postulated by the Stoics, is said to be ἀπειρον (and so too S. V. F. ii. 536-540)? Is it impossible that Philo while quoting this should safeguard his statement by adding ἰσομεγέθος?

(b) How did Moses disprove the void? Does Philo mean that since in De Aet. 19 Moses is said to have asserted the eternity of the world in Gen. viii. 22, he thereby denied the ἐκπύρωσις, and consequently the void also? If so, the meaning of διὰ will differ somewhat from that given in the translation, i.e. “nor does the fable of the ἐκπύρωσις, if we
follow Moses, justify us in postulating the existence of the void."

(c) The chief difficulty of the passage is that διά must be unnaturally strained to yield either meaning. I am inclined to think there is a corruption somewhere. I suggest, very tentatively of course, a lacuna after διά, e.g. διαζφερόμενον τοῖς εἰσηγούμενοι τὴν ἐν τῇ κτλ.; cf. De Mig. 180.

§ 242. σώμασιν οὔ πράγμασιν. I feel little doubt that Wendland was wrong in changing οὔ to καί. The balance of the sentence and the stress laid on σώματα throughout the passage, which is a meditation on τὰ σώματα τὰ διχοτομήματα of his text, in themselves support the ms. reading. Wendland may have taken πράγματα to be an interpretation of διχοτομήματα. But surely Philo's interpretation of the word (an interpretation of course entirely opposed to that which he has given in the earlier chapters) is that "bodies cut in two" signify the lifelessness and incompleteness of material things. The question, however, must be decided by the other passages where σώματα and πράγματα are set in antithesis. These are as follows:

(a) De Mut. 60 ἕνοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ... μόνον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀμώμοις προσάπτειν ἔθελοντων οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἡ πράγμασι. (The πράγματα attacked by these cavillers are the allegorical explanations of literal difficulties.)

(b) Ibid. 173 Πεντεφρῆ τὸν ... ἀρχιμάγειρον ... ἐν ἄψυχοι καὶ νεκροίς καλυδούμενον οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἡ πράγμασι. I.e., the chief cook in the spiritual sense lives in an environment of dead ideas.

(c) De Som. ii. 101 εὐξαίμην ἃν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθείσιν ὠπὸ τοὺς ἐμμείναι βεβαιῶς ὑποτήρες γάρ καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ ἐφοροὶ πραγμάτων οὐ σωμάτων εἰσίν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι. This is said of the sons of Jacob representing the wise, and rebuking the empty dreams of Joseph.

In all these apparently πράγματα signifies things belonging to the mental world, ideas in fact, though they need not necessarily be good, as in (b), just as the νοοῖς of Egypt is an evil mind. But the antithesis becomes clearer in

(d) Ibid. 134 τὸν μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἥλιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς. Here πράγματα is definitely connected with νοητά as opposed to αἰσθητά, and the sense is exactly in agreement with our passage, as I understand it.
§ 246. The different opinions mentioned in this section represent problems which Philo would constantly have heard disputed in contemporary discussions. In so far as they refer to the historic schools, we may say (1) that the creation of the universe was maintained by the Stoics and Epicureans and denied by the Peripatetics; (2) the words about the eternity of the universe and the reason given for it are almost a quotation from Timaeus 41 b, though there it is the "lesser gods," not the universe, which are spoken of; (3) "becoming" and "being" may be assigned respectively to Heracleitus and the Eleatic school, but Philo was familiar with the antithesis in Plato, e.g. Theaetetus 152, where also (4) he found the famous saying of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things." He takes it in what may have been its original, though perhaps not the generally accepted, meaning, as opposed to the sceptical view that our mind and senses are untrustworthy, and so also in the other two places where he quotes it (De Post. 35 and De Som. ii. 193), though there it is its profanity as claiming for man what belongs only to God which is stressed. (5) "Those who maintain that everything is beyond our apprehension" are the sceptics, both those of the school of Pyrrho and the later Academy, while "those who assert that a great number of things are cognizable" are the non-sceptical philosophers in general, none of whom would assert more than that knowledge was generally, but not universally, attainable.

§ 249. Divine possession or frenzy. Philo in this description of prophetic "ecstasy" evidently has in mind Phaedrus 244 e and 245 a in which the words κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία occur (followed at once by the phrase ἀπάλην καὶ ἀβατον ψυχήν which he has already used in § 38). Cf. § 264.

§ 253. To treat things indifferent as indeed indifferent. So in Quod Det. 122 it is the characteristic of justice ἐξαδιαφορεῖν τὰ μεθόρια κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, such as wealth, reputation and office, while on the other hand in De Post. 81, if Mangey's emendation is accepted, the misuser of natural gifts ἐξαδιαφορεῖ τὰ διάφορα. The words ἐξαδιαφορεῖν and -ησις are not quoted from any other writer than Philo.

Ibid. ἀπαρχάς is used here in a general sense, as there is no thought of offering to a god; cf. Dion. Hal. De Comp. iii. λόγων ἀπαρχᾶς, "specimen passages."

§ 274. Or woman-man. This addition is strange. In the
other two places recorded, where Philo uses the word, it is
as here coupled with ἀνδρόγυνος, but in contrast with it of a
woman who adopts masculine dress or habits—an idea which
is quite alien here. I suspect that it is an interpolation.

Ibid. Stock. See General Introduction, vol. i. p. xvi,
though the statement there requires some correction. The
ἀποσκευὴ is not the Encyclia, but the whole fruits of παιδεία
of which the Encyclia are the first stage.

§ 282. The phraseology of the section is taken from
Timaeus 42 ε πυρὸς καὶ γῆς ὤδατος τε καὶ ἄερος ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου
dανειζόμενοι μόρια, ὡς ἀποδοθησόμενα πάλιν.

§ 283. Moving in a circle. Cf. Aristot. De Caelo, i. 2
and 3, where it is laid down that while the four elements have a
rectilineal, the ether or fifth element has a circular move­
ment. So also Philo of the heaven in De Somn. i. 21. See
also Quod Deus 46 and note.

§ 290. In the shadow of death. The LXX actually has (like
the Hebrew) ἐπι σκηνώμασι ἀμαρτωλῶν. This curious slip of
memory was no doubt partly due to the sound σκ in both
phrases.

§ 291. πολὺν. This reading of Wendland’s, based on the
πολὺ of Pap., does not seem to me satisfactory. Wendland
himself, while noting the πολὺν of G, says “fortasse recte.”
Yet “grey-haired vanity” also seems strange. I should
prefer to read πολίων (fem.) or πολιᾶς, both well-known
terms for old age.

§ 310. τοῖς . . . αὐγάλοις. While I retain and translate
this, I do not think it satisfactory. The use of ἀγγέλος is
strange and only distantly paralleled by De Mut. 162 ἀὐγή
γὰρ ἀὐγῆς ἄγγελος. But though Wendland accepted Mangey’s
ταῖς . . . αὐγαῖς as certain, it seems to me even less satis­
factory, at any rate when coupled with Wendland’s προσ­
χρωμοῦντες or Mangey’s ἐγχορεύοντες. There is no great
likeness of form, and the sense is poor. The clause evidently
interprets κάπνος γίνεται πρὸ πυρῶς. At this stage there are
no “rays,” and while “hope” may fairly stand for “smoke,”
to say “when we approach the rays we hope,” is a poor
equivalent to “smoke comes before fire,” and Mangey’s “as
we move amid the rays we hope” is none at all. It would,
however, be much improved if we read πρῶ (πρωῖ) ἐγχορεύοντες,
i.e. “in our first stage of experiencing the rays, we hope”
(and nothing more).
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Perhaps we might bring it still nearer to the MSS. by putting ἀγγελοῖς for ἀγγέλοις. The oven or furnace is actually called an ἀγγελοῦν ἀρετῆς a few lines below, and though there, as well as in § 308, we are the furnace, not in it, such a variation of the figure is not impossible. After all it is not really the furnace which smokes, but the fuel in it, and if we read τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀγγελοῖς πρῶ (πρω) ἐγχορεύοντες τελειώτητα ἐλπίζομεν, we have a text almost identical with that of the MSS. and Pap., and giving a sense intelligible in itself (though not in complete agreement with its environment), that “when we are in the early stage of playing the part of fuel in the furnaces in which virtue is produced, we emit only the smoke of hoping for the full flame.” (This general use of χορεύω and ἐγχορεύω is common enough in Philo, see e.g. De Fug. 45 ὁ ἐτί χορεύων ἐν τῷ θυητῷ βίω.)

§ 314. καθ’ ἐν . . . ἀφθάρτοις. The text suggested in the footnote, which might be varied by <διακρίνας> διαφυλάττει for διακρίνας φυλάττει, and κατά τὰ ἄ for καθά, is fairly near to the MSS. and seems to me to give a satisfactory sense. Mangey strangely accepted Markland’s feeble suggestion of τοῖς τιμωσίν αὐτόν for τοῖς τομεύσιν έαυτοῦ.

Ibid. Who are born to life imperishable. With the change of ἐπί to πρέπει (or perhaps to ἐδει), these words present no difficulty. I understand them to be an interpretation, which in fact is needed, of τῷ σπέρματί σου. That the “seed of Abraham” should be called “those who in their origin are incorruptible” is natural enough.
APPENDIX TO DE CONGRESSU

§ 11. Astronomy. Astronomy of an elementary kind was regularly included among the Encyclia, but is not named by Philo in his other lists of the subjects, doubtless because, as often in other writers, it is regarded as a branch of geometry. Cf. Quintilian, i. 10. 46 "quid quod se eadem geometria tollit ad rationem usque mundi? in qua siderum certos constitutosque cursus numeris docet."

§ 15. The calamities . . . undergone. This thought of the ethical value of history and poetry (epic and tragic) has already been brought out in De Sac. 78 f. See also De Abr. 23.

§ 18. Sister and twin. Though ως εἰπὼν τινες indicates that this is a definite quotation from some writer or writers, the close relation of dialectic to rhetoric, though much discussed by the Stoics (see S. V. F. i. 75, ii. 294), is not described by this phrase in any source known to us. Aristotle speaks of rhetoric as being (1) ἀντιστροφον (counterpart), (2) παραφυές (offshoot), (3) μόριον (part), (4) ὁμοίωμα (copy), of rhetoric (Aristot. Rhet. i. 1. 1, i. 2. 7).

§ 29. On the side of thought . . . deception. It seems to me almost incredible that Leah's handmaid, oratory or rhetoric, should on the side of ideas be limited to sophistical rhetoric, though one might understand this sort being admitted with the other, as indeed we find in De Agr. 13. Below in § 33 there is no such disparagement. I am strongly inclined to suspect a lacuna such as ή λογική se. δύναμις ἓ τῆς διανοιας, οὖχ> ή κτλ. Or for τῆς διανοιας we might conjecture τῶν πραγμάτων (facts), in which case ή λογική would still agree with εὑρεσις.

§ 53. Battles of argument. Elsewhere in Philo this word and γνωσιμαχία seem to be used generally for contention, without any particular meaning attaching to γνωσι. Here, however, in combination with συλλαβομαχ.OutputStreaming, it seems
necessary to give the γνωσι- a more definite meaning, such as "of argument" or "as to knowledge."


Ibid. <άστάς>. That ἀστάς has been lost, as suggested in the footnote, seems to me very probable, though possibly a better form of the sentence, preserving the first ἕ of all mss., and the ἕ before δόγματα of some, would be παλλακάς μέντοι ἦ ἀστάς, δόξας ἢ δόγματα. It is true that no Biblical example of the ἀστή of the wicked man is given, but in § 59 her existence as the mother of κακία, while the παλλακή is the mother of πάθος, is assumed. If we make this insertion, the conjunction of δόξα ( = παλλακή) with δόγμα ( = ἀστή) gets a clear meaning. As it stands, this conjunction, which is not recorded elsewhere, is otiose. But in De Sac. 5 we have them contrasted, the καλὸν δόγμα, Abel, with the ἄτοπος δόξα, Cain, and in general δόγμα, though, as in this case, it may be bad, is associated with principles and convictions arrived at by reason in contrast to unreasoning δόξα. That the former should produce vicious principles (κακία) and the latter fleeting passion is quite in keeping.

§ 77. Doting on poetry . . . musical colours. Clem. Al. (Strom. i. p. 332) reproduces these words as κατεγήρασαν οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν μουσική, οἱ δὲ ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν γραμματικῇ, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ ἐν ρητορικῇ. Hence Mangey strangely thought that γραμμαί should be corrected to γραμματικῇ, though in his translation he retains it as "delineationibus." But Philo's ποιήμασι gives Clement's γραμματικῇ, as his γραμμαί gives γεωμετρίᾳ. γραμμαί cannot mean "drawing," as Yonge certainly and Mangey presumably supposed. It is a regular term for geometrical figures, and γραμμακαὶ ἀποδείξεις for geometrical proofs (Quintilian i. 10. 38.) Mangey translates χρωμάτων κράσει by "temperaturis colorum," which leaves it doubtful whether he thought, as Yonge did, that it meant painting. There can be no reasonable doubt that it refers to the χρώματα of music. Though Aristotle laid stress on γραφικῇ as a means of education, it never appears among the Encyclia. On the other hand the χρώματα, as shown in § 76, are an important element in music. Aristides Quintilianus (p. 18) gives this explanation of the name: χρώμα, τὸ διὰ ἡμιτονίων συντεινόμενον· ὡς γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος χρώμα καλεῖται, οὕτω τὸ διὰ μέσων ἀμφοῖν θεωρούμενον.
χρώμα καλείται. This suggests that κράσεις χρωμάτων may mean blendings which constitute χρώματα rather than blendings of them, but I leave this to the experts.

§ 79. For philosophy, etc. For this Stoic definition cf. S.V.F. ii. 36 τὴν φιλοσοφίαν φασίν ἐπιτήδευσιν εἶναι σοφίας, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐπιστήμην θελῶν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπων πραγμάτων. Cicero gives it in a form nearer to Philo, De Off. ii. 5 "nec quicquam aliud est philosophia . . . praeter studium sapientiae. Sapientia autem est, ut a veteribus philosophis definitum est, rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque, quibus eae res continentur, scientia."

§ 107. περινοία λογισμοῦ πεποιθύιας. The translation given assumes (1) that πεποιθύιας (of a soul trusting) is not coordinate with the other participles, (2) that γενητοῦ agrees with λογισμοῦ; neither of which seems likely, though grammatically possible. Moreover, Philo would probably have written τοῦ πεποιθέναι instead of πεποιθύιας. Wendland conjectured περὶ πάντα λογισμῷ μεμαθηκύιας. This seems very arbitrary. Cohn suggested περινοία καὶ λογισμῷ πεποιθύιας. But if this means "experiencing through reasoning the nothingness of creation," it does not seem to me Greek. I suggest as slightly better to transfer περὶ λογ. πεπ. and read ἱκετευόμενης θεῶν ψυχῆς περινοία λογισμοῦ <οῦ> πεποιθύιας καὶ τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ οὐδενείαν τοῦ γενητοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς καλοῖς οὐπερβολὰς καὶ ἀκρότητας τοῦ ἀγενήτου δεδιδαγμένης. This will make good sense and run smoothly, and it seems more likely that Philo thinks that human sagacity (περινοία) or even human reason proves worthless in this supreme abasement, than that it is the agent by which the soul is schooled to humiliate itself, as Cohn's and Wendland's suggestions imply. Textually the loss of οὖ after λογισμοῦ is negligible and the departure from the MSS., apart from the slight change of -αν to -α, lies in the transference of the three difficult words. I shall not be surprised however if it does not give general satisfaction.

§ 133. The founder of this tribe. Wendland gives as reference for the saying "God alone must I honour" Ex. xx. 3, i.e. the First Commandment, and therefore presumably took the γενάρχης to be Moses. But the reference is, I think, to the Blessing of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 9) "who saith to his father and his mother I have not seen thee, and his brothers he knew not and his sons he disclaimed." In Leg.
Philo

All. ii. 51 Philo has made a very similar use of this text (though there the father and the mother are mind and body), inferring from it that the Levi-mind rejects all such things for the sake of having God as his portion, in accordance with the words of Deut. x. 9, which he again quotes here. And the same interpretation of Deut. xxxiii. 9 is given in De Fug. 89, where Levi is called ὁ ἀρχηγότης τοῦ θιάκων τοῦτον.

§ 141. A system of conceptions, etc. For this Stoic definition cf. S. V. F. i. 73, ii. 93 f. Sometimes in a longer form, συγγεγυμνασμένων καὶ ἐπὶ τέλος εὑρηστον τῷ βίῳ λαμβανόντων (ἔχοντων) τὴν ἀναφόραν, where the masculine λαμβανόντων shews that συγγ. also is masculine and that not the conceptions but the things conceived of are co-ordinated. As ἐγγεγυμνασμένων appears in some examples (see S. V. F. i. 73), Wendland is perhaps somewhat rash in altering to συγγ. If ἐγγ. is retained, translate "exercised upon."

Ibid. For the definition of ἐπιστήμη, given in practically the same words as here, see S. V. F. i. 68.

§ 148. Elucidation of the . . . poets and historians. This definition with minor variations was the accepted one. In the grammar of Dionysius Thrax, which furnished the model for the later grammarians, both Greek and Latin, it appears in the form ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. The definition brings out the important fact that γραμματική originally suggested literary study rather than what we call grammar.

§ 149. The only terms in this list which either need explanation or have not had it on De Agr. 140, 141 are ἀποφαντόν and περιεκτικόν. From Diog. Laert. vii. 65 it appears that ἀποφαντόν which I have rendered by "declaratory" = ἀξίωμα, i.e. a statement which must be either true or false, which cannot be said of the forms of speech (ἐρώτημα, etc.) which follow. While D. L. himself defines ἀξίωμα as πράγμα αὐτοτελεῖς ἀποφαντόν ὅσον ἑφ' ἑαυτῷ, he has confused his interpreters by quoting Chrysippus: ἀξίωμα ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαντόν ἥ καταφαντόν ὅσον ἑφ' ἑαυτῷ, οὗ Ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ. This has led Hicks to translate ἀποφαντόν "capable of being denied," as opposed to καταφαντόν. But this is surely to confuse ἀποφαντός from ἀπόφαινοι with ἀποφατικός from ἀπόφημι. Liddell & Scott both in the earlier and in the recent edition make the confusion worse, as while giving ἀποφ. as = "asserting," they say under καταφ. "to be affirmed,
opposed to ἀποφαντός.” I feel no doubt that ἀποφ. is “affirming” or “capable of being affirmed,” and I should explain the καταφαντόν of Chrysippus as a synonym, which some preferred, unless indeed he means that ἀποφ. is used of such sentences as ημέρα ἐστί, and καταφ. of such as Δίων περιπατεῖ. Also it might easily be a gloss.

It should be added that as to ἀποφαντικός, sometimes used for the indicative mood, the examples shew that no doubt is possible, and ἀποφαντικός can hardly be separated from ἀποφαντός.

As for περιεκτικόν, it is most probably a mistake for προστακηκόν (imperative), which appears in D. L.'s list. At any rate if it is genuine, it must have some meaning unknown to us. The only sense in which we meet the word is for a place in which a number of things or persons are collected, e.g. ἀμπελών, παρθενών. Stephanus, indeed, has a statement, which L. & S. have copied, that περιεκτικόν ῥῆμα is a verb in the middle voice, but no authority is given. And both these meanings are impossible in a list which contains different forms of sentences.

§ 155. “In thy hands.” I suspect that Philo suggests in this section that the Greek of the text quoted may mean not only “The handmaid is in thy hands (or power),” but also “Thy handmaid is in the hands.” It must be remembered that when he gives two alternative meanings for a passage, he does not think, as we should, that one must be the right one. To his mind they may both be intended. If we suppose that he is here commenting on “Thy handmaid is in the hands,” the argument will become much clearer. The supposition will involve reading here ἐν ταῖς χερσί for ἐν ταῖς χερσί σον, but there is not much difficulty in this. A scribe failing to see the point might very naturally add σον.

§ 159. Unrebuked. Or “whose licence is unchecked.” Mangey suspected ἀνεπίπληκτος in this sense, and perhaps it more generally means “not liable to rebuke,” “blameless.” But see Plato, Legg. 695 β, where it is applied to the undisciplined boyhood of Cyrus’s sons, who left to women and eunuchs became οἷον ἦν εἰκός αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τροφή ἀνεπιπλήκτω τραφέντας. So too in manhood they are τριφῆς μεστοί καὶ ἀνεπιπλήξιας.

Ibid. ὑπαρχόντως καὶ ὑποχρόσους. These adjectives, which Mangey translated by “aureos et argenteos,” ignoring the
υπο-, are at first sight very difficult. All the evidence in the dictionaries hitherto given goes to prove that the prefix indicates not that the silver or gold conceals some other metal, but that it is covered or concealed by it. Thus while υπάργυρος may suggest a base coin, because the silver is coated with gold, υπόχρυσος would only suggest gold concealed by some baser metal. An article, however, by A. Körte in Hermes, 1929, pp. 262 ff., to which Dr. Rouse called my attention, brings considerable evidence from inscriptions of the third century, as well as a line from Menander, 170 ff. (υπόχρυσος δακτύλιος τις υύτοσι, αὐτός σιδηροῦσ), to shew that υποχρ. is used of iron rings or the like gilded over. Körte does not deal with υπάργυρος, but the same principle will apply. He connects the prefix with the common use of υπο-in adjectives, particularly in medical language, to indicate "somewhat," e.g. υπόλευκος "whitish." While he translates υπόχρυσος "gilded," it need not be inferred, I think, that the word in itself means this. Rather the two words are opposed to ολόχρυσος, όλαργυρος, and indicate that the gold and silver are not the predominant, or at least not the sole elements. But since, as a matter of fact, the admixture of gold or silver would regularly take the form of a coating, "veneered" or "plated" may stand.

§ 160. Admonition. I do not think that Philo can have written νονθεσία. Apart from the absurdity pointed out in the footnote, the οὕτε demands something inferred from the text, which has stated that those who live without κάκωσις forsake God. The inference must be that those who are under κάκωσις cleave to Him. I think Philo must have written ευσέβεια or θεοσέβεια, which by some blunder was changed to νονθεσίαν as νομοθεσία to ἔκκλησια in § 120.

§ 171. Ενε. Here again one can only suppose a similar blunder, possibly assisted by the similarity of ΚΑΙΕΤΑΝ to ΚΑΙΝ. Though Wendland retains the ms. text, it seems to me incredible that Philo should have thought that Cain was expelled from Paradise. At any rate, even if Philo wrote Cain, he meant to write Eve.